



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU):
KEMALISM'S EFFECTS ON THE ROAD TO THE EU**

by

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September 2005

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE September 2005	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE: Turkey and the European Union (EU): Kemalism's Effects on the Road to the EU			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Karakus, Hakan				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING /MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) <p>The thesis evaluates the importance of the Kemalist movement to the Republic of Turkey both during its early-twentieth-century establishment and today, as Turkey pursues its overall goal, modernization, and its more specific goal, membership in the European Union. The thesis assesses Kemalism's original effect on the state-building process before and after the War of Independence; its continuing effect on Turkey's modernization process; and its potential to effect Turkey's acceptance into the European Union. The thesis argues that the Kemalist social and political ideology is still the best choice for Turkey and thus must be revitalized.</p> <p>Despite the many intervening powers interested in the Ottoman territories after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, the so-called "sick man of Europe," emerged as a newly established republic. Led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey adopted Western norms to create a new society and nation-state. Kemalism, an essentially continuous, systematic process of national renovation, modernization, and renewal, has one overriding goal: to raise Turkish society, politics, education, and institutions to the level of Western civilizations. To accomplish this, Turkey's nongovernment organizations must act, in keeping with Kemalism, to turn the country into "one big school." The military, as designated by the constitution, is the "protector" of Kemalism and has the power, under certain conditions, to intervene in the political arena. In Kemalism, the dominant religion, Islam, is a private matter, a matter of one's "conscience." The thesis concludes that a resurrection of purist Kemalist teaching is the best way to help Turkey exploit its strategic position as a "bridge between the West and the East, between Europe and the East" to gain full membership in the E.U. and achieve its national goals.</p>				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Kemalism, The European Union, Contemporary civilization level			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 113	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL	

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THE ROAD TO THE EU**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

from the

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ABSTRACT

The thesis evaluates the importance of the Kemalist movement to the Republic of Turkey both during its early-twentieth-century establishment and today, as Turkey pursues its overall goal, modernization, and its more specific goal, membership in the European Union. The thesis assesses Kemalism's original effect on the state-building process before and after the War of Independence; its continuing effect on Turkey's modernization process; and its potential to effect Turkey's acceptance into the European Union. The thesis argues that the Kemalist social and political ideology is still the best choice for Turkey and thus must be revitalized.

Despite the many intervening powers interested in the Ottoman territories after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, the so-called "sick man of Europe," emerged as a newly established republic. Led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey adopted Western norms to create a new society and nation-state. After World War I, Turkey progressed in the spirit of Kemalism toward becoming a modern, secular, Westernized republic with a parliamentary government. Kemalism, an essentially continuous, systematic process of national renovation, modernization, and renewal, has one overriding goal: to raise Turkish society, politics, education, and institutions to the level of Western civilizations. To accomplish this, Turkey's nongovernment organizations must act, in keeping with Kemalism, to turn the country into "one big school." The military, as designated by the constitution, is the "protector" of Kemalism and has the power, under certain conditions, to intervene in the political arena. In Kemalism, the dominant religion, Islam, is a private matter, a matter of one's "conscience." The thesis concludes that a resurrection of purist Kemalist teaching is the best way to help Turkey exploit its strategic position as a "bridge between the West and the East, between Europe and the East" to gain full membership in the E.U. and achieve its national goals.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Professor Barak Salmoni for his guidance, assistance, and patience throughout the process of developing this thesis.

I would like to thank to my second reader Professor Vali Nasr for his quick responses and assistance as needed throughout the process.

Thanks to Pam Silva and Lee Rappold who helped process, format, and edit this thesis. Thank you very much, Lee, you did an incredible job.

Thanks for the educational experience provided by the Naval Postgraduate School instructors. And thanks to the Turkish Armed Forces which gave me the opportunity to pursue a master's degree at the Naval Postgraduate School.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Ayca, for her incredible help, love, patience, strength, and understanding throughout the program. Without her endless support, and encouragement I could not have completed this thesis.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. KEMALISM

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is recognized by many as the father of modern Turkey. Kemal's political concepts and social principles were the basis during his presidency (1923–1938) of a systematic reform of the new Republic of Turkey after its separation from what remained of the Ottoman Empire. Although Kemal Atatürk died in 1938 at the age of fifty-seven, his political philosophy, Kemalism, dedicated to the secularization, modernization, and Westernization of the nation-state, lives on.

In this thesis, I will argue that Kemalism can provide solutions to Turkey's current problems as it continues the modernization process begun in the early years of the Republic. More important, Kemal's ideas provide a systematic approach that Turkey must use if it is to achieve its great desire of full membership in the European Union.

Following the Kemalist approach, Turkey took reformist action and broke all ties with the Ottoman Empire in order to adapt to a new system. Kemal's ideology aimed at achieving modernization in Turkey equal to that of Western civilizations. Since the core idea of Kemalism is modernism, actualizing that ideal never ends. To the contrary, it is the basic idea moving Turkey to the future. In other words, Kemalism renews itself and remains vital in every era. In the first years of the Republic, Kemalism was internalized and practiced by nearly the entire nation, which gave Turkey a certain status in the international arena. Today, if Turkey interpreted Kemalist ideology truly, expressed it to the public, and applied it to everyone, it could guide Turkey's entry into international associations.

Mustafa Kemal succeeded in forming and developing a new country that was just emerging from wars that had lasted for decades. If Turkey now adapts

Mustafa Kemal's reforms and renovations for today and applies them to the country overall, Turkey's concerns about E.U. membership will mostly disappear.

B. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW TURKISH SOCIETY'S DIFFERENCE FROM ITS PAST SOCIETIES

Though some states that applied for membership in the E.U. many years after Turkey have been accepted, Turkey has not. This shows that the E.U. has additional concerns to those it declared. It seems that Europe still feels antipathy toward Ottomans. However, Turkey's populace, structure, and administration are totally different than Ottomans'.

Looking at Turkey as a Western country is inevitable when one realizes what Mustafa Kemal's reforms accomplished. Describing Turkey as a residual of the Ottoman Empire and making Turkey pay for that is inappropriate. The Republic of Turkey was established by the power of the people, led by Kemal, after the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. However, the nationalist idea of Kemalism is not the main ethical standard of the Turkish populace. More important is the people's feeling about belonging to the land on which they live. Just after its establishment, the Turkish Republic started to reshape itself by radical reforms and to take steps toward Westernization. While all those changes were being made, the Turkish Republic always made clear that it had broken all ties to the Ottoman Empire. The newly formed state, shaped according to the Kemalism ideology, not only gained a new identity but also a new status in the international arena. The Republic of Turkey, because it is based on Kemal's theories of modernization and secularization, is much more a representative of the West than of the Ottoman Empire.

Even though Turkey is a secular state and has no official religion, the E.U. has some concerns because of the dominant religion, Islam. It is nonsense to think that there will be cultural differences and that nations cannot get along just because of religious differences. Turkey has a mostly modern populace that looks more European than Eastern. The Turks are not going to "enter" Europe by

joining the E.U.: they have already been living in Europe for years. In addition to the Ottoman Turks, there were many others living in Europe. Turkish workers, mostly in Germany, have been European for forty years. Though the early Turkish immigrants were not representative of the whole nation, the second generation was better adapted, and the third generation has a completely European identity. This shows that Turks are susceptible to change and modernization. For one example, in international military operations, there is no difference between the Turkish military's performance and that of foreign militaries.

Accepting Turkey into E.U. membership could build a bridge between the E.U. and the Middle East. But today, the E.U. has some concerns about such a bridge, believing that the bridge will bring more disadvantages than advantages. However, by accepting Turkey's membership, the E.U. would gain the appreciation of both the Turkish public and Middle Eastern publics. Thus the E.U. would have more authority than before in Middle East politics. For a peaceful environment all over the globe, relations and unions should be set up between all peoples instead of the exclusion of some nations.

In discussing its position as a waiting candidate, Turkey needs to establish strong principles that will improve its position for full membership. Those principles already exist in Turkey, but to strengthen them, the entire populace must know and apply Kemalist ideals. In addition to the people's self-improvement, the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) must be more active in addressing the state's economical and social problems. In the first years of the Republic after the War of Independence, Kemalism motivated the nation's recovery. That same Kemalist ideology, with the help of the NGOs, could eliminate the E.U.'s concerns by motivating the nation.

Examining the Kemal Ataturk era's educational, cultural, and political goals, analyzing its reforms, practices, and improvements, and then adapting those to fit today's reality could accelerate the E.U. membership process. The Republic of Turkey was established by the Turkish population on territories

remaining from the Ottoman Empire after the war. The new state established by the nationalist movement headed by Mustafa Kemal was based on the idea of nation-states. Thus, nationalism became the main fundamental principle of the Turkish Republic. Since Western civilizations were the dominant civilizations of the world, however, Westernization became the second fundamental principle of Turkey.

During the first five years after the declaration of the Republic, the cultural institutions were radically reformed. During that brief time, Turkey was known as “modern Turkey,” a true nation-state. The initial five-year period of reforms, known as the first period of Ataturk’s reforms, had a radical character that defined Turkey’s new identity. During the second period of Ataturk’s reforms, which ended with Kemal Ataturk’s death, those reforms were perfected and completed. Any renovation aimed at satisfying the E.U.’s concerns should be like the Kemalist renovation that occurred in the first five years of the Republic.

C. THE NATURE OF TURKISH SOCIETY’S ADAPTATION TO A WESTERN MODEL, FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE PRESENT, AND MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATURK’S ROLE IN THAT PROCESS

In brief, hardworking, self-improved, intellectual, sophisticated, and nationalistic citizens were needed to maintain and raise the state. But educating only a single group of people and leaving the country to that group was against Kemalism. Mustafa Kemal aimed to transform the whole country into a “school,” that is, to educate everybody. If progress had proceeded group by group, it would have reached only part of the populace. This might have caused separations and discrimination against people who were totally against Kemalism. Thus, progression was implemented immediately and in every region at the same time. In addition to statesmen’s maintenance and improvement of the country to reach contemporary levels and create a peaceful and beneficial life, the government needed a more educated nation.

The common emphasis on the army's role in Turkish history and politics, from Ottoman times to the present, suggests a continuity that seems plausible. It assumes that the army was an institution that never changed its worldview, that stood above society and acted independently of it.¹ The Turkish military's constant behavior has been criticized for decades because the military has not played the game according to the rules. By supporting the NGOs, the military could contribute to the improvement of the state, while also doing its own job more professionally.

While Mustafa Kemal was transforming the whole country to a big school, there were no technological benefits. Citizens in military service were educated by professional military officials during their military service. After military service, those citizens went back to their homes and educated their fellow countrymen. The military service has been used for education ever since. Soldiers from rural areas who have reading problems are still helped and educated during their military service. Although to the military this seems fine, it also shows the lack of NGOs. Actually, the lack of public education should be covered by the public civic organizations, and the NGOs should work to reach the education level required by the E.U.

During the establishment of Turkey, all the citizens, led by Ataturk, participated in the action. Since the nation had been in wars for decades, every eligible citizen had been in the military. During the establishment of the state, the military participated in essential duties in every region of the country. Since then, the military has been the most trustworthy government institution in both urban and rural areas. Today, however, being dependent on the military is considered improper. The military cannot fulfill all the expectations of the public: the present era is not an era of military regimes. The Turkish military should fulfill the duties

¹ Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. The making of modern Turkey. USA: Routledge, p 3

determined for it by the constitution. Other public services should be fulfilled by the NGOs. Thus, the military will be more professional than before by supporting the NGOs.

To satisfy the E.U.'s concerns, the gaps in the Turkish social structure should also be filled by NGOs, which should be encouraged to take a more active political role. Thus, the E.U.'s concerns about the power of the Turkish military will be greatly decreased.

D. WE SHOULD RE-EVALUATE AND IMPLEMENT KEMALISM TODAY

According to some intellectuals, though Kemalism has never totally died out in the nation, it has greatly diminished. Nonetheless, it is natural that Turkey address Kemalism as an ideology. Mustafa Kemal believed it was important for the people to adopt his ideology into their lives, thereby internalizing it into the culture. At the Republican People's Party's fourth congress, he expressed Kemalism as all his thoughts and beliefs.

The writer, Orhan Duru, explains in his recent book that all the telegraphs, reports, and intelligence reports of the American representatives, ambassadors, consuls, commissaries, and high-ranking commissaries who served in Turkey during the War of Independence and the first years of the Republic show the United States' great interest in details of Turkey at the time. American representatives first described Mustafa Kemal and his friends' movement as "a rebellion" and called Kemal and his supporters "insurgents." Later they characterized the "insurgents" as "nationalists" and the Ankara government as the "nationalist government." It was Americans who first called Mustafa Kemal's thoughts, beliefs, and actions "Kemalism."²

Kemal Ataturk said that every person residing on Turkish territory has equal rights and that the public's will is higher than any other authority's. Thus,

² Orhan Duru, *Amerikan Gizli Belgeleriyle Türkiye'nin Kurtuluş Yılları* (İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001)

the basic principle, “sovereignty only belongs to the people,” was established. This principle alone shows that no institution is higher than the public’s will and that Turkey is expressly dependent on democracy. Despite some concern about democracy, Kemalism expresses a distinct necessity for democracy. While some Western officials criticize Turkish democracy, that only means that Turkey does not practice democracy as it should. To silence those critics, democracy’s distinction and the contribution of Kemalism to global peace should be explained truly to the people and should be fully and firmly applied.

There are three main principles of thought that are fundamental to the Turkish Republic: the sovereignty of the people, modernism, and secularism. Modernism, according to Mustafa Kemal’s meaning, is the contemporary level of civilizations. As he said in all his speeches and statements, his main objective for Turkey was to catch up with the contemporary level of Western civilizations: so it must be understood that, for Kemal, modernism meant Westernism as a goal for the Turkish nation, which it should work to attain. The term “West” means Europe. Thus, the concept of Western civilization should be analyzed and evaluated in terms of the level of modernization of contemporary Europe. Looking at Kemal Ataturk’s foreign and economical policies, it is obvious that if he were alive he would certainly agree to join the E.U.

In addition to democracy and sovereignty, the third principle mentioned above is secularism, another indispensable factor. The quickest way for Turkey to achieve contemporary modernization is by joining the E.U., which is also the main goal, actually, of Kemalism. Although Kemalism emerged during the establishment of Turkey and provided appropriate solutions then, as Turkey continues to modernize and rebuild itself, Kemalism will accelerate the process necessary for joining the E.U. today. The principles of Kemalism and their correct interpretation should be taught truly to the people. Also, the requirements and demands of Kemalism should be applied to both individuals and institutions. As the times and conditions change, suitable actions also should be determined and applied that, when led by NGOs, should be taken by everyone as control by the

central authority. These NGOs should coordinate with one another, and the Turkish military forces and the present government should support them.

Today there are many organizations that claim to represent Kemalism and allege that their actions are Kemalist. Most of them are supported financially either by private individuals or by institutions, both of whose work deviates far from the main Kemalist principle of public sovereignty. Since those individuals and organizations are dependent on the financial benefits of their work, they distort Kemalism, manipulate Kemalism, and give the people a wrong understanding of Kemalism, for their own personal benefit. For instance, calling themselves “nationalists,” one group implements racist actions, manipulating Kemalist principles and using Kemalism as a shield to hide behind. People who do not know much about Kemalism and do not understand the real reasons for the “nationalist” group’s actions therefore believe that the source of their actions is Kemalism. These kinds of misunderstandings create a false impression of Kemalism and cause new generations to be raised as enemies to Kemalism.

If Kemalism could regain its former public-support base, the Turkish society could progress and develop properly. Otherwise, all the country’s concordance packages being worked on for the E.U. will not materialize and will exist only on paper. If the Kemalist ideas are not spread among the general public properly, it will always seem suspicious to the European Union. Kemalists should rebuild the structure of their base. If this rebuilding is not done properly, the Westernizing movement of Turkey’s administrators will not be accepted by the people, and the process for joining the Union will be prolonged. Hence, one could say that only true Kemalism can accelerate and affect positively the work toward E.U. membership.

II. KEMALIST IDEOLOGY AND ITS IMPORTANCE

A. THE MODERNIZATION MOVEMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottomans, despite the spreading influence of the colonial powers and their policies, became neither a colony of any nation nor a participant in Western imperialism. After acquiring its extensive territorial lands, the Ottomans chose a centralized, but provincial, government style. Because of their type of executive style, some say that the Ottomans were actually already a colonialist power. However, they never exploited their minorities. Being under the control of the Ottoman Empire gave the minorities some rights, much more than any other power at the time. When the Empire began to decline, its minorities sought a better position for themselves; they rebelled against the Ottomans in an effort to establish their own nationalist state. The Ottoman Empire being a mosaic-type of state, consisted of many ethnicities other than Turks. The Empire was greatly affected by economic developments in the region and became a market, a source of raw materials, and a road to the East for the imperialist powers. Today, Turkey has taken over the mission of being a bridge between East and West. But because of Mustafa Kemal, Turkey has reached a very different point than its Ottoman ancestors, in terms of its political system and social order.

The modernization movement in the Ottoman Empire began more than two centuries ago. At that time the Ottomans lagged behind in comparison to Western development and thus turned toward the West to realize reforms in their traditional structure. Sultan Selim III gathered together the notables of the state to evaluate the situation and to give the statesmen a chance to express their opinions during meetings.³ That era of reform lasted from 1789 to 1922, the fall of the Empire. The accession of Selim III serves better than any other single event to mark the beginning of a transition in the Ottoman Empire from

³ Musa Cadirci, *Tanzimat Doneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapilari* (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Press, 1991), p.4.

traditionalism to modernization. We use this date as the dividing line between two sections in the evolutionary pattern of branches of the ruling class.⁴

The Western technological and economic superiority was irresistible, and the Ottomans began to import aspects of that new technology in an effort to catch up to or reach the level of the modern civilizations. These modern, or Western, influences were first felt during the military conquest of Ottoman lands, and then, through the Western free-trade policies and imperialism.⁵ During that same period, Ottoman diplomats and bureaucrats were sent to Europe to get the new Westernized type of education. By the time they returned, they had seen, learned, and experienced Western culture and its superiority.⁶ To those who had confronted the power of the West, it soon became clear that realizing military reforms would not be enough to stop the Western countries from rising against the Empire. The need to make renovations in the political and economic fields was also urgent and accepted by the Ottoman administrators.⁷ So a political struggle that would continue from then on began in the country. The bureaucrats in the capitol became an important political power as they undertook the role of modernizing the Empire. On the one hand, they had to struggle against the traditional Ottoman Islamic society and its institutions, and, on the other hand, they had to fight against the Western states' imperialistic goals. In other words, the political incidents were the outcome of the struggle of not only internal but also external forces, a struggle that continued until the foundation of the Turkish Republic.⁸

⁴ Carter V. Findley. 1980. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p. 42.

⁵ Dankwart A. Rustow. "The Modernization of Turkey in Historical and Comparative Perspective" in ed. K. H. Karpat, *Social Change and Politics in Turkey* (London: Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 94.

⁶ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 87.

⁷ Serif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1991), pp. 13-14.

⁸ Metin Heper, *Bureaucracy in the Ottoman Turkish State: An Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition* (Michigan: Syracuse University, 1971), pp. 118–123.

At first, the sultans hoped to meet the growing Western challenge simply by creating a modern army. But by the nineteenth century, the ruling classes realized that they could not withstand Western pressure by military means alone. To do so, they knew they had to create a modern political, social, and economic structure of which the modern army was but one part. The sultan had to be persuaded to give up his absolute powers and recognize that his subjects should enjoy certain fundamental rights and freedoms. This was partially accomplished by the imperial charters of 1839 and 1856 and by the constitution of 1876.⁹

The Ottoman reforms of the nineteenth century are thus of pivotal importance, not only for the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, but also for the entire history of the administrative tradition of the Islamic world. These reforms are significant in a larger sense as well. If we except Russia, whose traditional culture had much in common with that of the West, the Ottomans come to the fore as the first modernizing society of the non-Western world and one of the few such societies to retain any degree of independence during the nineteenth-century age of imperialism. In view of the Ottomans' geographic position and the level of their interaction with Europeans in all periods of their history, theirs, too, is an exceptional situation. But their experiences during a century and a third of administrative reform must have implications for the study of the efforts of other peoples the world over, who have launched comparable efforts, only more recently, at times under even less promising circumstances and often without any resource equal to the indigenous tradition that the Ottomans left behind them.¹⁰

1. Tanzimat Decree and Islahat Edict

The most important milestones in the Westernization movement in the Ottoman Empire were the announcement of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839 and

⁹ Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. USA: Routledge, p 3.

¹⁰ Carter V. Findley. 1980. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p. 4.

the Islahat Edict in 1856. These two documents were important because they secured the rights of private property and were a guarantee of life security for individuals. The decrees also brought new laws and regulations into the judicial field by the enforcement of the Western Powers, but the possibility of forming a constitution, especially by the Sultan, from those decrees at the time was completely out of the question.

2. First Constitutional Period

The influence of the Western powers was increasing day by day. The Russians, Austrians, and Germans were competing for control of the Balkans. Although during the Tanzimat period, British policy shifted to helping maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the European countries were generally in a competition to gain the biggest portion of the gains from “the sick man of Europe.”¹¹ The decision to try to keep the Empire intact resulted in the birth of a new political action called Ottomanism, or the Young Ottoman Movement. Ottomanism was a political ideology that aimed to prevent the movements of some separatists and outside powers aimed at independence and autonomy for the Empire, by creating a concept, “being Ottoman,” among all ethnic nations and by reuniting all the subjects of the Empire under a new identity in which basic human rights were granted equally to all Ottoman citizens. By doing this, the Young Ottomanists thought they could stop ethnic groups from betraying the Empire. The Ottomanists were against the process of extreme Westernization; they supported the protection of Ottoman cultural and traditional institutions. The struggles of the Ottomanists resulted in the proclamation of a constitution in 1876.¹² A few years later, Sultan Abdulhamid II closed the assembly and suspended the constitution because of the Russian attack of 1877–78. Another political movement group that emerged at this time was the Young Turks, whose ideas were not much different than the ideas of the Young Ottomans. Both

¹¹ Tevfik Candar, *Osmanlıların Yarı Somurge Olusu*, (Istanbul: Ant, 1970), pp. 18-19.

¹² Serif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1991), pp. 87-93.

movements' main goal was to "rescue" the Ottoman Empire with a minimum of cost. But the concept of Turkish national identity was a bit more emphasized by the Young Turks than that of the other nations within the Empire. Fundamentally, they all wanted a constitutional monarchy.¹³

3. Second Constitutional Period: The Young Turk Revolution of 1908

The Unionists, members of the secret Ottoman Freedom Society or the CUP, founded in 1889, were also constitutionalists and supporters of a political regime similar to the one envisaged by the liberals. But they viewed the overthrow of the autocracy as only the first step toward the social and economic transformation that the constitutional government was expected to carry out. As though in a rush to make amends for the years lost by the Hamidian generation, the Young Turks experimented with virtually every sphere of life; hardly anything was left untouched. They not only changed the political system but also attempted to refashion society by borrowing more freely from the West than ever before.¹⁴

Actually, at that time, all of Anatolia was in chaos because of tax revolts and demonstrations. As a result, the Sultan, whose authority had already been undermined by the failure of the military commanders to maintain discipline in the military, had no choice but to accept the revolution. This extraordinary and successful revolution was organized by the Young Turks, including Enver, Talat, Cavid, Hakki, and Cemal, and was locally established in Salonica and Monastir.¹⁵

a. Origins and Causation

The pressure leading up to the restoration of the 1876 Constitution in 1908 was exerted primarily by intellectuals, not least those among the military,

¹³ Serif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1991), pp. 95-98.

¹⁴ Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. USA: Routledge p 34

¹⁵ Kemal Karpat, "The Memoirs of N. Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1975).

so it emerged as overwhelmingly military in character. In fact, the reproclamation itself on 23–24 July was the direct result of actions by military officers. It was a transition period from Empire to nation-state; therefore, the military was propelled once again into the center of the political arena. The most important result was the transfer of power to the armed forces, a transfer that conformed with the continuity of the Turkish military tradition. When closely examined, the political aspects of the civil-military relations are revealed in the various forms and motivations of the military's consciously political acts as well as in the nature of the politicization of the officer corps. From that standpoint, the focus here will be on the significant role that the military played in the Young Turk era and the way it set the scene for the transformation from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic.¹⁶

The revolution of 1908 was a corroboration of the ideas and activities of a handful of idealists who leaned upon the military for its prompt and smooth execution. Meanwhile, the joyous and eager royalist crowds, including large groups of equally enthusiastic students, saw fit to exercise their new freedom by daily and nightly untrammelled demonstrations of loyalty to the House of Osman, in the streets of Istanbul and before the gates of Yildiz Palace, with the slogan "Long live the Sultan!" They evidently had a meager comprehension both of what had actually happened and of what was still in the process of unfolding.¹⁷

b. Organization of the Ottoman Freedom Society (CUP)

The Ottoman Freedom Society, later known as the CUP, was designed to ultimately create an organization capable of penetrating every level of the state administration, from village to province. Membership in the CUP spread rapidly, particularly among the officer corps of the Second and Third

¹⁶ Turfan, M.Naim. 2000. Rise of the Young Turks. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd., pp. 133-4.

¹⁷ Turfan, M.Naim. 2000. Rise of the Young Turks. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd., p. 144.

Armies, based in Salonica and Edirne, and of the navy. In 1908, at the time of the proclamation of the constitution, two thirds of the Salonica-branch memberships were officers.¹⁸

When the CUP came to power, the Western powers were trying to share the Ottoman lands among themselves. The aim of the Young Turks was to save the empire. During this period, nationalist movements in the Balkan countries were emerging as a result of the Ottomanist policies of the Young Turks. Thus it was obvious to the CUP that saving the Empire through an Ottoman identity was no longer valid. Before World War I, Turkism and nationalism were part of the official ideology of the CUP, although at first they had had liberal and moderate ideas.¹⁹

B. COLLAPSE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The army's role in the final years of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the national state was critical. But it must be noted that this situation was in the process of constant change, at first reflecting the policies of the ruling elite, and later the tensions of a society in decline. Junior officers and civil servants joined the anti-Hamidian movement under the umbrella of the secret CUP. Their aim was to overthrow the Hamidian autocracy and restore the constitution shelved in 1878. That is what the revolution of 1908 accomplished. But this was only intended as a prelude to a social revolution designed to place the lower middle class, to which most Young Turks belonged, in a position of power and influence within the new regime. They differed from the senior officers who, like the high bureaucrats, wanted only a constitutional monarchy and had no desire to see Turkish society undergo a social revolution.²⁰

¹⁸ A.L. Macfie, *The End of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), p. 28.

¹⁹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 209-210.

²⁰ Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. USA: Routledge p 4

1. Causes

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was one of the biggest in the world in terms of its population and land, but its institutions and organizations were incapable of supporting its integrity.²¹ The traditional economic structure of the Ottoman Empire was dependent on agriculture, ranch work, and trade. There was no open-economy policy on the agenda of the Empire. In contrast, the Empire was facing wars, a lack of education, a lack of knowledge about the new economic policies, inconvenience in its transportation systems, a bad climate, and widespread domestic insecurity. Those were the main obstacles to better productivity. So farmers did not produce any more than was sufficient for their own needs. This, in turn, negatively affected development in agriculture.²² On the other hand, a spectacular development in agriculture could be seen in Europe. New scientific methods were being applied in every field. The industrialization movement had begun, so machines were used instead of human beings. Another factor, domestic and international trade was done under the supervision of the state. By contrast, in the Ottoman Empire there were many rules that were not applied and smuggling seemed unavoidable. Another obstacle to progress in the Ottoman modernization movement was the desire of the state to secure the domestic status quo. Emre Kongar, for example, notes the following: "The social policy of the Empire aimed to keep every citizen in his proper place in society and the goal of the state was not to let anyone change the current order. Since the Empire was doing this consciously, the administrators were not following mercantilist policies purposely."²³

The internal dynamics and main cause of the Ottoman collapse were political struggles between the local administrators and the capitol. The local

²¹ Musa Cadirci, *Tanzimat Doneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapilari* (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Press, 1991), p. 3.

²² Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 25-26.

²³ Emre Kongar, *Imparatorluktan Gunumuze Turkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapisi* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1992), p. 54.

administrators wanted to sustain their political positions by using their economic power, as happened in Egypt during the Mohammed Ali period. The administrators gained power after the destruction of the traditional Ottoman fief system. They began to permanently control lands that were formerly considered as state property, endowed to them under the framework of the fief system. As a result, they achieved a semifeudal position, despite the fact that they were not as powerful as their counterparts in Europe. With this power, they challenged the authority of the Sultan and began to struggle against the Sultan.²⁴

2. Consequences

The Ottoman Empire found that the tendency toward Westernization was becoming extreme in the particular. The intelligentsia intended to bring in not only the new technology but also the new organizations and institutions. With such an orientation, they made changes in their daily lives, their general outlook, and their cultural and social activities. This situation led to severe reactions from religious people and some intellectuals.²⁵ Some of the Anatolian people reacted to these changes not only at that time, but also during the new Turkish Republic period. Obviously, some people were rushing to join the new world order, while others attempted to prevent the state from reaching a contemporary-civilization level and presented obstacles against the new rules. Turkey is still trying to win the modernization struggle with uneducated and undereducated people.

3. The Ottoman Response

The main aim of the political renovations realized by the Ottoman bureaucracy was to rescue the empire and to stop the increasing riots and rebellions that resulted from nationalist ideas inspired by the French revolution and from the demands of the strengthening notables. The bureaucrats wanted to

²⁴ Kemal Karpaz, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908", in ed. Metin Heper, *Reading in Turkish Politics* (Bogazici University Publications). pp. 83-84.

²⁵ Serif Mardin, "Tanzimattan Sonra Asiri Batililasma" in eds: E. Kalaycioglu and A. Y. Saribay, *Turk Siyasal Hayatinin Gelismesi* (Istanbul: Beta Press, 1986), pp. 61-63.

reestablish a central authority. Despite the changes in the political trends, this idea continued to be the basic argument of the Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats until the foundation of the Turkish Republic.²⁶

In a context in which the Ottoman Empire was beginning to lose its stand against the Western powers, it became evident that trying to permanently solve the problems within the system was impossible. Indeed, they had deep internal roots; therefore, external remedies were examined for a possible solution. This meant a basic shift for the Ottoman administration, since up to that time all the problems were attached to the idea that the rules of the system were not being sufficiently exercised.²⁷

Ottoman intellectuals put forward several political views and realized several renovations with the purpose of “rescuing the Ottoman Empire from decline.” The hard core of these ideas was the integration of Western technology into a traditional, cultural, institutionalized Islamic social order that had been in existence for centuries. That type of modernization was defined as “defensive modernization,” or “limited Westernization.”²⁸ The limited and defensive rescuing efforts did not help to rescue the Ottomans from their constricted situation. Because of this, Mustafa Kemal started a rescue-the-state mission that was based on agreed goals defined and accepted by the Grand National Assembly (Misak-I Milli).

C. OTTOMANISM, TURKISM AND ISLAMISM

Turkish nationalism had been the most retarded nationalist movement in the Ottoman Empire and only emerged with the Union and Progress Party, after

²⁶ Kemal Karpat, “The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908”, p. 86.

²⁷ Sukru Hanioglu, “Baticilik”, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Turkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Iletisim, 1985), vol. 5, p. 1382.

²⁸ Metin Heper, *Bureaucracy in the Ottoman Turkish State: An Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition* (Michigan: Syracuse University, 1971), pp. 97.

the Empire had almost been dissolved. As Ziya Gokalp put it, "Turkism could be strengthened by filling the patterns of Western civilization with Turkish Culture."²⁹

The preparation of the Young Turk movements attracted some intellectuals to give their attention to uniting the nation. One of those intellectuals, Yusuf Akcura, whose group was a predecessor of the Turkish History Association, was working on three chief political paths at the beginning of the twentieth century: Ottomanism, being an Ottoman nation through the unification and representation of different groups subject to the Ottoman government; Islamism, a political unity of all Muslims under the government's management via the Caliphate title; Turkism, the formation of a Turkish political nationality based on race. Given Akcura's conclusions about Ottomanism, the Muslims, and especially the Ottoman Turks, the non-Muslims, the Russian and Balkan governments, and the Europeans did not want a combination nationalism. An Islamic collective was not possible. Though the internal obstacles were easily surmountable, the external obstacles were extremely powerful. Islam had lost the unity of almost all its concepts since the Persians had risen to claim their rights as much as the Arabs. In unifying the Turks, the nonreligious Turks would unify more tightly than the religious Turks; Muslims would be assimilated more to Turkishness; and the groups that did not have a national consciousness could also be Turkified.³⁰ But Akcura could not find an answer to his question, "Which policy is better for the Ottoman state?" At that time, 1904, however, he opted for a secular Turkism based on actual variables.

Another intellectual at the time, Ziya Gokalp, as a political philosopher, had deeply affected the intelligentsia of both the Unionist and the Kemalist periods. Gokalp supported a Turkish nationalism based on cultural unity instead

²⁹ Emre Kongar, "Turkey's Cultural Transformation," in Günsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter, eds., *The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy* (The Kingston Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1986).

³⁰ Yusuf Akcura, *Uc Tarz-ı Siyaset: Three Kinds of Politics* (translated by Barak Salmoni).

of racist views.³¹ Because of the reasonableness of his thinking, Ziya Gokalp became the ideological father of Mustafa Kemal. Borrowing from Gokalp, Mustafa Kemal emphasized the word “Turk” to unite the nation. He defined “Turks” as “people who live in Turkey.”

During the Tanzimat period, “Ottomanism” became state policy. In the past, this policy had failed because the non-Muslim nations of the Empire continued their separatist activities and demanded their independence. Later, Sultan Abdül-hamid tried to establish an ideal of pan-Islamism to salvage at least the Muslim part of the Empire, but the rise of nationalism among the Muslim people was unstoppable, especially among the Arabs. Then the idea of pan-Turkism emerged, and during the First World War it also was tried as the state policy.

Mustafa Kemal's nationalism, however, is not based on race; it is limited to the boundaries of the Turkish Republic and is open to all citizens living in Turkey. Kemal thought this was a quick and practical solution to the unification problem: it would create a new identity and a new culture for the people living in the Turkish Republic and would cut its ties with the undesirable aspects of the Ottoman Empire. Now the peoples of the new Republic would be unified around “Turkishness,” which, as defined by Atatürk, emphasizes being a Turkish citizen. There is no relevant connection to the origins of Turkey's constituent people. For Kemal, being a Turk is citizenship, rather than race; his nationalist philosophy disregards differences in race and religion. Mustafa Kemal, strengthened the concept of nationhood by the phrase “Happy is the one who can call himself a Turk.”

D. THE WAR OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Had the Greek army not invaded Anatolia in May 1919, the Sultan might have succeeded in regaining his former powers. But the invasion and the

³¹ Niyazi Berkes, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1959), pp.76-79.

threatened partition of the country led to the rise of spontaneous resistance everywhere. Former Unionists, now describing themselves as “nationalists,” began to assume the leadership of the resistance movements. The old regime was totally demoralized and incapable of leading the resistance to imperialism. The Sultan seemed willing to have his fate decided by the Great Powers in Paris, as long as they gave him a state to rule, no matter how truncated. That is why he accepted the Treaty of Sevres in August 1920, though it was disliked by the Turkish masses and rejected unconditionally by the nationalists.³²

The army had a dilemma. After the collapse of the Unionist government most of the officers followed the Sultan, expecting him to lead the struggle for Turkey’s rights. But they switched their loyalty to the nationalist cause led by Mustafa Kemal when they saw that Vahdettin was collaborating with the British and acquiescing to the partition of Anatolia. The Turkish army’s loyalty to the throne had already been undermined by Unionist policies in favor of patriotism; thus, given the circumstances of post-war Turkey, the army naturally opted for a patriotic nationalist identity rather than the traditional dynastic one. The army made a vital contribution to the national struggle, but there was still no consensus as to the kind of regime that should be created after the victory. Some officers wanted to retain the constitutional monarchy and the religious institution, the Caliphate. There was even talk of seeking an American mandate for Turkey. But given the wartime developments resulting in the emergence of a Turkish bourgeoisie, however small and immature, those proposals were anachronistic. There was now a sufficient social base for establishing a secular republic, for only such a regime could guarantee rapid progress toward modernity.³³

E. KEMALIST IDEOLOGY

In one speech, Mustafa Kemal specifically commented on what might loosely be called the political aspects of Ottoman civil-military relations. “As long

³² M. Naim Turfan. 2000. *Rise of The Young Turks* (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co.), p. 8.

³³ M. Naim Turfan, 2000. *Rise of The Young Turks* (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co.), p. 8.

as members of the military remain in the Committee, neither shall we set up a party nor shall we have a military. The Third Army, the majority of whose members are members of the Committee, cannot be called a modern army in today's meaning of the word. The committee leaning upon the military is not able to take root in the body of the nation. Therefore, before everything, let us by means of resignations take out from the military those officers whose services are needed in the Committee and those members of the military who wish to remain in the Committee, and let us from now on institute statutory regulations in order to prevent the entry of officers and members of the military into any political society.”³⁴

Mustafa Kemal never wanted to politicize the military, by any means. To isolate the government soldiers from partisan movements, Kemal disengaged the military from partisan politics, letting the officers assume a kind of autonomous position and giving them in return a commanding role. This allowed the military the freedom to act in concert, independent of the supposedly competitive partisan struggle for power. Mustafa Kemal's turn was to come later, under different circumstances and in a radically different political process that would transform his goals into decisions. Indeed, when he had the chance, he summoned all his supporters to participate in correcting and redressing the disorder that had disturbed society. Mustafa Kemal never sided with the military regime; to the contrary, he always wanted to civilianize the military regime. M. Naim Turfan describes the Kemalist concern for the militarized politics as disastrous. Last, but not least, is the view that Mustafa Kemal feared an undermining of the discipline and therefore the fighting capacity of the armed forces, should its members act in factions in order to serve their parties first. Correct though such a fear later proved to be, this view (to which many scholars continue to subscribe) ignores a junior officer's concern for the formation of a political party and, more revealingly, his making it his business how this

³⁴ Turfan, M.Naim. 2000. Rise of The Young Turks. New York: I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd. p 28.

prospective party should be able “to take root in the body of the nation,” for it treats the issue stripped of its historical setting.³⁵

The ideology of Kemalism is a nonstop, dynamic, and forward-looking idealism for Turkey. Actually, it was Mustafa Kemal's formula for Turkey to continuously adapt itself to advanced civilization levels; but anyone who wants to use this ideology for another nation can benefit from the actual outcome. In spite of the encouragement given Turkey to reach the level of modern states at the time, the ideology must be used and renewed forever, because Mustafa Kemal's goal of reaching a contemporary modern level is an endless process. However, most Turkish people today do not understand what must be done to attain membership in the E.U. Struggling against democracy and secularism in the name of Kemalist Turkey cannot be an option for Turkish people. If we hear that kind of contradiction, then it will be necessary to reexamine Turkey's educational levels. Although Turkey has many Western-oriented intellectuals, there are also lots of uneducated and easily deceivable people throughout the country. If all the Turkish people understood Kemalism and the necessity for it correctly, Turkey would have been accepted by the E.U. much earlier.

1. Kemalist Modernization

Kemalist modernization must be a continuous movement, a pursuit of progress, keeping up with and even surpassing the advanced level of other civilizations, not falling behind and being humiliated by anyone. By basing his ideology on Western norms, Mustafa Kemal implemented a political revolution and a social, educational, and cultural reformation.

Reactions against the modernization process of Mustafa Kemal both during those early days and today generate the same kinds of problems for the Turkish Republic. Although Kemal tried and succeeded in changing the society to one based on Western norms, some groups still get a reactionary response from

³⁵ Turfan, M.Naim. 2000. Rise of The Young Turks. New York: I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd. p 23.

those who do not want any Western influence on their daily lives. Most of those who reacted to the modernization movement in the beginning were not well educated, and reacted from a mob psychology led by an ignorant person. Turkey never stopped its modernization process. Today, the question, What keeps some people from siding with the modernization movement, is a question for the intellectuals to answer. Education could be both the answer to their concerns and salvation for Turkey against the resistance actions.

The reforms of the Young Turk years had a great deal to do with preparing the traditional bureaucratic system for a continuing life in the new republican setting. To fully appreciate the significance of those reforms we must consider them not just in the context of their own time, however, but also from the broader perspective of the entire era of reform.³⁶ From that point of view, the Republic of Turkey, with all its institutions, concepts, and new systems, was not established in the short term. It was established gradually as people got used to living by the new rules step-by-step. Like other developed civilizations that continue to improve themselves, Turkey continues its modernization process.

The core idea of Kemalism is a united, independent country that is secular (a separation of state and religion), has republican principles, and implements modernization for the creation of a society without classes or ethnicities. Mustafa Kemal's movement was designed as nonstop progress, a dynamic adaptation to an advanced civilization level.

The "unionization" of the army was a major event in the history of modern Turkey. The old regime was neutralized politically and the contradictions that existed between the government and its army were removed. Both institutions passed into the hands of the Turkish lower middle class, and therefore both were able for the first time to support the same program of reform. As a result of the

³⁶ Carter V. Findley. 1980. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p 336

reforms implemented during the war, reforms that touched almost every aspect of society, by 1918 the Unionists were able to boast that they had brought Turkey into the age of capitalism.³⁷

Most Turkish people do not understand the meaning and all the implications of Kemalism, because it is not accurately and thoroughly studied and taught to the current and coming generations. The Turkish education system fails to explain to the nation the reasons for and the main goals of the political, social, educational, and cultural reforms, in short, the principles of Kemalism. The younger generation has become fed up with being taught merely the historical dates in the formation of the Republic, instead of the reasons for, main objectives of, and deeper implications of the events, and consequently, the fundamental reforms.

2. The Early Turkish Republic

The early years of the Turkish Republic were not easy years for the people. The national modernization process, from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire to the birth of a new republic, the creation of a new society and culture, was not an easy process, even for Mustafa Kemal, a military leader who was also a political genius. Kemal's precognition guided the nationalist movement and brought an end to outside invasion. He then implemented a revolutionary path for the reform of the imperial traditions by adopting a democratic, secular, and modern order inspired by the West.

3. Turkey's Westernization Process

Turkey's type of government and fundamental structure differ from all other predominantly Islamic countries. In Turkey the Kemalist revolution put in place an explicitly secularist political system that limited the public expression of religious faith. Although there is an Islamic party in charge right now, Turkey has

³⁷Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. The making of modern Turkey. USA: Routledge p 7

been faced with Islamists before and perhaps will be in the future. But no one can do anything against the secularist state. The ideology of Kemalism emphasizes that Turkey is a modern, developing European state. Not only the military, but also the nation, sees the military as the guardian of both the regime and the Kemalist ideology. Most of the Turkish people favor military intervention if the secularist state should fail. That does not mean that the military always has the right to influence politics, but the military does have a right to protect the democratic, secular, modern republic in all ways. The Westernizing of Turkey is not merely a passing vogue. As it was vital in the past, it will remain so in the future.

In the stipulations of the constitution, Article I states: “The Turkish state is a Republic.” Article II determines that: “The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law; bearing in mind the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice; respecting human rights; loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk, and based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the Preamble.” Article III refers to the integrity of the state under the following headings: Official Language, Flag, National Anthem, and Capital. Article IV defines certain irrevocable provisions: “The provision of Article I of the Constitution establishing the form of the state as a Republic, the provisions in Article II on the characteristics of the Republic, and the provision of Article III shall not be amended, nor shall their amendment be proposed.”³⁸ The armed forces have the right and the obligation to do everything to protect these articles of the constitution. If someone complains about a military intervention, not only in coups, but also for policy reasons, he should look at the concepts of the government, where he will find qualifying factors to the general principles of the constitution. Because, in Turkey, military intervention has a specific purpose

³⁸ The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, “The constitution of the Republic of Turkey” Available online at <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/english/constitution.htm> (accessed 04/10/2005)

other than taking over the government management system, Turkey is very similar to Western countries that provide for military intervention in certain circumstances.

After inspiring national pride and unity, and eliminating the sovereignty of religion and giving it to the people, Atatürk simply wanted them to take their lives and their future into their own hands. Being mortal, he could not carry them forever, as he made clear: "Today's success only opened the way to advancement and modernization. We did not yet reach that goal. Our and our children's duty is to advance without stop. We should not be satisfied with reaching a given goal; we should always work to go further. . . . Success on the road to modernization depends on renewal. This is the only means of progress for succeeding in social and economic life, in science and technology."³⁹ The quote shows Kemal's emphasis on a nonstop modernization movement.

Today, many people in Turkey still expect salvation from Mustafa Kemal; they do not understand that Mustafa Kemal was, after all, only a man. If the Turkish people would stop miscalculating and instead continue to implement what is needed to perpetuate the Kemalist ideology, then we might say that there is possibly salvation from Mustafa Kemal. Otherwise, they will be waiting for nothing. Kemal Atatürk did not want to be idolized; he wanted Turks to follow his path, to work hard to reach contemporary levels of civilization. Although he emphasized the people's sovereignty and freedom, some still search for a leader and expect salvation from that envisioned leadership. Only one institution in Turkey, the Turkish Armed Forces, seems to realize that there are no more Mustafa Kemals and that the people are now the leader. This key Kemalist concept is emphasized in the military schools, which is why the Armed Forces are the guarantors of the system.

³⁹ Atatürk Society of America, "Understanding Kemalism" Available online at <http://www.ataturksociety.org/asa/voa/kemalizm.html> (accessed 03/04/2005)

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III. TURKEY'S EFFORTS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

A. INTRODUCTION

Since its first application to the European Union, Turkey has been eager to be a member. Because of that desire to be part of that Western organization, Turkey tried to adapt itself and its citizens to E.U. requirements. For the adaptation process, especially for the last two years, Turkey replaced the inappropriate implementations of its governmental and social systems (actually, almost everything) with new ones. Though a date was given of December 2004 for an evaluation of Turkey's improvements, Turkey has to do still more to become a member.

Although Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's definition of Turkey is different than the present one, Turkey is becoming a more Kemalist state day by day. Indeed, the E.U.'s areas of concern about Turkey and Turkey's areas of differentiation from Kemalist reforms are very similar. Because keeping up with advanced civilizations is one of the main goals of Kemalism, Turkey should have implemented those laws already. But Turkey has been occupied for some years with internal issues, instead of trying to catch up with Western civilizations. Nonetheless, Turkey has impressed not only the E.U., but also other countries, by the modifications it has made and its attitude toward E.U. membership.

Democracy in Turkey has been developing day by day since the inception of the Republic. Its national goal is to have a transparent democracy throughout the country. Kemal established the state with the power of the people's sovereignty and tried to explain the benefits of democracy to a people who had never experienced democracy before. During the last few years especially, the civil-military relations in Turkey became more like those in Western countries. Kemalism stresses that professionalism in the military is indispensable for both the military and the government, because a politicized military can neither do its job nor handle political party issues. From that point of view, for the sake of the state's future, the uniformed services should resist being political.

The Turkish people distorted the Kemalist ideology by ignoring corruption in the religious parties and political institutions, by giving up their sovereignty, and by giving permission to outside influences to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs. The Turkish people must be educated about what Kemalism is and what its intentions are. Employing nongovernmental organizations to transform the whole country to a school and to train the people for the country's future is as important now as it was in the 1920s when Mustafa Kemal was establishing the state. It is important to give the right ideas about Kemalism while teaching the people how to improve their living standards. For example, they should be told that Kemalist nationalism is not based on a concept of ethnic backgrounds. And secularism does not mean being nonreligious, but rather, is a relegation of the religious concepts and practices away from the public sphere to peoples' private lives: a complete separation between governmental issues and religious issues. Turkishness is not about origin; it is about feeling.

With these kinds of educational and training programs, if the people unite to support the idea of becoming a Westernized modern state and achieving prosperity, then the European Union will accept Turkey as a member without hesitation.

B. POLITICAL ISSUES

Ever since its inception the Turkish Republic has demonstrated an impressive record of progress in the name of modernization, or Westernization, especially during the Ataturk period. Whether that progress could have been achieved at that time in a less authoritarian manner is a matter for debate, according to some. Michael Gunter notes, for example, that, "despite his authoritarian legacy, Ataturk inspired the Turkish people with his vision of a modern, secular, independent, and ultimately democratic Turkey."⁴⁰ Marvin Howe points out that "for over half a century Turkey has developed democratic

⁴⁰ Michael M. Gunter, *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 7.

institutions, which, although flawed, provide hope and channels for change. There are real political parties and generally free elections, a judiciary that often corrects political actions, a powerful, vocal press, independent labor unions and management associations, and a broad array of nongovernmental organizations, including human rights groups that dare to denounce official abuses.”⁴¹ Turkey made many adjustments in a wide variety of areas, not only in the legislative, judiciary, and executive systems, but also in the areas of human rights, political-party regulations, and transparency in government.

Stephen Kinzer’s view is that, “unlike many of those who today claim his mantle, Mustafa Kemal eagerly grasped the opportunities presented by a rapidly changing world. He understood that Turkey can become modern only by embracing modern values. It is in his true image, not in the distorted one promoted by the modern Kemalist elite, that the new Turkey must be shaped.”⁴² Howe to some extent shares the view that “for all their good intentions, the military have weakened Turkish democracy by their regular interventions and constant supervision. They should show their faith in Ataturk’s revolution.”⁴³ Although Turkey once faced coups, today Turkey has advanced beyond those kinds of interventions. After the 1997 “soft” coup, many said that the “Turkish Armed Forces had learned how to intervene.” Today, the armed forces have changed their vision from that of coup planners to that of advisors to the government. And their type of advice-giving has also changed, from one of compulsion to one of requests. General Chief of Staff Ozkok supports the idea of democracy and civilian control over the military in all cases except situations that indicate an intention to interfere with the secular type of government. With this kind of military approach, Ozkok supported government programs that include

⁴¹ Marvine Howe, *Turkey Today: A Nation Divided over Islam’s Revival*, (Boulder, Colorado:Westview Press, 2000), p. 88.

⁴² Stephen Kinzer, *Crescent and Star: Turkey between Two Worlds*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), p. 50-51.

⁴³ Marvine Howe, *Turkey Today: A Nation Divided over Islam’s Revival*, (Boulder, Colorado:Westview Press, 2000), p. 249.

the military in the process to fulfill E.U. requirements. Generals now hold live press conferences.⁴⁴ Sabri Sayari explains that “Turkey has shown a basic commitment to democratic institutions and processes. . . . Nevertheless, the democratization process that began in the late 1940s has not yet resulted in the consolidation of Turkish democracy. The complex tasks of strengthening political institutions and increasing accountability, implementing the much needed constitutional and political reforms, and limiting the military’s role in politics still lie ahead.”⁴⁵ Actually, Ozkok’s approach to these kinds of concerns helped the government to change numerous regulations and similar sorts of problems. After the 2002 elections, although the oppositional party did not act against regulations pertaining to the E.U., being the majority party in the parliament gave the AKP government the ability to act confidently. Ozkok’s approach is based on Ataturk’s methodology of civil-military relations. Ataturk strictly supported the professional military’s not being involved in political issues. But being apolitical does not mean that the government can do whatever it wants; some important and sensitive issues, such as secularism and republicanism, are still monitored by the military, as is stipulated in the constitution.

1. Education

Ataturk realized the importance of education, which he expressed many times, even before the War of Independence. During the war, he removed occupancy to establish a powerful, modern, and democratic state. Ataturk worked hard and always taught any new applications to everybody, especially those closest to him. Thus, he was called “head teacher.” He knew that after the war, there would be a different, harder war to fight, against illiteracy and reactionism, waiting for him. He knew that if his success in the martial and political arenas was not supported by economic and cultural success, the new

⁴⁴ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, “Ozkok: Reformcu General” Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/02/23/son/sondun09.html> (accessed 02/25/2005)

⁴⁵ Sabri Sayari, “Conclusion” in Sabri Sayari and Yilmaz Esmer, (ed.), *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 183-184.

state would not be able to find a place in the international arena. He believed in the crucial importance of education to progress. Atatürk's new state regime was based on two principles: being a nation-state and modernism. Consequently, in keeping with Atatürk's principles and reforms, education should be Westernized throughout the country.

Nation-states owe their future existence to the present young generation and that generations' faith. In the Republic of Turkey, especially, because it is still struggling to break with the past, the people should support the new system's attempts to train a new generation suitable for it. Atatürk thought that other states' education systems could be adopted to give the coming generation faith in Turkey as a nation-state.

At the time, it was necessary for citizens, who loved their country, to be taught modern science and to become sophisticated intellectuals. Kemalism opposes the notion of educating only one class of people and commending the state to that class. Mustafa Kemal aimed to establish a notion of transforming the whole country to a big school and educating everybody everywhere. If the transformation to the new education system had been region by region, there would have been disintegration among the people. Therefore, the progression in education took place all over the country and in a very short time. Kemal believed that while the statesmen would provide the maintenance of the homeland and would raise the state's level to that of more developed states, the citizens should be educated, to ease the statesmen's job and to make living standards better.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the Ottomans had established modern schools and brought in foreign teachers, that was not enough for the state. Those transformations and the increased number of schools were not enough to fulfill the people's educational needs; they could not prevent the Empire's collapse. In addition to a lack of Ottoman intellectuals, the foreign- and minority-school alumni's different worldviews ended the alliance among intellectuals about the idea of saving the state.

After signing the Mondros Armistice, the Empire faced being torn apart by the foreign intervention. So, Turkish intellectuals started to think about solutions for the country. Halide Edip Adivar, a well-known Turkish author, was the first Turkish student to graduate from the American College for Girls. She worked with Hamdullah Suphi, president of the Turkishness Club founded in 1912 for the National Independence movement, and took action also with Ziya Gokalp and Yusuf Akcura. Though she was one of the intellectuals leading people to take action for the national Turkish movement, she thought that the only way to rescue the Empire was by a mandate of the United States. The only way open to the Ottoman relief-seeking groups was to place the state under a U.S. mandate, and thus gain the protection of a large, but not a colonist, state. Thus, at the end of 1918, Halide Edip founded the Association of Wilson Principles. In addition, she tried to convince intellectual groups such as journalists and executives while she also kept meeting with American officials. Halide Edip Adivar was one of the intellectuals with whom Mustafa Kemal kept in touch after he moved to Anatolia. She determined in a letter to Kemal that the only way to save the state was to be under a mandate of the United States and detailed how this could be generated. She worked hard to convince state representatives to decide for the mandate idea in the Sivas Congress. However, she was the only person around Mustafa Kemal who spoke English, and so, after the Republic of Turkey's establishment, it was she who informed the Americans about the new Turkey. It seems, then, that even the Turkish intellectuals of that period who worked for independence could make totally wrong decisions about the Turkish nation! Mustafa Kemal never discriminated as to the gender of participants in any area. If one compares Halide Edip with other women of the same class and religion at the beginning of the twentieth century, one quickly realizes the significance of Halide Edip Adivar for Mustafa Kemal.

Mustafa Kemal worked for a completely independent and democratic republic, and, despite considerable pressure, never made concessions about democracy. For Kemal, the essential issue was the education of the people, and

thus, the newborn Republic of Turkey and the people's sovereignty were established on that basis. There is an old saying related to this issue—"a chain is as strong as its weakest ring"—the entire populace must be educated. The Institutes of Villages, which are responsible for education in rural areas, were established for the same reason. The reformation of the alphabet is only one example of Atatürk's radical ideas. To make the new education system nationwide, providing uniqueness in education all over the country, he issued Article 430, Unification of Education, on March 3, 1924. With this law he provided that both genders would have the same right to education, at the same time and in the same place. Kemal also believed that the better public education was, the higher the state's economic standards would be.

Today, some groups are trying to organize the Turkish people around different ideas opposed to national education. Though some groups' provocations have not been successful, they create uneasiness in the populace, which makes Turkey seem insecure and inappropriate for E.U. attendance. While the provocations do not affect the educated classes, the uneducated are more easily agitated. Consequently, those actions have negatively affected Turkey's prestige in the international arena.

To avoid such provocations and the resulting uneasiness, the whole country must once again be treated like a big school. The Ministry of Education should issue regulations that include even clothing standards. The government should make education a priority for its own prosperity. Students should not be obligated to go to schools that are not appropriate for their skills. The number of graduates must be more equal to the number of needed employees. In other words, unemployed graduate students are costing the state too much.

2. Religion

During the establishment of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal examined all intellectual and practical questions thoroughly and discussed the issues with farsightedness. While he stressed the values of Islam as needed, he also based

the principals of the state on democracy, which meant, in effect, not binding the national will to religion. His basic supportive reforms provided that public and official institutions be modernized based on international norms. Mustafa Kemal used verses from the Koran and traditional references in speeches fully explaining his reforms to the public, using his affluent religious background to encourage the religious segment of the public to share his reforms. He did this also to show that religious bigots and ignorant groups would not improve themselves by following the ways of Puritanism.

An article in *Le Point*, a weekly magazine published in France, asserts that Islam poses a threat for Europe and that Turkey, a so-called Trojan horse, is trying to join the European Union.⁴⁶ However, in another issue of the same magazine, Turks are stressed as being “Europeans.”⁴⁷ Actually, the latter article is enough to disproof the former. Turkey has been secular since the day it was established and it will always be secular. The Turkish Armed Forces, indomitable defenders of Kemalism, maintain that secularism. In a statement in the Egyptian newspaper *El Ahram* in Kahire, General Chief of Staff Hilmi Ozkok stressed his adherence to democracy and declared that the military would abstain from politics as long as the established principle of democracy, essentially secularism, was not affected. He added that opposing secularism and working against it is in vain.⁴⁸

According to Ataturk, religion is a conscience issue, providing a tranquil and peaceful life for humans. People are free to obey their conscience, but must respect one another's choices. Kemalism is only against practices that distort religion or intermingle religion with the work of the state. In Kemalist thinking, the

46 Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, Translated from the French daily newspaper Le Point, “Le Point'dan 'Avrupa'da İslam' dosyası: Türkiye İslam'ın truva atı mı?” Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com/2005/03/15/son/sondun38.html> (accessed 03/15/2005)

47 Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, “Türklerden daha Avrupalısı yok” Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com/2004/07/08/siyaset/siy01.html> (accessed 03/15/2005)

48 Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, “Ozkok: Reformcu General” Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/02/23/son/sondun09.html> (accessed 02/25/2005)

government does not represent an official religion. Individuals' religious beliefs should be completely separate from government works. Religion must not be used in politics.⁴⁹

Though Ataturk is criticized by some groups, his ideas should be the basis for Turkish international relations. Religion should be related to individuals, not to states or official policies. If the E.U. does not give Turkey access to attend the Union because of religious matters, that will show that Turkey has not yet reached the political level that was expressed in the ideas of Kemalism a century ago. Membership in the European Union will benefit not only Turkey but also Europe as a whole.

From another point of view, whether or not religion is a direct or indirect obstacle to Turkey's improvement, the accuracy of the Islamic representatives is questionable. Addressing Turkey as a religious state and likening it to the Trojan horse only confuses the issue. Turkey has never attempted to be the leader of Islam; it has always worked toward Westernization. Neither official nor unofficial sources include any idea specifying that Turkey considers itself a representative of Islam in Europe. Besides, Western countries have pointed to Turkey as a reference for Islamic countries because of the focus on secularism in Kemalist thought. The ideology of Kemalism does not support either the idea of representing Islam or the need to act for the religion.

In a speech in the Pasa Mosque in Balikesir on February 7, 1923, Ataturk expressed his belief in the excellence of Islam, but he separated the concept of being religious from the idea of Turkey's being a representative of Islam.⁵⁰ Ataturk pointed out that being a secularist is being neither nonreligious nor necessarily religious. In addition, he declared that religion should not be used in official government work. The Turkish Republic has great respect for religious

49 Official website of Turkish Armed Forces, "Ataturk Principles: Secularism" Available online at <http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/laik.html> (accessed 03/11/2005)

50 Ataturk's speech to The Grand National Assembly of Turkey at 10/15/1927 "Ataturk'un Soylev ve Demecleri", cilt2, S.93

people and leaders, as long as they do not change the structure of the state in following their religious paths. Because it is not easy to separate official work from religion, the government has often been criticized by religious groups. But if those groups truly understood the Kemalist philosophy and teaching of tolerance, there is no doubt that they would become the biggest defenders of Kemalism. In Turkey, the two opposing parties, the religious and the secularist, have created a factitious and inessential tension. Atatürk determined that secularism is the basis of a central principle, freedom of religion and conscience. He tried to explain that reactionism originates from superstitious beliefs and aberrant comments, not from religion itself. He added that those who use religion for their own benefit, such as for position, status, and profit, corrupt both the public and the religion itself.⁵¹ Atatürk was never a separatist; he was always politically consolidative and constitutive.

3. Turkish Identity

There is an obvious consensus among the intellectuals—from inside or outside the state—about the Turkish identity's complexity. For example, the implementation of democracy in Turkey is somehow different from that of other democratic states. This identity complexity is about not only democracy, but also religion, ethnic structures, and, most important, people's thoughts related to the executive branch of the state, especially two factors.

Some say that democracy in Turkey is shaky, but in the Middle East region, Turkey is a unique country: it has both democracy and Muslim population. On the other hand, because Turkey consists of a population from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, Muslims in Turkey differ from each other in their implementation of Islam. Everyone in Turkey can do whatever they want in respect to their lives and beliefs: nobody will do anything unless they become a threat to the regime or try to influence the masses against the regime or a

⁵¹ Bilim ve Arastirma Vakfi, "Atatürk ve Din" Available online at <http://www.bilimarastimavakfi.org/html2/yayinlar/ataturkvedin.html> (accessed 02/20/2005)

particular official institution. Some can be classified as extremists or as an Islamist threat to the regime because of their narrow-minded views, and some can be classified as a separatist threat because of their demand for the unification of all peoples whose ethnic roots are the same.

Ataturk was right in choosing democracy as a political system for Turkey: it was the best system for the Turkish people at that time, and still is. Establishing a democracy was not an easy process in those days, especially for a people who were used to living under the authority of the Sultanate. Ataturk tried to explain the importance of the people's authority as the legitimate power of the government. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and after the revolution in Russia, some people in Turkey attempted to establish a communist regime, so it was not easy to establish a multiparty system just after the establishment of the Republic. Therefore, Turkey did not fully actualize its multiparty system for years. And though Turkey now has a multiparty system, it is challenged by both Islamist and separatist groups, and still faces the threat of opposition from the groups mentioned above. Because of these problems, the vulnerable regime in Turkey is primarily supported and protected by the Turkish people who follow the Kemalist path, and, as a last-ditch maneuver, by the Turkish Armed Forces.

The only political system Turkey can accept is democracy; trying to establish any other type of regime is useless. Anyone who tries to change the regime will have pain, but no gain, because the Turkish Armed Forces are, according to the constitution, the legitimate protectors of the regime. Thus, the Turkish Armed Forces have a vital assignment: guarding the country against both internal and external threats. Some interpret that responsibility as a potential for intervention in government issues that therefore undermines democracy. But those who think like that do not know the extent and seriousness of the internal threats and the some parties' hatred of the democratic type of regime. Actually, people have the most privileges and the most freedom to live their lives as they want in a stable democracy. The provocateurs exploit uneducated or undereducated peoples' sensations to promote their agendas.

It has been more than two years since the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, but Operation Freedom in Iraq has not been able to establish even a shaky democracy, though most Iraqis hate Saddam and his regime. There is no need to explain the Iraqis' suffering for years under his dictatorial regime; on the other hand, some still do not want the Western powers to help them establish the democracy. Some are not happy with their future prospects and are trying to establish their own dynasty in Iraq. Maybe Turkey could be a model for Iraq, in respect to ways to protect a democracy from citizens who have opposing ideas. Having powerful and professional armed forces can foster a secure environment and therefore stability in the society's daily life.

C. DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW

1. The Regime

Mustafa Kemal expressed many times that democracy is the best political system for a state, and he was supported in all his actions by the public. Republicanism is another basic principle that Kemalism defends. However, despite parliament's all activities and the approval that it received during the first years of the Republic, some governmental organs and organizations were not yet established and thus there was not a complete and final change to a multiparty system. Establishing democracy in Turkey was neither easy nor sudden. Since the country was formed of groups of people with diverse cultural origins, each of which had its own demands, it was not so easy to explain to everybody what democracy is and how to make it work. The Republican People's Party was the political party that was most concerned to convince the people, who had never had voting rights before.

Mustafa Kemal continued to work to settle the issues of the multiparty system. He realized that people were not ready for that yet and that it would take time to establish a multiparty system in Turkey. He avoided struggling against the communist groups for the moment, because he was already so busy with

improving the country. Being totally against the communists would have only created another problem that would have prevented and prolonged the reformation process for that era. Building a multiparty system in Turkey was not only a historical event, but also an essential societal change in the country. Civic groups had to learn how to express themselves in supporting parties and issues in the political arena. This process colored political life, changed the relations among the different social groups, and increased the social dynamism. That dynamism was an important improvement in the political life of the country, but some opposing groups did not go along with it. Mustafa Kemal was aware of that and did not push the multiparty system too quickly, since that would have caused the opposition to be immediately polarized, which could have undermined the whole modernization and improvement process.

In a multiparty system, people have voting rights and can choose the representatives they prefer. The most important event during Turkey's adaptation to the new system occurred when the party in charge (the sole party during the whole period of the single-party system) left power and was replaced by the main opposition party, which was supported by the people. What this big change showed was that the democratic process would eventually settle down and be permanent. The Turkish people realized that democracy is not the kind of regime that belongs primarily to the elite social groups.

Kemalism made that possible. The Turkish nation-state is a Republic and will stay a Republic. No one can defeat the concepts of a secular and democratic republic regime within the minds of the populace. In attempting to do so, they would confront the constitution, the public, and the military, the dauntless defender of the regime.

Kemalism supports a multiparty system. Everybody has the same right to form a political party with supporters. But their goal cannot be to defeat the present regime. In adopting a democratic system and political party, Turkey did not completely adopt Western social and political life; it identified certain extended rights as wrong. Malevolent groups sometimes use democracy for their

own benefit. The Turkish system has its own constitution. In following that constitution, it has its own rules for struggling against those malevolent groups. Since its democratic rules are so sensitive and limited, Turkey is sometimes criticized, but defending the regime is only possible with these rules.

Turkey is improving itself by developing state laws respecting human rights. If Turkey acts improperly in protecting the regime's methods, those who want to help Turkey should contact the related Turkish officials in an appropriate way. Contacting, helping, or encouraging factitious groups instead of the proper authorities cannot be tolerated. If the counter government side insists on ignoring Turkish officials and continues to contact factitious groups, Turkey must react by ending the negotiations. Turkey must prevent any action that affects people's freedom of mind toward attendance in the European Union since those actions are factitious.

Since Ataturk recognized that the younger generation is the future of the nation, he always pointed out ways to unite the youth in the same beliefs. The ways he suggested were based on the constitution and are the fundamentals of the state. As long as we keep united and have strong structures, this country's political system will be well recognized and commended.

a. The Parliament

Since both the government party and the main opposition party have a strong consensus on the policy of accession to the E.U., advanced reforms related to the E.U. have been accepted and adopted by a large majority of the parliament. Between October 2003 and July 2004, the Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted a total of 261 new laws and eight harmonization packages related to E.U. membership.⁵² Almost all of the work of the parliamentary committees has been dedicated to this process. To implement reforms according to E.U. requirements, Turkey began by establishing an E.U.

⁵²Belgenet website, "Happenings in Turkey", Available online at <http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/ab/ab.html> (accessed 03/29/2005)

Harmonization Committee in the parliament. This committee works as a consultative body in the pre-accession process and gives its opinions and observations on many legislative laws.

Parliament has adopted a number of E.U.-related reforms, related to both the Copenhagen political criteria and the European Union requirements. They include a law on the right to information, a law on the abolition of some articles of the law on the NSC and NSC General Secretariat, a law on public financial management and control, a law amending the law on banking, a law on the establishment, duties, and trial procedures of Juvenile Courts, the Eighth Harmonization Package implementing the Constitutional Amendments of May 2004, amendments to the law on public employees trade unions, a law on social insurance, a new law on associations, a legislative package reforming public administration, a law on compensation of losses resulting from terrorist acts, a new Penal Code, and a law establishing Intermediate Courts of Appeal.⁵³

b. The Executive Branch

To support and investigate the implementation of its human rights reforms, the Turkish government established a monitoring group in September 2003, in addition to the E.U. Secretariat General, which is playing a crucial role as a coordinator of the alignment with E.U. norms as well as programming, cooperating with, and supporting the achievement of the intended objectives. This kind of attempt by the government side is good for Turkey's reputation around the world, because, by taking the human rights issue seriously, the world will understand that the government is sensitive to this issue.

All the political parties that are in charge in Turkey have mentioned that they are Kemalist parties. Though each party claims that it has worked in keeping with Kemalist ideas and Kemalist guidance, Turkey has never achieved the same high acceleration of Ataturk's era. Although all branches of the Turkish

⁵³ Belgenet website, "Happenings in Turkey", available at <http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/ab/ab.html> (accessed 03/29/2005)

military have an incontrovertible reputation all over the world, in the international political arena Turkey has no esteemed place, because of the deficient understanding of Kemalism. Fortunately, recently Turkey succeeded in getting an appointment from the E.U. for negotiations, which has not happened before. Turkey has been trying for this moment for many years however. During the first years of the Republic, the Aegean Islands issue between Turkey and Italy was only ended by Ataturk's wearing a military uniform and thus warning Italy. But the Cyprus issue has lasted for years. For many long years there has been, and still is, no leader such as Kemal. But waiting for that kind of leader should not be an option for Turkey. Turks need to understand that Kemalism will fulfill all their needs, if the state's executives implement it properly.

The current Erdogan cabinet aims its politics at full E.U. membership and works for that. It expresses its will everywhere. The Erdogan cabinet is more willing than any other cabinet has been to achieve E.U. membership. Because it strengthens the party's goals and benefits, the party thinks that the state will be more democratic and that both the party's and the executives' benefits will be saved. The E.U. has some reservations about the Erdogan cabinet because of its Islamic identity. But this cabinet has worked on every issue given it by the E.U., more than any other cabinet. However, some members were removed from the government because of their actions against Kemalism. Kemalist requirements do not differ from the E.U. requirements, such as democracy, human rights, and being a state based on law, secularism, and modernism. It is no coincidence that the cabinet members now in charge defend the values just mentioned. Their intention is to get the rights and freedom that they have sought for years.

The Erdogan cabinet faces inevitable foreign policy struggles. The public's support is essential for making decision. The government should have the capacity to receive information from other political parties, syndicates, business organizations, media, and universities that are directing public opinion and support. The Turkish public, both those who support the Erdogan cabinet

and those who do not, mostly supports the E.U. During the E.U. membership process, Turkey needs effective spokesmen to provide public support in Europe. Turkey should choose officials who support Kemalism and understand the basic ideas of Kemalism to accelerate the negotiations with the E.U. The government's job should be choosing those officials from ones faithful to Turkey.

According to an article in the *New York Times*, the Turkish government has been seen as flagging in its commitment to freedom of expression and human rights ever since the European Union finally agreed to start talks about Turkey's eventual membership. The article also says that both the European Union and the United States, which need a stable and democratic Turkey, should step up their scrutiny of, as well as their support for, Prime Minister Erdogan's government.⁵⁴ Since Turkey needs support, it should evaluate this opportunity. The best policies should be followed, decided not only by the representatives but also by experts. Since the negotiations will last for many years, Turkey has to analyze the changing European circumstances, the structural changes, and the changing balances of power. It has to think about all that while it is directing regional politics and deciding what steps it should take regarding its traditional alliances, especially with the United States. Because Turkey is at a turning point, it has to analyze what sacrifices it must make to successfully get past this point. Actually, as long as Turkey continues to follow the Kemalist path, there will be many beneficial opportunities, and the number of countries willing to create a partnership with Turkey will increase.

In the early years of the national contestation, Atatürk explained all his decisions to the representatives and got their approval. Because the representatives then explained those decisions to their individual regions, the whole country moved together with Atatürk. Today, although some executives of the government say that they are on the path of Kemalism, they are not able to convince even their own members. According to some of them, if there is

⁵⁴*New York Times*, April 4, 2005, section A, page 22, column 1.

democracy, there will naturally be disagreements. But those disagreements should be discussed, voted on, and resolved. Today in Turkey, if anyone says there is a lack of democracy, there is a potential for contumacy, because the politics they want does not exist and they do not support the current policies. Those who do not believe in Kemalism insist that Turkey has an undeveloped democracy.

Another reason to have reservations about the Erdogan cabinet is that they have declared that their goals are to strengthen the bond between the people and the government, raise the level of public trust in current policies, and issue a new, more liberal and participatory constitution. Though they declared that they would not change the permanent articles of the constitution, many people have reservations about that. Since the Erdogan cabinet is known as an Islamic party, their statements about a new constitution make people question what changes will occur. They define the new constitution as strong, eligible for the E.U. and other international norms, respectful of individual rights and freedoms, based on a participatory and pluralist democracy, and including the perceptions of a state of law. There is no way to establish an Islamic state by a new constitution that accords with Kemalism and decreases the effect of the military on politics to satisfy the E.U.

c. The National Security Council

One of the circumstances cited as an obstacle to Turkey's acceptance into the E.U. as a full member is its failure to bring the military under civilian control.⁵⁵ Since 1999, civilian control of the government and the military has been strengthened, as it should be. The legal framework related to civilian supremacy over the military has been amended to clarify the position of the armed forces versus the civilian authorities. Although the armed forces are not under the control of the Department of Defense, the Turkish Armed Forces are

⁵⁵ Barry Buzan and Thomas Diez, "The European Union and Turkey," *Survival* 41(1999): p 48.

professional soldiers. Therefore, there is no need to worry about a garrison state anymore. Depoliticizing the military is necessary in Turkey. By doing so, as Mustafa Kemal pointed out at the beginning of the twentieth century, the military protects itself from being used by political parties.

According to some, Turkey was governed by the NSC and, therefore, they said, civilian control of the country should be strengthened. New regulations invalidate the executive powers of the Secretariat of the National Security Council on behalf of the President and the Prime Minister. The Secretariat no longer manages a special fund or is able to handle any investigation related to national security on its own initiative. In August 2004, the first civilian secretary general of the NSC, a senior diplomat, was appointed by the president from a list of candidates selected by the prime minister. The frequency of NSC meetings has been reduced to every other month.⁵⁶

Adjustments have been made that enhance the transparency of the military and the defense budget. The control of civilian authorities over military expenditures is improved as defined under the Secretariat of Defense. The Court of Auditors, at the request of the President of Parliament, can inspect military and defense spending.

Through recent constitutional and legislative changes, two government officials have been removed: a member selected by the Chief of General Staff to the Higher Education Board (YOK) and a member selected by the Secretary General of the NSC to the High Audio-Visual Board (RTUK).

The role and the duties of the Armed Forces in Turkey are defined in several legal provisions. Based on Article 35 and Article 85/1 of the Turkish Armed Forces Internal Service Law, the Turkish Armed Forces have a duty to

⁵⁶ The Washington Institute, "European Union Reforms Diminish the Role of the Turkish Military," available at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=1659> accessed 01/17/2005

protect and preserve the Turkish Republic on the basis of the principles referred to in the preamble of the Constitution, including territorial integrity, secularism, and republicanism.

d. The Judicial System

The State Security Courts have been abolished and replaced by Regional Serious Felony Courts. Specialized courts have been planned to ameliorate the efficiency of the judicial system and the rights of defendants. A Justice Academy has been set up, and training in international law and human rights for judges and prosecutors has been strengthened. From the time of its legal establishment in July 2003, the Justice Academy has been responsible for training both candidate judges and prosecutors as well as for continuing the training of serving judges and prosecutors. During the Mustafa Kemal period, Kemal adopted the Swiss judiciary system and laws for the Turkish judiciary system and first constitution.

The package of constitutional amendments adopted in May 2004 amended Article 90 of the constitution, so, from now on; Turkey is going to apply international agreements. A new penal code with modern European standards, including recent developments in the criminal law in many European countries, was adopted in September 2004. This will have a positive effect on the concerns of the Europeans in numerous areas related to human rights, discrimination, and torture.

2. Human Rights

Given the consensus against any terrorist activity that is specified in the European Security Strategy, it is hard to understand why the European Council still tries to give credit to some terrorists, such as Ocalan, the leader of the PKK terrorist organization. Many people in Turkey, especially those who lost relatives in terrorist attacks are uncomfortable that Ocalan will not be executed because

Turkey abolished the death penalty. European insistence in those kinds of issues will alienate the E.U. from the people.

In attempts to decrease the strength of the state, both economically and in terms of its morale, some outside powers gave support to terrorist organizations and raised a nonexistent, so-called Kurdish problem.⁵⁷ The Turkish Republic has never calculated its population based on citizens' ethnic background. There is no problem within the state between Kurdish people and Turkish people; no one can even identify the Kurds among the Turks. Although most Kurds live in the southeast part of Turkey, Kurds also live throughout Turkey. Living in Istanbul, for example, is a kind of prestige for them, because there is a common saying: "If you are rich, then you live in Istanbul." On the other hand, the Turkish state has a problem with a terrorist organization whose members identify themselves as Kurds.

The existence of an anarchistic environment, continuous conflict, and a state of emergency in some regions discourages tourism and foreign investment and damages Turkey's good international reputation and credibility. Actually, the Kurds in Turkey are in a much better position than Kurds in other states. They benefit from every kind of government facility, and they can work for the government in any position, just like other Turkish citizens. For example, Turgut Ozal, whose mother was a Kurd, was the eighth president of the Republic.

Turkey continues its efforts to sustain security and to fight against the PKK terror organization especially in the southeast part of Turkey. The government spends a large portion of its income to finance the security forces: the cost of terrorism to Turkey is billions of dollars. And the cost of the indirect effects of the terror problem is much greater than countable amounts. More than 30,000 people have lost their lives. Moreover, on the international scene the separatist activities formed a barrier in Turkey's relations with the European Union. Some try to present this issue as "the Kurdish problem," one of the causes of Turkey's

⁵⁷ Tuncay Ozkan, *Operasyon* (Istanbul: Dogan Kitapcilik, 2000).

“bad” reputation and image. That sort of thing and the negative motivations have weakened Turkish foreign policies in the international arena. Also, Turkey’s economic attractiveness has declined, and foreign investment, which is needed for rapid economic development, did not occur for many years. Although Turkey has a strategic territorial position, the negative reputation of its territorial integrity—caused by the terrorists being called “Kurdish separatists” in the international arena—has undermined Turkish foreign policy. Thus, the terrorist movement has become a barrier to Turkey’s relations with other nation-states. Moreover, in its fight against the terrorists, Turkey was called a human-rights violator by the E.U. Those occurrences have prevented Turkey from achieving E.U. membership because of three main factors: human rights violations, regional economic situations and military domination. The regional economic problems and Turkey’s ban on media broadcasts in the Kurdish language enhanced the negative aspects of the Kurdish situation and provided the means for terrorists in the region to justify their activities. On the other hand, allowing broadcasts in other languages and planning for economic development via regional projects eliminates further justification of the terrorist organizations and their supporters.

Turkey has been implementing parallel policies with the West since the inception of modern Turkey; however, Turkey has been disappointed by European attitudes toward the membership issue. The E.U. irritated Ankara by excluding terrorist organizations such as the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party (DHKP-C) from its terrorist list. Most of those groups are active in European countries under different names. In March 2002, Ecevit, who was the Turkish prime minister at the time, attended an E.U. meeting in Barcelona and tried to get the Europeans to give sufficient support for Turkey's fight against terrorism. The E.U. did not recognize the PKK as a terrorist organization until it changed its name to the KADEK.

The Kemalist saying, “Peace at home, peace in world,” which relates not only to Turkey but to all countries, expresses the notion that, if there is peace at

home, there will be peace in the world, and vice versa. The Kemalist political ideology does not tolerate terrorism. It is inevitable that Turkey struggle against both terrorist actions and terrorist supporters. Since the aim of the terrorism is to cause consternation by killing people, the struggle against terrorism should be the same way. If it is not aggressive enough, war will be unavoidable. That is the United States' belief: "The enemy is terrorism—premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against innocents."⁵⁸ The war against terrorism should be fought in every way possible. If Turkey's struggle against terrorism for many years had not been ignored in favor of European humanitarian policies, terrorism would have been ended many years ago. And today, Turkey would not have to think about the project "return to the homeland" for people who had to leave their homes because of terror.

Terrorists also use actions such as mass killing to get attention; it also uses strategic timing, locations, individuals, and the media. According to Brian Jenkins, a terrorism specialist, terrorism's aim is sometimes "not killing many people but being seen by many people."⁵⁹ For many years, Europeans have supported terrorism in Turkey, instead of supporting Turkey. They still advocate some memberships of terrorist organizations in Turkey; they should be as firm as Kemalism against terrorism.

Some think terrorism is a kind of war: it has to reach the international arena to be affective. The media should be more careful and sensitive when informing the public about terrorist actions: some seem to support terrorism, some do not. The media coverage should be analyzed carefully and stopped if necessary. In its willingness to attend the E.U. and its anticipation of that, it is impossible for Turkey to disrupt Europe's support of terrorism. Turkey must be

⁵⁸ Official website of the White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America: Table of Contents", Available online at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> (accessed 02/20/2005)

⁵⁹ Brian Jenkins, "International Terrorism: A New Mode of Terrorism and Conflict" David Carlton and Carolo Schaerf, eds., International Terrorism and World Security, London, Croom Helm, 1975, p 15

strong in the political arena. Instead of depending on the E.U., discovering new, alternative politics will make that possible.

D. CONCLUSION

Today, America is the biggest defender of democracy. But as Robert Kaplan suggests, even our perception of democracy should change. Instead of willing to turn some countries' regimes into harmless dictatorships, such as Pakistan, Egypt, and Tunisia, we should tolerate their complicated regimes as long as they give support to our war against terrorism.⁶⁰ That was the real reason Atatürk did not move Turkey to a multiparty system immediately. Keeping the single-party system at the time was the only way to keep the state united, just as, today; keeping a multiparty system is the only way to keep the state united. In the twenty-first century, with the new technologies, people get information quicker and more easily than ever before. There is no chance anymore for any other regime than a multiparty democracy. Turkey is on the right path with its multiparty system, as are other democratic regimes. On the other hand, some political parties in Turkey are not doing well under the current democracy, and they try to express their thoughts reinterpreting the democracy according to their own beliefs. Although democracy means freedom of choice, some of the political groups take advantage of that freedom to excessive limits. Those excesses are controlled by military intervention, which only occurs when there are instances of destructive political behavior.

Turkey has done a good job in the last few years in its effort to gain E.U. membership. But the mission to fulfill the E.U. criteria is not finished, and Turkey must still do more. Turkey is almost done with the legislative issues, but it now needs to educate its citizenry to obey those regulations. There should be many nongovernmental organizations working cooperatively with the government to train the people. The government should play a cooperative role among the

⁶⁰ 29 September 2001, Washington Post, Robert Kaplan, "Dış Politika İçe Dönmeli", Küreselleşme ve Terör Der. Mehmet Ali Civelek, Ankara, Ütopya, 2001, p 299.

NGOs and should establish bonds among them and the official institutions. After transforming the country to a kind of school, the pace in achieving E.U. membership will be faster than ever before. We have the students and the citizens, but we need teachers, the NGOs, to educate the entire nation.

The United States' support for Turkey's E.U. membership and for the reforms made in the process is aimed at using Turkey's dominant role in the region in the war against terrorism. The real goal is not to debilitate the E.U.'s power by its acceptance of Turkey, but, through Turkey, to create a neighborhood among the E.U. countries and Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Because Turkey consists of many ethnic groups with a mosaic of ethnic backgrounds, Turkey can play a crucial role in communications with those countries and give its support to world peace.

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IV. THE EU'S CONCERNS ABOUT TURKEY'S FULL MEMBERSHIP

A. CRITERIA FOR THE MEMBERSHIP

Kemalism has been the leading political and social ideology of Turkey as a nation-state since Mustafa Kemal and his supporters first came up with the idea of modernization. Kemal Ataturk had already thought about what kind of criteria should be fulfilled for Turkey to achieve a modern lifestyle. He determined the goals and methods that would work for the whole nation. The Turkish people succeeded in fulfilling those requirements. Even then, Turkey, though a very young state, had status in the international arena. Turkey had earned the world's attention by its application of the Kemalist methods. Since Kemalism, by its very nature, fulfills the criteria required by the E.U., no one can deny that, as long as Kemalism is correctly interpreted, thoroughly understood, and truly applied, it will accelerate Turkey's progress toward full E.U. membership.

The criteria set by the 1993 Copenhagen European Council includes democracy, the rule of law, protection of human rights, protection of minorities' political criteria, a functioning market economy, and the capacity to cope with the competitive economic pressures and market forces within the E.U.. Moreover, there are requirements about nuclear safety standards, which were emphasized by the Cologne and Helsinki European Councils, realignment of legislation, and development of a judicial and administrative capacity to implement and enforce the requirements.

Through the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam in May 1999, the political criteria defined at Copenhagen have been essentially enshrined as a constitutional principle in the Treaty on European Union. Article 6(1) of the consolidated Treaty reads: "The Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law." Accordingly, Article 49 of the consolidated Treaty stipulates that "Any European State which respects the principles set out in Article 6(1) may apply to

become a member of the Union.” Those principles were emphasized in the Chapter of Fundamental Rights of the E.U. that was proclaimed at the Nice European Council in December 2000.⁶¹

To fulfill the Copenhagen criteria, Turkey changed its attitude and tried to do a good job in its efforts to effect E.U. membership. The E.U. determined those efforts and encouraged them by asking Turkey to satisfy still more membership criteria. The Helsinki European Council meeting in December 1999 concluded that: “Turkey is a candidate state destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate states. Building on the existing European strategy, Turkey, like other candidate states, will benefit from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms.” The Copenhagen European Council meeting in December 2002 concluded that: “The Union encourages Turkey to pursue energetically its reform process. If the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen political criteria, the European Union will open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay.” The Brussels European Council meeting in June 2004 concluded that: “The Union reaffirms its commitment that if the European Council decides in December 2004, on the basis of a report and recommendation from the Commission, that Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen political criteria, the EU will open accession negotiations with Turkey without delay.” On December 17, 2004, the Brussels European Council issued a report about Turkey’s efforts, their results, and what Turkey must do in the future to become a member. The E.U. did not close all doors, so as not to discourage Turkey from becoming Europeanized.

Turkey has been working on Westernization since the establishment of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal, growing up in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, knew that the cause of the decline of the Empire would be its inability to keep up

⁶¹ 2004 Regular Report on Turkey’s progress toward accession, p. 11.

in all areas with the global changes. The more it diverged from the contemporary European civilization, the worse it got. The efforts of the Ottoman administrative to modernize officially, socially, and culturally were too late and too little. By evaluating the history of modernization, Mustafa Kemal knew very well what to do and not to do to reach the level of contemporary civilizations. The ideas Kemal generated include all the points of modernization, but especially, the sovereignty of the people, modernism, and secularism. Modernism means Westernism, and all the applications that positively affected the attitude of Turkey then, by adapting Kemalism to today's circumstances, will fulfill the E.U. criteria properly.

B. THE EU'S CONCERNS ABOUT TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP

The typical problems of Turkey that have been discussed internally for decades are, not surprisingly, now also the concerns of the E.U. They can be grouped under three headings: political, economic, and social. Though they are common ancient problems, they are not insolvable. The political issues, Cyprus's peaceful settlement and border disputes, can be solved with the corporation of the other parties. As for economic issues, some regulations, changes, transformations, and legislation will be sufficient to eliminate them as obstacles for E.U. membership and for Turkey's own good. For the social issues, educating the public and increasing the level of their life styles are very important issues, which must be further evaluated. There is no reason not to resolve all these issues if Kemalist principles are applied in each area.

1. Political Concerns

The first article of the European Union constitution explains the establishment of the Union: "Reflecting the will of the citizens and states to build a common future, this constitution establishes the E.U., on which the member states confer competences to attain objectives they have in common. The union shall coordinate the policies by which the member states aim o achieve these

objectives, and shall exercise on a community basis the competences they confer on it.”⁶² The first article also explains the importance of the common values and opinions of citizens, as well as the European states’ official approach. President Josep Borrell said, “We are also faced with the major task of providing Europe’s public with the necessary political explanations. If the Turkish question is perceived as a Siege of Vienna, then we will get nowhere.”⁶³ Based on this sort of view, the E.U. also has some work to do. If they want Turkey to be a member, they need to convince their citizens about the E.U.’s requirements for Turkey’s membership. Both Turkey and the E.U. should work to determine what they will do about unionization. We all know what Turkey has done and is still doing to satisfy the requirements. But the E.U. has some concerns, not only about Turkey, but also about its own future with the current members. Because of that, the E.U. is not eager to accept Turkey right now.

In his speech, President Borrell called the attitude of the member states that are in favor of further E.U. enlargement “strange,” especially in regard to Turkey, because they are the least in favor of adequate funding. From this point of view, it is difficult to find out who really supports Turkey’s full membership. Moreover, he said, “I am not convinced that anyone I met in Turkey was fully aware of the scale of the acquirements. Parliament needs to forge closer relations with civil society in Turkey. How would parliament go about explaining a decision in which it was not even involved?”⁶⁴ Mr. Borrell is not convinced about Turkey’s efforts to become a full member. He clearly explains the E.U.’s approach to Turkey’s full membership by saying that Turkey is not aware of what is going on. What do they want, what are the requirements, what will Turkey do, and at the end what will the Turks expect from what they did, or are doing, or will do?

⁶² EU constitution, Article I-1.

⁶³ Speech by President Josep Borrell, European Council, Brussels, 17 December 2004.

⁶⁴ Speech by President Josep Borrell, European Council, Brussels, 17 December 2004.

A pre-accession financial assistance program for Turkey was adopted by the council in December 2001. This support comprises co-financing for technical assistance to help Turkey with its efforts to adopt the acquirements and strengthen the institutions necessary for implementing and enforcing acquirements. According to the 2004 program, Turkey would focus on the following priorities:⁶⁵

- A Human Rights Presidency in the office of the prime minister to promote recently adopted reform packages.
- The promotion of social dialogue and the intensification of efforts to improve the situation in southeast Turkey.
- To improve market surveillance and conformity assessment systems, adopt E.U. standards to improve the regime for special waste and noise management.
- Align legislative frameworks on intellectual property rights, consumer protection, and capital markets with those of the E.U.
- Strengthen the capacity of the customs administration, tax administration, food safety and control, and management of road transport.
- Help implement Turkey's national strategies on asylum and migration and integrated border management.

Overall, the impact of community assistance to Turkey is increasingly positive. The E.U. has provided resources for basic education, training, environmental infrastructure, reproductive health, and macroeconomic adjustment. Besides those, Turkey gets technical assistance for the design of projects and reforms in different economic sectors from the European investment Bank (EIB) by being a member of it.

⁶⁵ 2004 Regular Report on Turkey's progress toward accession.

a. Cyprus

The Cyprus issue, an obstacle to Turkey's attending the E.U., has reference to both parties and any solution should be fair to both parties. The Cyprus Turkish Community has lived in those territories since the island was conquered by the Ottoman Empire in 1571. During British rule, because the Greek Cypriots started the Enosis activities, disorder on the island increased. The Turkish Cypriots did not organize seriously against Enosis until World War II. EOKA took violent activities against the Turks to enforce Enosis. Consequently, the Turks had to establish political and armed organizations to protect themselves. Since the Turks were forced to leave their homeland and had more economical problems than the Greeks, both parties broke up completely. The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 with its own council and constitutional rights relieved the Turkish Cypriots, even though their economy was much worse than the Greek Cypriots'. At the end of 1963, the Greek Cypriots started to attack Turkish communities, since they could not put up with the rights given to the Turks. Thus, the Turks started to separate from the Greeks; they lived in smaller areas in worse conditions until 1974. After the Turkish Peace Operation in 1974, the security of the Turkish communities and their property was obtained by the peace force. In 1975, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was established in northern Cyprus. Initially, the state, with the help of Turkey, gave importance to accommodation, land, and necessary health care. Since the Turks and the Greeks on Cyprus could not associate any form of state, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus declared its sovereignty, which was not officially recognized by any other country except Turkey. The Cyprus issue is still a problem for Turkey after all these years as it tries to attend the E.U.

The Kemalist ideology finds solutions directly and applies them at the most appropriate time. Therefore, those problems should not be prolonged and made more complex by any side. Today, in regard to the Cyprus issue, the Greeks, who have been avoiding a collective agreement and prolonging the problem, are aiming at insolvability. The Greek Cypriot Minister of Justice, Doros

Theodoru, stresses that there is no need to rush and specifies that their goal is to solve the problem with European Law.⁶⁶ On the one hand, there is the Turkish side agreeing with the United Nations' proposition to end the problem; on the other hand, there is the Greek side frustrating solutions. Despite the Turks' peace efforts, the one blamed for the conflict on the island is Turkey. Thus, it is not appropriate to stop the E.U.'s acceptance period or its arrangements toward Turkey's being a member. The Greek Cypriots, being a member of the E.U., think that the Turks, working hard on the way to E.U. membership, will make more concessions than ever. The Turks' approach to the political equality and share of power is positive. However, the Greeks are negative about political equality and the share-of-power issue. As the Cyprus issue was not an obstacle to the Greek Cypriots' or Greece's attending the E.U., why is that issue an obstacle for Turkey? The circumstances surrounding this issue show that the European Union has double standards, and the advantage is obviously on the Greek side.

Assuming that a solution occurs and that Turkey is accepted into the E.U., Turkey, Cyprus, and Greece would all be members, all have the same rights under the same constitution, serve the same union and have the same confidence in the international arena. Instead of borders, democracy and legality would be the authority. Disrupting the peaceful life of two nations seems unreasonable. Added to that, the support of the E.U. for the Greek side makes Turkey feel unwelcome in the E.U.

Kemalism suggests that parties should take lessons from the past: peace will come with future association, but not with unsolved problems from the past. The fact that Turkey wants peace and accepts the circumstances suggested by the United Nations has not been enough for joining the E.U. From another point of view, if supporting the Greeks indirectly is more profitable for the E.U. than accepting Turkey into the Union, then Turkey should not make any

⁶⁶ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, "Rumlardan tarihi itiraf: Çözümü bugüne kadar biz engelledik." Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/03/04/son/sondun27.html> (accessed 03/04/2005)

concessions about the Cyprus issue. Moreover, Turkey should give up trying to achieve access to the E.U. in any case.

In 2004, the Turkish government was active and constructive in its efforts to find a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem. By contrast, the Greek Cypriots did whatever they could, as they had since the beginning of the problem, to prevent any kind of solution.⁶⁷ According to reports in the Greek press, Alvaro De Soto, the former Special Cyprus Representative for the UN Secretary General, gave two reasons for the Cypriots' attitude: first, they are in a better economic situation than the Turkish Cypriot community; second, they are already an E.U. member. And he added, "If Greek Cypriots want a two-nation and a two-zone federation, they have to make a clear definition whether they accept the political equality and share of power or not."⁶⁸ At the invitation of the UN Secretary General, the Turkish prime minister participated alongside his counterpart from Greece in the negotiations in Burgenstock with both Cypriot communities at the end of March 2004. Turkey supported the final plan presented by the UN Secretary General in March 2004. Turkey also supported the referendum calling the Turkish Cypriot community to a yes vote for the plan. The majority of the Turkish Cypriot community approved the plan, but it was rejected by a majority of the Greek Cypriots. On 1 March 2004, the Republic of Cyprus became a member of the E.U. as a divided island. On 2 October 2004, Turkey published a decree extending the benefits of the EC-Turkey Customs Union Agreement to all E.U. member states, including Cyprus.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, "Rumlardan tarihi itiraf: Çözümü bugüne kadar biz engelledik." Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/03/04/son/sondun27.html> (accessed 03/04/2005)

⁶⁸ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, Speech by De Soto, "Rumlar iki nedenden dolayı çözüm istemiyor", Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/03/05/son/sondun14.html> (accessed 03/05/2005)

⁶⁹ 2004 Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession

b. Peaceful Settlement of Border Disputes

Turkey may be one of the countries that most need peace on their borders. Despite all Turkey's efforts for peace, there is an undesirable situation because of the instability of the states on the other side of its borders. Since Mustafa Kemal and the early Turkish nation knew very well what war means, what terrorism means, and what they cause, all Turkish governments have tried to remain in peace since the Republic was established. One of the most important inheritances of Mustafa Kemal is his teaching, "peace at home, peace around the world."

One feature of the European Union's official website is the "European Neighborhood Policy," which invites their neighbors to the east and to the south to share in the peace, stability, and prosperity that Europeans enjoy in the European Union, and which aims to create a ring of friends around the borders of the new enlarged E.U.⁷⁰ Actually, this kind of approach to global peace is not foreign to Turkey because Turks believe in global peace as one of the principles of Kemalism: "peace at home, peace around the world." The Turks will always be defenders of peace policies worldwide. We can define Mustafa Kemal's thoughts about peace at the time as wonderfully foreseeing, the key to the now much desired world peace. Today, intellectuals around the world emphasize the same idea. In 1935, Kemal Ataturk said, "I believe that amending the postures of populations should be obtained by taking international measures in order to have contemporary peace. The whole humanity's prosperity should take the place of famine and oppression. The global citizens should be trained far from jealousy, covetousness, and grudges."⁷¹ The number one threat against a peaceful world today, terrorism, finds a fundamental place for itself in places of anarchistic and complex environments. Democratizing those environments by

⁷⁰ Benita Ferrero, The European Neighborhood Policy, Available online at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm (accessed 04/01/2005)

⁷¹ Selman Kilic, Ataturk'ten Insanliga Yol Gosteren Sozler (Istanbul: Truva yayinlari, 2005).

war will not stop the ill-minded people; in contrast, training and educating people in those places will bring stability and prosperity, and that peace process will be the remedy.

Although some say that being politically passive in the global arena is not the way to global peace, being too active, aggressive, and full of a desire to influence the entire world is not the best way either to establish global peace. The desire to always be right does not foster secure environments; outside pressures will gradually ignite the sense of hate. Overall, trying to secure the world by force can devastate the hope of others and their trust in international institutions. Happy people can establish hope for the future, not desperate people. If the leaders of states find a way to secure their own countries, economically, socially, and in terms of prosperity, the world will be more secure than ever before. Of course, not all states can reach the same level of civilization, but all states can try not to interfere with others' right to develop themselves.

The Kemalist concept of being peaceful does not mean that everybody can get whatever they want from Turkey. According to Ambassador Boheman's impression, at the National Day Reception in 1932, Atatürk said to the Italian Ambassador of Ankara: "Young ambassador is outgoing, but the fact that Mussolini declared that problems would be solved by four powerful European countries is not right. The problems should be solved by all the countries attending. I am governing Turkey of fourteen million people and we will never allow ourselves to be ruled by the Great Powers' ideas."⁷² From the Kemalist point of view, solutions could not be provided in those days by only a couple big countries. So today, steps based on Kemalist ideas should be taken to form stable and secure situations and world peace.

Europeans share a past and many common interests with their southern and eastern neighbors, from trade to cultural exchanges, from migration issues to environmental cooperation. Especially via today's advanced

⁷² Kaj Falkman, *Türkiye Üç Beyi*, (Istanbul: Cem yayınevi, 2001), p 28.

technological devices, people influence each other. For the European Union's neighbors in the east, the European Neighborhood Policy shows that the European Union is moving toward a new and closer relationship.⁷³ From this point of view, the E.U., by its acceptance of new members, is contacting new neighbors, but it will take some time to effect everybody's full integration into the E.U. With the new policies, people will affect each other, but not instantly. In this kind of integration process, the E.U. cannot accept as a new member a country such as Turkey, because it has a chaotic neighbor, Iraq. Turkey's other neighbors also do not have stable democracies as in Europe. Europeans do not want to be faced with the problem of those neighbors in addition to contemporary integration problems, with the acceptance of Turkey's membership. There is no information about Iraq or Iran on the website. How can they accept Turkey's membership without knowing the future of those prospective new neighbors?

Europeans look forward to being strong as a Union. They do not want to devastate or weaken that Union by accepting all candidate states at the same time. Turkey can understand the ongoing waiting time from their point of view. It will no doubt be accepted later than other candidates because of the religious differences. On the other hand, what will not be accepted is a double standard in the membership requirements. Although Turkey has an enormous population and economic potential, other countries that were less eager than Turkey to be a member of the Union were accepted before Turkey. It is the European Union's choice; no one can force them to accept Turkey as a member. The European Union really needs some time to gather together as a strong, whole union.

Relations between Greece and Turkey have improved since the earthquake that hit Istanbul in 1999. Although from time to time both have faced tough situations related to Aegean Sea border disputes, Turkey and Greece have signed numerous bilateral agreements in a variety of different areas. Since

⁷³ Benita Ferrero The European Neighborhood Policy, Available online at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm (accessed 04/01/2005)

Turkey and Greece are in the same region and thus neighbors and will both become E.U. members, both are trying to build strong relationships as well as to adopt several confidence-building measures. There is no need to live in a hostile environment; therefore, they have begun joint economic and industrial projects, the kinds of agreements that will further friendship. To the best of my knowledge, they have also agreed to build a highway reaching from the Greek border to Istanbul and have signed an agreement for the prevention of double taxation. The Kemalist ideology fosters Turkey's development of relations with neighbors. For many years Turkey failed to strengthen its relations with neighbors, except the former USSR, because being a member of NATO dictated other policies at the time.

At every level, including the heads of the states, as a result of mutual peace-settling efforts and the implementation of a series of confidence-building measures, Turkey and Greece are taking steps to reduce their military expenses, not all at once of course, but gradually. This balanced reduction implementation will foster a more secure environment. In May 2004, the Turkish General Staff emphasized that any unresolved issues should be referred to the International Court of Justice. In the twenty-first century it is not likely that democratic states and members of the various peace organizations will make war. Any problems can be solved juristically by organized legal institutions, instead of by the deadly and high cost of war. Not only for Turkey, but also for the whole world, the Kemalist approach to peace settlement around the world can help create a secure future for all human beings.

The political issues that the E.U. is concerned about would have been solved long ago, if the Turkish administrations and populations had not lost their foundation in Kemalism from time to time. Kemal Atatürk's ideas about foreign policy, his discernment about global politics, and his analyses, evaluations, and solutions are very fitting not only for the Turkish Republic but also for the people of the entire region.

2. Economic Concerns

During the Mustafa Kemal era, Turkey made a first step in the area of economics, but the government was the only institution that had any capital to invest. No one else in the country was able to invest. Thus government was responsible for making investments and for providing employment. Kemal's government succeeded in providing employment in every region of Turkey, regardless of how difficult transportation was. Today, Turkey is conspicuous for its foreign and local investors, although some of them face serious bureaucratic obstacles. High unemployment discourages foreign and local investors, and untrustworthy Turkish governments, ignoring Kemalism, generate economic concerns.

Turkey has an enormous economic potential, with a huge, young population, a good strategic geographical position, and potential future industrial endeavors. Nonetheless, some Europeans think Turkey will be a burden to Europe's economy. To the contrary, maybe not now, but in the future, Europe may well be a burden to Turkey's economy.

Turkey, with its huge population, got candidate status for membership in the European Union at the beginning of the unionization movement. To repeat, Turkey will not be a burden for Europeans; on the other hand, with Turkey in the E.U., it will find economic solutions to future concerns such as migration, aging, the labor force, and market and transportation problems. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan has addressed those future economic problems and described Turkey's developing and potential situation. He asks the E.U. to think about political unification with Turkey and emphasizes that the E.U. is not a Christian Club.⁷⁴

In 2003, Turkey's total trade in goods with the EU-25 was 11.5% higher than in 2002. In 2003, exports to the EU-25 accounted for 58.1% (€22.7 billion) of Turkey's total export sales. In 2003, imports from the EU-25 accounted for 52.4%

⁷⁴ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, comment by Erdoğan, "Dindar olmaktan korkmayalım, aşırılıktan korkalım", Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/01/28/son/sonsiy19.html> (accessed 01/28/2005)

(€30.6 billion) of Turkey's total imports. Turkey is the sixth largest cement producer in the world, the second largest flat-glass producer, and sixth largest clothing exporter. In Europe, Turkey is first in artificial fertilizer production, seventh in iron and steel production, and the largest emerging market.⁷⁵

Turkey has made further progress toward being a functioning market economy with the help of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Turkey did better during the IMF-based economic program than any other IMF-assisted country. By reducing its macroeconomic imbalances, Turkey has become stronger than ever before against potential economic crises. Despite the size of Turkey's economy, it is still not big enough to confront all crises; its financial-sector imbalances make the economy vulnerable. However, Turkey should be able to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the Union. Turkey firmly maintains an economic stabilization policy and is taking further steps toward structural reform. The years of political instability in Turkey, when political groups had some governance potency, have ended. Today there are no coalition governments, making decisions easier for the contemporary government, which fosters a stable political environment and confidence in Turkey.

Economic stability and predictability for the future improved with the last government. The previously high inflation rate is now at a historic low, political interference by the military has been reduced, and the institutional and regulatory framework has been brought closer to E.U. norms. Supervision of the financial sector and regulation by the Capital Markets Board of Turkey has been strengthened by securities of markets in Turkey. Their mission is in accord with Kemalist ideology: "To make innovative regulations, and perform supervision with the aim of ensuring fairness, efficiency and transparency in Turkish capital

⁷⁵Eupolitix website, Turkish Economy, Available online at <http://www.eupolitix.com/EN/Forums/Turkey+in+Europe> (accessed 04/05/2005)

markets, and improving their international competitiveness.”⁷⁶ Significant progress by the government in the transparency and efficiency of public administration has been achieved and is still advancing.

To become a full member of the E.U., it is indispensable that Turkey maintains and advances its current positive dynamics into a sustained growth rate and economic stability, continuing the reform process to achieve not only E.U. norms but also international competitive levels. Maintaining a stable and confidence-oriented economy is a key factor. Although fiscal imbalances have been reduced, the government should prevent imbalances totally. The business sector could also be improved by strengthening the rule of law and fair administrative procedures. Improving the efficiency of the judiciary system and implementation of justice against corruption is also important. The banking sector’s surveillance should continue to be aligned by the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency to reach international standards.

Mustafa Kemal played a crucial role during his presidency by trusting the banking system; he founded the first national bank, *Türkiye İs Bankası*. Kemal expressed his aspirations for the foundation of a national bank before the Council of Ministers which he summoned in July 1924, "Paramount among measures that will liberate and augment the nation is the establishment of a bank, utterly modern and national in identity, born directly out of the people's respect and confidence."⁷⁷ At that time there were few rich businessmen in Turkey, so the state tried to establish an industrial and financial sector. Today, the government’s role in the state has changed, and the privatization process of state-owned enterprises should be accelerated. The inflow of foreign investment has to be encouraged by smoothing the way for investment and removing unnecessary obligations and bureaucratic barriers.

⁷⁶ The official website of Capital Markets Board of Turkey , Mission, available online at <http://www.cmb.gov.tr> (accessed 03/02/2005)

⁷⁷ The official website of *Türkiye İs Bankası*, “History”, Available online at <http://www.isbank.com.tr/english/about-history.html> (accessed 03/29/2005)

For years, Turkey had a very fragile economy and was sensitive to crises because of its unstable macro-economy. But the Turkish economy has shown its endurance, dynamics, and elasticity. Supported by a new IMF reform program, it has cleaned up the banking system, the Central Bank has become independent, and many outer budget funds have been closed. Besides elastic exchange and strict financial politics, new legal outlines have been developed in the energy, agriculture, civil air transportation, and telecommunication sectors. So the Turkish economy has recovered completely from the previous crisis situation. Despite all those transformations and reforms, the Turkish economy still faces deficiency and immoderation. The numbers given for the public liability and budgetary deficit are still above the Maastricht Criteria. The reasons for the lack of foreign investments are an unstable macro-economy, uncertain politics, an inefficient bureaucracy, and fraud. Since Kemalism is against those entire things, as long as they exist, it means the current government is not practicing true Kemalism.

It is obvious that mutual trading and foreign investment will rise if stability is provided, full access to markets is obtained, and administrative and technical obstacles are eliminated. To improve the Turkish economy, both native and foreign investors should be encouraged to invest. During the process to become a member of the E.U., this forward movement is going to accelerate. The difference in regional incomes is the problem that causes immigration inside Turkey. With economic improvement, that immigration will decrease.

Turkey has developed its economy in the last several years. It raised the goods and service exportation 12%, which was above the average of the EU-25.⁷⁸ Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Guler stated that, since Turkey has the eligible background, the Turkish economy could be one of the world's ten

⁷⁸ Hurriyet daily Turkish newspaper, "Türkiye büyümede AB lideri", Available online at <http://www.hurriyetim.com.tr/haber/0,,nvid~549559,00.asp> (accessed 03/14/2005)

best economies.⁷⁹ When this background was established by Mustafa Kemal years ago, Turkey had an esteemed place in the international arena. Today, Turkey needs no advertisement of its background; it needs action. Moreover, Turkey needs hardworking people who do not work only for their own good, but also for the country. Every citizen must do their job right and properly, as defined by the institutional regulatory framework document.

During past years, Turkey's economical enterprises were much more beneficial and well suited for the Turkish people than they are today. Kemalism provided equal business and employment opportunities for every region to have proper development and progress. More recently, complicating the bureaucracy was one of the previous government's most ineffective economical policies. Kemalism requires corporation with modern economic policies. The more Turkey understands and adapts to Kemalism in today's circumstances, the more Turkey will be closer to E.U. membership.

3. Social Concerns

Turkey's social and cultural differences concern the European Union, but that is no reason to hesitate about modern Turkey joining the E.U. Turkey's different, complex identity can be more beneficial for the E.U. than it thinks. Westernization policies since the establishment of Turkey have been adopted by most of the Turkish people. Being aware of Kemalism and its requirements and advantages, Turkish people should know what the E.U. really means for Turkey and what the E.U. brings to Turkey.

Turkey is a unique country in the region. It is a bridge between West and East and between Europe and the Middle East, which is more difficult than a simple, less complicated regional location. Since the modernization movement of the Tanzimat Period, various intellectuals have tried to shape the culture, the

⁷⁹ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, "Güler: Türkiye, dünyanın en büyük 10 ekonomisi içine girecek", Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/03/19/son/soneko08.html> (accessed 03/19/2005)

living style, and the type of government of the Anatolian people based on Western norms. In contrast, some people also wanted to be allied with the East, or opposed the idea of Westernization. That reluctance is still the main obstacle to the modernization movement. However, today more people than ever before want E.U. membership and to fulfill the E.U. requirements. Almost all the political parties make their main goal—"being a member of the E.U."—their chief propaganda instrument to get votes.

If you ask any ordinary person his opinion about Turkey's membership in the E.U., he will probably agree with the idea. Being a candidate for the E.U. accelerates the modernization movement in Turkey. Trying to be in line with E.U. norms shapes Turkey's political, economical, and social life within a program that is one of the contemporary modern civilization centers.

The following poll data is provided by the Spring 2004 Eurobarometer. The poll represents the new members of and candidate countries for the European Union. It does not represent the point of view of the European Commission; it represents an experimental group's approach. According to the Eurobarometer Spring 2004 report:⁸⁰

- Life satisfaction compared with 5 years ago: Turkey had the highest percentage that said "improved" and the lowest percentage that said "got worse."
- Life satisfaction over the next 5 years: Turkey had the highest percentage that said "will improve" and the lowest percentage that said "get worse."
- Expectations for the next 12 months to come for your life in general: Turkey had the highest percentage that said "will be better" and the lowest percentage that said "will be worse."

⁸⁰ Eurobarometer Spring 2004: Public Opinion in the European Union, publication in July 2004 by Eurobarometer.

- Expectations for the next 12 months to come for the economic situation in the country: Turkey had the highest percentage that said “will be better” and the lowest percentage that said “will be worse.”

- Expectations for the next 12 months to come for your personal job situation: Turkey had the highest percentage that said “will be better” and one of the lowest percentages that said “will be worse.”

- Trust in institutions: Turkey was the second highest, with 55%. On the other hand, for a question about “trust in the media”: After Hungary, Turkey was the least trustful of the media. By contrast, Turks’ preferred sources for “receiving information on the E.U.” were television (79%), newspapers (46%), and friends (20%). The “first three institutions” that Turkey “trusts” are the army (86%), the police (69%), and justice (68%).

- Top “three most important problems facing” Turkey: unemployment (72%), the economic situation (49%), and inflation (19%).

- Knowledge about the EU: 34% of the Turks could not give correct answers to any of the 10 statements. Turkey got the lowest points of those answering the quiz.

- European or national identity: Turks preferred a national identity (57%).

- Support for E.U. membership: Again, Turkey was the leader (71%).

- Believe country will “benefit from E.U. membership”: Turkey was again in the lead position (75%).

- Feel uninformed about enlargement: Turkey was again in the lead position (about 76%).

All these data show that the Turkish people want eagerly to be a member of the E.U. On the other hand, they do not know much about the E.U., and they are not eager to learn what is going in the candidacy process, the harmonization process, or, moreover, the Europeanization process. As President Borrell said

about his concerns related to this situation: “How would Parliament go about explaining a decision in which it was not even involved?”⁸¹

Turkey's attending the EU will provide benefits for both Turkey and the E.U. Turkey's strategic location is important for the security of Europe's energy sources. Moreover, Turkey's political, economical, and military dominance in the region are undeniably positive factors for Europe. Since Turkey is a Muslim country, it can take efficient action in the relations between the Islamic World and Europe. By accepting Turkey, the E.U. will prove that it is not a religious organization. Thus, it will be conducive to rapprochement of the civilizations. The E.U. should inform its public about the benefits they will get with Turkey's membership. It should be expressed that Turkey could be a bridge for Europe's energy resources from the Middle East. And with Turkey's membership, the Mediterranean Sea will be controlled more easily by the E.U.

From the Turkish point of view, accession to the E.U. will be evidence of the success of the Turkish modernization movement in the society since the initial inception of the Republic of Turkey. The Turkish public has no doubts and no hesitation about its membership in the E.U.: the number of E.U. supporters in Turkey is more than any of the ten new members and the two other candidates.⁸² There is an urgent need for Turkey to inform her public about what the membership will bring with it, instead of trying to convince the Turkish public about the benefits of membership for the E.U. If Turks seriously consider Westernizing, modernism, and Kemalism, they will suit both the E.U. living standard and the modern level of civilization pointed out by Mustafa Kemal years ago.

⁸¹ Speech by President Josep Borrell, European Council Brussels, 17 December 2004.

⁸² Eurobarometer Spring 2004: Public Opinion in the European Union, publication in July 2004 by Eurobarometer.

As Olli Rehn has said, providing public support in both Turkey and Europe is the most important condition for success in accessing the E.U.⁸³ The Turkish community generally is informed by the media, whose influences diverts the people regarding its interests. The owners of the press, most of whom are businessmen and are willing to access the E.U., influence the public positively about the E.U., but they should give more priority to informing the public about Kemalism and its requirements. Some groups that oppose becoming an E.U. member try to reduce its support by claiming that the E.U. is only looking forward for its own benefits, and is going to use Turkey for its own future purposes. Therefore, if they accept Turkey, they will easily exploit Turkey. This idea does not accord with Kemalism. Those groups' goal is solely to confuse the public. This can be stopped by educating the public and informing them about the real significance of Kemalist thought: modernist and forward-looking. Even if Turkey is not accepted by the E.U., Kemalist ideas will foster the hopes of the people, and its supporters will raise the living standards by hard work.

The Free Turkey Commission believes that as long as Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen Criteria, accessing negotiations should start. Any detention will harm the reliability of the E.U. On the other hand, in Turkey it should be understood that fulfilling the criteria means applying the legislation approved by the parliament. The criteria for accession to the E.U. should be the same for each country willing to attend. The European Commission will decide whether Turkey fulfills the Copenhagen Criteria and is suitable for negotiations. Since Turkey is a Eurasian country, Turkish culture and European history have existed together for years. Turkey's direction toward Europe has been noticed by the international public for decades. So Turkey's status differs from other states in the Middle East and North Africa. The E.U. never clarified that its unification is restricted to the continent of Europe. European public opinion about whether Turkey is located in Europe or not should not be a problem right now, because Turkey has not

⁸³ Milliyet daily Turkish newspaper, "Biz şu AB sevdasından vaz mı geçsek acaba?", Available online at <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/03/09/yazar/ulagay.html> (accessed 03/09/2005)

changed its borders for decades. If its location is an oppositional issue, the E.U. should have declared that that was a problem in 1959, when Turkey first applied for membership, or at its second application in 1987, or when it got candidate status in 1999.

The bases of relationships are the people involved, not the signatures they put on a piece of paper. Nations that may possibly work together in both civil and military areas should meet on common ground and get to know one another better. To support congruity between the nations, the current governments in Europe should inform their publics about Turkey and Turkish people. Turkey also has to immediately educate its citizens about the E.U. requirements and life style.

Social concerns are not the kind of issues that can be exceeded. Explaining Turkey to Europe and Europe to Turkey is one solution that could help eliminate the E.U.'s social concerns. The Turkish people should also be educated about what modernism really means and what overall the European Union is. Turkey, of all the E.U.-membership candidates is the one that is most enthusiastic for membership, but Turkey is also the one whose people have the least information about that membership and the least true instruction about the relation between Kemalism and the E.U.

C. THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

If Kemalism had been applied in Turkey over the years by every government and every populace, most of the obstacles to Westernization and to E.U. membership would never have emerged. Because Kemalism opposes any obstacle that blocks Westernization, the obligations below might already have been resolved.

According to the E.U., the following issues are the main obstacles for Turkey. The E.U. addressed the issues in establishing guidelines for Turkey's self-improvement and development. The issues were addressed under the titles shown here in the 2004 Regular Report on Turkey's progress toward accession.

Included here are also some possible Kemalist approaches to the problems. Although they are contemporary problems, Kemalism is an ideology that can be used in any historical period, since its practices are designed specifically as parts of a continuous process, and its basic principles are modernism, reformism, and secularism.

1. Free Movements of Goods and Transport Policy

To improve the selling and marketing of products mutually in Turkey and other countries, Turkey has to accelerate its transportation development. Also, rapprochement between Turkey and Greece since the enormous earthquake in Istanbul in 1999 should especially be continued and the planned highway construction should begin.

There must be regulations to standardize production and marketing. The government should set up new organs to provide and control this standardization process. It must be the state's policy to have the same standards as Europe. Turkey's adaptation to the new alphabet and international measurement units, etc. should assist its adaptation also to the new standards. This is not only for E.U. members, but also to increase the Turkish living standards. Mutual reliance in production, selling, consuming, and transporting are, however, essentials for E.U. membership.

2. Free Movement of Persons

The Turkish mentality that the life styles of Europeans are much better than those in Turkey, should be changed. The government should determine that membership in the E.U. does not mean only free transportation, being allowed to work in any country, and the decrease of unemployment. Indeed, the fact that the large numbers of the Turkish population are eager to immigrate to Europe has intimidated the Europeans, who have responded by limits in the regulations of work permits for foreign citizens. Although the limitations are described as temporary, it is obvious that they will be extended.

3. Freedom to Provide Services, Science and Research

Governments exist to serve their citizens. For everybody's coexistence, there should be appropriate social and legal rules and laws. But those rules should not be bureaucratic troublemakers. By discouraging the officials who deal with bureaucratic issues and those who pay considerable taxes, the government disrupts the general prosperity. Nonproducing societies or societies that cannot sell their products are always dependent on other societies. Today, modern societies have not only traditional production but also technological production. In addition, they work in research and development. Unfortunately, Turkey has problems with even the traditional production, a situation that is definitely not in accord with Kemalism.

4. Free Movement of Capital

Turkey should not legitimize illegal money like underdeveloped countries do. On the contrary, it should track the illegal money, and Turkey should foster the use of wire transfers for money transactions. But improving the process does not mean authorities should not control the transfer of capital.

5. Company Law, Consumers and Health Protection

Today, the world seems to get smaller day by day because of technological developments. Every country is available for marketing and producing. Products sometimes cost less than in their place of origin. An essential condition for progress and modernization is economic freedom. Trading must be done legally for economical freedom. Since labor costs are cheap in Turkey, some firms prefer to produce in Turkey. This situation has a positive affect on unemployment and the economy. On the other hand, copying the products and selling them is illegal. Although copying is illegal, it persists because of the incompetence of law officials. Founding the organs to ensure application of business laws and opening the whole country to trade as a free-trade area will increase the power of the state.

6. Competition Policy

Turkey should have a free economy without monopolies. The business law should not tolerate monopolies, and the government-run monopolies established in the first years of the republic should be privatized. Thus, government would begin to act as only a regulator.

7. Agriculture, Fisheries, Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments

Formerly, Turkey was able to produce sufficient amounts for its population in the areas of agriculture and stockbreeding. But today, Turkey imports those products. That's because of the wrong government policies. Populist politics in Kemalism encouraged the people to produce like one big family. Today, the country's standing does not depend on a family-oriented politics; it needs planning, programming, and coordinating. From the data analyzed, experts concluded that the planning should be run by smaller administrations. For the fisheries, estimations should be made, and, from their results, solutions should be found. Strong individual efforts will hasten the transformation.

8. Taxation, Financial and Budgetary Provisions

Just taxes, the biggest part of the government's income, are very important for the business employment system. A government that is not able to collect its taxes cannot be trusted by its citizens. Since Kemalism essentially means modernizing and Westernizing, individuals must understand the importance of paying taxes as the Europeans do. But the taxes should not be spent on unnecessary things. When Mustafa Kemal established the country he did so with an understanding of the economic situation of the state. Thus, he made good investments and used the optimum opportunities. He always considered himself as "with the people." But today, even though the people have economical problems, the administrators live in very good conditions that are

provided by the taxpayers. This fact makes people avoid paying taxes, which do not accord with Kemalism at all. Both the people and the government have moved away from Kemalism.

9. Economic and Monetary Union

The administration of the government uses not only the facilities provided by the government, but also its economic powers to get profit for its own benefit. Kemalism never tolerates and penalizes such pillage, and also the pillager. The Central Bank should be strengthened, not to benefit certain groups, but to benefit the state according to the principles of Kemalism.

10. Statistics, Social Policy and Employment, Industrial Policy, Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

Thanks to modern technology and its instruments such as computers, we can easily analyze data. In the beginning, the new state, with only one person's guidance, improved itself in a very short time. There is no reason today not to really adapt to the ongoing transformations. Claiming Kemalism as a methodology and making the people conscious of the Kemalist ideology is the only way to assure success.

During the first years of the Republic, most of the state's businesses were the government's responsibility. Today, most of the state's businesses are run, more successfully, by the private sector. There should be careful oversight of which businesses are transferred to the private sector and how the private sector works. Turkey has to adapt itself to international norms and reform itself according to the new transformation process, as it did it before under the guidance of the Kemalist presidency.

11. Energy

One of the world's most important issues is energy. Establishing a financially viable, stable, transparent, and competitive energy market that will

function as per the provisions of the law and ensure independent regulation and supervision of the market to provide sufficient electricity and natural gas of good quality to consumers, at low cost, in a reliable and environmentally friendly manner is essential to E.U. membership. Turkey has already done some work to provide a controlled, regulated and stable energy market, but it should be more effective and freer in its decisions from the control of the present government.

12. Environment

It is obvious that the average people in Europe have better living conditions than the average people living in Turkey. The improvement of a country's living standards is related to both its economy and its educational system. Individuals should respect not only other individuals but also the environment. The civil and industrial zones should be set up according to international standards. Mustafa Kemal worked hard on city planning during his presidency; for instance, he founded the Ataturk Forest Farm in Ankara. Today's city planning, however, is not adequate. The green zones are fast disappearing. Strict legislation is needed to protect the natural environment, and both fines and imprisonment should be available to punish noncompliance.

13. Common Foreign and Security Policy

Turkey should make additional efforts to ensure that its foreign-policy orientation remains in line with the European Union's developing foreign and security policies, and on finalizing the development of the necessary administrative structures. In particular, Turkey should ensure that its national policies and practices conform to the E.U.'s common policies. Turkey should also continue to promote stability and security in the region, including, namely, the Balkans, Caucasus, Eastern Mediterranean, and Middle East. In that context, the efforts of Turkey to improve and deepen its relations with the neighboring countries are welcome. Turkey also continues to have an important role to play in the effort to stabilize Iraq.

D. THE EU'S APPROACH TO TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP

Europe gave priority to Eastern European states rather than to Turkey, even though Turkey was more eager to be a member of the Union. If the reason that happened is cultural, then Turkey could understand. However, if the main reason is something else, then Turkey will probably implement its own foreign policy and find a new path for shaping it and its economic alliances. Actually, Turkey is not desperate to join the E.U.; on the other hand, Turkey is gradually gaining membership status. Moreover, Turkey entered the Customs Union in 1996, without being afraid of European free markets. Consequently, the experienced E.U. has benefited from the Customs Union more than Turkey has. After giving Turkey an official date of December 2004, as Turkey becomes more expectant, European countries become more expectant for Turkey to carry through the requirements and fulfill the E.U.'s main concerns.

In this regard, President Josep Borrell explained, "The fact that negotiations are opened does not mean they will be completed. No one can predict the final outcome of any accession negotiations. It was clear that the prospect of membership has been the driving force for, and is already the guarantor of, political, social and economic reform. A 'no' to full membership would send this process into reverse."⁸⁴ Actually, this explains much about the E.U.'s approach to Turkey's full membership: it does not want to discourage Turkey's reform movements and Westernization processes. The E.U. knows what it will lose politically and economically if it refuses Turkey. According to the E.U., it will gain the most benefit today by neither refusing nor accepting Turkey. The members will think about the future next, but they will not let Turkey completely turn its back on the E.U.

⁸⁴ Speech by President Josep Borrell, European Council Brussels, 17 December 2004.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

Determining what the problems are is as important as finding the proper solutions to them. On the other hand, that determination requires a process of interpretation. The better the interpretation, the better the solutions. During the first years of the Republic, Kemal Ataturk made exact determinations, and by equally exact solutions, he rescued Turkey from potential oblivion and engendered a new attitude into the new nation-state. Kemalism might be called “a union of predictions”: that union comprizes the essential ideology needed to resolve the problems that Turkey is struggling with today. By keeping Kemalism and its radical solutions current and interpreting and applying them correctly, Turkey can accelerate the process toward joining the E.U.

B. REEVALUATE THE IDEA OF KEMALISM AND ITS EFFECTS

Turkey was established by Mustafa Kemal as a new culture with new structures far removed from the past. When it was a young country, it was normal to have disorder and problems among different groups. But after many years of rebellion against the Republic, it is now wrong to take actions that aim at weakening the state. The loser is the entire nation. Instead, Turkey should focus on Kemalism. Turkey has turned its face to the West ever since the day it was established. Mustafa Kemal tried to adapt Turkey to the West both at the moment of its establishment and throughout the following years.

1. New Structure: Turkey is Different from the Ottoman Empire

Though the Turkish Republic is not as extensive as the Ottoman Empire, the Republic was established from that population. During the Ottoman era, Westernization started first in Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and then spread to Anatolia. Since the state's territories were widespread, the

impact in Istanbul did not affect the whole country in the same way. However, people did accommodate Westernization and got used to it.

Though reforms required by the E.U. have been done mostly on paper, the E.U. has concerns about Turkey's carrying out those reforms. The E.U. has those concerns largely because Kemalism has lost its former effect on Turkey. Now that Kemalist reforms and goals are on the agenda, they can provide renovation in Turkey like in the first years of the Republic. Despite the public's empathy toward the E.U., any negative reaction to the changing lifestyles could be decreased by the application of Kemalist renovation methods. Renovation movements should rise up throughout the whole country at the same time.

Today, Turkey is open to Westernization; the dream-wish that a leader like Kemal would arise to "save" the country is part of the past. What Turkey's needs are educated people, governments influenced by a belief in Kemalism, and an overall understanding of the Kemalist ideology. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk lighted the way for the future, which is now.

It is unquestionable that Turkey's eventual E.U. membership will have many advantages for Turkey. Should Turkey not be accepted, the Union should evaluate its loss. Some cliché expressions about Turkey's membership suggest that "Turkey is not a European country" and "Muslims will invade Europe in order to destroy the European culture and civilization." Global peace starts with a meeting of peoples with common backgrounds; pointing out differences and opposing uniting is a break from the idea of peace. Because of its interest and belief in Kemalism, Turkey is actually more likely than Europe to renovate.

Beginning in the tenth century, the Ottoman Sultans carried out reforms to inject fresh blood into the regressing Empire. And there were continuous efforts to Westernize. The reforms were influenced especially by France. Most of the institutions peculiar to the Ottomans were abolished: the military was modernized; the state administration was centralized; a postal service was established; the Ottoman Central Bank, issuing the first Ottoman banknote, was

established; the education system was transformed to a binding elementary education with the establishment of the Galatasaray High School, in which the language of education was French; a modern medical education was initiated; and new civil and penal laws were issued.

After France's defeat by Prussia in 1871, the reforms mostly lost their impact on the public. Instead of Westernization, the Empire's Islamic identity was evidenced in the reactions of the people. Though the reforms did not accomplish their goal, the reform era did provide a new, modern-life model in the public's eye. In subsequent years, the Young Ottomans Movement, inspired by Britain and France, offered a constitutional government model that featured freedom and citizens' political rights. They propounded the idea of a "Homeland," instead of obedience to a "Sultan." The Young Ottomans, confronted by the Sultan's reaction, receded as the first liberal opposition party, which, nonetheless, would form the background for a future constitutional monarchy. Their ideals were internalized by the Young Turks, who had already chosen revolution, although they were only supported by the elite officers.

The Young Turks were influenced by European philosophical and sociological trends. Their long-lasting success is due to the fact that they started a modernization process to protect the Turkish national identity. Through Mustafa Kemal, the Young Turks developed the Ottoman reforms and created new reforms. Today, Turkey suffers because of its failure to apply those reforms. If the reforms had been practiced properly, as they were in the era in which they were formed and even renovated, Turkey might already be a member of the E.U.

Some of Kemal's reforms were: the abolishment of the Sultanate, Caliphate, Ulema, and the Law of Seria; the issuance of a new civil law taken from Swiss civil law; Turkey's adoption of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic; abolishment of words whose roots were Arabic and Persian; change of the calendar from a moon-oriented calendar to a sun-oriented calendar; and the establishment of women's political rights. Those reforms should not be misunderstood. Mustafa Kemal did not want to abolish Islam or destroy the

values of Islam. His project was to end the effect of Islam on Turkish law and justice. He aimed to retain Islam as a “conscience issue.”

Turkey began to develop as a modern and secular state due to Kemal Ataturk. After Kemal's death, if the government institutions had done their job properly, without making concessions about Kemalism, and if the people had learned the ideas of Kemalism, Turkey would be at a more modern and developed point than it is today. But Turkey has also struggled with internal issues and quarrels. Indeed, Turkey has wasted years struggling with some groups that were corrupting the early reforms, and development planning is late.

Evaluating Turkey as if it were merely a residual of the Ottoman Empire means disregarding all the reforms and modernization movements of Kemalism. The Turkish Republic was established by the will of the people led by Mustafa Kemal after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. After that, the structure of the state and people's lifestyles changed. The Turkish Republic, based on the twin ideas of Westernization and secularism, is the representative of the West, far removed from the world of the Ottomans.

2. Kemalism Today

Though Ataturk expressed that, in the Turkish Republic, the people's will and sovereignty is above all other authorities, the E.U. still has some concerns about the Turkish democracy. This means that Kemalism still is not being practiced properly in Turkey. To eliminate those concerns, the NGOs should tell the people about the ascendancy of democracy and Kemalism's goal, which is to contribute to global peace. The NGOs should also make sure that Kemalism is applied in every area properly. In other words, Turkey's NGOs should examine the whole country and work for democracy themselves, instead of the E.U.'s supervisors. Although Turkish associations and institutions have adjusted their regulations and codes according to the E.U.'s norms, the NGOs should help to actualize those regulations and to educate the people.

Kemalism includes development movements and their requirements for achieving a modern, developed civilization. One can easily see that Kemalism is based on modernism. Turkey has undoubtedly made an effort toward Westernization. Turkey was on America's side in the Cold War era and showed its character. And Turkey made its first E.U. membership application many years ago.

Secularism is another important issue for Turkey. Secularism, which is still not applied properly even in some Western countries, has been successful in Turkey. Some Western countries are still influenced by religious authorities. Although an Islamic party is currently in charge, Turkey successfully established a secular regime. Of course its secularism should be more developed; for example, citizens should not vote according to their religious beliefs. They should think about the kind of job that will be done if they vote for that party. So that voters' religious inclinations cannot be used by political parties, the parties must find more substantial propaganda to influence the public. Kemalist Westernizing and secular ideas could change the voting consciousness and advance the political parties' world visions. To educate the public, the nongovernmental organizations should even go from house to house to teach in and contribute to making the people more conscious of Kemalism.

The secularist system in Turkey provided by Ataturk must be well understood. Ataturk's secularism was inspired by France, but it has some differences. Secularism in Turkey means that religious beliefs should be left to people's private lives, by taking laws based on the Koran out of public life. Islamic institutions are under the control of the government and are checked by the government regularly. Moreover, the government follows the actions of mosques and religious charities and trains the imams to keep them and Islam under control, so the government can avoid extremist insurgents.

When changing the regime to a multiparty system in 1946 and starting to represent a political Islam, the government had intensive debates about the role of Islam in the regime. As those debates got worse day by day, intense political

tensions emerged that only concluded with interference by the military, which put an end to the Islamic parties. Though the essential need for interference by the military has been questioned, the real reason was that people were starting to move away from Kemalism. To interfere in politics every time there are problems is not appropriate, for sure. But it must be emphasized that religion is a personal issue, totally separate from the administration of the state.

In the middle of that debate, there are two groups: one group that believes that, because it is Muslim country, it has a democratic right to make Islam interfere in public life; and one group that believes that the Islamists' aim is to establish a state based on religion and that the Islamists threaten the secular Turkish Republic. Religious and government issues are totally separate phenomena, and inserting religion into the governmental issues only makes them more complex and confusing.

Some might question, after an eighty-year experience, how strong the roots of secularism are and how real a threat is it to Europe, to change Turkey's political system and transform it to an unsuitable form? Since the majority in Turkey support secularism and has sincere empathy for Kemalism, that is an advantage for Kemalist supporters. Since raising the education level decreases radical religious and conservative behavior, modern citizenship values are also refined. Many people introduce themselves first as Turks, and then as Muslims. As in every democracy, the risk of extreme groups that will use the democratic process for their own benefit cannot be abolished completely. But it seems that Turkey's secular system and direction toward Westernization are deeply rooted among the Turkish people. Thus, the government's completion of the reform process, modernization's continuation, and Turkey's joining the E.U. will be the best way to change the minds of less educated people and protect Turkey's secular system.

C. WHAT SHOULD THE CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BE IN TURKEY?

1. Efficiency of NGOs should be Increased

Today, modern militaries deal more with military business and less with politics. Moreover, the E.U. reacts against interference of the military in state politics. But this modern military approach is not very appropriate for Turkey. Though the Turkish army is a modern and special military, in Turkey it is alert to fulfill the duties given it by the constitution and the law. For instance, since the Turkish Military has lost many members of the army during its struggle against the PKK terror organization, it normally opposes the way that politicians, who are concerned about votes for their party, make inappropriate decisions about the PKK, some of which may create a threat to the safety of the Republic. But that opposition of the Turkish military should result in a negative reaction of the E.U. The military must show its reaction to those inappropriate decisions about terrorism by avoiding turning it into a political crisis by interfering. It should influence the voters via the nongovernmental organizations. The Turkish military has developed in its response to both internal and external politics. Many intellectuals have the idea that the Turkish military forces have, for a while now, regulated the state successfully without subverting the government. This success should be developed further by working with the NGOs.

If today the Turkish populace becomes united under Kemalism, like it did during the first years of the republic, the E.U.'s concerns will be mostly eliminated. It is not easy to actualize the Kemalist requirements for and with all the people. It can be successful, however, by coordinating with the NGOs. The Turkish military forces are the biggest defender of Kemalism and, for that reason, they may become a target of the E.U. But they can avoid becoming a target by supporting the NGOs in extending Kemalism to the entire populace.

In these circumstances, NGOs should be established that are greatly interested in the Westernization process and are eager to analyze and examine the basic difficulties and opportunities. The members of those organizations

should meet regularly to coordinate their actions, share information, and brainstorm ideas. All the governmental institutions and the Turkish military forces should support the NGOs regarding the laws. By bringing Kemalism to life, those organizations may eliminate the possibility of any external or internal powers taking advantage of Turkey. If the independent spirit of Turkey emerges, Turkey will not wait at the door of the European Union any longer. It will be invited as a nation-state to be member.

2. Turkey Could be a Model Country in the Region

Turkey's membership could strengthen the southern policies of the E.U. and add a strong "South Dimension" to the "North Dimension" which was generated by Finland's joining the E.U. The membership of Turkey should not be seen as a threat but as an opportunity. Moreover, the idea that Turkey's membership will pull Europe into the Middle East's problems is nonsense. All the political, social, and military events that happen in that problematic area affect Europe's security and stability, regardless of whether the E.U. will have borders next to Iran, Iraq, and Syria, or not. Since Turkey has long been the heart of the Eurasia region and a representative of the Middle East in the West, Europe's actions in that region will gain many benefits because of Turkey's position. Moreover, Turkey has worked actively in coordination for Europe's future to increase the effectiveness of the ESDP and improve its capability. Since Turkey is one of the most powerful members of NATO, Turkey will be one of the major contributors to the Europe defense system. Also, Turkey's membership will provide a closer and mutually beneficial association with Europe for avoiding international terrorism, organized crime, human smuggling, and illegal immigration, all of which threaten Europe's homeland security and stability.

"Peace at home, peace in the world," a central Kemalist ideological expression, emphasizes Kemalism's desire for global peace and provides a formula for that peace. The Kemalist peace approach is similar to the E.U.'s peace policies, which are soft and far from the using of force. By allowing Turkey

access to the E.U., not only can the Union build a bridge between Europe and the Middle East, but also the E.U. will the advantage of Turkey's big and well-equipped military for the European Peace Force. The Turkish military has already proven its strength, experience, and discipline in international operations. If the E.U. accepts Turkey's membership, it will have both the Turks' and the Middle Eastern people's empathy. By joining the E.U., Turkey could become a model for the region's other states whose structures are cosmopolitan. Therefore, by working on the European Security Defense Policy (ESDP), E.U. policies will be stricter, stronger, and more effective in their approach to Middle East politics.

Turkey should choose the Kemalist ideology as a guide not only for full E.U. membership, but also for a stronger future. To transform Turkey into a key state for the E.U. and eliminate the problems that are causing concern for the E.U., Turkey should keep its people informed about the E.U. and Kemalism by employing the NGOs.

D. WHAT SHOULD TURKEY DO?

Turkey should carry out comprehensive reforms not only for the E.U. but for its own benefit. However, the requirements for full E.U. membership have already been a catalyst for reform movements started by the government in recent years. Turkey has made a positive impression by making changes in its constitution and by progressing with the eight congruity packages. Abolishing the death penalty, taking precautions against the torture and abuse of those in custody, and renovating conditions in its jails are some of the reforms that have been successfully implemented. Certain laws about the determination, organization, and freedom of the press for journalists, academicians, and human rights defenders that had a bad reputation were either abolished or changed. The government Security Courts, which had systematically committed human rights violations, were abolished. By doing so, Turkey showed implicit approval of international human rights legislation's superiority to its own legislation. In addition to the renovations in the justice system, Turkey has made huge progress

in minimizing its public administration and governmental institutions, strengthening the role of the parliament, extending gender equality, and advancing religious rights and freedoms. Moreover, the National Security Council's duties, functions, and authority have been changed, and the civil-military relationship has been altered according to the E.U. member states' regulations. Those regulations and parliament's acquisition of control of military expenditures will increase the possibility of interference of the military in the political process. Abolishing the state-of-emergency procedures that had limited fundamental freedoms and rights for twenty-five years raised the quality-of-life standards of the Turkish people and of Kurdish people living in the region. Allowing radio and television broadcasting in some languages other than Turkish and tolerating the cultural activities of ethnic groups will have a positive effect on relations among the ethnic groups.

The political and legal systems of the state have changed profoundly. However, the application of the new regulations and legislations in all governmental institutions needs to be supported by a general public effort. Especially, the superiority of the law, the rights of ethnic and religious minorities, and regulations in civil-military relations should be internalized by all parties, and applied in their actions. Thus, the Observation Group founded by the government has an important role in the practicing of those regulations. Europe's interest and the European Commission's observations are very important for the remaining aspects of the reform process. The NGOs should coordinate with the people, institutions, and foundations in Europe.

E. CONCLUSION: NGOS SHOULD EXPLAIN WHAT KEMALISM MEANS

Turkey, as shaped by Kemalism, was recognized throughout the world and rapidly gained status in international organizations. In August 1949, the European Council, the guardian of European values and principles, approved Turkish full membership a few months after signing the London Agreement. The Council realized that the Turkish Republic fulfilled the two requirements of

membership: it was a European state and it accepted the superiority of human rights, law, and multiparty democracy. These issues, determined in the second condition, are guaranteed in the Turkish constitution. Also, the European identity of Turkey, a current issue, had never been questioned by Europe. During the Cold War, attaching Turkey to the Western camp was a fundamental strategic benefit, and Turkey became the mainstay of the European-Atlantic defense system by joining NATO in 1951. Moreover, Turkey became a member of the OECD, OSCE, and EBRD. Today, Turkey is a member of all the European organizations except the European Union. Turkey, by renovating itself by Kemalism, belongs in the E.U.

The official statements of European organizations years ago seem consistent: Turkey, whenever it fulfills the criteria of full membership, will definitely join the E.U. However, those statements have lost their reliability because of some European countries' behavior, which raises doubts about membership for Turkey. They discuss the size of the Turkish territories, Turkey's underdeveloped socio-economical situation, its bad reputation in regard to human rights, uncontrolled immigration, and the membership's cost to the E.U. But the real concern behind all those arguments is the religion issue, which is not usually expressed directly but is hidden under a "social and cultural difference" heading. Despite those concerns, the strategic importance of Turkey and the will to be in touch with Turkey have always been the dominant issues for Europeans and for all E.U. governments that have had some positive agreements on relations with Turkey. During all those years, Turkey has never raised any doubts about its intentions toward the West. It has always taken a place in the European integration process. However, Turks complain that, since Europeans still insist on having the spirit of crusaders, as they have for centuries, they cannot generate feelings of empathy toward Turkey. Kernalist thought about the spirit of the crusader has never changed: the "West has always been prejudiced against Turks, but Turks have always been moving toward Europe."

Consequently, approving Turkey's E.U. membership will never mean that Turkey has done everything right and has been a very strong state. And not approving the E.U. membership will never mean that everything Turkey has done is wrong and that Turkey has been a weak state. Though full membership seems to be Turkey's goal, Turkey is mostly an intercessor attempting to reach the level of other contemporary civilizations. The shortest way to reach that goal is by internalizing and practicing the principles of Kemalism. Today Turkey suffers because of a failure to practice Kemalism, the ideology given to the nation by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. All its government institutions should teach and train the people about the application of Kemalism, for the institutions' own proficiency. To raise Turkey's civilization level to the Western civilization level, its nongovernmental organizations should take the most responsibility for seeing that Kemalism is learned and practiced properly.

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