

BOOK REVIEW

"TURKEY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: NEW CHALLENGES FOR A RISING REGIONAL POWER"
Mastny, Vojtech and Nation, R. Craig (Eds.) Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, (1996)
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Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power is a compendium of papers presented at a conference entitled Turkey and Europe, held at the Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Bologna Center in February 1994. Conference papers are slow in appearing in edited volumes. So the editors are to be complemented for getting revised versions of the papers, editing them and producing this volume in less than two years.

Although the name of the volume implies that they might all focus on Turkey's relationship with the outside world, the contributions fall into three groups. Five of the contributions do in fact deal with Turkey's external relations, three focus on Turkey's internal developments, and finally two contributions deal with Turks abroad, Turkic and other Muslim peoples in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. The inclusion of contributions that do not deal directly with Turkey's external relations may initially lead to the impression that the title of the book is a misnomer. It becomes clear, however, that they all belong in a book with this title if a broader perspective is adopted. More explicitly, the inclusion of developments in the politics and economy of Turkey, as well as in those of other societies with which Turkey has had historical links or hopes to establish such, helps build a framework within which it is easier to understand Turkey's foreign policy and external relations. This inclusion becomes all the more relevant since Turkey is sometimes not only described as constituting a model or an example for some post Soviet countries, but also because it is often suggested that it has special historical and cultural links with many of them.

Rather than writing an introductory chapter or a conclusion, which is typical in edited volumes, save for a brief descriptive preface, the editors have chosen to confine their contributions to the editing of the conference papers. While there is no universal requirement that edited volumes should have an introduction and a conclusion, one or the other, particularly a conclusion, might have been a useful addition. The chapters are about a variety of countries, regions and topics. An additional chapter which integrated them by addressing the issue stated in the book's subtitle, 'New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power', would have been a welcome addition. Such a contribution could have been particularly important in view of the fact that much interesting discussion must have taken place at the conference where the papers were initially submitted. Some of this could surely have been presented to the benefit of the readers in a concluding chapter.

The book starts with an exciting contribution by Kemal H. Karpat, who focuses on major events in the Turco-European relationship during the Ottoman times. Professor Karpat has managed to produce a brief but highly perceptive analysis of the relationship, identifying landmarks and how those have given direction to the evolution of the relationship. This chapter is clearly a candidate for required background reading for courses on Turkish foreign policy.

The next chapter by Bruce Kuniholm, 'Turkey and the West since World War II', is a well researched and written piece. Despite the name, however, the chapter is not about Turkey's relationship with the West, but only with that part of the West in which the United States was dominant: that is, the Western Alliance. Although the significance of the American relationship for Turkey cannot be overestimated, other Western links should also not be neglected, especially since they may assume greater significance in the future. A better title for this chapter would have been: 'The United States and Turkey since World War II as seen from the United States'.

In 'Turkey in the New Security Environment in the Balkan and the Black Sea Regions', Duygu B. Sezer, presents an excellent analysis of the major characteristics of the new security environment Turkey finds itself in, particularly as regards neighbouring regions. For Turkey, the security implications of the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and the breakdown of the Soviet Union, is a question which has received only belated attention. Since the collapse of the bipolar world came suddenly, many members of the Western Alliance, Turkey included, were ill-prepared on the policy and the intellectual fronts, to analyse the implications of these changes for national and regional security. Sezer's paper is a contribution in that direction.

One of the interesting consequences of the demise of the Eastern Bloc and its mainstay, the USSR, was the discovery by the public in both Turkey and the West, of an immense ethnic diversity in the Balkans, Central Asia and the Caucasus (though this information was always in books and encyclopedias). This diversity harboured, among other things, a very significant Turkish and Muslim component to which little attention was paid during the Cold War. R. Craig Nation, in his chapter, focuses on 'The Turkic and Other Muslim Peoples of Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Balkans'. Short historical reviews, descriptions of Turkic and Muslim elements in the population, historical ties with the Turkish Empire and brief references to contemporary problems, all constitute elements of a background with which it is important to be familiar in analysing contemporary Turkish relations with the countries of these regions.

The next three chapters turn to the study of Turkish politics, political institutions, society and economy. Clement Dodd in his 'Developments in Turkish Democracy', offers a brief overview of the development of political democracy in Turkey, with more emphasis on recent developments and some of the problems which the growth of political democracy in Turkey has encountered. Following the discussion initiated by Professor Dodd, Ilkay Sunar, in his 'State, Society and Democracy in Turkey', analyses the political ideologies and processes by which a democratic political system has been built in Turkey. Dodd and Sunar's contributions are, in many ways, complementary: while the former talks about major problems of Turkey's democracy, the latter addresses why the problems have emerged. Although both chapters limit themselves exclusively to the examination of Turkish domestic politics, it is clear that they are relevant for Turkey's external relations in two different ways. First, the nature of Turkish democracy has proven to be problematical in Turkey's relations with its West European and American partners. Second, Turkey is often said to constitute an example for countries in her region which find themselves in the process of making a transition to more open and competitive systems. A critical examination of the Turkish experience as done by Dodd and Sunar in their separate contributions, may provide those who hold critical views of Turkey's democracy with an explanatory framework regarding why problems come about. On the other hand, for those who look to Turkish democracy building as a model, these chapters identify some of the difficulties newly democratising countries may expect to encounter in building their democratic systems.

Ziya Öniş's 'The State and Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey: Etatism to Neo-liberalism and beyond', like Dodd and Sunar's contributions, looks at the domestic scene, but concentrates on the Turkish economy and its development rather than politics. Öniş does couch his question in the broader framework of a "Turkish model of development", which he notes Öniş increasingly come to the forefront of public discussion as a possible path for the newly independent republics of Central Asia" (p.155). He then proceeds to analyse Turkey's economic evolution from stateled industrialisation, to one led by import substitution and, finally, by a private sector. This is an excellent analysis of the interactions between the state and the economy, and the problems of transition when moving from one type of relationship between the state and the economy to another. It is recommended reading for anyone who is interested in the role of the state in the Turkish economy, how it has changed over time, and the problems encountered in the process of change.

The next two chapters are concerned with efforts at economic cooperation and integration in which Turkey has been involved. The first of these, the Black Sea Economic Co-operation (BSEC) project, was developed on the basis of an idea which had been put forth by a retired Turkish diplomat and capitalised on by the late Turgut Özal. Bülent Gültekin and Ayşe Mumcu investigate the idea of Black Sea Economic Co-operation from the perspective of economists. They bring a very useful comparative dimension to their analysis by looking at other attempts at regional integration. They also take a brief look at the economies of each of the member states, which the reader will find extremely useful since little is known about some of them. It would have been also useful to provide the reader with some more information on how the BSEC is organised, how it operates, and what kind of projects it has considered adopting and implementing. The BSEC is a new and not so well known effort and its membership appears to be more interested in economic cooperation than economic integration. In addition to the theoretical discussion and the country based data, more information on the organisation itself would have rendered this chapter even more interesting and useful.

Heinz Kramer, in his chapter, takes up by far the most significant regional integration attempt for Turkey, the European Union. In his 'Turkey and the European Union: A Multi-Dimensional Relationship with Hazy Perspectives', Kramer presents an excellent analysis of the problematical relationship between the EU and Turkey, from the perspective of a German policy expert. The analysis is candid and tends to reflect the pessimism about the relationship which has prevailed in the EU in recent years, and the didactic style of its author. It would have been interesting to have another chapter written by someone who related the Turkish view on the relationship since, on these matters, there is often more than one story to be told.

The final chapter, by Faruk Şen, is concerned with the Turkish communities in Western Europe. The chapter is rife with statistical descriptions of the Turkish presence, particularly in Germany. Unfortunately, the book comes to an abrupt end here. As has already been indicated, a concluding chapter is lacking. All in all, however, this is an important book since it probably constitutes the first comprehensive one-volume effort to examine Turkey's politics, economy, external relations and the conditions under which its international role is changing from that of a client state in an alliance to one of 'a rising regional power'. It makes interesting reading for a wide range of readers, from those who are interested in Turkey, to those who are interested in the politics and the economics of the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia, to students of political and economic change or international politics.