

## Great Powers and Geopolitical Change

By *Jakub J. Grygiel*

Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, 280 pages, ISBN: 142140415X.

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The term ‘globalization’ has been commonly used to describe the incrementally increasing pace of international relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Geopolitics, which is a method of political analysis emphasizing the role of geography in international relations, seems anachronistic as a way to comprehend the complex realities of the world at a time of space-time compression. Indeed, this is true for a determinist geopolitical analysis solely relying on constant geographical factors to explain foreign policy decisions. Nevertheless, this does not mean that scholars can neglect geopolitical factors when attempting to pursue a proper geostrategy. Even at a time of accelerated globalization states endeavour to expand their influence over resources (such as oil) and trade routes (e.g., sea lanes, not only for the flow of transportation of oil, but also for military purposes) for strategic objectives. Hence, complex geopolitical approaches are required to provide relevant and more realistic analyses to explain changing geopolitical factors that influence foreign policy decisions at a time of geopolitical change and a

power shift to the east, to Asia-Pacific.

In *Great Powers and Geopolitical Changes*, Jakub J. Grygiel has developed a geopolitical approach. With a cautiousness to avoid determinism, the author examines the concept of geography as an independent variable and focuses on the interaction between geopolitics and geostrategy. According to Grygiel’s interpretation, geography is a combination of two factors: immutable geological facts (such as the patterns of lands, seas, rivers, mountain ranges, and climate zones), and the human capacity to adapt to them through changes in production and communications technology. The outcome of this combination of geography and human activities has three variables: the layout of trade routes, the location of resources, and the nature of state borders. This prompted Grygiel to assume that “geography is a geopolitical reality to which states respond by formulating and pursuing a geostrategy” (p. 1). Geopolitics, which is the human factor within geography such as opening new trade routes and technological innovation in transportation and/or

communication, exists independently of politicians' strategic motivations or their geostrategy. On the basis of this intellectual vantage point, the author formulates his main argument: "the most successful states are those that match their geostrategy to the underlying geopolitical reality" (p. 20). States that protect their home territory (and their proxies), and politically control resources and their transportation routes will increase and maintain their relative power.

Following this conceptual examination, Grygiel tests his argument by shedding light on three great powers of their time: Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and Ming China. By considering the tremendous geopolitical changes of the 16<sup>th</sup> century—the discovery of the Americas and the Cape of Good Hope thereby decreasing the importance of Eurasia in favour of Europe's Atlantic coast and Asia's Pacific coast—as independent variables, the author engages in examining the relative power status of those great powers. Grygiel finds that the match/mismatch between geopolitics and geostrategy of those great powers played a determining role in their rise and fall.

In the case of Venice, for instance, its advantageous location at the access point to the European markets for eastern wares and its eastward foreign policy orientation with system of bases and allies had made Venice a great power. As its geostrategy, which had been directed

towards the Italian mainland since the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, diverged away from the changing geopolitical reality, the Venice Empire was doomed to decline. Likewise, the geopolitical positioning of the Ottomans led to its emergence as regional leader, controlling south eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. However, its geopolitical positioning and particularly its long continental borders constrained the continental power of the Ottoman Empire to develop a (naval) geostrategy to match new geopolitical realities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese Sea Empire defeated the Ottoman Great Armada in Cairo marking an end to Ottoman ambition to politically control new trade routes running through the Cape of Good Hope to Indian Ocean. Hence, the Ottomans' landlocked geopolitical situation limited their ability to recalibrate their geostrategy to geopolitical changes in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, thereby paving the way for their eventual fall. In a similar vein, the rise of Ming China between 1364 and the 1450s had been the product of matching geopolitical reality and geostrategy. During that period, the Ming's geostrategy achieved success in finding a balance between China's land borders and extending its influence over the main maritime trade routes in Asia. Later in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, as securing unstable land borders in the north began to consume much of China's resources

and attention, the Ming dynasty made a misguided geostrategic decision to withdraw from the ocean trade routes. This led China to lose its control over key Asian trade routes connecting it with Europe, thereby hastening the Ming dynasty's decline.

Following this comparative historical analysis of past great powers, Grygiel draws lessons for the United States in the last chapter of the book. The author highlights this historical lesson: "the understanding of geopolitics and the necessity to reflect it in foreign policy remain vital" (p. 167). By considering the rise of China as a great power (combined with a weak Russia in Eurasia) and the unravelling of the transatlantic bloc as two significant geopolitical changes of our century, Grygiel propose that US policymakers should re-evaluate their geostrategic priorities by forming new alliances (e.g., engaging in new strategic partnerships with states on the northern and north eastern border of China) and

developing new (military) technologies to be more deterrent in Asia.

All in all, *Great Powers and Geopolitical Changes* has achieved its pledge to provide a non-deterministic geopolitical account to serve as a persuasive response to arguments against the importance of geopolitics in the age of globalization. In addition, Grygiel does a great job in combining his sophisticated conceptual analysis with rich historical data. Clearly, this has led the book to become a seminal piece that is likely to inspire forthcoming geopolitical studies and to guide foreign policymakers around the world in formulating their own geostrategy. For their part, Turkish foreign policymakers could gain vital insights in the process of recalibrating Turkey's geostrategy at a time of profound regional (Arab uprisings) and global (the power shift to the east) geopolitical change.

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## The Globalization of NATO: Intervention, Security and Identity

*By Veronica M. Kitchen*

New York: Routledge, 2010, 153 pages, ISBN: 9780415570176.

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After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the continued existence and the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was founded on the principle of countering what was perceived to be the Soviet threat, has become a crucial issue in academic as well as political circles. With the publication of her new book *The Globalization of NATO*, Veronica Kitchen contributes to the current debates over the perpetuation and transformation of the organization through discussions of the changing structure, nature, and identity of NATO in light of the impacts of globalization since the end of the Cold War.

The goals behind the founding of NATO were to create a security umbrella for the Atlantic community, to establish an environment based on mutual defence, and to develop a community of security for the members; today, however, as Kitchen argues, especially as regards cross-border and overseas missions, NATO has enlarged its area of influence as well as transformed its approach to the protection of member states. In contrast to the Cold War era,

NATO has begun to intervene in out-of-area missions even if the integrity or the security of the entity is not threatened. *The Globalization of NATO* examines the roles that NATO played in the Suez crisis, the Vietnam War, the Bosnian intervention, the Iraq dispute and the Afghanistan intervention with the aim of highlighting NATO's changing responsibilities and norms in the current decade.

The case studies in Kitchen's book examine the value of the identity of the NATO community, and although a mentality of mutual defence dominated in the early years of the organization, the last decade in particular has witnessed a major shift in NATO's perceptions of threats as well as constructs of norms and identity. In the first chapter, the author focuses on how discourses concerning security issues have been determined among the Atlantic countries. As discussed in securitization theory- upon which Kitchen primarily grounds her argument- the public can be convinced through speech acts. In other words, it is possible to create security threats

through talk and debate on a specific issue. In the construction of policies based on “Atlanticism” (p. 5), policy makers have focused on commonalities such as identity, norms, characteristics, and institutions, and they have also used the concepts of friends and enemies to determine what kinds of actions should be undertaken. More precisely, the author stresses that the Atlantic identity is a discourse which enables plausible or legitimate arguments for a particular group or people.

The second chapter argues that the Suez Crisis started a discussion on out-of-area norms. With the Suez crisis, member states tried to regulate common norms for out-of-area missions by claiming that the nationalization of the Suez Canal represented an economic threat to Europe, weakened global stability, and threatened French colonial interests and security in Algeria due to the fact that Nasser supported the rebels in the country. This step was perceived as necessary for members’ mutual security and defence in the future. However, when the nationalization of the canal was not perceived as a security threat by the USA and Canada, British and French efforts to establish a discourse enlarging the entity’s area of interest lost ground. The crisis indicated that the members of NATO still could not agree on the boundaries, responsibilities and identity of the community as well as whether or not out-of-area missions were of secondary importance, especially for the

USA, which was the dominant force of the community. In short, NATO was not ready to be converted from a no-war stance to a “political community in the realm of security” (p. 26).

In the third chapter, Kitchen concentrates on the allies’ attitudes concerning the stance taken by the USA vis-à-vis Vietnam. When the USA retaliated against the strikes by Vietnam, the issue of out-of-area missions re-emerged but member states did not perceive the attacks to be a security threat to the community even if the American government tried to characterize the Vietnam War as a moral responsibility for the Atlantic world. Additionally, the USA characterized the acts carried out by Vietnam as an “international war of aggression” (p. 44) and promoted intervention as an indication of the credibility of the NATO community. The USA also sought to develop a rhetoric that defined the crisis within the framework of the Cold War. These arguments, however, failed to convince the United Kingdom, France and Canada, and once again out-of-area missions remained a secondary issue for NATO, not just because of the prioritization of mutual defence but because of the delimitation of responsibilities of member states, many of which chose to pursue peacemaking policies as autonomous actors.

In the early 1990s, as Kitchen argues in the fourth chapter, security threats

began to change for most countries, and they coalesced around such issues as ethnic conflict, international terror, economic strains, organized crime, and environmental destruction. As Kitchen posits, those were the years when the *raison-d'être* of NATO came under scrutiny and the Atlantic community again began to discuss out-of-area missions, and soon after this the decision was made to intervene in the Bosnian conflict after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. There was a consensus among the members that the Bosnian dispute not only put the community's security in jeopardy but the credibility of member states as well. The Bosnian case was considered to be a milestone which provided the grounds for redefining Atlanticism, questioning the reasons for the existence of NATO, and helping member states rally around the idea that the main task in the transformation of NATO, based on the concepts of democracy, individual freedom, and a market economy, was to support the integration of new democracies in such areas as Eastern Europe. In response to the changing security environment on the international stage, NATO developed a new rhetoric based on the common values and moral principles of its members to sustain its presence in the new era. As Kitchen asserts, the intervention in former Yugoslavia was motivated by the Atlantic community's changing perspectives as regards its

responsibilities, including the possibility of promoting democracy, humanitarian aid, and the protection of human rights.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks and subsequent US efforts to garner support from member states once again brought out-of-area missions to the agenda. As the author points out in the fifth chapter, NATO announced for the first time that terrorist attacks would be interpreted within the framework of Article 5 as "an attack against them all" (p. 79). Even if the terrorist attacks were labelled as a common threat, member states could not agree, however, on the intervention in Iraq and subsequently the USA accused Iraq of being the financial force behind those attacks and having weapons of mass destruction. While the American and British governments were considering the use of force, they were unable to convince France and Germany even though the USA attempted to pitch the intervention as act of war against terrorism. The Iraq intervention crisis in NATO was crucial in two senses: although this act of terror was declared to be a common security threat to all members, there was no consensus for a military operation and moreover, this crisis was an indicator of the changing norms of NATO regarding mutual defence. The outcome of the crisis indicated that member states are also partners as regards global security issues.

The Afghanistan intervention and the New Strategic Concept of NATO are

the final issues taken up by Kitchen, and she cites these as examples of the transformation of the organization's new norms and responsibilities. The decision to deploy NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to Afghanistan was based on the idea that the Taliban's support for al Qaeda- labelled a terrorist group- would become a threat for all members. On the other hand, since the 9/11 attacks, taking action against terrorist groups and liberating countries from repressive regimes have been announced as NATO's global responsibilities and this encapsulates rebuilding Afghanistan and emancipating the Afghani people (p. 99). However, during the unfolding of the Afghanistan mission, a number of points of conflict arose as regards the distribution of tasks and responsibilities, troop numbers, and the moral responsibilities that member states have towards one another. As a result of the ongoing debates about the strategies of member states in Afghanistan- especially the Canadian request for the deployment of new troops- the alliance released a Strategic Vision in 2008 which included such main strategies as "long-term commitment, Afghan leadership, the integration of civilian and military efforts, and regional engagement" (p. 105). Another joint project carried out by member states was the Declaration of Alliance Security (2009) which marked an effort to correct NATO's weaknesses in responding to the crisis. However,

Kitchen claims that those efforts were unable to solve the issues pertaining to "political questions, solidarity, burden sharing and political will" (p. 108). The author proposes that NATO must concretely formalize the social norms in the New Strategic Concepts, which was completed after the book was published, as well as develop new strategies to deal with new challenges like nuclear proliferation, piracy, local conflicts and terrorism.

Overall, Kitchen presents NATO as a powerful organization which has succeeded in maintaining its presence despite conflicts over such issues as common norms, identity, responsibilities, overseas missions, and burden sharing. During the Cold War, the community's main attitudes regarding security were directed against the Soviet threat; however, when the Cold War ended, out-of-area norms went through a process of re-evaluation. *The Globalization of NATO* attempts to bring to light this transformation which started with the Yugoslavia crisis and gathered momentum following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Kitchen provides a detailed account of this process of change through comprehensive case studies and contributes to the current literature through a discussion of the new types of threats that have arisen in the post-Cold War era. Among other factors, the author emphasizes that the common identity and shared values of

the alliance have ensured its continued existence as well as its transformation into a global-scale alliance, and this in turn is useful as a means to acquiring a

better understanding of NATO's current positions and courses of action.

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## Fifty Years of EU – Turkey Relations: A Sisyphean Story

*By Armağan Emre Çakır (ed.)*

New York: Routledge, 2011, 186 pages, ISBN: 9780415579636.

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This book is a review of the 50 years of EU-Turkish relations that started with Turkey's application for associate membership to the European Economic Community. Taking into account the long time span of relations, which are still developing, the evolving approaches of both parties towards each other are examined in this book with a special emphasis on the 'delay' in Turkey's accession to the EU (p. 4). This volume, edited by Armağan Emre Çakır, carefully explores the nature and reasons for this delay in several dimensions: political, economic, security, ethical, and the sociological dimensions on the levels of identity, and elite and public opinion. The chapters of the book focus not only on the usually emphasized themes of political, economic and security dimensions, but also the generally less emphasized themes of ethics and sociology; however, some important fields such as environment,

agriculture or regional policy, or such key dimensions as democracy or human rights and justice remain outside the scope of the book.

The editor has gathered together some of the leading domestic and international scholars in the field as contributors to the book. They offer fresh insights into the half of a century old relationship between the EU and Turkey, provide a number of different perspectives to the themes in EU-Turkish relations, and come up with new questions for further studies in the field. In that regard, they all depart from the common narrative of considering Turkey as undertaking its obligations to progress in the EU membership process and the EU as not giving Turkey its due. Breaking this prevailing perspective towards this relationship, the volume underlines the fact that the nature and future of relations cannot be explained as a two-way game between the parties

but through the multitude of actors and complex network of relations. This is one of the main strengths of the book.

Regarding the content of the book, the volume starts with one of the most emphasized dimension of the relations, the political dimension. After a brief introductory chapter, in the second chapter Armağan Emre Çakır draws attention to Turkey's situation within the framework of the EU's enlargement waves. The author refutes the common perception that EU-Turkish relations is a two-way game between the two parties. Rather, the author emphasizes the importance of the different and multiple actors involved in the relations. The author tries to elaborate the facts that have influenced EU-Turkish relations and predominantly focuses on the interaction of a multitude of actors at multiple levels in a network of relations.

The third chapter focuses on the economic dimension. In this chapter, Tevfik F. Nas argues that the side benefits of the relationship are of central importance and that although Turkey has not progressed during the accession negotiations process, the economic gains in the course of accession cannot be overlooked. Nas provides insight to the economic transformation of Turkey with a special emphasis on the post-1980 restructuring of the Turkish economy, the factors underlying Turkey's economic transformation, and the principal aspects and the economic impact of the

Customs Union with the EU. Nas draws attention to Turkey's ongoing economic transformation and growth since the early 1960s and discusses the importance of the 'process' of relations between Turkey and the EU rather than the 'outcome' of Turkey's full membership to the EU.

In the chapter on the security dimension, Pınar Bilgin highlights the differences in 'security cultures' as a source of difficulty in EU-Turkish relations (p. 68). Bilgin argues that throughout the Cold War, the EU put an emphasis on soft power and non-military instruments whereby Turkey put it on military and strategic means. The author rejects the common conviction that security relations between the parties are essential in bringing Turkey closer to the EU. Through a comparative analysis, Bilgin concludes that Turkey's role as a 'security provider' for Europe has eroded gradually, which is one of the essential factors in the delay of Turkey's accession to the EU (p. 117).

In the chapters dealing with the ethical and sociological dimensions of identity as well as elite and public opinion, the contributors draw attention to rarely focused themes that have shaped the relations over the decades and played a critical role in setting the pace and shape of Turkey's accession process to the EU. In the fifth chapter, Nathalie Tocci explores the nature and substance of opinions and debates at elite levels within and across the member states. The

author argues that the delay in Turkey's accession process is partly embedded in the disconnect between Turkey's accession process and European debates about EU-Turkish relations. Explaining the underlying beliefs and interests motivating the elite debates about Turkey at domestic, European and global levels, Tocci finds out that the elite debates at the level of member states are shaped mainly by interests of the respective states or the EU rather than by EU-Turkish relations themselves. In that regard, the author depicts misperception, prejudice, ignorance and neglect as the natural outcome of ill-formed elite debates, all of which have significantly contributed to the delay of Turkey's accession to the EU.

Considering the significance of the opinions and preferences of the mass public on Turkey's accession to the EU, Ebru Ş. Canan-Sokullu and Çiğdem Kentmen in the sixth chapter aim to identify the direction of European opinion patterns concerning Turkey and explain key determinants of variation in popular support for Turkey's membership in the EU. The nature, determinants and trends of European public opinion on the debate over Turkey's EU accession are investigated through descriptive and multinomial logistic regression analysis using Eurobarometer data. Utilizing two mainstream approaches on public opinion, which are utilitarian and identity-based theories, the researchers depict the trends in European public opinion over

the last 20 years. Furthermore, using a quantitative analysis, they shed light on the perception towards Turkey in the EU in the last decade. The study concludes that the attitude of the European public towards Turkey's accession to the EU is of a heavily utility-driven design.

The chapter on the identity dimension deals with the idea of post-westernization. In chapter seven, the authors Chris Rumford and Hasan Turunç, considering the respective transformation in Turkey's westernization project and in its domestic politics, as well as the changes in the EU's ideological, cultural and geopolitical elements over the years, call for an alternative approach to understand the relations between Turkey and the EU. For the authors, Turkey's relations with the EU can only be properly interpreted through the lens of post-westernization. Thus, it is argued that the reciprocal misconceptions can only be overcome through the worthwhile starting point of considering Turkey and EU as sharing a common post-western trajectory. This line of argument by Rumford and Turunç may be beneficial in terms of suggesting a new framework of post-westernization in the study of EU-Turkish relations.

In chapter eight, Thomas Diez brings forth the ethical dimension in the study of EU-Turkish relations and attempts to apply international ethics to this relationship. Starting from the core of the EU enlargement process, Diez primarily explores the obligations that

are involved, particularly on the EU side. The author argues that the established routines, rules and procedures of the enlargement processes should be the only route for the negotiations between the EU and Turkey as well as the only source of rights and obligations for the parties. For the author, initiating new rules or procedures, or developing unfounded expectations, rights or obligations in the accession negotiations process is contrary to the fundamentals of international ethics, and that the outcomes of such developments will further delay Turkey's accession to the EU.

Overall, it is fascinating to read this volume with every chapter devoted to an aspect of EU-Turkey relations. The authors reveal different perspectives on

EU-Turkish relations and show it as a Sisyphian story. With considerable differences of opinions among the contributors of the book, this volume not only sheds light on the main actors and changing parameters in the relations, but also depicts the big picture in which one finds out the achievements as well as the failures of Turkey and the EU in their long relationship. In that regard, this book is a significant contribution to the literature and an essential reference for policy makers and academics interested in EU-Turkish relations, European politics, international relations and political science.

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## The European Union Diplomatic Service: Ideas, Preferences and Identities

*By Caterina Carta*

London and New York: Routledge, 2012, 211 pages, ISBN: 9780415559768.

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There have been several publications in recent years on the external relations of the European Union (EU), some of which have been attempts to explain how external relations in the EU can be unified despite the different national

interests and attitudes of the member states. *The European Union Diplomatic Service: Ideas, Preferences and Identities* by Caterina Carta is one of these publications and she comprehensively accomplishes the task. The EU, as a non-

state actor in world politics, has always had a complex structure due to the series of treaties and amendments that established it. Attempting to examine the diplomatic system of such a non-state actor is incredibly difficult and requires a great deal of effort, which this author successfully undertakes. To understand the EU's entire external relations system it would be inadequate, for example, just to investigate the EU's legal text with respect to international diplomacy alone. Carta analyses the processes of institution and identity building of the European Union's diplomatic service, both in Brussels and in the Commission's delegations across the world, and offers an overall portrait of the institutional set-up and organizational culture of the diplomatic system.

This book is the outcome of research completed by the author during a post-doctoral fellowship in Siena, and was financed by the Compagnia di San Paolo, Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Volkswagen Stiftung, RECON (Reconstituting Democracy in Europe) and the European Commission.

Carta scrutinizes the European External Action Service (EEAS), which started on 1 December 2010 after the Lisbon Treaty came into force, and presents a broad analysis of the new situation in the EU's diplomatic service. As a way of having a unified voice in diplomacy, the EEAS is a very recent move of the EU. However, the EEAS is not a simple institution

but rather a *sui generis* one that has the function of assisting other institutions in the EU, in other words of facilitating the process of foreign and external policy making. The EU is represented by a network of 136 overseas delegations, which have functions similar to those of embassies. As Carta points out, even with a body such as the EEAS in place, the Commission and Council still have primacy control over the EU's external relations (p. 76). The main research question of the book is if national diplomats generally represent their state abroad, what do the Commission's (and now the EEAS's) diplomats represent? This research aims to provide an overall portrait of the processes of institution and social identity building of the Commission's diplomatic service, ranging from historical surveys and institutional arrangements, to a definition of the roles of its officials and their group identity.

The book comprises four parts. The first part, entitled the "Conceptualization of the EU Diplomatic System," has two chapters that examine both the overall EU system including the Commission. In this part, the author focuses on the diplomatic system of the EU as a non-state actor, and reviews the evolution of its diplomacy and its attempts to define the diplomatic model of the EU. Carta, by focusing on the question of who is entitled to play the diplomatic game, presents a dynamic analytical framework for the study of diplomacy in four areas:

- 1) the international level;
- 2) the actors entitled to play the diplomatic game;
- 3) internal organization; and
- 4) the diplomats themselves.

These four areas are useful in that they allow us to understand the complicated picture of European diplomacy. Additionally, the first part explores the link between the EU's diplomacy actions and collective foreign policy, illustrating the systemic conditions that have allowed the EEC/EU to acquire a quasi-diplomatic system and introducing the concept of meta-diplomacy in order to capture the nature of the EU as a foreign policy actor.

In part two, the author provides an overview of the institution-building process of the EU's diplomatic system from its inception to the present day and outlines the organizational dimension by examining the legal basis, role, organization and evolution of the EU's diplomatic system in the nearly 50 years of its activity. In addition, the author describes how the rudimentary External Service of the Commission expanded into broader areas of activity, and then relates the evolution of the Commission's system of representation to the bigger picture of integration and the process of enlargement of the EC and EU. While doing this, Carta has fascinating interviews with some of the main protagonists.

Part three is an empirical study of the actors in European diplomacy, the Commission officials who represent the EU abroad. The author evaluates the role of the External Service civil servants who work for the Commission delegates and analyses the findings of a questionnaire submitted to 40 heads of delegation. Carta, using findings from interviews conducted from 2003 to 2005 with Grade A officials who serve or have served in the Commission's delegations, seeks the answers to such questions as "what does the world of diplomacy entail?", "who is Europe in the international arena?" and "what kind of international actor should Europe be?" among others. In this part, she gives a broad analysis of the responses with respect to important variables such as the "significant others": the member states, the United States of America, the cultural other of 'Islam', and the Soviet Union. These variables clearly shaped the mindset of the Commission delegates who were surveyed. The last part of the volume, entitled "Prospects for the Near Future," seeks to predict outcomes for the future based on observations drawn from the preceding chapters. In this part, the author attempts to present the pros and cons of the newly established EEAS by scrutinizing the new provisions for external relations.

The strength of *The European Union Diplomatic Service* is that it combines theory with practice and presents an extensive analysis. In incorporating

the interviews she conducted into the research, Carta's approach combines theory and practice. Even though the structures of EU institutions are complicated, Carta manages to present them to the readers in an understandable way by organising the book's framework very well. *The European Union Diplomatic Service* is one of the most important

accounts on the subject to appear in recent years.

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## Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri (Africa and Turkey-Africa Relations in the Era of Globalization)

*By Numan Hazar*

Revised and Updated 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2011, 259 pages, ISBN: 9756782803.

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Turkey's activism in foreign policy in recent years has been much more observable in its opening towards Africa. In a field where there are few studies and publications dealing with Turkey's Africa opening and exploring Ankara's intensive interest in Africa, the book *Africa and Turkey-Africa Relations in the Era of Globalization* by Numan Hazar provides vast information about the continent's politics and Turkey's approach in its new foreign policy. The study consists of four chapters, each of which covers a vast area and subjects.

In the first chapter, Hazar shares his observation on the African continent,

ranging from the Western discovery of the continent and colonialism, to regional organizations in Africa and current problems. Classified under 25 sub-titles, this section offers a tour de horizon about Africa, its problems, history, globalization, economic development, cultural elements and many other issues. Rather than an in-depth analysis of the continent's politics or a detailed coverage of essential elements that explain the contemporary era, the author prefers to describe various issues that are related to each other in a vast set of determinants today. One gets the impression that this section is based on his personal observations and conversations with

locals and internationals when he was a diplomat in the continent. This section gathers a collection of information together from newspapers, personal notes and internet sources like Wikipedia and refrains from offering any new academic and theoretical discussion.

The second chapter is devoted to the Ottoman Empire's relations with the continent. Mostly based on the Ottoman state's relations with various kingdoms in the past, such as with Kanem-Bornu (p. 122-126), the main argument of this chapter is that Turkey or Turks had had strong relations with the continent in the past. Excepting a few examples like the story of Abu-Bakr Effendi (p. 132-134) and Mehmet Remzi Bey, who was appointed as an Ottoman consular to South Africa in 1914 (which Hazar does not mention in his book), it is difficult to show that the Ottomans had very strong relations with the central and southern part of Africa. Partly because of this, Hazar mostly focuses on the Ottoman state's relations with Algeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, and Sudan and he offers a brief history and general observations about the relations between the Ottomans and those states.

The third chapter focuses more on the 20th century history of Turkish-African relations. How Turkey reacted and what kind of relations existed between Turkey and Africa is analysed since decolonization in 1950s. Hazar provides us with the information that at the

start of the "Opening to Africa" policy in 1998 Turkey had only 12 embassies in the continent (p. 202). The author provides inside information on how the new foreign policy towards the African continent was prepared with a full reporting of its details (for the details of the plan, see pp. 208-214). As no other publication provides inside information, nor have there been any releases by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or by the minister, one may easily conclude that the author himself might have been a part of policy making and implementing process as an ambassador at that time because he explains the full details of "Opening to Africa Policy". The new Africa Policy launched in 1998 has changed a great deal over time, especially by 2005 with a new re-formulation and serious implementation, yet the book, by reflecting on the imagination and vision of Turkey in the late 1990s toward Africa, gives information about an era when the seeds of development were sown.

The last section analyses the current state of affairs between Turkey and the African continent, especially since 2002. While it is the shortest chapter in the book (only seven pages long), Hazar gives an overview of the recent developments in Turkish-African relations. He explains Turkey's economic, political and diplomatic relations with the continent, such as Turkey's rising status as being a "strategic partner" with the African Union and other local

organizations like the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Development Bank (p. 216). On the diplomatic front, Hazar gives the example of the opening of new embassies in many countries in the continent; Turkey currently has around 24 embassies in the continent, 19 of them in Sub-Sahara Africa. The author estimates that the number of Turkish embassy would increase to 34 once the process with other countries is completed (p. 220).

Despite its rich details on certain issues, *Africa and Turkey-Africa Relations in the Era of Globalization* suffers from a lack of a coherent focus. First of all, it has more information on Africa than on African-Turkish relations. The fact that the most developed period in terms of relations between Turkey and Africa - that is the period since 2005 - has received the least attention is a clear indication of this (not to mention the lack of any reference to related literature). Second,

the biggest weakness of the book is that it aims to say many things by touching on many issues at the same time, which in the end seems to have resulted in a general overview of events and issues related to Africa but not an in-depth analysis or a detailed and comprehensive focus. The book cannot be regarded purely as a scientific investigation but more of an attempt to understand the continent with an interest that combines diplomatic and personal inclination toward the continent. Therefore, rather than advancing (rejecting or debating) an idea or hypothesis and contributing to the field of Turkish-African relations, it serves as a book for a wider academic and non-academic readership. Nevertheless, one should appreciate the efforts of a diplomat who has maintained his passionate interest on Africa.

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## Nouveaux mondes: Carnets d'après Guerre froide (New Worlds: Post Cold War Notes)

*By Bertrand Badie*

Paris: Le Monde Interactif/CNRS Editions, 2012, 348 pages,  
ISBN: 9782271073020.

*Nouveaux mondes: Carnets d'après Guerre froide* by Bertrand Badie, a professor of International Relations at Sciences Po in Paris, consists of question and answers from a monthly internet chat on international affairs, which have been held by the author since 2006, on the Monde.fr website. Some of the topics covered during these exchanges have been international politics, law, international relations, international organizations, the economy, the EU and its international position, international conflicts, multilateralism and human rights, 11 September and its universal effects, terrorism, emerging powers, NATO, UN, religion, secret diplomacy, and the Middle East among others. With respect to its vast and rich content about the international agenda, the book can be considered a reference work and it can be used as a university textbook for courses on international relations. This work reflects the thoughts and analysis of the author. Bertrand Badie characterizes the current situation in the world as “nouveau monde or nouveaux mondes” (“new world or new worlds”). Talking about the particularities of the

“nouveaux mondes”, Badie stresses the importance of communication and by giving the example of the Arab spring; he says that social dynamics are often the primary factors of foreign policy.

Badie's book is shaped by the events of 11 September. In the first part, “Le monde change”, the author begins his analyses with the events of 11 September and its effects on the international scene and politics. He argues that after 9/11; the world became more multipolar, compared to when international actors got together around the United States before the first Gulf War (p. 33). According to Badie, 11 September showed that there is more than ever a strong need for multilateralism (p. 37). Badie explains the results of 11 September with these comments: “there is another September 11 everyday: the climate of fear, anxiety and suspicion is everywhere. The real victory of terrorists is here. The first principle of their action is to produce uncertainty, fear and mistrust. They succeeded perfectly” (p. 43). The conclusion of the book also dwells upon 9/11 and its consequences.

When looking at the situation in the world ten years after 9/11, the author, in response to a question, says that 9/11 still continues. He claims that the world will come out from the milieu of 9/11 with “a new political, social and diplomatic look on the world” (p. 313).

The preference in the book for a thematic classification instead of a chronologic classification provides readers with a concise picture of events. As the book consists of questions and answers, at every turn a different subject is handled. Essentially, this book presents a new style that brings exchanges made through internet chat between an international readership and the author. In fact, we can say that it was a book written first for the web and then reversed to the paper format. This feature is the originality of this work. Indeed, the

readers, from all over the world, define the subject and the debate, shaping the topics the author discusses. This is a book that brings to us a real world tour on international actuality and is thus a rich book that has been shaped by the interests of the international readership in the last five years and enriches the general culture on the international agenda. These exchanges between the author and the reader can even be interpreted in total as a conference on international issues. At the same time, its plain language facilitates the understanding of this work.

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## Merkezdeki Banka: Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası ve Uluslararası Bir Karşılaştırma (Bank at the Centre: The Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey and an International Comparison)

*By Caner Bakır*

*İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, 575 pages, ISBN: 9789756176931.*

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*Bank at the Centre: The Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey and an International Comparison* is a book whose subject matter is the political

economy of central banking in Turkey. The author Caner Bakır presents a history of the Central Bank of Turkey (CBT) and provides insights into its

organizational and financial structure, decision-making process, the legal changes that it went through, its relationship with the government in different periods such as 1930-1950, 1950-2001 and the post-2001 period, and its becoming independent in the EU integration process. Bakır also has included a thorough analysis of the independence of the CBT in the post-2001 period, comparing its legal and actual independence, transparency, accountability and inflation-targeting regime with central banks from eight developed countries and the European Central Bank (ECB) using different measurements and indices from the current literature on central bank independence. He also situates the rise of the paradigm of central bank independence in context, noting the proliferation of academic literature on central bank independence in the 1990s, along with some empirical studies in the 1990s that investigated the existence of a relationship between central bank independence and lower rates of inflation in developed countries, and the independence of central bank governors and the decreasing rates of inflation in developing countries. There is a close connection between the rise of this academic literature and the granting of independence to central banks all around the world. Bakır does not end without questioning the paradigm thoroughly by asking what it means to be independent

in an era characterized by high rates of capital mobility in a world in which international financial markets and international financial institutions such as the IMF have the structural power to shape monetary policy. Neither does he leave out discussions on the emphasis on low inflation and price stability and the implications of these policies in the era of the Washington Consensus (WC) and the post-WC era. Over all, the book is well written, well organized, and informative, and provides a solid review of the literature on central banks as well as a detailed history and a comparative analysis of the current state of the CBT.

Bakır points out that the operating principle of the CBT when it was founded was to keep the currency strong and the exchange rate stable. This required a balanced budget and did not lead to inflation. This principle aimed to support the stability of the new Republican regime and it was relatively easier to implement in an environment in which there were no competitive elections. However, this changed with the increasing political competition as Turkey moved from a single-party system to a multiparty one in the 1940s. The period between 1950 and 2001 was characterized by budget deficits and expansionary fiscal and monetary policy as governments became more responsive to the social and economic demands of the public. In this period, the CBT almost acted as an organ of the

treasury and finance departments, and as a result monetary policy was shaped in accordance with the fiscal requirements of the government. This changed after the 1980s as the role of the state decreased in relation to the private sector with such policies as financial deepening, deregulation and liberalization thanks to the rise of the neoliberal paradigm. As the role of the State Planning Organization in the economic bureaucracy started to lose its importance, the central bank started to gain prominence. The central bank started to focus more on education in its hiring policy and strengthened its research department. The author believes that the central bank had accumulated enough human and bureaucratic resources over this period to enable it to prepare its own legal reforms for its independence.

The 2001 law that granted the independence to the CBT was prepared in four years and was an outcome of factors such as academic studies on the benefits of central bank independence as well as the existence of a transnational network of central bankers. Bakır lists some of the factors that brought about granting independence to the CBT such as the loss of confidence by international actors in Turkish markets following the 2001 economic crisis and the government's attempts to restore this confidence and regain access to foreign resources; the conditions of the World Bank and IMF in the agreements

made in response to the crisis; the goal of harmonization with the norms of the ECB in the EU integration process; and the general acceptance of the idea of legal independence over time.

In his comparative analysis of the CBT with the central banks of eight developed countries (Sweden, Switzerland, New Zealand, United States, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, and Japan) and the ECB, Bakır finds that the CBT is the fifth most independent central bank in terms of the legal independence index, with the ECB being the most independent. However, the fact that the CBT is legally more independent than the remaining four banks does not mean that Turkey scores better than these countries in providing low inflation and price stability. Because what determines the independence of a central bank is not only the laws but also the formal and informal institutional regulations, the framework within which a central bank formulates and implements monetary policy. For example, Bakır argues that while between 1930 and 1950 the legal independence index score of the CBT was lower than in all other times, when the relationship between the government and the CBT is considered, the bank was more independent than even today. Bakır also refers to the literature that takes into account the actual independence of a central bank and does not measure independence solely by looking at legal indicators.

When measuring actual independence, indicators such as the rate of turnover of central bank governors and whether or not governors are replaced shortly after a political change of government are taken into account. However, such indices still do not account for the formal and informal institutional regulations within which the governors carry out their tasks. In order to measure actual central bank independence, Bakır compiles data on central bank governors from 133 countries, collecting information on their gender, age, education, length of stay in office and their career history, and compares them with Turkish governors. Based on the 2006 data, most of the central bank governors in the world are men, their mean age is 56 and the average length of their stay in office is five years. In Turkey, from 1931 to 2005, there have been 19 central bank governors and the average of their length of stay in office is less than four years. However, the author does not find any correlation between the governor's length of stay in office and inflation rate for Turkey.

After reading this book carefully, one would say that the author has a critical stance to the paradigm of central bank independence. He clearly questions how monetary policy conducted by

central banks can be independent from international capital flows or from the preferences of global financial markets when capital movements are not regulated, as in the case of Turkey. He asks how the CBT can be considered independent when the IMF sets the inflation target as a conditionality of the loan agreement signed with the Turkish government. According to the CBT law passed in 2001, it is the CBT that should be setting the target, not the IMF. Hence, the author questions the power of the IMF and its transnational bureaucrats in the international political economic system. He also challenges the belief that the main goal of a central bank should be to maintain price stability, asking whether lowering unemployment should be one of the goals as well and whether financial stability can be achieved solely by maintaining price stability. The only problem with the book is that Bakır's critical stance to the paradigm is not woven thoroughly into the whole text; one has to read the book carefully and make sure to read the last sections or otherwise one may miss his very insightful criticisms.

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