Turkey and the West: From Neutrality to Commitment

By Yusuf Turan Çetiner
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Over the last few decades, as the country, people, culture and many other aspects of Turkey have become ever more popular, much research has been conducted and published on Turkish history as well as on its domestic and foreign policy. *Turkey and the West: From Neutrality to Commitment* is one such academic work. This work attempts to unravel the complexities of world politics (covering regions as diverse as Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East and the Far East) in the post-Atatürk period (1938 to 1958) with special attention given to the formulation of Turkish foreign policy. The primary objective set forth by the book is to analyze and explain Turkey's uneasy shift from neutrality to becoming a member of the Western Alliance. The reasons for doing so are explained as:

- Turkey's decision to ally itself with the Western grouping of states shaped its apprehension of regional and world politics for decades to come.
- Turkey's choice was neither adequately perceived nor fully appreciated in the volatile atmosphere of the 1950s and onwards, and went largely unnoticed on the part of Western democracies.
- A reinterpretation of Turkey's recent history can throw considerable light on the complexities surrounding this strategically important country.

In order to fulfill that objective, the author searched the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (still not open to public access) and compiled relevant materials for this work. These materials include press statements, extracts from correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and embassies abroad as well as between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign missions in Ankara. All of these are utilized to present a chronological flow of events and to contribute new material to the discussion of Turkey's foreign policy in the post-Atatürk era. Gaps left by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives are bridged with information and comments obtained from memoirs and books by various statesmen, officials, soldiers and journalists. In order to provide a more complete picture of Turkey's relations with the West for the relevant period, the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), Command and Cabinet Papers, and Keesing's Contemporary Archives

and Documents on International Affairs were also consulted. Additional sources in Russian, Chinese, and Korean were examined, and a number of interviews with diplomats, soldiers and academicians who witnessed developments in the relevant period were conducted.

Going into the detailed plan of the book, the author makes the point in the first chapter that from 1939 onwards, Turkey's foreign policy choices were largely a reflection of the experience inherited from the diplomacy pursued during the War of Independence and the preference of the Turkish governments. In other words, when forced by the conditions of an unpredictable international environment, Turkish governments of the time opted for seeking ways to enhance the country's security; an effort which paved the way to the formation of an alliance with the West.

What it also means is that there were distinctions in the attitudes of consecutive Turkish governments, mainly divided between those run under the Presidency of İsmet İnönü and that of the Democrat Party era. While the former opted for a benevolent neutrality towards the Allied side, the latter, which ascended to power in elections on May 14 1950, abandoned this policy in favour of an active search for security partnership with the West. One of the reasons that compelled the Democrat Party leadership to do so may be found in the fast changing political climate of the post war period, which culminated in Soviet control of Central and Eastern Europe. As the bloc divisions became ever more discernible and the fate of the Soviet liberated nations in Europe were left in the hands of their liberators, Turkey felt the need to adapt to the fast changing conditions in the balance of power and work out ways to assure its national security. The concessionary demands made by the Soviet leadership in the form of changing the 1936 Montreux Convention that had left control of the Bosphorus Straits in Turkey's hands and saw the return to Turkey of its two eastern provinces, namely Kars and Ardahan, only hastened Turkey's search for security and brought it even closer to the West.

The second chapter focuses on Turkey's responsive neutrality set against the rapid fluctuations in international politics. It is argued that depending on the course of events Turkey's neutrality emerged in the form of benevolent as well as evasive behavior towards the Allies. The primary objective of the Turkish statesman for doing so is explained as an anxious end-result in the search for saving the country from the disasters of World War II. Another important contention raised in this section is the gradual shift in Britain's foreign policy towards Turkey, from a decidedly reserved outlook to a desire for Turkey's active inclusion on the Allied side. This shift emerged following the destruction of the Munich system

in September 1938, at which time Germany's increasing involvement in the Balkans became more apparent.

In the words of the author, the "Allied and Axis relations with a collective movement" is the subject matter scrutinized in the third chapter. The central theme meanwhile revolves around Turkey's constant attempts to enhance its security in the face of an unpredictable international environment as well as the threat perceived from the rivalry between the emerging Soviet and Western blocs, which eventually paved the way for Turkish authorities to build a *sui-generis* crisis management/prevention system of their own.

The fourth chapter focuses on emerging problems in relation to building peace, and complications brought about by the consolidation of rival blocs following World War II. The author suggests that by 1946, when faced with the Kremlin's growing ambitions in different parts of the continent, Turkey become ever more apprehensive about the consequences of Soviet moves and thus focused its efforts on enhancing its relations with the West while accelerating attempts to bring its foreign policy in line with that of the US. In this context, two central developments are examined in detail; namely the Americans' sending of the USS Missouri to the Turkish Straits and the exchange of Turkish-Soviet Notes in 1946 following the Kremlin's irredentist claims.

The transformation of Turkey's political system from one-party rule to a multi-party system as a major landmark change and the implications of such change on its foreign policy (i.e. İnönü's attempt to adopt a more pro-western foreign policy while taking strong anti-communist measures internally) is the principal subject examined in the fifth chapter. A particular emphasis is given to Turkey's inclusion into the US' foreign assistance programs, especially the Truman Doctrine, a result which was not offered automatically and did not emerge without considerable difficulties.

The sixth chapter discusses Turkey's newfound role in the formulation of regional defense and the setting-up of the Middle Eastern Defense Organization between 1948 and 1950. This chapter begins with a discussion of the increasing tensions brought about by the intensification of the Cold War rivalry in Europe, particularly in Germany, and resulting in the Brussels Pact. Signed on March 17, 1948 by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, this pact aimed at facing the increasing Soviet menace and later culminated in the creation of a single North Atlantic Alliance in 1949, with the inclusion of the USA and Canada. Due mainly to its non-involvement in the Second World War, Turkey was initially excluded from the alliance and thus denied the position of founding member, despite pleas of

combining its defense with the rest of Europe. In the meantime, policymakers in Ankara were struggling to resolve an intricate dilemma facing them, between enhancing the security of their vast lands on the crossroads between east and west by joining the defense schemes set forth by London and Washington, and trying not to provoke the Soviet Union for further aggression by being in those very schemes.

Yet another struggle between the Eastern and Western blocs, this one on the Korean Peninsula, and how Turkey reacted to the crisis, is the subject matter discussed in the seventh chapter. Accordingly, despite being viewed as a potential trouble point among several others all around the world, the peninsula had never figured high on anyone's list until the leaders of both blocs tried to force their will onto each other. With the Chinese decision to engage in the Korean War, Western scholars who were strongly influenced by the intensifying Cold War became convinced that a well coordinated communist plot of global expansion under the Kremlin's control was in progress, and that neither Beijing nor Pyongyang had the freedom to make their own policy decisions. Turkey responded to these developments by attempting to combine its policy with that of the US, and decided to assign a brigade of 4,500 soldiers under the UN Command. Turkey's participation in the Korean War and its military/diplomatic efforts in the Middle East demonstrated Ankara's willingness to combine its security with that of NATO, which eventually led to the backing of Turkey's membership in NATO.

The final part of the book examines both Anglo–American and regional actors' attitudes towards Middle Eastern security, with Ankara and London topping the list of relevant actors. Major developments such as the shift in Anglo–American policy, the Tripartite Declaration, the Four Power Treaty, the formation of the Middle Eastern Defense Organization, the military takeover in Egypt by the Committee of the Free Officers Movement, the shift by the Anglo–American policy makers to the Northern Tier project, the formation of the Baghdad Pact, Gamal Abd'el Nasser's arms deal with the Soviets, and the mounting tensions following the Suez Crisis, which had been precipitated by Nasser's decision to nationalize the Canal, are all given close scrutiny. In the midst of such precarious and volatile events affecting the Middle East, Turkey chose to adopt a more reserved foreign policy, mostly in line with those of the UK and the US, despite the challenges posed against the regional status quo by emerging nationalism and Soviet support.

In the author's own words the conclusions reached by this work include the following:

i) Turkey's balancing act between the major powers especially prior to and during the Second World War had more to do with the course of international affairs rather than the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between Turkey, Britain and France signed on 19 October 1939. Ankara's increased responsiveness against the fluctuations in international politics represented a clear change from the former Atatürk era. In contrast to the previous era, the İnönü administration was in favor of maintaining a more flexible foreign policy.

ii) During World War II, President İnönü's conviction never wavered that the Western nations would sooner or later win the war. It was only a matter of time that Turkey would be saved from the damages of the global conflict. Then, following the chromite deliveries of 1941 and the signing of the Turco–German treaty of friendship in the same year, İnönü's second balancing attitude towards the Axis took the stage. In 1942, when the German armies were concentrating their strongholds throughout Europe and were being deployed in key areas, Ankara shifted to implement the "capital tax" on the revenues of non-Muslims. Consecutively, a discriminatory wave affected Turkish citizens of Christian and Jewish origin. Some were subsequently sentenced to serve years in work camps since they could not meet the immense amounts of tax imposed by the Turkish authorities. A wave of propaganda with anti-Semitic undertones and accompanied by claims about non-Muslims, was also increasingly tolerated in the press, on radio and elsewhere. In this move, clearly, İnönü planned to divert the attention of the Axis war machine elsewhere. Arguably these actions by the Turkish administration were taken out of fears of German encroachment. It was rumoured that German-to-Turkish dictionaries were being distributed among the German troops in Bulgaria, and shortly thereafter, in 1943, Bulgaria was pressured by Hitler to send its people of Jewish origin to Poland. This suggests that Ankara's choice for work camps in Van/Aşkale were actually among the most secure and least visible sites, thanks to their proximity to the Turco-Soviet border. Within a year, when İnönü saw that the course of the global conflict was gradually moving Turkey out of the scope of the belligerent powers, he shifted to lift the pressures on non-Muslims in the country, and abolished the work camps. As a continuation of the same policy, in 1944, when the Soviet armies were gaining victories Ankara then turned against the Pan -Turanists, who were found guilty of racist activities. This represented

a message to the Kremlin, which expressed that Turkey not allow ultra-nationalist activities in the country.

iii) The prelude to the post-WWII period was marked by Ankara's suspicions of the Kremlin's intentions and in 1945, the Soviet demands on Turkish territories and over the Turkish Straits culminated in Ankara's search for a definitive alliance with the West. Despite the fact that some Turkish intellectuals, statesmen and ex-military officials proposed that an understanding between Ankara and the Kremlin should be reached- similar to the first Turco-Soviet rapprochement which took place during the Turkish War of Liberation- events proved that the conditions in 1917 and in 1945 were dramatically different, making any agreement almost impossible.

iv) At this juncture, Turkey's embarking upon democracy was closely associated with its wish for joining the Western grouping of states. The first elections in 1946, however, were not a successful attempt between adopting a more liberal attitude towards its opponents and closing ranks against the socialist advance. In his final analysis, having seen that the opposition was mainly formed by some dissident members of the ruling Republican Peoples' Party (RPP) into another party and no socialist would actually be embodied in this, President İnönü felt a necessity to direct Ankara's foreign policy once again in line with the Western camp and shifted to implement a softer policy towards the rising opposition to allow them to compete with the RPP in a more normal way.

v) In accordance with his perception of international affairs, İnönü thought that in the aftermath of the war, maintaining an alliance with Britain and the US was of tremendous importance. On the other hand, until the Truman Doctrine, Washington had thought that Turkey was in Britain's "area of responsibility". It was the Truman Doctrine that marked a complete change in the US' perception of Turkey and of course, Greece. Against this background, the elections of May 1950, after which the Democrat Party administration decided to push Turkish foreign policy to its limits, marked a turning point. Subsequently, the efforts around the MEDO and the concurrent war effort in Korea, in both of which Turkey had major roles, took place. The first enlargement of NATO with the inclusion of Turkey and Greece coincided with this period. The Soviet moves towards escalating the Cold War continued in the same interval and a bipolar search for balance of power was pursued, which was indeed a contradiction in the original concept of balance.

All in all, when it comes to the question of who should read this book, it is safe to say that anyone who is interested in the policies of such nations as the United Kingdom, the USA, the Soviet Union, France and Germany, which emerged politically and militarily dominant in the time period covered by this work and who is interested in Turkish foreign policy as well as students of Turkish history and the history of the Second World War may find the book interesting.

When it comes to the question of what makes this book so appealing, it is safe to say that it provides a detailed analysis of the political developments that shaped a particular history (both the pre- and post-World War II years) of Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East and the far East. The author presents a unique and broad perspective on the subject at hand by paying attention not only to Turkey's domestic politics but also its foreign policy. The wide range of contacts and archival documents accessible by the author in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs place him in the best possible position to provide firsthand knowledge for a complex analysis. The author displays a discerning scholarly ability in exploring intricate and multi-dimensional issues with utmost efficiency.

As to the question of whether this work is still open for improvement, one may argue that the language of the work could have been simplified in such a way that non-native readers or those who are un-familiar with the subject matter could find it easier to follow and understand the analysis set forth so elaborately. The length of the book could have been kept to a level that would have inspired non-expert readers while still remaining within the realm and definition of an academic work. From the outset, the reasons for choosing an analysis involving the period between 1939 to 1950 could have been explained more explicitly.

Nevertheless, all these comments cannot diminish the value of this work, which could be aptly defined as a timely and significant contribution to the study of Turkey, Turkish history and Turkey's foreign policy.

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Turkey and the European Union: Processes of Europeanization

By Çiğdem Nas and Yonca Özer (eds.)
Surrey: Ashgate, 2012, 286 pages, ISBN 9781409445296 (hbk) / ISBN 9781409445302 (ebk).

Taking its starting point from the idea that Europeanization has since the 1990s been a valuable approach with explanatory power in European studies for analyzing the EU's domestic impact not only on member states but also on the candidate countries (p. 1), this book is a prevailing attempt to provide an analytical overview of various policy areas, actors and issues in Turkey with a view to its EU membership aims since 1999 and the subsequent process of Europeanization. In that regard, this volume, edited by Çiğdem Nas and Yonca Özer, is composed of 12 distinctive chapters.

Although the book confines itself mainly to the processes of Europeanization in Turkey, the editors' adoption of a broad approach in exploring the trajectory of Europeanization in Turkey via various policy areas and issues makes the volume motivating to read in the midst of Turkey's accession negotiation process. What becomes clear from reading many of the studies included in this collection is that with certain ups and downs in Turkey's long lasting relation with the EU, Europeanization has influenced Turkish politics and society, despite various problems and setbacks.

The editors and some of the leading domestic and international scholars in the field as contributors to the book have addressed very important questions and challenges that underpin the process of Europeanization in Turkey. They offer fresh insights into that process, provide a number of different perspectives to the various policy areas in Turkey related with Europeanization, and come up with new questions for further studies in the field. This argumentative approach is overall the main strength of the book.

The structure of the book is designed around political, social and foreign policy matters, leaving aside economic matters. In that respect, the volume starts with a focus on one of the most important concepts in Europeanization, *conditionality*. Tanja Börzel asks the question why the domestic impact of the EU has differed for the candidate countries, with a specific focus on Turkey. The author asks whether Turkey is a *sui generis* case regarding the domestic impact of the EU. Considering the context of the relations between Turkey and the EU from membership to accession, the author argues that the process of Europeanization appears to

be 'bottom up' and 'indirect' (p. 17). Thus, the chapter concludes that Turkey is not a *sui generis* case and that the EU's transformative power in Turkey has been rather weakened.

The political analysis of the volume is backed up with the third chapter of the volume, which mainly discusses democratization in Turkey. Yonca Özer, starting with the conceptual overview of *conditionality,* regards it as an "an engine of Europeanization of Turkish democracy and human rights regime" (p. 45). The author thus constructs the chapter according to a rationalist institutionalist approach, focusing on EU conditionality to influence the countries concerned. Constructing her analysis on two periods, 1999-2005 and more recent years, this chapter analyses not only the extent of the impact of EU political conditionality on domestic change in Turkey but also sheds light on the conditions and factors that determine the extent of that impact. By analyzing the reform process in Turkey with a view to a rationalist institutionalist external incentives model, it is revealed that while there was a dramatic improvement in Turkish democracy in the first period, there has been a downturn in the second, and the author draws attention to certain problems, particularly in the implementation of the adopted rules. The author's observation of the defect in implementation seems to be the strongest part of the chapter. Although there are some redundant elements regarding the concept of conditionality with respect to the first chapter, this chapter can be considered as complementary to the Europeanization process in Turkey in the political sphere of analysis.

Going back to the issue of Europeanization in Turkey with respect to social matters, the second chapter of the volume focuses on the specific theme of *identity* with regard to Europeanization. Çiğdem Nas, in the second chapter, traces the Europeanization of national identity in Turkey on the basis of norms and values propagated by the EU, such as democracy, moderation of power, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and non-discrimination (p. 23). While examining the issue, the author asks in a comparative manner how different Turkey's case is from that of the Central and Eastern European countries. The author convincingly argues that despite rejections, Turkey has been undergoing a significant change owing to the EU process, and that a Europeanization of identity is not contrary to a 'regionalization' of Turkish identity, since Turkey's value as a model country in the Middle East is related to its Europeanization (p. 36).

In the same sphere of analysis, even though the reforms in minority rights may represent a tremendous step for Turkey's Europeanization process, Gözde Yılmaz mainly argues that the trend in minority-related policy change

is neither progressive nor smooth. The author analyzes minority related policy change in Turkey between 1999 and 2010 in three phases, and concludes that none of the theoretical frameworks of external Europeanization is capable of explaining minority-related change in Turkey covering the whole time period between 1999 and 2010. The chapter is a significant attempt to draw readers' attention to minority protection issues, which have not been developed as an EU rule and which remain a highly contested issue due to their nature and the implications they carry concerning sovereignty. The author considers the case of Turkey on this issue as "the selective legal approximation of the minority-related rules demanded by the EU" (p. 134). Thus, what is focused on is that minority-related policy change is a result of EU conditionality and government's policy dissatisfaction with previous minority policies. Although these facts have acted as a pioneer for change on this issue with progressive trends in implementation, the author draws our attention not only to the positive impact of EU conditionality but also to the political preferences of the government in line with pro-minority policies, claiming that without one another, policy change remains both limited and selective.

Considering the importance of civil society in the global context, in the fifth chapter Selcen Öner focuses on the EU's influence on the process of transforming Turkish civil society in legal and practical terms. Starting from the historical background of relations between the state and society in Turkey, the author examines changes in the legal framework of Turkish civil society through the EU's application of the 'conditionality' principle and use of an external incentives model. Asking how the behavior of Turkish civil society organizations has been transformed by Europeanization since the Helsinki Summit in 1999, the author convincingly argues that the most important obstacle to the development of Turkish civil society is the country's state-centric political culture (p. 100). The EU, which is depicted in this chapter as the most important external actor supporting the strengthening of civil society in Turkey, has transformed the legal framework as well as state-civil society relations in Turkey, still with many deficiencies in Turkey's implementation of the law.

The legal sphere of analysis in terms of Europeanization in Turkey is considered by Bertil Emrah Oder in the fourth chapter of the volume. In this chapter, the author asks whether Turkey represents a model of Europeanization in the sense of respecting values of constitutionalism 'in the right direction' (p. 70). In that respect, the EU's impact on constitutional developments after 1983 are analyzed with respect to chronology, methodology and

implementation patterns. Comparing these respects with the EU impact, it is determined that there have been misfits between Turkey and the EU from the perspective of constitutionalism. The author argues that in the case of Turkey, the realization of constitutionalism and Europeanization does not follow a pattern of 'deliberate' and 'planned' action of political actors. In that respect, the chapter sheds light on today's constitutional transformation in Turkey as upheld by the EU, which would be beneficial for an audience interested in current discussions regarding the judicial and legal reforms in Turkey's accession negotiations process with the EU.

One of the other important strengths of the book is to highlight a much neglected social issue in Turkey's Europeanization process, namely *feminism.* Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu contributes to the volume by analyzing developments in women's struggle for gender equality in Turkey after the 1990s in the framework of the Europeanization process. Manifesting an experience at the intersection of feminism and democratization initiatives and civil society, gender equality lies at the heart of democracy in the Turkish case. The author argues that the women's movement has played a key role, as the most important pressure group on the democratization process of Turkey over the last decade. In addition, women's civil society organizations are considered as essential civil actors, and Europeanization in the area of gender equality and women's rights should be defined as a fundamental process in Turkey. This striking part of the volume is notable in terms of enhancing the voice of women in the Europeanization process.

Rana İzci in her contribution to the volume seeks to understand the impact of EU-Turkey relations on Turkish environmental policy, with a special emphasis on sustainable development as well as on Turkey's position towards international environmental regimes. It is a widely known fact that environmental concerns have steadily been included in the agenda of Turkey-EU relations since 1995. Focusing on this neglected area of concern, the chapter assumes that the approximation of EU environmental acquis and international developments challenge the notions of sustainability and development in Turkey. It thus questions whether – and to what extent – any change has occurred in the existing development environment link in Turkey due to EU conditionality, both at the declaratory level and in practice. It also asserts that EU conditionality might be a useful tool for analyzing the changes in Turkey's environmental policy at the international level.

Focusing on another neglected area of research in Turkey's Europeanization process, Dimitris Tsarouhas has attracted attention on the importance of social policy in accession negotiations. His

main argument is that there is a weak Europeanization effect on Turkish social policy reform. According to him, 'Europe' is used as a 'legitimization device' for policies concerned and designed at the national level and with domestic political priorities in mind (p. 161). Thus, there are few policy transfer mechanisms at work, resulting in a weak yet explicit impact of 'cognitive Europeanization' acting as a legitimizing device (p. 164). The chapter reveals that there is a neglect of social policy as a major item in pre-accession negotiations and that Europeanization on social policy in Turkey is very limited.

The foreign policy sphere of analysis is explored in the tenth chapter, by Özlem Terzi, in which she analyzes the Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) after more than ten years of EU candidacy. In this highly contested area, the author argues that EU candidacy has definitely changed the way Turkey pursues its foreign policy. According to her, the reason for most of the failures in the completion of the process lies in the fact that EU accession prospects for Turkey have faded away. Despite all the concerns about a shift of axis, TFP continues to be conducted in a European manner that has been well learned. The central argument of the article is that the basic changes in TFP between 1999-2008 are a result of Turkey's desire to display an 'appropriate behavior'. In the same sphere of analysis, Alper Kaliber, in the penultimate chapter of the volume, considers the Cyprus issue as a case of contextual Europeanization and aims to discuss the impacts of Europeanization as a normative/ political context on Turkey's Cyprus policy. He concludes out that the impact of Europeanization on Turkey's Cyprus policies has been very limited, and that the impact of Europe is better understood if it is conceptualized as contextual and contingent.

In addition to foreign policy matters, Turkish adoption of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) *acquis*, a high politics issue, is the theme of the last chapter of the volume. This issue of concern is said to be relatively slow when compared with that of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs). A comparative study of Europeanization and migration and asylum policies in Turkey with that of the CEECs, the chapter can be considered as an attempt to explain the relative lag in the Europeanization of Turkey's migration and asylum policies. Catherine Macmillan argues that the external incentives model can best explain Turkey's rule adoption in the area of asylum and immigration, taking into account the social learning process. Considering the extent of the limitations of Europeanization in Turkey's asylum and immigration policies, with a specific focus on border control, readmission agreements, visa policy and geographical limitation, the author concludes that Europeanization has been slower in

this area in Turkey compared to in the CEECs.[1]

Overall, this volume provides a motivating read, with each chapter exploring thematically Turkey's Europeanization process with respect to the country's relations with the EU, which took a new turn with the start of accession negotiations in 2005. All the chapters of the volume offer coherent and focused accounts of Turkey's candidacy to the EU and its accession negotiations. With the main conceptual framework resting on Europeanization as an explanatory tool to understand EU-induced change, all the contributions of the volume are well written and structured, demonstrate clear arguments, and convincing theoretical assumptions. In that regard, this book is a significant contribution to the literature and an essential reference for policy makers and academics interested in Turkey-EU relations and Europeanization.

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Endnotes

1 It should be noted that Turkey adopted a new law on migration and asylum in 2013 and signed a readmission agreement with the EU in 2014. (Editor's note)

Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia and Turkey

By Şener Aktürk

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 304 pages,
ISBN: 978107021433

Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia and Turkey, by Şener Aktürk, professor of political science at Koç University, deals with a very important problem and the innermost debate of the nationalism, ethnicity, and citizenship literature: how do state policies that regulate the relationship between ethnicity and nationality change? In answering this question, he explains the dynamics of persistence and change in state policies regulating the relationship between ethnicity and nationality, which he conceptualizes as "regimes of ethnicity". Aktürk gives a distinct answer to this question by focusing particularly on three important empirical cases: Germany, the Soviet Union and, after its dissolution, post-Soviet Russia, and Turkey. These

three empirical cases demonstrate significant differences in their dominant religious traditions, ethnic demography, population density, political systems, and levels of economic development. However, Aktürk's methodological logic and three independent variables consisting of the existence of counter-elites, the new discourse on ethnicity and nationality, and hegemonic majority (read the rise of the new hegemonic bloc in the related cases) overcome the difficulties of comparing these diverse cases.

Aktürk gives a rich detailed picture of three main factors, namely the counter-elites, the new discourse and the political hegemony, which contribute to the further development of the typology of "regimes of ethnicity". The main argumentation in this book is based on the changes that have occurred in regimes of ethnicity, taking into consideration Turkey's prohibition on the public use of minority languages, German citizenship law, and the Soviet Union's identification document, on which ethnicity was written. By placing these cases within the framework of three types of regimes (anti-ethnicity, mono-ethnicity and multi-ethnicity respectively) and their changes, Aktürk claims that only when counter-elites, new discourse and political hegemony coincide with each other at the same time is change in the regimes of ethnicity possible.

The book is organized in five main sections, in which the first is devoted to the theoretical framework and the empirical overview on which the book is based. This structure makes it quite simple for the analyses in other chapters to be easily followed and understood. The second, third and fourth sections are focused directly on the cases of Germany, Turkey and the Soviet Union, and the paths toward changes in policies in each is explained. This is followed in the last section with the main conclusions drawn from this study.

The book's theoretical section introduces new ideas to the concept of regimes of ethnicity. In his framework, Aktürk offers a new theory regarding regimes of ethnicity, in which all states may be included in a comparative manner, by separating the regimes into those of 'anti-ethnicity', 'mono-ethnicity' and 'multi-ethnicity'. When looking at other literature on nationhood or ethnicity, different explanations may be found for changes in the regime of ethnicity, such as the state collapse, border change, international actors etc., but unfortunately these generally fail to be applicable in most cases. Considering this gap, Aktürk claims that there are three main elements that are instead applicable in most of cases: counter-elites, new discourse and political hegemony. To make such a generalization, especially in comparative politics, is quite risky but it must be mentioned that the framework introduced by Aktürk is valid not only for the states mentioned in this book.

In the second part of the book Aktürk applies his theory to the first case, that of Germany, and explains how the mono-ethnic regime was transformed into an anti-ethnic one. Considering the Social Democratic Party (SPD) as one of the main counter-elites, he explains that this party lacked a new discourse for approximately 30 years, leading to the failure in changing the ethnic regime. An important aspect mentioned in the book is the fact that this change in Germany, unlike most other places, came from the bottom, where the immigrants were those who made the biggest efforts. The existence of the abovementioned counter-elite followed by a new discourse (Germany as a country of immigration) and a SPD-FDP (Free Democratic Party) coalition, was able to change the German Citizenship Law that restricted immigrants from gaining German citizenship.

Continuing with the second case, that of Turkey, Aktürk explains the change from an anti-ethnic regime toward a multiethnic one; a process that started in 2004 when broadcasting in different minority languages was initiated. The counter-elite that made this change possible is deemed to be the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which changed the conservative ideologies and the existing discourse (for example, in 1980 it was considered a crime to allege the existence of Kurds (Aktürk, 2012, s. 117). In 2002 was it possible for the AK Party to come to power with an almost two thirds majority. Accordingly, considering all these three factors together, multicultural accommodation became achievable.

The last case is that of the Soviet Union, for which Aktürk strongly rejects the idea that "Soviet" has never been a national identity. The Law of Ethnicity obliged all Soviet citizens to declare their ethnicity, which was frequently used as a tool of discrimination, especially towards Jews. However these policies changed when Boris Yeltsin came to power. A hegemonic counter-elite, mostly representing Jews and Germans, was supported by the new discourse of Tishkov's Russian Nation, and in 1997 the law was finally changed so as not to oblige citizens to declare their ethnicity.

Given the deficiency in the landscape of this subject, this book breaks a lot of new ground and should be read by anyone interested in issues of nationhood and changes in ethnicity policies. As mentioned above, the applicability of the theoretical framework introduced in this book is not confined only to these three cases, but has broader usage in terms of other states. This book is a crucial contribution to the literature as it provides a detailed yet simplified, thorough map of some very important yet sometimes overlooked issues in the modern world.

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