

BOOK REVIEWS

Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharo (eds.), **The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent**, *New Perspectives on the History of Japanese Turkish Relations*, İstanbul, Boğaziçi University Press, 2003, 1x + 307 pp.

Studies concerning the history of Japanese-Turkish relations that will enhance the knowledge of readers in Japan and Turkey are still insufficient. From this point of view, this book edited by Esenbel and Chiharo is one of the best works offering a fresh look at a century of Japanese Turkish relations during the modern period. The book portrays Japanese-Turkish relations from the late nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century which saw two world wars involving also the tumultuous events surrounding the rise of modern Japan as a Great Power and the establishment of the young Turkish Republic out of the ruins of the age-old Ottoman Empire.

The book is composed of thirteen articles except for an introductory chapter. In the introductory chapter, editors outline issues and events that have not been studied so far. Although formal diplomatic relations between modern Japan and modern Turkey started quite late, in 1923 when Japan signed the Lausanne Treaty that recognized the Republic of Turkey in place of the Ottoman Empire, in fact the relations between two countries began to flourish at the latter half of nineteenth century, especially after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 in Japanese history and in the late Ottoman period in Turkish history. Hence, the book reveals that the authors benefited from the Japanese diplomatic and military archives, Ottoman archives on late nineteenth and early twentieth century materials as well as memoirs of the Japanese and the Turks involved

in aspects of Japanese-Turkish relations, and also statistics of economic changes.

In the first article, Selçuk Esenbel examines the Japanese perspectives of the Ottoman world in two distinct phases: the first is the period between 1868 and 1890s that covers Japan's quest for gaining her sovereignty through treaty revision with the West, and the second begins with the last decades of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War. Selim Deringil's article deals with Japanese and Ottoman perspectives of each other during the Ottoman and Meiji encounters such as the trip made by the Ottoman warship, the *Ertuğrul*, in 1890 and Japan's failed attempt to conclude a capitulatory trade treaty with the Ottoman Empire just like the other Great Powers as well as the frequent Japanese visits to the Ottoman lands aiming at collecting intelligence and investigating trade routes.

Shiraiwa Kazuhiko, discusses Turkey-related literature that was written in the Meiji period (1862-1912) which covers the biggest part of the "former history" of Turkish-Japanese relations, and studies the shape and process of Turkish-Japanese relations through the Japanese images of the Turkish people in these works. Nadir Özbek takes up an extensive discussion of the intellectual and political carrier of Abdürreşid İbrahim, well-known for his travels to Japan in 1908-1909 and for his connections there with important Japanese political figures and focuses on İbrahim's activities within the intellectual and political atmosphere of the second constitutional period 1908-1918.

In the fifth article, Inaba Chiharu clarifies Japanese and Russian intelligence activities in late Ottoman İstanbul during the Russo-Japanese war, that opens a window into the history of information gathering and Japanese intelligence in the region, with the utilisation of the recently discovered Japanese historical material and the Turkish and Russian researches on the subject.

Sakamoto introduces the encounter between the Pan-Islamist İbrahim and the first Japanese Muslim convert Yamaoka Kotaro at the turn of the twentieth century and discusses the reason why both had to go to Mecca together, and explores the background to their pilgrimage by paying enough attention to the international

environment and the dynamics of international politics between Japan and Russia before and after the Japanese-Russo War.

Ikei Masaru's paper examines the Middle East Trade Conference in Istanbul, in April 1926. His paper is divided into three parts. In the first part, he explores why the conference was held at this point in 1926. In the second part, he explains how the preparation for the conference was executed. In the final part, he clarifies the significance and the results of the conference, the proposals for research and adopting a new policy toward Turkey.

Kimura Masato attempts to shed light on the type of non-governmental economic diplomacy between Japan and Turkey by focusing on Inabata Katsutarō, a central figure in the Japanese financial mechanism during the period between World Wars I and II.

Matsunaga Akira introduces the interesting political context of the less studied visit of the famous Turkist nationalist and the activist of Idil-Ural Turco Tatar movements, Ayaz Ishaki to Manchuria and Japan during the 1930s that reveals the political rivalries which tore up diaspora Tatar Turks and the Japanese political cliques who were vying for power in Japan.

Gerhard Kreps and Rona Aybay concern with the unknown aspects of German / Japanese / Turkish relations at the end of the Second World War that constructs in hindsight the grey area of contacts between Turkey with Axis Powers during the conflict.

The volume concludes with two significant comparative studies on Japan and Turkey: the comparison of Ottoman and Meiji municipal reforms by Sahara Tetsuya, and an analysis of the present day global economic crises in Japan and Turkey by İbrahim Öztürk.

In conclusion, it is a decidedly very significant and leading effort in Turkish-Japanese relations literature and with its comprehensive content, the book might be very useful for the researchers studying on the Turkish and Japanese foreign policy.

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Sedat Laçiner, Mehmet Özcan and İhsan Bal, **Türkiyeli Avrupa: Türkiye'nin Üyelüğünün AB'ye Olası Etkileri**, İstanbul, Hayat Yayınları, 2004, 260 pp.

Today, in the aftermath of the latest enlargement of the EU, many analysts argue that the next challenge is Turkey's accession to the Union. Usually, its area, population, cultural and religious differences make those who do not know Turkey well hesitant concerning this "challenge", particularly when combined with the prejudices of the past. Indeed, although Turkey has made concrete progress with a highly unexpected speed in the past couple of years and all the reforms done indicate a solid collective determination of the government, parliament, NGOs and the Turkish people, some EU members worried that a positive signal to Turkey in Brussels Summit of the European Council on December 17, 2004 would lead public opinion to reject the EU Constitution in referenda planned for next year. When the EU leaders decided to launch accession talks with Ankara on October 3, 2005, analysts warned again there were tough times ahead with the country's EU membership negotiations taking years. However, if Turkey ever joins the Union, people will look back on this summit as a decisive moment. An EU with Turkey as a member will probably look quite different from anything the founding fathers of the Union ever envisaged.

Turkey's membership in the European Union is a gradually evolving process. The main tasks towards membership are to transform Turkey's potential into political, economic, social and cultural assets for Europe's future; to solve today's difficult problems; and to set, if still necessary, transitional periods for some aspects of the membership. Before the EU's Brussels Summit, a number of reports have been issued by the European think-tanks, universities, unions and even the European Commission with the aim of measuring the possible impact of Turkish accession on the EU and assessing the issues arising from Turkey's membership perspective. In this book, the authors also analyse the effects of Turkish accession on the EU in three closely related chapters: the possible effects of

Turkish membership on the relations with the EU in terms of bilateral, regional and global perspectives; illegal immigration problem in Turkey-EU relations and "Turkish Model" and its potential for an alternative policy in the fight against global terrorism.

In the introduction the authors begin with the critique of the European identity and the evolution of the European civilizations reaching its peak in European integration by questioning the exclusionary "Old Europe" notion which draws on the Greco-Roman heritage and Christianity.

In the first chapter, Laçiner firstly presents a *tour de horizon* that discusses the origins and evolution of the European identity, Europeanness, poses these questions: who is European and where is Europe, and questions the existing controversies over whether Turkey is part of Europe geographically and culturally. He claims that Turkey may be an important model of a country with a majority Muslim population adhering to such fundamental principles as liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. The chapter then examines the impact of Turkish accession on the relations between the EU and Islamic World and the potential of Turkish model and the bridging role of "Turkish Islam" in enhancing and advancing further the relations of the EU with the Muslim World. Laçiner places special attention to account for how the bilateral and regional relations of Turkey with its near abroad (Balkans, Central Asia, Caucasia, Middle East, Black Sea, the Holy See), neighbouring countries (Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Russia) and the US may be expected to evolve in the course of eventual Turkish membership. The author also takes up the discussion of Turkey's capacity to contribute to regional stability and the impact of ethnicity and ethnic separatism problem on Turkey's relations with its neighbours. Finally, he assesses how the Turkish membership could be beneficial for the foreign economic relations of the EU and what the effects of Turkish accession on its relations with the existing EU member states would be.

The second chapter by Özcan concerns the illegal immigration as an issue threatening the EU's internal security and its role in Turkish-EU relations evolving toward the eventual membership of Turkey to the Union. Under four titles, the author firstly analyses what has been done in the field of internal security in Europe and the

EU in the historical process from the first attempts to deal with the anarchist movements of 19th century to the formation of the EUROPOL and the Schengen Acquis as an integral part of EU legal order. Secondly, he discusses the impact of the recent eastward enlargement on the internal security of the EU by focusing on the wider geographical scope of latest expansion and the illegal immigration, the trafficking of human beings, drugs and arms smuggling problems of the new members and by criticizing the "exclusionary" policies exercised by the EU to cope with these tough problems. Özcan thirdly examines the immigration policy of the EU in detail. Here, he provides a deep analysis of the definitions on immigration and human trafficking, the causes of illegal immigration, and compares the demographic structures of Turkey and the EU in terms of age groups and their distribution as a percentage of total population, and then discusses the geographical scope and mostly used routes of illegal immigration. He also draws attention on the measures adopted by the EU in struggling with illegal immigration and the policies agreed on the protection of asylum-seekers by addressing the strict visa requirements, temporary protection measures, instruments and mechanisms used by the EU to control immigration, and burden sharing problems among member states on immigration and asylum policy. Finally, Özcan concludes with a discussion of the illegal immigration problem in Turkish-EU relations with a view to showing the role that Turkey, as a transit country for illegal immigrants, can play in dealing with this problem.

In the third chapter, Bal begins with analyzing the definition and historical evolution of the term, "terrorism" at three stages: terrorist activities of anarchist and Marxist groups in 19th century, terrorism in the Cold War era and the new global terror wave in early 21st century. Then, he discusses the various strategies exercised by the terrorist organizations in their violent actions against civilian targets. Thirdly, he concerns with the different methods and models used by the US, European countries and Turkey in the current fight against international terrorism and compares them with each other. While he criticizes the US style imperial punitive policies in its fight against global terror, EU's civilian power approach to terrorism and security issues using new devices such as human rights, democracy, the rule of law and the development of foreign economic relations seemed to be more acceptable to him. As for Turkish model, he presents an overview of the emergence and the gradual escalation of

terrorist activities in Turkey and concentrates on the success of "Turkish Model" in overcoming Hezbollah terror in late 1990s by using knowledge and experiences it gained from the earlier encounters with terrorist organizations in 1970s and 1980s. He also argues that Turkish and EU models and their cooperation in this field can definitely be more effective in dealing with global terrorism than the US model and the "EU with Turkey" has to take more initiative in the fight against terror.

Overall, the volume handles almost all issues regarding the political and security effects of Turkish accession on the EU's policy-making and its external relations and tackles its subject in a comprehensive and thoughtful manner. In spite of its too wide scope of inquiry, especially in the first chapter, it gives brief but sufficient information about the possible impact of the membership and is packed with historical background, graphics and statistics. With its alternative approaches and solutions, *Türkiyeli Avrupa* is a substantial asset for the literature on Turkey-EU relations and could also make a worthwhile contribution to the debate on Turkish accession to the EU. It thus represents a significant stepping-stone towards the assessment of political and security dimensions of Turkey's membership. Despite lacking a bibliography section, it is recommendable for those who are interested in Turkish foreign policy and Turkey-EU relations.

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