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Book Review

Winning Turkey: How America, Europe and Turkey Can Revive a Fading Partnership

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Partnership between Turkey, America and Europe has been fading gradually. During the Cold War, Turkey was a vital player for America and Europe. However, the falling of the USSR and some significant events in the last decades, such as Iraq War and Luxemburg Conference, have led decreasing relations between Turkey, America and Europe. *Winning Turkey* is flashing on the partnership's problems, and probable solutions for the problems.

Winning Turkey consists of six chapters and afterword: "Turkey's Western Trajectory". When we look at the chapters' issues, we see the titles: "Who Lost Turkey?", "Kemalist, Islamist and The West", "The Crisis with the United States", "Europe's Closing Door", "Turkey's Eurasian Alternatives" and "Winning Turkey".

When we look at the first chapter, we observe that American and European policies toward the PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan) which is an ethnic terrorist organization, and the "Armenian Genocide" have reduced the trust of Turkish people to the West. Nowadays, the USA

gets the least support from Turkey in the world (p.2). The other issue in the chapter is that if Turkey's inward politics is getting worse, Turkey will be the adversary of the West because Nationalists and Kemalists do not want any orientation with America and Europe. According to Nationalists and Kemalists America and Europe support the AKP (Justice and Development Party), however, the party would like to replace secular system with Islamic law and also policies of the party are threatening Turkey's territorial integrity.

The election of President Abdullah Gul and its consequence which was April 27 e-memorandum, i.e. a military intervened president election through an online manifesto, plus the manifesto's outcome was 22 July 2007 general elections and its result 47% the AKP success is explained in the chapter two. Kemalist pillars are radical secularism, assimilations nationalism and transformation the Republic of Turkey into modernity are also mentioned by the authors (p.15). We also notice that in the part, whereas democratization was a fragile issue during the cold war, Islam and Kurdish Nationalism have been becoming the most important and the most delicate concern in Turkey after the cold war. The chapter analyzes, as well, the Welfare party's success in 1996, its throw out of the power by post modern coup which was February 28, 1997, and pragmatic leaders' such as Abdullah Gul and Recep Tayyip Erdogan rise after the duration (p.19).

Chapter three demonstrates why the America-Turkey partnership has decreased while the partnership was strong during the cold war. Turkish Assemblies' March rejection for the usage of Turkish territory for Iraq invasion and Turkish soldiers' capturing by American soldiers in July is key factors for the fading. After Turkish soldiers' capturing, former Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul said: "This harm cannot be forgotten." (p.15) Moreover, differences over Israel, Armenia and the Kurds are showed as the other important disagreement reasons. Especially, after Iraq Invasion by the United States, Turks gradually more blamed America for the PKK and its attacks. Even though America allowed Turkey to attack to North Iraq in order to fight the PKK, a lot of Turks are suspicious about whether America supports the PKK or not. The sentence "Talk and have negotiations with these terrorists element." (p.37) by Ray Odierno who is former commander of the Multi-National corps in Iraq shows Turkish people are not unfair as well.

The Europe-Turkey relations' positive and negative sides are analyzed in chapter four. The large population, the low GDP of Turkey, the different culture and the religion are examined

as discouraging effects on behalf of the relationship. Moreover, the European Union was grown in the 2004 with new 10 members. The members, in particular Greek Cypriot, will damage the relations as well. 1997 Helsinki Summit, the AKP government's policies, and 2001 Copenhagen criteria are increasing optimism for Turkey's membership in future. However, the new French and German leaders (Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel) are considered the biggest obstacles to Turkey's EU membership by the authors. Nicolas Sarkozy's thoughts about Turkey and Turkey's membership status are really detrimental: "Turkey is not a European Country." And for Turkey's membership: "Kill the very idea of European integration."

Turkey's Eurasian alternatives are examined in chapter five. The authors mention that Turkey's self confidence is improved after the economic expansion of the 2002-2007. In addition, the point which is Turkish foreign policy is based on Ahmet Davutoglu, who is current Turkish Foreign Minister, underlining in the part. The other point is relations with Russia. The relations have increased after 2003. Until the date communism, new independent Asian countries' situation, Kurds and Chechnya were becoming main obstacles between the two countries. The problems were solved and new trade agreements were made by the countries, such as blue stream. There is also the analysis of Iran-Turkey relationship. Expanding trade in particular gas and pipeline deals have caused important relationship between Iran and Turkey. Common enemies, PJAK, the Iranian version of PKK, and PKK are also played role to improve affairs. Lastly, Turkey sees Iran more reliable than America on the Kurdish issue (p.57).

Syria was a foe country till 1998 because Syria government allowed Abdullah Ocalan, who was the leader of the PKK, to stay in Syria and also Syria did not satisfy from Turkey's southeastern water project. In 1998, Syria government decided to expel Ocalan, and as a result relations with Turkey were improved after the date. Iraq invasion accelerated relations since Kurdish issue was understood as a common problem along with Turkey. The peak point of relationship of Turkey-Syria is that a Syrian President visited Turkey in 2004 since 1946. Last issue in the chapter is Turkey has two distinct scenarios. First, Turkey will continue current policies which are developing its ties with other regional actors while seeking to maintain a close alliance with the United States and the European Union (p.59). Second scenario is a military coup against the AKP. Turkey will face a judicial or military intervention. And then, ties will be closed with the EU and the United States. However, Turkey's relations with Russia, China, Iran,

Syria, Azerbaijan and Central Asian Countries (Authoritarian States) will increase. This means loss of Turkey (p.60).

The authors provide five steps for Winning Turkey in the chapter six. First one is promote a “Grand Bargain” between Turkey and the Kurds. Turkey should increase cultural, social rights and promote economic development. Through the policies, the PKK will lay out or not but the Kurds will not support the PKK anymore. Moreover, the United States and the European Union should support democracy and liberalism in Turkey. Since more liberal and democrat Turkey will be more close to the United States and the European Union than now. Currently, Turkish people think the European Union will never accept Turkey as a full member. The renewed set of mutual commitment will change the idea (p.76). Furthermore, the United States and the European Union should accelerate diplomatic efforts to solve bilateral conflict between Armenia and Turkey (p.77). Besides, Turkey and Armenia should try to understand each other more than ever.

In addition, even though Turkish Cypriots accepted Annan plan and Greek Cypriots did not in 2004, Turkish Cypriots were not rewarded, and in contrast, Greek Cypriots were rewarded by the European Union via full membership. The authors state the European Union should press on Greek Cypriots for a compromise, and they should less isolation on Turkish Cypriots as well.

The book ends with afterword by Soli Ozel. Ozel analyzes the closure trial of the AKP, the DTP (Democratic Society Party), and the trial’s relation with Ergenekon case which is continuing trial about military coup attempt. The analysis demonstrates the parties’ the percentage of total vote is eighty five percent (p.92). In fact, the AKP was not closed, on the other hand, the support of the European and the United States was not enough during the process. In spite of the facts, the AKP should increase policies and strategies toward the European Union accession. Only when Turkey clearly chooses this path, will there be no need to figure out ways of “Winning Turkey” (p.100).

All in all, the book is a good resource for the people who study on relationship between Turkey, the European Union and the United States. The book is also an essential source to learn why the partnership has been fading, and the countries what should do to revive the partnership. What is more, scholars will have some special ideas on the partnership’s future when they read and analyze the book. And, I believe the book will assist to international studies, and the book will be a special book for international scholars’ studies.

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