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**Parameters of Partnership: The U.S. – Turkey – Europe**

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„Much could be achieved between Turkey, the European Union and the United States if governments would keep in mind the practical possibilities and the emotional allergies of the partner, and if everybody concerned, the media included, would try to avoid unnecessary damage, try to watch their language, to spare the partner’s feelings and to respect his pride and identity.“ (p. 18)

With Turkey at the crossroads of new geopolitical and geoeconomic challenges the strategic dimensions of the triangle U.S. – Turkey – Europe (especially Germany) are highly relevant. This essay collection, published under the auspices of the Center for European Integration at Bonn University in collaboration with the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington, D.C. and the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, represents the results of long term assessment of all parameters of the partnership. Divides into four main sections, 1) The Relations between Turkey and the European Union – Stock Taking and Prospects, 2) The Situation of Turks in Germany, 3) Turkey and its Surroundings, 4) Components of a Future Strategy, the work deals with various facets of past and present facts and chances for the future.

In section one *Ekkehard Eickhoff* analyses the evolution of the relationship between Turkey and Europe from a German perspective while in his paper *Haluk Kabaalioglu* offers the Turkish view. His is a most detailed historic stock-taking with an examination of the 1963 Association Agreement and a comparison with the Treaty of Rome, the Customs Union with many financial details and the Luxembourg European Council Summit Meeting as well as the Cardiff Council. This author focuses on the Greek Cypriot application for membership in the European Union and points out the problems and impossibilities concerning this most controversial of issues. *Günter Joetze*’s work is called ‘The Relations between Turkey and the European Union – A European Perspective’. It consists of 12 strong precise points and calls for the conduct of a critical dialogue with Greece, because “in the long run ‘muddling through’ is not an adequate method for an area where Europe borders the Greater Middle East with its permanent instabilities” (p. 77). *Yakup Atilla Eralp* also deals with the aftermath of the Luxembourg Summit – Turkey was disappointed by not being made an accession member – and the prospects for a working relationship. Turkish-German relations after 1977, an analysis from a Turkish domestic and foreign point of view is *Hüseyin Bağcı*’s contribution. In his estimation the Turkish side is ready for a new beginning now and he believes that it is time for Germany to act, even one-sidedly.

Part two is about the situation of Turks in Germany. *Azade Seyhan*’s essay scrutinizes cultural legacy, legitimacy, and identity in the Turkish Community of Germany, *Cem Özdemir*’s a very personal picture of a second generation Turk in Germany. His message to

all immigrants is to take advantage of their chance to become German citizen so ‘they can be counted’. The dialogue between Christians and Muslims in Germany is *Barbara Huber-Rudolf’s* topic.

The third part of the collection begins with *Michael Lake’s* Report on the Political, Economic, and Social Climate. He is one of the few authors who touches the subject of human rights and Kurdish Turks, the problems with the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus in a larger scale as well as the relationship to Israel. *Graham E. Fuller* then addresses the sensitive subject of the EU and Turkey’s Eurasian Foreign Policy. From an insight into the Turkish internal crisis and international isolation he analysis Turkey’s new foreign policy in small case studies with Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, China and Russia. He concludes that indeed Turkey can and will pursue its own goals but can be a valuable partner to the west. Another unusually personal and unscientific essay is contributed by *Ishak Alaton*. He focuses on economic and sociocultural developments in his country, paying attention to the problem of inflation, giving examples from towns and regions less well known. *Ali L. Karaosmanoglu* describes the relationship between Turkey and Russia, emphasizing the importance of the oil business and power politics.

*Alan O. Makovsky* gives the American perspective of the ‘post Luxembourg blues’ in the last part dealing with the future relationship. *Murat Karayalcin* stresses the importance of Turkey in his brief review of the Turkey-Europe Association Relations. He calls Turkey a “fortress in defence of the Western values” and a “vital partner” (p. 214) stating it deserves a place in the Union. One of the editors, the German *Ludger Kühnhardt*, rounds up the picture. He notes the old ways and new approaches in the triangle, strongly believing there is no alternative to it. “The United States has renewed its commitment as a part and partner of the architecture of European Security, but in the partnership of the United States, Germany and Turkey, it is the Germans and the Turks who must lead.” (p. 235)

Apart from a few remarks on German citizenship for Turks that now seem outdated and the fact that there indeed is a fresh approach with the new German administration already, it is a well-researched and interesting volume offering insight into national and transnational law, domestic and international politics, economic factors and is well-balanced thanks to the different national and educational backgrounds of the authors who have contributed to it.

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