

indeed a ‘breath of freedom’ for them? Tackling this issue would also nicely complement the pioneering case-studies that are explored in a couple of other books that Höhn has recently authored or co-edited and which delve into US military history from the perspective of gender and race.^{2,3} However, this comment is not at all meant to devalue the significance of the work under review. The book certainly contributes to a richer historiography of the Cold War in particular, illuminating more ways in which it was experienced. In a sense, it lends support to the argument put forth by Melvyn P. Leffler⁴, namely that inserting parameters, such as race, into the examination of the Cold War, helps render its analysis much more complex.

References

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Turkey and the Dilemma of EU Accession

Mirela Bogdani

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In the context of an overall assessment of factors regarding Turkey’s accession to the European Union (EU), Bogdani focuses on the impact of ‘religion’ on this ongoing process. The research questions taken into consideration are: (a) what are the factors influencing Turkey’s accession process? (b) Is Islam compatible with Western values? (c) What are the positions and attitudes of ‘European actors’ towards Turkey’s candidacy? (d) What are the reasons for increased opposition against Turkey’s accession? (e) What are the roles of ‘religion’ and ‘culture’ in Turkey’s accession process?

About the first research question, the basic argument is that religious and cultural factors do not constitute primary obstacles in terms of accession; rather, their interaction with other factors ‘complicates’ the process. The proposal in this framework is that there are multi-factors affecting the process having political, economic and social dimensions.

Regarding the second research question, the difficulties for Islam to be compatible with Western values introduced as concerning democracy, pluralism, human rights, equality, fundamental freedoms and relations of religion with the State. In this scope, it is proposed that it remains a challenge for Turkey to maintain a balance between being a secular democratic country and a nation with an Islamic culture.

In terms of the third research question it is argued that different actors have different perspectives on Turkey's accession to the EU. Linked with this question is that of the mounting opposition to Turkey's accession, especially after 2001. For Bogdani there are three reasons that have to do with issues internal to the EU, and two that are directly related to Turkey itself. The first three reasons are the rise of Islamic fundamentalism around the world and its implications for Europe, the increase of the Muslim population in Western Europe and the issue of its integration, and a fear of the 'Islamisation' of Europe. The other reasons are that Turkey is a Muslim country of 70 million inhabitants, and that Turkey has a political party with 'Islamic roots' in power.

The final research question addresses what Bogdani sees as the main issue at stake: the effect of 'religion' and 'culture' to find a 'real' answer about the reasons for opposition to Turkey's accession. Such opposition, in her view, is not grounded on economic or democratic principles alone, and 'religion' provides a partial explanation. Bogdani's conclusion is that 'religion' together with 'size' are the main reasons for opposition.

This book contains five chapters. In the first chapter, on the relationship between 'religion' and 'politics', the author underlines that 'political Islam is the use and mobilisation of religion and identity to achieve political objectives' and there is a 'revival' in this respect in both Europe and Turkey. In the second chapter, on Turkey and the EU, it is argued that enlargement eastwards brings advantages for both the applicant countries and the EU since it increases the latter's political, economic, and territorial weight and enhances military security for all Europeans. For eurosceptics and opponents to Turkey's accession though, enlargement is perceived as widening the spectrum of divergent interests and increasing internal heterogeneity, making the EU weaker and raising the risk of destabilisation. In this context, enlargement, when it concerns Turkey, raises controversial issues, not only relevant to the 'borders of the EU', but also, more importantly, of European 'identity', together with Islam's place and role in Europe.

In the third chapter, on the compatibility of Islam with democracy, the author outlines how some Islamic principles and norms contradict western values, especially in terms of human rights, ideas about the relations of religion and the State, moral codes of everyday behaviour, and the boundaries of religious and moral tolerance. The challenge for Turkey is to emphasised find a balance between a 'secular democracy' and Islamic culture.

In the fourth chapter, on the place of religion and culture in the debate on Turkey's candidacy, the author argues that 'culture' is a broad concept that includes not only religion, but also many other elements, ranging from customs, family patterns, social norms, values, lifestyle to food, music and literature, and that 'culture' is used as a 'code-word' by Europeans to refer to 'religion'. As Turkey is not 'European' in terms of its geography, history, and culture, its accession will be disadvantageous for European 'identity'. The views of European citizens, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council, the member states, and EU politicians in this respect are discussed.

The fifth chapter details the five reasons mentioned earlier for increased opposition to Turkey's accession since 2001.

A criticism of the book might be the author's alleged difficulty of obtaining the relevant data about the opposition based on 'religion'. Certainly, field studies and interviews would help to gain more accurate data on the issue. Although the study's focus is not on economic issues, more data might have been helpful. Sometimes the author only reiterates available doctrine and shuns personal views (for example, page 39 about the demographic factor). Occasionally one has doubts about the aptness of some words (for example, page 44 where 'forcefully' is used in the context of 'secularism forcefully imposed by the State'). One may also wonder whether the difference between 'culture' and 'identity' is made sufficiently clear, although admittedly this may sometimes be a 'blurred' issue to handle.

Overall, the study is very useful in clarifying what are the main obstacles with regard to Turkey's accession to the EU. Of these, 'religion' is an important factor, although this is not admitted by many involved, at least not explicitly.

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