
Since the beginning of the 1990s, the minority issue has become a topic of utmost importance in contemporary European politics, and both theoretical and empirical studies on the subject have increased significantly. As one of them, *Reciprocity —Greek Turkish Minorities— Law, Religion and Politics* contributes significantly to the ongoing discussions by focusing on the reciprocity dimension of the issue. The idea for this book emerged from the French Association for Studies on Muslim and Arab World Congress (the AFEMAM), held in Strasbourg in 2005. The book, which collected the studies of eight scholars specialising in Greek-Turkish relations, is divided in three parts: “Sources and Meanings” (Part One), “Historical and Legal Perspectives” (Part Two), and “Application” (Part Three). Within this framework, the central theme of the book is the principle of reciprocity in theory and the humiliating consequences of its practices on the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul and the Turkish Muslim minority in Western Thrace, both at the “factual and structural levels” (p. 13).

Focusing on the meaning and the implications of the principle of reciprocity, the book analyses the concept from legal, historical, sociological, and political science perspectives. Despite their different points of view from various perspectives, the contributors agree on the fact that any analysis covering both the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul and the Turkish Muslim minority in Western Thrace should include Turkey and Greece as the main influential factors in shaping their conditions. Most of the problems have arisen from a negative application of the principle by the Turkish and Greek governments mutually.

The general introduction, “Reciprocity and its Application in International Law,” written by Samim Akgönül, provides the theoretical and practical framework of the principle of reciprocity. Akgönül argues that the principle allows states to take some coercive measures in their national and international domains. By focusing on minority issue, the author claims that even if the international instruments constitute reciprocity in positive terms, their application has become negative in all countries concerned and has deprived members of minorities of their rights. Therefore, according to Akgönül, the perverse use of the principle of reciprocity has become equated with reprisals or with the right to sanction (p. 2). In this framework, the author gives a detailed examination of the international commercial law, the regime of foreigners, and the law of war as the major fields of the application of the principle of reciprocity.

In the first article of Part One, “Sources of Reciprocity: Treaty of Lausanne,” Akgönül discusses the shared ideal of Greece and Turkey, which is the achievement of homogenous nation states at the expense of non-indigenous minorities. Considering their role in the creation of those kinds of states, Akgönül examines two legal texts: the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations (signed on 30 January 1923), and the Treaty of Lausanne (signed on 23 July 1923). Within this framework, after examining Articles 37 to 44 of the latter, which institutionalize special status for non-Muslims in Turkey, the author evaluates Article 45 of the Treaty as the main source of the principle of reciprocity between Greece and Turkey, which grants the same rights listed in those articles to the Muslim minority in Greece. Here, the author emphasizes the important distinction between the Orthodox Greek minority and other non-Muslim minorities in Turkey (Assyro-chaldeans and the Christian gypsy population), and argues that the latter group was not included in the minority regime of Turkey which was instituted by the Treaty of Lausanne. He concludes the article with a similar approach as in
his introduction. He claims that although reciprocity was included in the Treaty of Lausanne in a positive manner to guarantee the rights of minorities, it became an outrageous tool in the hands of the two states concerned within the framework of the wider Turkish-Greek disagreements.

Baskın Oran, in his article “Reciprocity in Turco-Greek Relations: The Case of Minorities,” analyzes reciprocity from the legal and sociological perspectives. Concerning the legal side, he argues that reciprocity is totally consistent with the sovereignty and self-help principles of the states in the case of the lack of any hierarchical authority or centralized enforcement mechanisms in the international system. From the sociological perspective, on the other hand, reciprocity means the prevention of killing via the threats of chain off killing (pp. 34-35). Both perspectives, according to the author, have inherent weaknesses and reciprocity can easily turn into retaliation and then into reprisal with unintended consequences. In this framework, Oran argues that from the beginning, reciprocity—in the field of minorities—has been understood and applied in its negative sense by both Turkey and Greece.

The last article in Part One, “Reciprocity in the National Paradigm,” written by Herkül Millas, shows us the paradoxical use of the principle of reciprocity on matters concerning minorities. Millas argues that this paradox arises from the gap between the two paradigms of reciprocity: the ideal level versus the desired level for minorities and their current situation. By referring to the discrepancy between the interpretation of the legal texts and the existing conditions of minorities which emerge from the use of nationalistic discourses and policies, the author argues that reciprocity both triggers negative escalations and retards positive steps (p. 44).

Part Two of the book starts with Dimitris Kamouzis’s article, “Reciprocity or International Intervention? Greek and Turkish Minority Policy, 1923-1930.” In this noteworthy article, the author focuses on the immediate post-Lausanne period, from 1923 to 1930, and examines the principle of reciprocity as a political practice employed for the protection of the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul and the Turkish Muslim minority in Western Thrace. What is particularly important in this article is Kamouzis’s incorporation of the principle of reciprocity within the general framework of Rogers Brubaker’s theory, which is based on the “triadic relationship among the nationalizing state, national homeland, and national minorities” (Brubaker 1996: 55-76). In this framework, the author argues that while Turkey is considered the national homeland and Greece the nationalizing state vis-à-vis the Turkish Muslim minority in Western Greece, Turkey performs the role of the nationalizing state and Greece is accepted as the national homeland vis-à-vis the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul. Kamouzis argues that what differentiates Turkey and Greece as national homelands is their different political practices under similar conditions. While Turkey is inclined to resort to the reciprocal retaliation for the protection of the rights of its co-nationals, Greece insists on international mechanisms, due to its general policy of internationalising the issue of minority protection.

The second article in Part Two is “Reciprocity as a Regulatory Pattern for the Treatment of Greece’s Turkish/Muslim Minority,” written by Konstantinos Tsitselikis. In this article, Tsitselikis evaluates the role of the kin-state as having the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of a home state in the name of the protection of minorities. He argues that both Greece and Turkey undertook the role of a kin-state for the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul and for the Turkish Muslim minority in Western Thrace respectively, and that both states use the minority issue as a part of the wider Greek-Turkish conflict of interests. But the author also suggests that the European integration process and the signing of various international legal instruments by