

RIFAT N. BALI, *Model Citizens of the State: The Jews of Turkey during the Multi-Party Period* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012). Pp. 540. \$110.00 cloth, \$109.99 e-book.

REVIEWED BY SENEM ASLAN, Department of Politics, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine; e-mail: saslan@bates.edu

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Rifat Bali is a highly prolific independent scholar in Turkey whose numerous books and articles are the main reference sources for researchers interested in the modern history of Turkish Jews. This book is an English translation of the last volume of a trilogy that documents the history of the Jewish community in republican Turkey. Today the Jewish community is approximately 20,000 and is concentrated in Istanbul, with a much smaller community (2,000) in Izmir. *Model Citizens of the State* covers the Jewish community's relations with both state and society at large during the multiparty period, from 1950 to 2003. As usual, Bali's research is impressive. He cites documents from the Turkish, U.S., and Israeli archives; surveys Turkish press outlets representing a wide range of political views; and uses personal archives and numerous secondary sources. The book is a very important contribution to the English literature on state–minority relations in Turkey.

Bali begins with a brief overview of the Turkification policies initiated during the single-party period (1923–45) and their effects on non-Muslim minorities. While the early republican period's discriminatory measures against minorities are well documented in the scholarly literature, we know relatively less about the treatment of non-Muslim minorities during the multiparty period, and Bali's book fills this gap. He shows that the transition to democracy did not represent a breaking point in state–Jewish relations, as the Jewish community continued to be subject to exclusion, scapegoating, and discrimination. The main question that drives his book is why—despite the state's discriminatory policies against Jews and the society's strong anti-Semitism—the leaders of the Jewish community have been so supportive of official discourse about Turkish tolerance and inclusiveness. According to Bali, the alliance of Jewish leaders with the state and their uncritical public attitude toward state policies stemmed from a strong sense of vulnerability and their belief that the small Jewish minority could survive only if it collaborated with the state. Bali examines the conditions under which this sense of vulnerability emerged. At the official as well as the societal level, Turkishness has been equated with Muslim identity throughout the republican period. According to Bali, the discrimination that Jews have continued to encounter has been largely a result of this mindset among state officials, who have perceived Jewish and Turkish identities as mutually exclusive. The higher ranks of public service have accordingly remained closed to the Jewish community, as to other non-Muslim minorities. Construction of synagogues and Jewish schools has rarely been permitted, and Jewish businessmen have not been able to benefit from state incentives to encourage investment as much their Muslim counterparts. At the societal level, too, the Jewish community has encountered serious problems. Bali documents extensive anti-Semitism in the press, not only in right-wing nationalist and Islamist publications, but also in the leftist press throughout the 1960s and 1970s, escalating as the Israeli–Palestinian conflict intensified. Consecutive Turkish governments have dismissed the Jewish community's fears in this regard, turning a blind eye to anti-Semitic demonstrations and publications. Given the occasional violence that has targeted non-Muslim minorities during the republican period, the most important of which was the anti-Greek riots of 6–7 September 1955, the Jewish community has therefore lived with a constant feeling of insecurity.

Bali shows how the weak rule of law and the state's informal and arbitrary measures exacerbated Jewish leaders' sense of vulnerability. One interesting exchange he reports was between Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and the leaders of the Jewish community, who complained about the legal regulations that prevented internal elections for a chief rabbi in 1950. Due to the secularization reforms, which placed religious affairs and education under the control of the state, the Turkish state did not allow autonomy to the religious communities' internal institutions. The Jewish community was unable to elect its new chief rabbi because the community institutions did not have legal standing. Menderes, however, assured the community leaders that the state would turn a blind eye to the election of a chief rabbi because the actual objective of the legal regulations was to prevent the Greek community from organizing itself politically (p. 35). The sense that the state leaders could easily ignore the rule of law and that the well-being of the community was at the mercy of the state put pressure on Jewish leaders to show their "debt of gratitude" on public occasions in order to project an image of Turkey as a country free of anti-Semitism in the international arena. The Turkish-Jewish community at large, however, has either turned more insular or left the country. Turkey's Jewish community today numbers around 20,000, a substantial decline from the approximately 80,000 recorded in the first population census of the Turkish Republic in 1927.

*Model Citizens of the State* also provides a history of the Turkish state's international public relations campaigns, particularly against the recognition of the Armenian genocide. In the 1970s, U.S. Armenian organizations began lobbying for official recognition of the genocide. Bali writes in detail about the Turkish state's counterlobbying efforts, which included asking the Turkish Jewish community to encourage Jewish-American organizations and businessmen to mobilize against Armenian lobbying. At times, Turkish state officials implied that the safety of the Jewish community would be at risk unless they contributed to Turkey's public relations efforts. In the end, the leaders of Turkish Jewry as well as Jewish-American organizations largely supported Turkey's official discourse and its efforts to block passage of genocide bills by the U.S. Congress. For the sake of preserving its strategic alliance with Turkey, the State of Israel sided with Turkey on the Armenian genocide issue as well. Bali also discusses the 1989 establishment of the Quincentennial Foundation by prominent members of Turkish Jewry along with retired Turkish ambassadors, journalists, and businessmen. The foundation came into being to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Jews to the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain, and played a crucial role in projecting a positive image of Turkey abroad as a land of diversity and tolerance.

Bali's writing style will limit the book's audience. It is highly descriptive, organized chronologically, and at times quite repetitive. Lengthy quotes, some of which last for pages for reasons that are not always apparent, hurt the flow of the narrative. Altogether, this book is an invaluable reference source for researchers interested in state-Jewish relations in Turkey. Because of its length and highly detailed nature, however, students and scholars of the Middle East might find it a difficult read.

YOEL COHEN, *God, Jews and the Media: Religion and Israel's Media*, Jewish Studies Series (London and New York: Routledge, 2012). Pp. 258. \$135.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY SHOSHANA MADMONI-GERBER, Department of Communication and Journalism, Suffolk University, Boston, Mass.; e-mail: smadmoni@suffolk.edu  
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