

politics. He actually did not intend to produce an exhaustive piece on the topic of lying and its various forms. Instead, the author zeroes in on strategic lies to provide a starting point for further discussion within the literature. Mearsheimer also proposes a parsimonious theoretical template to scholars upon which future studies can be built. The field of international relations would particularly benefit from Mearsheimer's typology of lies by incorporating quantitative and/or qualitative data in order to develop a more comprehensive analytical framework to examine every form of lying in international politics.

All in all, this book puts forward a novel perspective for the discussion of the art of statecraft and effectively addresses an underdeveloped field within international relations literature

by introducing a theoretical framework and several case studies. *Why Leader Lie* is also a highly entertaining and succinct book which facilitates reading for non-specialists. However, due to its concision, this study leaves readers with many more questions than answers. This impressive book is strongly recommended to scholars, students and also readers in general interested in the hitherto underestimated role of lying as a tool of statecraft in international politics.

## References

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## Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China

*By Turan Kayaoglu*

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 248 pages,  
ISBN: 9780521765916.

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In recent years International Relations students have had a chance to read many valuable books in which the Turkish

case is used as a theoretical contribution to theories of International Relations. No doubt Turan Kayaoglu's *Legal*

*Imperialism* is one of the best examples of this newly emergent literature. The volume reads as follows: the introductory section discusses the rise and fall of extraterritoriality in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and links this development to debates among International Relations scholars about sovereignty. The first chapter introduces the relation between positive law and sovereignty, with special emphasis on the colonial experience of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also examines the replacement of natural law with positive law, which facilitated Western imperialism in Asia and other colonial locations. The second chapter gives a detailed analysis of how extraterritoriality emerged as a tool of Western imperialism. It also attempts to describe Asian resistance to Western extraterritoriality. The three subsequent chapters are devoted to an explanation of extraterritoriality with three case studies: Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China. The concluding chapter provides a preliminary analysis of the American legal imperialism which replaced British imperialism following the Second World War. The remainder of this review focuses on the book's contribution to theories of sovereignty and imperialism.

One of the most agreed upon issues in the International Relations discipline is the close relationship between the Westphalian system and sovereignty. According to this assumption, the state

sovereignty of our age is the product of the Westphalian system, in which external intervention in internal affairs was significantly reduced among European states. Turan Kayaoğlu's *Legal Imperialism* is an attempt to challenge the persistent ignorance of "the role Western ideology and the colonial encounter played in the construction of sovereignty" and it argues that "Western state practices and judicial discourses clarified, crystallised and consolidated the elements of sovereignty doctrine" in these encounters (p. 17). For Kayaoğlu, sovereignty is not something developed and consolidated solely within Western thought and practices, but rather through encounters between Western colonial powers and Asian and African states, because the construction of sovereignty requires establishing the 'other' (p. 32-3, 40). In other words, the thing what makes sovereignty possible for the West is the interaction between the Western world and the non-Western world, representing the non-sovereign 'other'. Therefore, "sovereignty is not given but, rather, is created by ideas and practices" of Western actors in their relations with the non-Western world (p. 19). For Kayaoğlu, this relational and constructed character of sovereignty is evident in the "imperial legal episteme" through which the West was/is able to advance its colonial dominance over the East.

The imperial legal episteme excluded all non-Western entities from the sphere of positivist law, in which the law belongs to a specific political community, namely the state. Because of the imagined relation between the state and the positive law of the West, the non-Western entities that had no application of positive law in their domestic affairs were separated from the ultimate character of being a state, i.e., sovereignty. Therefore, all non-Western entities were called 'non-sovereign actors'. As a result, once non-Western lawlessness had been demonstrated and the non-sovereign character of the East was constructed by the West through the delegitimisation of non-Western law, extraterritoriality emerged "as a natural solution to protect the rights of the Western subject" who travelled to and lived in non-Western societies (p. 34). Extraterritoriality, "a legal regime whereby a state claims exclusive jurisdiction over its citizens in other states" (p. 2), created a difference between the Western states and the others, which functioned as the very basis of sovereignty. In other words, it was extraterritoriality in non-Western societies through which sovereignty of the Western states were clarified, crystallised and consolidated.

The relational character of sovereignty, Kayaoğlu warns us, was not unique to the Western experience because "law has not

only been a tool of imperialism, it has also been a tool of anti-imperialism" (p. 148). The incompatibility of extraterritoriality with territorial sovereignty was used by non-Western countries as a strategy for their fight against the Western domination of their own territories. Although Asian and African countries gained their sovereignty at the end of the struggle, the fight for satisfying the positivist criteria and the constitution of positive legal institutions created mimic states in the non-Western world. However, the spread of Western-style sovereignty did not result in the end of the imperialist relations between the West and the rest. Kayaoğlu also warns us about "the emergence of a new form of extraterritorial jurisdiction" following the Second World War (p. 195). As in the British Empire case, the law, again, has been an imperial tool for the U.S. when it opens "foreign markets and investment opportunities to American companies" all around the world (p. 196).

Kayaoğlu's fascinating book brings international relations, international law and the study of imperialism together and makes an important contribution towards understanding the way in which the Western world has dominated the rest of the world. By taking western states as a unitary body, the book also challenges explanations based on the realist

interests of relations between states. For Kayaoğlu, “the great powers’ policies regarding extraterritoriality transcended the geopolitical struggle among them. Rivals collaborated with one another against Japan, [the Ottoman Empire and China]. The debates about extraterritoriality should thus be understood

within a Western versus non-Western context rather than as a state-centric strategy” (p. 73).

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## Reforming the European Union: Realizing the Impossible

*By Daniel Finke, Thomas König, Sven-Oliver Proksch and George Tsebelis*

New York: Princeton University Press, 2012, 248 pages,  
ISBN: 9780691153933.

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The book *Reforming the European Union: Realizing the Impossible* by Daniel Finke, Thomas König, Sven-Oliver Proksch and George Tsebelis is a meticulous analysis of the path that led from the European Convention to the Lisbon Treaty. Through the empirical testing of theoretical arguments on reform making and institutional change it attempts to answer some crucial questions about how reform comes about in a European Union of 27 member states. The authors investigate the role of chief executives, political leaders, governmental agents and voters in this process. Through this comprehensive enquiry they come to the conclusion that

even though there was no final outcome in the form of a revised treaty, they can provide a systematic explanation for every decision and its consequences. They argue that if a majority of EU leaders agree on reform, they will find the strategies to realise it.

The first chapter by George Tsebelis uses a veto player analysis of the process from the European Convention to the Lisbon agreement and he highlights the importance of the new methods used in the negotiation for the European Convention, which were quite different from the usual intergovernmental methods for negotiations. He sees this as the intention of Valéry Giscard d’Estaing,