

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West*

Ayşe Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

After Defeat

Not being of the West; being behind the West; not being modern enough; not being developed or industrialized, secular, civilized, Christian, transparent, or democratic – these descriptions have all served to stigmatize certain states through history. Drawing on constructivism as well as the insights of social theorists and philosophers, *After Defeat* demonstrates that stigmatization in international relations can lead to a sense of national shame, as well as auto-Orientalism and inferior status. Ayşe Zarakol argues that stigmatized states become extra-sensitive to concerns about status, and shape their foreign policy accordingly. The theoretical argument is supported by a detailed historical overview of central examples of the established/outsider dichotomy throughout the evolution of the modern states system, and in-depth studies of Turkey after the First World War, Japan after the Second World War, and Russia after the Cold War.

AYŞE ZARAKOL is an Assistant Professor of Politics at Washington & Lee University. She teaches courses on global politics, international security, and political theory and her research focuses on the social evolution of the international system and the integration of regions outside of the West into the modern international order.


Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



Cambridge Studies in International Relations: 118

After Defeat

EDITORS

Christian Reus-Smit

Nicholas J. Wheeler

EDITORIAL BOARD

James Der Derian, Martha Finnemore, Lene Hansen, Robert Keohane,

Rachel Kerr, Colin McInnes, Jan Aart Scholte, Peter Vale,

Kees Van Der Pijl, Jutta Weldes, Jennifer Welsh, William Wohlforth

Cambridge Studies in International Relations is a joint initiative of Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association (BISA). The series will include a wide range of material, from undergraduate textbooks and surveys to research-based monographs and collaborative volumes. The aim of the series is to publish the best new scholarship in International Studies from Europe, North America, and the rest of the world.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Cambridge Studies in International Relations*

- 117 Andrew Phillips
War, religion and empire
The transformation of international orders
- 116 Joshua Busby
Moral movements and foreign policy
- 115 Séverine Autesserre
The trouble with the Congo
Local violence and the failure of international peacebuilding
- 114 Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan K. Sell
Who governs the globe?
- 113 Vincent Pouliot
International security in practice
The politics of NATO–Russia diplomacy
- 112 Columba Peoples
Justifying ballistic missile defence
Technology, security and culture
- 111 Paul Sharp
Diplomatic theory of international relations
- 110 John A. Vasquez
The war puzzle revisited
- 109 Rodney Bruce Hall
Central banking as global governance
Constructing financial credibility
- 108 Milja Kurki
Causation in international relations
Reclaiming causal analysis
- 107 Richard M. Price
Moral limit and possibility in world politics
- 106 Emma Haddad
The refugee in international society
Between sovereigns

Series list continues after index

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

After Defeat

How the East Learned to Live
with the West

AYŞE ZARAKOL



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayşe Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521145565

© Ayşe Zarakol 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Zarakol, Ayşe.

After defeat : how the East learned to live with the West / Ayşe Zarakol.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in international relations ; 118)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-19182-1 (hardback)

1. International relations–Social aspects. 2. Inferiority complex–

Social aspects. 3. Defeat (Psychology) 4. Collective memory.

5. Military history, Modern–20th century. 6. Turkey–Foreign relations–

1918–1960. 7. Japan–Foreign relations–1945–1989. 8. Russia

(Federation)–Foreign relations. I. Title. II. Series.

JZ1251.Z37 2010

327.1–dc22

2010037098

ISBN 978-0-521-19182-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-14556-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For Michael Barnett and David Leheny

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

You see, our whole life, from earliest childhood, has been geared to the European mentality. Is it possible that any of us could have prevailed against this influence, this appeal, this pressure? How is it that we have not been regenerated once and for all into Europeans? That we have not been so regenerated I think all will agree, some with joy, others, of course, with anger that *we have not grown up enough* for regeneration. But that is another matter. I am speaking only of the fact that we have not been regenerated even in the presence of such irresistible influences, and I cannot understand this fact.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky,
From *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* (1863)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page x</i>
Introduction	1
Part I Of gates and keepers in the international system	
1 Outsiders and insiders in the international system	29
2 States as outsiders	57
Part II An imperial message	
3 “The barbarians”: Turkey (1918–1938)	111
4 “The children”: Japan (1945–1974)	160
5 The “enigmatic” enemy: Russia (1990–2007)	201
6 Conclusion: Zealots or Herodians?	240
<i>Bibliography</i>	256
<i>Index</i>	286

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This book is about the insecurities created by the manner of incorporation of non-Western actors into the international system and how those insecurities continue to shape fundamental dynamics in world politics. In order to do that argument justice, I have at times traveled out of the more familiar confines of International Relations into social and political theory, comparative history, political sociology, and area studies. I read most of this literature without much guidance, and I sincerely hope specialists in each will forgive me for both omissions and unusual interpretations. While I am certain that in my attempt to paint a broad picture I have overlooked important details, this should not be construed in any way as intentional disrespect. I can only hope that the book's comprehensive vision compensates to some extent for its shortcomings.

This project has descended from a dissertation completed at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, but has become something much larger and bolder since then. Most of the current draft was written at Washington & Lee University, and supported by the generous Glenn and Lenfest summer research grants. Among many great colleagues, Robin LeBlanc and Mark Rush have been especially kind and encouraging during my time at this institution. I am also grateful to the Department of Politics, as well as the Williams School, for all the support I have received for my research agenda.

Back at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I encountered great role models who always encouraged me to follow what interests me rather than what is in vogue. There is something in this book from almost each class I took in Madison. I would like to thank my professors Michael Barnett, David Leheny, Jason Wittenberg, Jon Pevehouse, Mark Beissinger, Edward Friedman, Bernard Yack, Marion Smiley, Paul Hutchcroft, and Aseema Sinha for their wisdom and support. I should also mention here my undergraduate professors from Middlebury College, most notably Murray Dry, Jeff Cason and Michael Kraus,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgments*

xi

without whose example I probably would not have become a political scientist. I am also thankful to my classics professors from Middlebury College, especially Jane Chaplin and Eve Adler, for making me realize by their brilliance that a little levity does not hurt at all when talking about history. Part of the research for this book was undertaken when I was a research fellow at Istanbul Bilgi University, and I am especially grateful to İter Turan for giving me that opportunity.

Over the course of writing, several people have given me tips or feedback which improved the book. I would like to thank Georgi Derluguian, Shogo Suzuki, Brent Steele, Ioannis Stivachtis, Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, Richard Beardsworth, and Roger Haydon, as well as other individuals who have asked questions at panels and talks where I have presented parts of this work. Parts of this book originally appeared in the article “Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan,” *International Relations*, Volume 24, Issue 1 (2010). The original article can be found at <http://ire.sagepub.com>. I would be remiss if I did not thank the editor of that journal, Ken Booth, as well as the two anonymous reviewers, for their many suggestions about that article, which I have also taken into account here. I am also incredibly grateful to the two anonymous readers from Cambridge University Press for their excellent directions about how to improve this book. In addition, I would like to thank my editors, John Haslam and Carrie Parkinson, for overseeing this project into print. I am especially thankful to John Haslam for taking a chance on me by sending the manuscript out to review.

During the course of writing this book, I have also benefited from a wonderful support network of friends and family. Among many great friends, I am especially thankful to Simanti Lahiri, Jelena Subotic, Patrick Cottrell, Travis Nelson, Demet Lüküslü, Burç Beşgül, Özge Onursal, and Zeynep Gülşah Çapan for their comments on various drafts, for many days and nights of stimulating “nerdy” conversation, as well as for their genuine friendship. I should also mention here friends who kept me grounded by reminding me that there is a world outside of academia. I would like to thank Aylin Ülçer, Arzu Soysal, Aysin Hattat Vardar, Banu Kutlu, Hürol Ayaz, İrem Çavuşoğlu, Irazca Geray, Liz Amado, Petek Salman, Selin Arat, Sibel Demir, and my brother, Aras Zarakol. I am also grateful to my in-laws Margaret and James Jajich for their patience with me at times when this book project took precedence over family matters. My parents, Necla and

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-14556-5 - After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West

Ayse Zarakol

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

Acknowledgments

Cihan Zarakol, are, and have always been, the best part about being me, and they continue to inspire me in every way imaginable. Finally, no one has put up with more in service of this project than my wonderful, kind, generous, brilliant husband, Dmitri Jajich, who also took the photograph on the cover image of this book.

I dedicate this book to my mentors, Michael Barnett and David Leheny. I know I would never have finished this book without their unwavering encouragement. All failings in what follows are mine alone, but the credit for what is worthwhile belongs rightly to Michael and Dave.