

Book Reviews

The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire by Justin McCarthy (London and New York: Arnold, Oxford University Press, 2001). Pp.234. £15.00 (paper). ISBN 0340706570.

True to its title, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire* elegantly weaves politics with the fate of the myriad of peoples who comprised the Ottoman Empire. This new book revisits old ground but there is nothing tired about it. McCarthy's style is erudite as well as dynamic. He constantly stimulates his readers and offers guidelines on how to put demography, statistics, geography and politics into perspective. The book brings a dying Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century to life. History books rarely mention mass migration, ethnic cleansing, mutual civilian violence, plights of refugees and death tolls unless it involves the military. McCarthy speaks of all these tragedies in an extremely even-handed fashion without being graphic or morbid.

Aside from its virtue of being good history, the book points to the historic, demographic and geographic depth of the Ottoman Empire. It also suggests a basic outline of the factors accounting for the re-emergence and struggle of these peoples after the cold war even though "It is not the heritage of the Ottoman rule that has been seen in modern ethnic and religious conflict in the Middle East and the Balkans." (p.3). After all, these peoples originally became nation-states with the help of external support and, in the Balkans, as a result of ethnic cleansing. Yet this situation still left them with unfulfilled national ambitions. Once Yugoslavia disintegrated, extreme nationalists took up ethnic cleansing, the only method known to them, to consolidate their newly independent states.

Given almost 400 years of Pax Ottomanica—despite periodic civil disorder—and the Empire's reform path after 1839:

Why, then, did an empire that was rapidly improving first lose so much territory, then die? The answer lies both in the European Powers, who were, to a lesser or greater degree, all enemies of the Ottomans, and in nationalists bent on dividing the Empire. Of the two it was the imperialists who delivered the worst attacks and the final blow. The Ottoman Empire was not sick; it was wounded by its enemies, and finally murdered (p.3).

Psychologically, the Europeans could not believe that non-Europeans could govern better than they could, not to mention that non-Christians could (or should) rule over Christian populations. McCarthy does not defend the notion of empire against nation-state. He merely points to the immense drama—the destruction of the Empire—which took an enormous toll on human life simply because radical nationalism and imperialist power politics were put ahead of self-determination and human suffering. He is not alone on this point. Although in a slightly different tone, while lamenting the approaching end of monarchy, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, stated to a friend in 1904, "The monarchy is not an artificial creation but an organic body. It is a place of refuge, an asylum for all those

fragmented nations scattered over Central Europe who, if left to their own resources would lead a pitiful existence, becoming the playthings of more powerful neighbours.”¹ Ninety years later, Alan Palmer added that there are still 11 fragmented peoples who seeking asylum.

Chapter Two discusses reform in the Empire, one notable section of which is “The Burden of Imperialism.” Conquest and peaceful penetration of Ottoman territory were not the only forms of imperialism; “Economic imperialism was a significant factor in limiting successful reform” (p.21). Capitulations, short-term loans at high interest rates, failed to yield returns even when the economic infrastructure was built by foreign companies which demanded additional concessions.

Chapter Three presents a concise discussion of nationalism in the Balkans. The way McCarthy renders it, the period of Balkan history assumes realistic dimensions perhaps because he treats the subject from a humanistic angle. For example, on the question of identity, corresponding with religious identity, both the Ottomans and the Orthodox Church counted all Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Serbs and Albanians as Orthodox since they belonged one Church. Everyone else was counted as Muslim, regardless of ethnic and linguistic background—Turks, Slavic Bosnian Muslims or Pomaks, Bulgarian converts to Islam—and in time all Muslims came to be identified as “Turks.”

The first Balkan state to be hit by the virus of nationalism, having become a nation state as early as 1829, the Greeks began to “Greekify” education and liturgy. This contributed to a national consciousness among other Balkan states. The foremost example of this is the creation of the autonomous Bulgarian Church and schools with the connivance and support of the Porte in 1870 to balance Greek influence in the Balkans. This was followed with the establishment of an autocephalous Church in Serbia in 1879. The result was that religious identity became a conduit for disseminating nationalist messages and forming national identities, however ambiguous, in a complex demographic geography as, for example, in Macedonia.

McCarthy contends that nationalism in isolation provided a marginal factor in the rebellions against the Empire. The author puts forward several premises as to why these rebellions succeeded against competent Ottoman suppression. First, the nationalist rebellions only succeeded because of Great Power intervention. Second, religious beliefs fed the notion of separateness. Third, some of the rebellions were against powerful figures, such as the collectors of taxes on behalf of the government, who may even have been co-religionists. Fourth, rebellions brought with them the expulsion and death of Muslims and Jews whose assets were taken over by the “native” inhabitants. Ottoman statistics were forged to suit the nationalist intention of proving that their own nation held the majority in contested regions such as Macedonia. Serious students of Ottoman history know that the Ottomans counted all adult males and therefore their statistics were reliable for this comparative purpose. McCarthy skillfully manipulates these numbers not only to show a Muslim majority but also to compare it to the near-homogenous numbers later and to account for loss of the Muslim population through murder and expulsion.

Chapter Four, “Ottoman Asia,” explores Armenian, Turkish, Kurdish and Arab proto-nationalisms and discusses how these proto-nationalisms were transformed into nationalisms, in addition to pointing out supporting factors. In Syria, American missionaries provided “a notable, if largely unintended impetus to Arab nationalism,”

(p.79) through teaching Arabic language, literature and the printing press. Maronites in Lebanon found self-identity through French education. The Hijaz Bedouins, comprising to a large extent Bedouins, was a totally different phenomenon. As McCarthy suggests, the Bedouin may have been far from becoming Arab nationalists by the turn of the century but it might be borne in mind that they were still Arabs—having carried out the first Muslim (Wahhabi) rebellion against the Porte between 1803 and 1818 and against “Turkish” rule in the aftermath of the 1799 Treaties of Karlowitz whereby the Ottomans conceded both territory and economic concession to the Europeans. During the First World War, Sharif Husayn of Mecca and his son Faisal were lauded as the foci of Arab nationalism but this was due more to the divide-and-rule principle of European imperialism than to their individual virtues as Arab nationalists.

Chapter Five discusses the Balkan wars as an extension of the Italo-Turkish war over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica which began with an Italian ultimatum in 1911.² Italy's opportune timing *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers to declare war on Ottoman territory came with Germany's request of an early renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1911. Italy had to be compensated for others' territorial and economic gains on Ottoman lands. After having occupied the Dodecanese islands, Italy was prepared to bomb the Dardanelles fortifications in order to force the Ottomans to retreat from Libya. At this point, according to Childs, the Italians stopped short of bombardment because of a Russian ultimatum to go no further than the Dodecanese islands,³ but McCarthy states that they did attack in April 1912 (p.90). Nonetheless, it was the attack from a Balkan alliance of Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Montenegrins which spurred the Ottomans into a hasty conclusion of the Libyan war. Previous scholars have accounted for the disastrous Balkan wars from a humanistic viewpoint.⁴ The human toll was tremendous but it did nothing to prevent the First World War from adding fuel to the fire, as far as the Empire was concerned, just one year later.

Chapters Six and Seven discuss the First World War and the peace conferences that followed. The “peace to end all peace”⁵ was fashioned after three main factors: revenge; the new democratic morality and the mandate of territories to the victors under the Covenant of the League of Nations (pp.113–14). In practical terms there were very few differences between a colony and a mandate. Interestingly, none of the Christian nations in the Balkans or Central Europe received mandates although territories were severed from the former allies of the Axis such as Hungary and Bulgaria (see Ch.9).

The Turkish War of Independence is taken up in Chapter Eight. One poignant observation about Turkish nationalism reads:

Turks were being expelled from their homes and often massacred because they were identified as Turks. Islamic identification was by no means forgotten, but it coalesced with Turkish identification now that the Arabs were no longer in the picture [1919]. Greeks, Bulgarians and others might have adopted nationalism because of its benefits. Turks were driven to it by their enemies (p.136).

Among the architects of Turkish nationalism were the Allied occupiers in Istanbul (1918–23), the Greek occupiers in the Aydın province (1919–22), the Sevres diktat (1920) which aimed at dismembering Anatolia under the auspices of Britain, France

and Italy, and the attacks on Muslims by the French/Armenian Legion in Cilicia (1920).

Chapter Ten argues that the Arab world (outside of Saudi Arabia) could have been united under one Arab state at the end of the First World War. There were no internal barriers towards this end but there was the British imperialistic need to control the flow of oil by ruling Iraq. There was also France's psychological need to control Syria and Lebanon through cultural imperialism and to monopolize trade with them at the high cost of maintaining a French army there (pp.168–9).

Chapter Eleven evaluates the young Turkish Republic. McCarthy touches upon an issue dear to most Kemalists, especially in view of post-modernist approaches to ethnic and religious identities which were at best ignored or at worst suppressed by the Republic. On the one hand, opposition to Mustafa Kemal Pasha never turned into a civil war; on the other hand, the assassination attempts were about power politics rather than opposition to radical reforms. "What might have been expected, popular revolt against radical changes that threatened Islam and traditional values, never took place. In general, the army was not needed to implement reform. Atatürk's Turkey, while authoritarian, was not a state in which government power was omnipresent and oppressive" (p.214).

Atatürk provided peace and security after the long era of death and destruction that had taken place since 1911. Equally important, he made the Turks proud. The emotional value of the first feeling of pride in a very long time came with the success in the War of Independence, while everything else worked against the Turks. This fact can only be appreciated when evaluated from a humanistic point of view and Justin McCarthy does precisely that. The final chapter encapsulates the human and material costs of destroying the Ottoman Empire.

This book addresses a wide range of audiences, from students to academics and lay persons. Speaking of lay persons, it was quite a startling juxtaposition to see all patriarchal and militaristic nations in question referred to with feminine pronouns—it sounds peculiar. In sum though, for all its sophistication the book is reader-friendly and is recommended reading for anyone interested in the Near East.

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NOTES

1. Alan Palmer, *Twilight of the Habsburgs: The Life and Times of Emperor Francis Joseph* (New York: Grove Press, 1994), p.349.
2. Timothy W. Childs, *Italo-Turkish Diplomacy and the War over Libya, 1911–1912* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990).
3. Ibid., p.232.
4. Aram Andonian, *Balkan Savaşı (The Balkan War)* trans. by Zaven Biberian (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 1999); George F. Kennan, "The Balkan Crisis: 1913 and 1993," in *At a Century's Ending* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), pp.191–208.
5. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Avon Books, 1989).

Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Tarih, Kimlik, Güvenlik (Turkey and the Middle East: History, Identity, Security) edited by Meliha Altunışık (Istanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 1999). Pp.248. TL4,750,000 (paper). ISBN 975-521-328-7.

Meliha Altunışık, METU Professor of International Relations, edited this collection of seven articles covering Turkey's policies in terms of Gulf security, Iran, the water problem with Syria, the Arab-Israeli peace process, the Jerusalem question, Israel and Caspian Sea resources. Although these articles were written independently of each other, the collection provides a general and useful vision for understanding Turkey's policy toward the Middle East in the 1990s.

Non-involvement and neutrality have been noticeable characteristics of Turkey's Middle East policy during the cold war period—except for the Baghdad Pact initiative in the mid-1950s. Generally, the Turkish foreign policy and security elite followed a balanced approach toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, while relations with the Muslim Middle East and Israel have been evaluated as an extension of the country's Western foreign policy orientation. The Gulf War of 1990–91 became a watershed and Turgut Özal's Turkey adopted a more activist policy against Iraq in an overall alliance with the West. This activist line survived in Turkey's policies towards the region in the years that followed the war. Arguably, developments in the Kurdish insurgency and the water problem have necessitated and/or consolidated this active involvement in the Middle East.

Mahmut B. Aykan's analysis of Turkey's policy towards Gulf security begins with the country's traditional Middle East policy since the 1960s. He argues that Özal's active involvement in the Gulf War, Operation Provide Comfort, and the enhancement of strategic-military co-operation with Israel do not deviate from the previous policy in which non-involvement and balanced approach was dominant (pp.30 and 55). According to Aykan, a more active policy towards the Middle East stemmed from an emerging sense of insecurity among the Turkish foreign and security elite, increasing tension with neighbors (Syria, Iraq and Iran), loosening ties with NATO and policy differences with the United States.

The second chapter by Atilla Eralp and Özlem Tür deals with Turkey's relations with post-Revolutionary Iran. They propose that co-operation with Iran rather than conflict regarding northern Iraq and Central Asia would be more beneficial for Turkish interests. However, they also raise the May 1997 "strategic dialogue" meeting between Turkey and Israel in which Iran was perceived as a common threat for the two states (p.95).

In the third chapter, Özlem Tür examines the water problem between Turkey and Syria. Tür suggests that Syria's growing need for water in the context of decreasing agricultural imports and efforts to implement new agricultural projects in Syria is responsible for the high tension between the two states over the Euphrates (p.106). The problem also has strategic-political dimensions, since the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) and water have both been used as political cards by Syria and Turkey respectively. Tür also suggests that recent rapprochement between Turkey and Israel has acquired priority over the water problem.

Turkish policy towards Middle East peace process in the post-cold war period is studied in the fourth chapter. Işıl Anıl allocates both identity and security important roles in Turkish-Israeli relations in the 1990s. She argues that Palestine has not been ignored by Turkey while it sought to develop relations with Israel and that the future of these relations are closely related to fate of the peace process. Anıl also raises

Turkish concerns over how a Syrian-Israeli peace might affect their interests in terms of terror and water problems with Syria.

The fifth chapter is Reşat Arım's analysis of the Jerusalem question from a historical perspective which includes the Turkish position *vis-à-vis* this issue. Turkey has supported the Arab/Palestinian side while criticizing Israel's "illegal occupation" and enlargement of its position in Jerusalem at the expense of UN General Assembly decisions. Arım is critical of a pro-Israeli US policy in the context of a search for a "just and lasting" solution to the question (p.163). A coherent Turkish Jerusalem policy, Arım suggests, would be useful for both Turkish interests and the peace process.

"The newest and most controversial part of Turkey's relations with the Middle East has been improving Turkish-Israeli relations in the post-cold war era." According to Meliha Altunışık, the Middle East has gained priority for the Turkish security elite—mostly military men—due to increasing security concerns. Altunışık defines Turkish-Israeli relations after the mid-1990s as deviating from Turkey's traditional Middle East policy since the 1960s (p.200). Interestingly, she stresses the differing perspectives of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish army on the strategic-military dimension of bilateral relations considering serious criticisms coming from the Arab world and Iran (p.202). Perhaps most importantly, Altunışık also points out potential limitations for the relations. Israeli sympathy to Kurdish nationalism and the priority given to peace with Syria, a failure in the peace process, potential opposition to a Turkish-Israeli alignment in the region and the Turkish wish to survive its pragmatic interests with Iran would severely limit Turkish-Israeli relations in the future.

Suha Bölükbaşı discusses Turkey's Caspian Sea policy in the last chapter of the book. He argues that strategic concerns, rather than economic matters, play a crucial role in Turkey's policies towards the export of Caspian Sea energy resources and alternative oil/gas pipelines. Key elements include concern about Russian domination in the area and the US desire to bypass Iran. Bölükbaşı points out that US discriminatory policies against Iran-Turkmen gas, Iran-Kazakh oil and Iran-Azeri oil pipelines have resulted in serious economic losses for Turkey (p.242).

Though Turkey's Western foreign policy orientation has remained unchanged in the post-cold war years, a more active and daring foreign policy behaviour has emerged. An active involvement in Middle East affairs, especially in Turkish-Israeli strategic-military co-operation, seems likely to continue into the middle-term.

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Türk Sağının Üç Hali (The Three Phases of Turkish Right) by Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1999). Pp.154. TL2,500,000 (paper). ISBN 975-516-662-X.

In the analysis of socio-political issues, the concepts of "right" and "left" have been used as different social categories since the French Revolution. Although there is no clear and common agreement upon their meaning and contents, in many cases these concepts have illustrative and useful functions. Especially during the last quarter of the twentieth century, in addition to these kind of dualist approaches, other kinds of unilateral approaches (conservatism, nationalism, etc.) have been employed to analyze

socio-political problems. It is interesting to ask about possible relations between these two types of analysis: Do these categories sometimes coincide and how do they differ? Tanil Bora's *Türk Sağının Üç Hali* deals with questions such as these in the context of Turkish political life. As in the case of many other terms, "right" and "left" have relatively different meanings in Turkish politics compared to their original meaning in the West. Bora understands these problems and, despite the flaws of categorization, his thesis is at worst thought-provoking and at best brilliant.

The book is composed of an introduction and three essays examining nationalism, conservatism and Islamism and their connection to the Turkish right.

In the introduction, Bora, who prefers a leftist stance, argues that rather than being separate ideological positions, nationalism, conservatism and Islamism are three phases of the same thing. Using the physics principle whereby temperature and pressure turns one material into another, he suggests that the Turkish right, under political pressure and circumstances, metamorphosed from one phase to another.

Nationalism, the subject of the first essay, is characterized as stable and constant and therefore constitutes the "solid" phase of the Turkish right. Using another metaphor, Bora refers to nationalism as the grammar, or common language, of the Turkish right.

In the second essay, the author suggests that conservatism can be recognized as the "gas" phase of the Turkish right and should be considered as a style, manner or perception rather than a rigid program or constant state. In addition, conservatism is the main characteristic of Turkish right in its struggle with modernism.

The third essay deals with the relation between Islamism and the Turkish right, as the "liquid" phase—a more fluid and changeable status. Islam supplies the right with its rhetoric, values, rituals, and images.

Although Bora's explanations are useful and revealing to some extent, he has a tendency to make reality fit his model by ignoring the considerable differences between these three concepts, such as the disputes between nationalism and Islamism. In addition, nationalism, for example, is a prominent feature of the Democratic Leftist Party (DSP) which belongs to the leftist wing of Turkish political life.

Despite the shortcomings in his thesis, the author's knowledge of Turkish politics and his original approach make this an interesting book for scholars in the social sciences.

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Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic by Hugh Poulton (London: Hurst, 1997). Pp.350. £16.50 (paper). ISBN 1-85065-347-X.

The development and nature of Turkish nationalism has been of increasing academic interest over the 15 years. This can be attributed in part to the general renaissance in "nationalism studies," in the wake of ground-breaking works by authors such as Tom Nairn, Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Shifts within Turkey itself in the era following the government of Prime Minister Turgut Özal are perhaps of equal importance for the study of Turkish nationalism. Democratization, increasing pluralism and the shift in leftist intellectual discourse

from issues of class to those of “identity” all help to explain the increasing urgency of the “Kimlik Sorunu,” or the identity question, to contemporary Turkish scholars and scholars of Turkey.

While it does give some consideration to Ottoman and early Republican trends within Turkish nationalism, the overall emphasis of *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent* is the post-war era and particularly the post-1960 period. The first two chapters provide a theoretical and historical background which includes thumbnail sketches of theories of nationalism and of Ottoman culture. In many ways the first chapter is the least satisfying in the book. Poulton borrows eclectically from other authors, which is certainly his right, yet, while he is willing to borrow terms such as “imagined community” from Anderson and Gellner, his overall treatment of nationalism seems more indebted to the earlier works of scholars such as Elie Kedourie. For Poulton, nationalism and its construction are still matters of ideology and ideas rather than a necessary function of a modernizing society. In this respect, the work offers less of theoretical interest than the author’s vocabulary might suggest.

With his greater distance from the Kemalist project and his emphasis on divergent trends within Turkish nationalism itself, Poulton improves on the traditional narratives of Turkish nationalism as laid out by Bernard Lewis and David Kushner. In particular, he emphasizes diversity within Turkish nationalist discourse, examining in some depth three competing currents within Turkish nationalism, which he identifies as Secular Kemalist Nationalism, Pan-Turkism, and Islamicism—represented respectively by the “top hat,” “grey wolf” and “crescent” of his title. This book represents a significant improvement on the works of the earlier generation who tended to portray such currents as rejections of the nationalist project. Poulton shows how these trends have long co-existed and competed for dominance within Turkish national consciousness. His emphasis on the nationalist quality of Turkish Islamicism and upon the increasing importance of Islamic symbols within official nationalist discourse is of special importance in this regard.

What Poulton does best is to provide a historically-grounded summary of the variety within nationalist discourse in the modern Turkish Republic—his treatment of the period between 1960 and the early 1990s is particularly good. His rich use of primary source material declines after 1993 and therefore leaves several of his conclusions somewhat dated. The capture of Abdullah Öcalan in 1999 has dampened the immediate threat of Kurdish separatism and the importance of Alevi-based identity politics no doubt appeared more significant in the early 1990s when a series of massacres and riots seemed to portend a deepening Sunni-Alevi conflict.

Poulton frames these tensions as “a nationalist schizophrenia,” arguing that many of the contemporary debates within the Turkish Republic are rooted in unresolved contradictions between territorial, ethnic and religious definitions of Turkish identity. In this he is, of course, correct although a similar case could be made for all but a few nationalist projects. Nationalism imposes a facade of homogeneity upon naturally diverse realities (while at the same time working assiduously to make reality and representation coincide). The importance given to creating a unitary national culture may have intensified some of these tensions in the Turkish case but the tensions themselves are inherent to all nationalist projects.

Poulton has provided a useful outline of the sometimes overlapping strands of Turkish nationalism. His contribution is generally readable, if sometimes

sensationalistic, and, while offering little to the advanced scholarly debates regarding Turkish nationalism, it provides an informative overview of the topic for the educated, non-specialist reader.

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Yerel Demokrasi ve Türkiye (Local Democracy and Turkey) by Kemal Görmez (Ankara: Vadi, 1997). Pp.208. TL3,000,000 (paper). ISBN 975-7726-74-5.

Yerel Demokrasi ve Türkiye examines the relationship between local government and democracy in Turkey. Divided into three parts, this book has a good systematic approach to its topic and is enriched by analytic interpretations. Local governments in Turkey are considered in terms of their perception, their institutionalization and the issues and resolutions surrounding local government's relationship with democracy. Economic development and democratization are two of the most important issues in developing countries. Therefore, Turkish local government systems are discussed in terms of both historical development and their relation to centralization and decentralization.

The development of local government and democracy in Western societies as a universal fact and value is examined through theoretical discussions and analyses. The book considers the emergence of cities, understandings and practices of city government models in history and the evaluation of local government and democracy in Western societies.

The second part of the book examines the understanding and application of local government and democracy in Turkey, especially with regard to municipalities (although villages and provincial administrations are also covered), from the Ottoman era through the whole of modern history. This includes the major changes such as the 1945 transformation to a multi-party system, the 1960 period of planned development, the 1960–80 military coup and the period since 1983.

The third and final part of the book consists of case studies on local governments in Turkey. The book views non-governmental organizations and the role of municipalities as key factors in strengthening democracy. According to Görmez, municipalities in less developed and centralized states are extensions of the central government but in developed countries they are democratic, social organizations which represent local interests and public service.

In order to understand these issues, the author bases his data and arguments on a survey of mayors and administrators of local governments, along with the governors and sub-governors (kaymakam) as the executors of central administrative supervision. Görmez believes that municipalities are not yet aware of their basic duties and have not been institutionalized.

Although the village has experienced an extended period of existence, other types of municipalities developed during the second part of the nineteenth century. Municipalities were first founded in the latter period of the Ottoman Empire in order to meet public services in a society where the philosophy and tradition of centralized governments were dominant. For this reason, the local governments, which performed the duties of the central government in the provinces, could not have local communal

authority. With the exception of the Sixth Municipality (6. Daire-i Belediye), a modern municipal organization could not be founded until the collapse of the Ottoman State.

According Görmez, the Republic inherited a centralized system. In the atmosphere of the post-war period, municipalities were thought to be necessary organizations and the 1930 Law of Municipalities (No.1580) was codified and implemented. Despite the fact that this law assigned great authority and responsibility to the municipalities, it also placed them under the supervision of the central government. During this period, the fundamental aim was the reconstruction of the country instead of enabling local democracy or local autonomy. As a result, the tradition of centralization proved influential. The discussion of local government resurfaced in the 1970s but there was no legal improvement. Great attention was paid to local governments at the beginning of the 1980s, especially those of metropolitan municipalities, and many decisions were made; the most significant in favor of local governments was the increase of their resources and incomes.

However, Görmez argues that emphasis should be placed on the lack of serious developments in local autonomy and the lack of democratization of local government rather than on the delegation of authority and some resource improvement by certain authorities to the municipalities. Consequently, it must also be emphasized that dependency and weakness of local government continues. No serious changes in central supervision were ever made, many ministries and organizations of the central government continue to hold the authority of supervision of local governments. Although administrative supervision may enable efficiency and productivity, in Turkey it turns into a political rather than administrative instrument. For this reason, municipalities in Turkey differ from the local government institutions of the West. If it is accepted that one of the objectives of a democratic society is the improvement of non-governmental organizations then municipalities have a great task ahead of them.

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State and Market: The Political Economy of Turkey in Comparative Perspective by Ziya Öniş (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 1998). Pp.viii+529. TL5,000,000 (paper). ISBN 975-518-113-X.

The role of the state in the capitalist economy has been one of the most controversial issues in economics since the birth of the discipline. There is almost unanimous agreement that the state has a role to play but little agreement as to when and how it should act. The idea that the state should play a leading role in economic development was central to early development economics. However, the tide started turning against this approach in the late 1970s and since then there has been a spectacular upsurge of so-called neo-liberal ideas advocating individualism, market liberalization and contraction of the state. Neo-liberals draw on nineteenth century heritage in order to argue that market-based development is a superior mode of allocating scarce economic resources whereas state intervention inevitably produces welfare losses. This view found many supporters. The consequence was that:

laissez-faire economics became something of an orthodoxy in many parts of the “development community”—among economists, political leaders in the industrialized world, aid donors (e.g., the World Bank and IMF), and many reformers in the Third World. A consensus apparently arose, at least among those normally most able to shape the context within which Third World development takes place, that governments should get out of the market place and let the “invisible hand” of economic higgling and haggling work its magic.¹

Ziya Öniş, a political economist and currently Professor of International Relations at Koç University in Istanbul, sees this picture as far too simplistic and seeks to advance beyond the neo-classical stereotypes by analyzing the major factors affecting economic performance in several countries and particularly in Turkey. Öniş's book is a collection of stimulating, highly informed, articulate essays covering a wide range. Several issues of fundamental importance that are often ignored in mainstream development theory are taken into consideration. The book draws together 27 papers on political economy written during the course of the mid-1980s to late 1990s. Four of these are joint papers: Öniş wrote two with C. Kirkpatrick, one with S. Özmucur and another with S. Webb. All the essays included in this volume have been previously published. The collection examines the multiplicity of conflicting and competing conceptions on dynamic relationship between the state, market, society and transnational corporations in late industrialization and the nature of their interaction with each other. There is an overriding theme running through the collection, namely a highly critical yet constructive engagement with neo-liberalism both at a broad conceptual level and also at the level of practical economic policy reform. Another common theme is the strong belief in the analytical value of a comparative-historical perspective. Whilst the majority of essays deal with the political economy of state intervention and the reform process in Turkey, the approach adopted is explicitly comparative with frequent recourse to the trajectories of late development in Latin America and East Asia, though at a stylized and abstract level. These concise articles reflect deep understanding of complex issues of political economy both at the national and the international levels particularly in issues relating to economic development.

In this book, Ziya Öniş attempts to answer several important questions: Can markets be the key mechanism for rapid economic development? Why does state involvement get such mixed results, producing relatively robust effects in some settings but poor or perverse outcomes in others? Do the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank provide correct recipes for enabling developing countries to prosper? Is global free-trade-for-all the best means to promote international co-operation and a strong economic performance? Is there any room for national governments to maneuver in the globalization era? What future, if any, is there for the nation-state? How do democracy, income distribution, populism and economic development interact with each other? These questions form the theoretical core of this book and the author approaches the issues from the perspective of developing countries investigating the appropriate mix of the state and the market for late industrialization. A quotation from the back cover of the book clearly reflects the author's perspective:

Successful industrialization requires a mixture of competition and co-operation. Some of the most outstanding cases of rapid development are those that have been significantly exposed to international market forces and yet have managed to develop the capacity and the institutions for domestic co-operation to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the world market. Market reforms that place exclusive reliance on competition may undermine the trust of key segments of society and may, therefore lead to a weakening of the social infrastructure or consensus necessary for sustaining reform and uninterrupted growth over time. The state can play a positive role in the development process. Its ability to perform a positive role, however, is not guaranteed by definition but depends on its organizational characteristics including the quality of its personnel, the degree of its internal cohesion and the degree of its autonomy or insulation from rent-seeking pressures. Globalization does not render the nation state obsolete. In fact, the ability to exploit the opportunities provided by globalization depends to a certain degree on effective state intervention designed to guide the market. In short, what is significant for successful development is the appropriate mix of the state and the market.

In sum, this recent book by one of Turkey's most eminent social scientists contains much that is illuminating and challenging to economists. It is an important and scholarly contribution with much to offer. Thus, this book is highly recommended, particularly for those interested in finding solutions to late industrialization problems in the globalization era.

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NOTE

1. Cal Clark and K.C. Roy, *Comparing Development Patterns in Asia* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), p.4.

Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı (The Sociological Possibility of a Turkish Religion) by Yasin Aktay (Istanbul: İletişim, 1999). Pp.252. TL4,900,00 (paper). ISBN 975-470-759-6.

"Social engineers" in Turkey are eager to create an "appropriate," that is a Turkified-modernized, version of Islam. Their endeavors have intensified during the periods when the democratization process has paused or slowed down, as in the last four years. *Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı* provides an ideological and historical analysis of the two main alleged candidates for a Turkified-modernized Islam, Alavism and "Protestant" Islam, and employs international and Turkish literature concerning them. Aktay explores these two phenomena as both social engineering projects of the state and socio-economic processes. He employs general theoretical approaches (such as post-structuralism and Orientalism) in his analysis of the local (that is, Turkish) subjects.

The first section of the book focuses on Alavism, which constitutes the religious identity of about 15 percent of the Turkish population. Aktay deconstructs some well-

known assertions about Alavism and Sunnism, especially the so-called dichotomy between heterodox, oral and liberal Alavism and orthodox, textual and authoritarian Sunnism. He refutes the heterodoxy versus orthodoxy perception by providing an alternative explanation which is based on geographical (rural versus urban) factors, particularly the center-periphery relations of the Ottoman Empire.

Although he accepts that Alavism depends on an oral culture and Sunnism on a textual one, Aktay, employing the works of structuralist and post-structuralist scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jacques Derrida, rejects the idea of the oral culture as more liberal, emancipatory and tolerant. Aktay argues that speech is more authoritative and involved in power relations than text since speech lacks the interpretative relationship with the individual. Similarly, he argues that the Ottoman Sunni ulema historically did not represent the interests of the political authority and often became mediators between the people and the state by resisting the latter. Although Aktay's arguments are thought-provoking, he makes several excessively general assertions on Ottoman history, which includes many variations in the course of 600 years.

Aktay explains the relationship between Sunnis and Alavis in a broader perspective stressing the general paradox of the emancipation movements, which implicitly try to promote their particular positions in the power structure, despite their rhetoric of transcending power. In this perspective, he emphasizes that a critique of hegemony may paradoxically result in a search for a new hegemony. Therefore, Alavis should not rewrite history through the lens of their own interests while criticizing Sunni history writing. Also, Sunnis should not try to create an imagined Alavi identity while criticizing the Orientalist formulation of Muslim identity.

According to Aktay, the historical and contemporary tensions between the Alavi and Sunni populations are based on political and economic reasons rather than the religious ones. Moreover, some of the conflicts, for example the recent arson on a Sivas hotel, may be the provocation of "social engineers" who seek to create tensions between the Alavis and the Sunnis.

The book's second section provides an analysis of the relationship between Protestantism and Islam. Aktay mentions that some parts of the Turkish political elite desired a "Protestant" version of Islam which would not deal with politics and would arguably provide the necessary work ethic for capitalist development. Aktay criticizes these two expectations. First, Protestantism, like other branches of Christianity, has been interested in politics and has not had a secular essence. According to Aktay, European secularization occurred as a result of a historical process rather than through any Protestant secular principles. Second, Aktay deconstructs the Weberian explanation of the impact of Protestant ethic on capitalist development, arguing that the role of the Protestant ethic has been exaggerated. He stresses that the Weberian explanation of the causal relationship between Protestantism and capitalism is controversial since it is not clear which is the cause and which is the effect. Moreover, Aktay regards the role of the Protestant ethic as a diasporic dimension triggered by a historical persecution of the Protestant communities which in turn led to their horizontal solidarity and co-operation rather than as an ascetic dimension resulting from a vertical religious mood. He also argues that colonialism and amoral exploitation have been more effective as factors in the advance of capitalism than Protestant ethic.

Aktay efficiently summarizes the Turkish state's aim of manipulating religious education in order to create a "Protestant" version of Islam. Although the professors

of the Faculty of Theology at Istanbul University signed the reform declaration, which proposed to reorganize the mosques in Turkey along similar lines as the churches, the Faculty could not satisfy the demands of the rulers and was closed in 1933. Until the opening of a new Faculty of Theology at Ankara University in 1949, there was no legal Islamic education. However, the reformation attempts of the state were aborted and the democratization process has resulted in empowering Islam within Turkey. Aktay stresses that the Turkish state's policies of modernization negatively affected Muslims' attitudes toward modernity. He claims that the debates on modernization among the Muslim intellectuals started long before the foundation of the Turkish Republic and that some of the Republic's top-down reforms have resulted in the stagnation of this debate.

Since many sections of *Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı* derive from earlier articles published by the author, there are some unnecessary repetitions and the chapters read as though written for separate reasons rather than as a consistent and coherent volume. Moreover, the lack of a conclusion supports the feeling that the book is a critical analysis of several arguments which fails to generate its own alternative argument. Another serious weakness is the absence of an index.

Despite these reservations, *Türk Dininin Sosyolojik İmkânı* is a critical book *par excellence*. It is an important contribution to the field and provides an analytical outlook on highly subjective, politicized and polarized issues in Turkey.

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Storm Clouds over Cyprus: A Briefing by Clement Dodd (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2001). Pp.72. £8.50/\$17.95 (paper). ISBN 0-906719-32-1.

The Cyprus debacle is an intransigent conflict that can threaten regional stability in the Eastern Mediterranean. The conflict has been on the foreign policy agenda of the US, Greece, Turkey, the UK and, more recently, the European Union. Most of the work conducted on the Cyprus problem has tilted towards the arguments of one of the parties in the conflict, either the Greek-Cypriots or Turkish-Cypriots. It has been hard to find an informative, inclusive work on the Cyprus issue that equally reflects the arguments of both of the parties of the conflict.

One rarely has the chance to read such a balanced, unbiased account of the Cyprus issue. Four particular strengths of Dodd's analysis of the Cyprus problem should be noted. First, this brief book is extremely useful for both the informed and uninformed reader who seeks to understand the basic facts and issues. Second, it provides the reader with a detailed account of the history of the conflict. Third, it presents the arguments, perceptions and viewpoints of the parties involved in a non-judgmental fashion. Fourth, it provides the reader with a glimpse into the future as to where and how complications could arise toward a probable settlement.

It is probably hard to find another international conflict that has generated as much false information as the Cyprus problem. Even an organization such as the Commission of the European Union (EU), when preparing its Opinion Report on Cyprus' application for membership in 1993, apparently relied on incorrect

information and only on data obtained from the Greek-Cypriots. Thus, the 1993 Opinion contains serious mistakes about the Turkish-Cypriots. Similarly, the 1995 EU's Observer Report on the Accession of Cyprus used only Greek-Cypriots information and accounts of what happened in Cyprus. In contrast, Dodd undertakes the very difficult task of putting each party's perceptions of events and issues into words. By doing so, he provides the reader with a sense of what is really blocking settlement of the conflict. He succeeds in providing a genuine understanding of both sides' weak and strong points.

Dodd evaluates the kind of role that the European Union could play toward resolution of the conflict. The EU holds the position that "the Union is determined to play a positive role in bringing about a just and a lasting settlement in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions" but will be difficult if the EU does not evaluate the parties and their concerns and reservations objectively. Thus, the Turkish-Cypriots question the EU's objectivity and legitimacy.

A key element in the problem is the EU's view that it can contribute to resolving the problem by admitting the Greek-Cypriots as members. Dodd suggests that such a step would actually worsen the conflict and make it harder to resolve.

All those interested in the Cyprus problem, academics, policy-makers, politicians, as well as the relatively uninformed reader, would greatly benefit from Dodd's analysis. I recommend this condensed yet very informative book to all who would like to learn about the Cyprus debacle, its history, the obstacles to settlement and what the future may bring.

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The European Union and Cyprus by Christopher Brewin (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2000). Pp.xii+290, index. \$29.95 (paper). ISBN 0-906-71924-0.

On account of its durability and intractability, the "Cyprus conflict" has proved to be a fertile subject of inquiry for academics and practitioners alike. Likewise, it has served as a test case in dispute-resolution. However, academia has generally failed to present a decent account of the events leading to the Cyprus war in 1974 and the developments since. Turkish and Greek scholars, more often than not, have chosen to prove the "correctness" or "rightness" of either the Turkish or Greek-Cypriots. Partisan writers are likely to distort the truth by either concealing vital facts and/or interpreting facts simply to confirm a thesis. This attitude has certainly tainted the reliability of such endeavors. Surely the book under review, written by an Englishman, is of a different category. Christopher Brewin is an International Relations Lecturer at Keele University. For ten years he was the author of the annual review of the European Community policies and institutions in the *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Brewin's professional career includes five visiting professorships at Marmara University. He has also given lectures and papers on European identity and Europe's external relations in Turkey and Cyprus. With such qualifications and experience, he would seem to be the right person to penetrate the maze of the "Cyprus problem."

The European Union and Cyprus, is a timely contribution to the Cyprus problem given that the Republic of Cyprus, presently representing the Greek-Cypriots alone, has been negotiating for membership of the EU for some years. This book is apparently the product of many years of experience and learning—an observation testified not only by the richness of primary and secondary sources but also by the ease with which the author presents the complex menu of issues and problems. This book is seriously researched and intelligently written. Although the larger part of the book is devoted to the post-1995 period, the fluency and broad range of analysis ensures an easy and interesting read.

What's more, this elaborate and erudite work seeks to penetrate the innumerable maze of the Cyprus dispute. The author is well aware of domestic and international constraints, which have a bearing on the Cyprus problem. The book successfully presents the differences in perception of the concerned parties, namely Turkish-Cypriots, Greek-Cypriots, Turkey, Greece and the EU. Indeed the author assures the reader of his commitment to a non-partisan posture from the outset so as to present a neutral picture of the whole Cyprus episode. This is indeed the feeling one gets upon turning the final page. Brewin has tried to present the oft-opposing views of the parties to the Cyprus dispute by relying extensively, *inter alia*, on scholars from both sides. The author closely associates himself with his subject to the extent of proposing a variety of formulas that may bring an end to this conflict.

Now for a brief look at the individual chapters. Chapter One examines the course of events leading to the EU Council of Ministers' March 1995 decision which confirmed the suitability of Cyprus for accession to the EU. The "March Compromise," as it is commonly called, also paved the way for the establishment of a Customs Union between Turkey and the EU.

Chapter Two looks at the European Economic Community's¹ handling of the Cyprus issue before 1995, when the Republic of Cyprus was declared eligible for membership by the Council of Ministers of the EU. The author notes that during this period, while consistently reaffirming the legitimacy of the Cypriot Government—which in effect only represented the Greek-Cypriots, the European Economic Community (EEC) tried to behave even-handedly towards the Turkish-Cypriot community.

Chapter Three focuses on events which followed the "March Compromise." Contrary to expectations, the promise of EU membership for Cyprus has further alienated the Turkish-Cypriot community who, as a result, have decided to establish greater economic and political ties with the "motherland" Turkey.

Chapter Four examines the Greek-Cypriot perspective of the Turks and of Cyprus. Apparently, the Turkish-Cypriots are seen as a secessionist minority who, have to this day, collaborated with an aggressive outside power, namely Turkey.

Chapter Five examines the Cyprus conflict from the Turkish perspective. This chapter begins by exploring the extent of the relationship between Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) then deals with the Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish reactions to the isolation of the TRNC. The same chapter also examines the claims of self-determination raised by Turkish-Cypriots. The focus then turns towards Turkey: How is the Cyprus problem perceived in Turkey, and what is the position assigned to Cyprus in Turkish foreign policy priorities? The chapter ends by considering the likelihood and the possible modalities of a settlement in Cyprus.

Chapter Six draws on the international context of the Cyprus dispute. It analyses the role of “states or international organizations that count” including the US, the UK, Russia, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the UN, the Council of Europe, the Organization of Islamic Countries and the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement. The author notes that both communities are suspicious of at least some of these actors, which they see as manipulating the Cyprus problem for their own ends. In conclusion, Chapter Seven considers a variety of possible solutions and their chances of durability in connection with the EU.

The author skillfully diagnoses the root of the Cyprus problem by drawing on the absence of identification and trust between the two communities: “The Turkish Cypriots are very afraid of the Greek-Cypriot majority on the island. The Greek-Cypriots are very afraid of the Turkish army in the North and of Turkish power in the region. Athens is 500 miles distant while the Turkish coast is only forty miles north of the Karpas peninsula” (p.10).

The Turks and Greeks disagree on the exact point at which the “Cyprus problem” erupted. As the author rightly points out, Greek policy in Cyprus is premised on the “illegality of Turkish invasion” of northern Cyprus in 1974, of the continuing partition of the island and of the presence of nearly 30,000 Turkish troops in the north of Cyprus. The Greek thesis takes 1974 as its point of reference in the outbreak of the “Cyprus problem.” By contrast, Turkey focuses on the pre-1974 period when the Turkish community was excluded from the decision-making process and thus relegated into a second-class citizenry.

Brewin informs us that after 1993, when Glafkos Clerides defeated George Vassiliou in the presidential elections, the Greek-Cypriots gave preference to EU membership over a negotiated solution in Cyprus (pp.72–3). The Greek-Cypriots’ Foreign Minister agreed that “accession without a settlement was the best way of promoting a settlement” (p.73). This new strategy gained significant support from the European Parliament which sympathized with the Greek-Cypriots as “victims of occupation” (pp.73–5).

We are told that the EEC sought to adopt a neutral stance in Cyprus up until the early 1990s. There is evidence to support this claim: First, in the 1960s and 1970s, “unlike today, the Community made it a point of principle not to get involved in the internal affairs of member states or Associated countries” (p.50). Second, the so-called “carrot and stick” policy of the EEC addressed itself not only to the Turkish side but also to the Greek-Cypriots and Greece. Third, at least until the Greek membership in 1981, the EEC tried to act even-handedly in the distribution of financial assistance to Cyprus. Fourth, the EEC suspended the introduction of the customs union with Cyprus so as to avoid the accusation of a pro-Greek bias. However, as the author admits, this relatively-balanced approach was unable to survive Greek accession to the EEC in 1981 (pp.56–9).

The author notes that the EEC often reaffirmed its commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus and that accordingly, the EU has called for an end to the partition of the island (pp.53–4). This background should be borne in mind in order to make sense of the EU’s handling of the Cyprus dispute both then and now. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the proclamation of the TRNC in the north of Cyprus in 1983 was unequivocally condemned by the EEC (p.65). By the same token, the Commission’s report concerning the Greek-Cypriot application for membership in

1990 ruled out the possibility of membership as long as the partition of Cyprus continued (p.79).

According to Brewin, the 1999 Helsinki Compromise between Turkey and the EU obliges Turkey to act flexibly in a spirit of co-operation for the resolution, *inter alia*, of the Cyprus conflict. This effectively means that "if Turkey is held responsible by the EU for the establishment and continuation of the de facto border in Cyprus," then Cyprus will go the way of membership in the EU alone, without being impeded by the requirement of a pre-accession settlement with the Turks in Cyprus. (p.138). Indeed, "If no settlement has been reached by the completion of accession negotiations, the Council's decision on accession will be made without the above being a precondition" (p.139).

Is a settlement likely to be reached the near future? Brewin answers negatively for two reasons: First, each of the two communities in Cyprus "is so strongly supported by its respective motherland that it has no need to reach agreement with the other community" (p.242). Second, neither the Turks nor the Greek-Cypriots have a strong incentive for inter-communal negotiations. The Turkish leadership advocates independent statehood while the Greek-Cypriots wish to force a solution via the European Union.

Having read *The European Union and Cyprus*, one is left with a feeling of desperation rather than hope. Apparently, as the author observes, part of the problem is that Greece and Turkey lurk behind every step taken by the two Cypriot communities. Unless Turkey and Greece abandon their "interventionist" attitude the "Cyprus problem" will continue to haunt us for a long time to come. This is where books of this type may come to play a positive role. This is a finely researched, comprehensive and convincing account of a delicate conflict. Such books need to be written more frequently in order to prevent "reader hijacking" by the incitements of chauvinism, parochialism and single-minded demagoguery. We need to broaden our horizons and focus on future solutions instead of past grievances.

A final note may be due here. The author has poignantly demonstrated the impact of democracy on the measure of international support a state receives for its international disputes: "The indictment of Turkey was not just a reflection of the justice of the Greek Cypriot case and the hostility of sovereign states to secessionist claims. It was aided by the restoration of democracy in Greece" (p.165). By contrast, "the isolation of Turkey at the United Nations and in the Council of Europe after 1975 was reinforced by the instability of the Turkish Republic leading to direct military rule from 1980 to 1983" (p.166). The Cyprus dispute has taught us that democratic systems are more likely to enjoy greater international support in times of crisis than their authoritarian adversaries, either because they have better mechanisms for the formulation of well-defined foreign policy goals, and/or their arguments appear more convincing, and/or because they enjoy greater international prestige. Chronic instability and lack of democracy in Turkey therefore appear to have a debilitating role in Turkish foreign policy.

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NOTE

1. The term EEC is used for the period before 1992.

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Subsequent references may appear as Jepperson *et al.* (1997) and Ahmad (1977).

Articles: note the sequence of volume, number, date of publication and page reference.

Sabri Sayarı, "The Turkish Party System in Transition," *Government and Opposition*, Vol.13, No.1 (Winter 1978), p.40.

Subsequent references should appear as Sayarı (1978), p.40.

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