

liberal” İsmail Cem pursued a pro-European diplomacy and articulated a new role for Turkey as a bridge between Europe and the Islamic world. This chapter also focuses on both the domestic and international politics of the Islamic nationalist–secularist nationalist conflict between 1995 and 2002, exploring how foreign policy was both influenced by and utilized as a tool for domestic identity conflicts.

The last chapter discusses a new approach, “Islamic liberalism,” which is distinct from these four post-Cold war responses. It has redefined Turkish foreign policy, by focusing on the “strategic depth” doctrine developed and implemented by Ahmet Davutoğlu during the AKP period. In discussing its various dimensions including the relations with the West, the Middle East, and Russia, this chapter tries to situate Turkish foreign policy during this period within the contexts of the domestic identity debates and globalization.

Kösebalaban’s book is an important contribution to the growing literature on Turkish foreign policy (TFP) in the post-Cold War era. Intellectuals, scholars, and graduate students will find it useful. But it is not really intended for undergraduate

students in international relations. It is a detailed narrative, which requires exhaustive knowledge and familiarity with modern Turkish history and TFP. In addition, the analysis clearly shows how various ideological groups have shaped comprehensively TFP since the late Ottoman era. One of the chief mainstays of this book is its clear focus on the relationship between TFP and identity, domestic power politics, and ideological struggles. The value of this approach lies in the scarcity of studies that have undertaken an analysis of TFP from this much-needed interactive perspective. Related to its interactive character, the book also fills an important gap in the literature by paying attention to the interplay of historical and ideational factors in the process of making TFP. Another important virtue of the book is that the author uses tables effectively throughout it. For all these reasons, Kösebalaban’s work is one of the most refreshing and complete studies undertaken to date by placing TFP at the intersection of historical and ideological forces.

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The Caucasus Under Soviet Rule

By *Alex Marshall*

New York: Routledge, 2010, 387 pages, ISBN 9780415410120, £100.

In *The Caucasus Under Soviet Rule*, Alex Marshall examines the complexities of internal politics in the Caucasus with its pre and post-Soviet episodes. By relying on a wide range of Russian and Soviet sources, in addition to others, Marshall demonstrates the need for an alternative approach

to the prevailing anti-Soviet discourse and shows his skillfulness in using a wide range of archival material. Vociferous Western or British scholarship on the Soviet Union, Marshall points out, has been colored by ideological convictions and geopolitical interests. This work should be seen in re-

lation to a different and more nuanced interpretation of the history of the region in that it introduces an honest tinge of admiration for Marxism and the Soviet project. Although many would find this problematic, and there are occasional excesses, this work nevertheless fills an obvious gap in Western scholarship.

The book starts with a chapter on the politics of modernization under the Tsarist Empire, followed by two chapters addressing the turbulence of the pre-1917 revolution enmeshed, as he describes it, with inter-ethnic upheavals. The next chapter examines the diffusion of the British Empire's influence over Iran and Azerbaijan between 1919 and 1920. From these early chapters, we learn fascinating details about the Tsarist attempts to re-organize the borders and peoples in the Caucasus, the birth of the early nationalist modernization movements, and the rise of Bolshevik power. Tumultuous upheavals, interethnic and ideological clashes sweep through, one after the other. Many efforts at forming unity get crushed under uncompromising divergences and invariably violent counter offensives. In the backdrop of these troubles, Marshall provides detailed analyses of a number of leading personalities, who shaped the nationalist movements and later either joined the communists or faded away in the course of history.

The head of an Azeri national modernist party, *Musavat*, Mehmet Rasul-Zade, was one such sophisticated personality, who established the party as a religiously oriented movement in 1912. Samurskii, born as Nazhmutdin Efendiev into a Lesgin community of Dagestan, was another example of a national-Islamist modernist, who later joined the communist cadres but could not escape execution during the Stalin era purges. *Dashnaktsutsiun*, the Arme-

nian party founded in 1890, was one of the oldest nationalist movements that aimed to unite Armenians within both the Ottoman and Tsarist Empires. However, it was Kamo, Semon Ter-Petrosian, who played a leading role in the formation of a revolutionary group prior to 1917. He collaborated with two Georgians, Sergo, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, and Stalin, IosebJughashvili. The trio's influence in the course of early Soviet history would go well beyond their initial base in Georgia.

The efforts of the modernist intelligentsia and their competing ethnic dreams were finally silenced while Stalin pursues his brutal political purges and gigantic Soviet industrialization projects throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The Soviets emerge triumphant from the Second World War with the almost total elimination of any political opposition. Tragic human loss under Stalin's economic and social re-engineering garners some attention in the following three chapters. These are devoted to the collectivization, diaspora politics, and purges.

Marshall devotes six chapters to the period beginning with the Soviet power consolidation in the 1920s to the end of the Second World War (1945). However, for some inexplicable reason, there is only one chapter covering the period described as 'the crisis of the Soviet state' (1953-91). This chapter points out that economic stagnation in the Union was a direct result of the lack of comprehensive industrial policies in the aftermath of Stalin. Gorbachev's attempts to modernize the economy were ineffective and ill formed. The process only deepened already existing tendencies of irredentism, laxity, and national or ethnic separatism. The tone of the analysis shifts towards a broader set of generalizations rather than dwelling on the specifics of the situation in the Caucasus. The final chapter

on the post-Soviet Caucasus (1991-2008) outlines the political conflicts within the Russian Federation and the Chechen wars, emphasizing the need for Russia's continuing power in the region.

The final arguments of the book express pessimism for the future of the Caucasus. In his concluding remark, as already signaled in the introduction, Marshall asserts that some western scholars and Jihadists alike have undeservedly glorified the Chechen independence wars. According to him, the USA and the EU aim to establish their agenda in the Caucasus and Central Asia through energy politics, democratization agendas, and other such means. Marshall's conviction that an assertive Russia remains the best hope for the successor states of the Soviet Union in the Caucasus and Central Asia is hard to justify on economic grounds. Moreover, the claim that the post Second World War formation of Japanese single party politics is a successful regional example for Russia to emulate is unsubstantiated. Based on my work on oligarchic markets, I would suggest that Russian capitalism, guided by the state ownership in the energy sector along with polar-

ized private market structures, has little or no resemblance to Japan's post-war industrial policy build up. The nature of the Russian political class and their counterparts in oligarchic market structures resembles Kazakhstan more than Japan. Therefore, to what extent Russia, alone, can be a reforming force or inspiration for the region remains to be seen.

Overall, this is an important book but should not be mistaken for a relaxing summer read! Marshall keeps the reader on her/his toes with a bewildering number of names, overly detailed accounts and takes the reader slowly through the tumultuous years of the modern Caucasus. It is better to digest it chapter by chapter. *The Caucasus Under Soviet Rule* could have been more reader friendly if it had had a better-organized chapter format. Having no introduction and conclusion to each chapter makes it hard to follow the main purpose and argument of each chapter and the link among them. The real challenge for the reader is to avoid getting lost in the details.

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The Kurds and US Foreign Policy: International Relations in the Middle East since 1945

By *Marianna Charountaki*

London: Routledge, 2011, 320 pages, ISBN 9780415587532.

Through this thoughtful and carefully researched account of US relations with the Kurds, Marianna Charountaki seeks to place a superpower's relations with a non-state entity in context. She succeeds admirably. US relations with the Kurds might

seem at first glance incompatible due to the lack of an independent Kurdish state, but Charountaki in her book suggests otherwise.

In this respect, the book is something of a landmark, as it deals with and explores