

its repercussions in May 1919. He lays the foundations of Turkish nationalist diplomacy, during the period of May 1919-April 1920, in the earlier stages of the Greco-Turkish conflict, in the Congresses of Erzurum (July 1919) and Sivas (September 1919), dominated as they were by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

The primary aim of the Turkish Nationalists, as is now clear, was to establish an independent Turkish state and nation, with secure and solid foundations in the Anatolian plateau. After eleven years of war, beginning in 1912, the Turks won the military contest, and under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal the Nationalists were able to split the Western Allies and hold on to their ties with Soviet Russia. But diplomacy failed to solve the basic problem until military successes had been achieved as registered in the Armistice of Mudanya (October 11, 1922). At the Conference of Lausanne (November 1922-July 1923), the Turkish representatives—İsmet Pasha, without previous diplomatic experience—were able to achieve their fundamental aims— independence and territorial integrity, abolition of the capitulations, and to lay the foundations for the advent of the Republic, proclaimed on October 29, 1923. As Dr. Sonyel points out, nationalist foreign policy achieved a great, if not total, success. They destroyed «every vestige of ex-territorial and supra-national privileges hitherto enjoyed by the foreigners in Turkey in the form of the Capitulations, and secured in all the essentials complete independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity», as postulated in the National Pact. «This magnificent achievement» was primarily the work of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Dr. Sonyel heads the Department of Social Sciences at Sedgwick School, London. This is his doctoral dissertation, written at the University of London, under the direction of Professors D. Dakin and Bernard Lewis. It is based primarily on English, Turkish and Greek sources, primary and secondary. Well-balanced and well written, based on sound research, Dr. Sonyel's work should be widely studied. It is a good illustration of the short-sighted folly of attempting to impose «solutions» on unwilling peoples, determined to resist. The book should be read along with a number of recent works dealing with similar themes in the same period, including Michael Llewellyn Smith's *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (1973) and Paul C. Helmreich, *From Paris to Sèvres: The Partition of the Ottoman Empire at the Paris Peace Conference* (1974). There is an excellent, brief bibliography of works in English, Greek and Turkish sources.

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Metin Tamkoç, *The Warrior Diplomats: Guardians of the National Security and Modernization of Turkey*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1967, p. 394.

Written under a NATO grant and fellowship, *The Warrior Diplomats* is a comprehensive study of the development, problems, national strategies and achievements of the Turkish Republic since the collapse and partition of the Ottoman Em-

pire following World War I. There is as the Foreword tells us, relatively little scholarly literature, especially in English, available on modern Turkey, and virtually none which treats of the «interplay between domestic and external variables that influence the formulation of foreign and domestic policies». Dr. Tamkoç, as he writes in his Preface, describes the ways in which «the twin objectives of national security and modernization of Turkey have been realized by the Presidents of Turkey and their principal advisers who are identified as «warrior diplomats». The work centers on the foreign policy elite of the Turkish Republic and their handling of the major and highly important problems of foreign policy which had a direct bearing on questions of national security and modernization.

In Part I the author deals with «The Warriors and Their Power Struggle» and treats of the foundations of the Republic in the period immediately after World War I (1918-1923), under the guiding genius of Mustafa Kemal —the Ghazi— and the struggle for the succession to Atatürk, especially between İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar. The guardians of the regime, all high-ranking military personnel, follow: Generals Cemal Gürsel, Cevdet Sunay and Admiral Fahri Korutürk. Dr. Tamkoç notes the primacy of foreign over domestic policy in the Turkish Republic, which he attributes to three basic factors: 1) the tradition of mostly warlike contacts with foreign peoples and states on the part of the Turks; 2) the geopolitical position of Turkey at the intercontinental crossroads; and 3) the military background of the Turkish leaders.

Part II treats of foreign and domestic policy goals. While the author notes the Atatürk formula of Etatism, Nationalism, Republicanism, Populism, Reform and Secularism, he holds that ideological considerations have played little role in the development of Turkish foreign policy. The leaders themselves were products of a traditional society which they were trying to channel toward modernity. He describes the authority reforms, the nation building reforms, the secularist reforms, participation reforms, and social and economic changes. He also insists that «political democracy», leaving aside social democracy, as yet remains a myth in Turkey.

Part III is devoted to «The Warriors and Their Diplomacy». In a brief review of «summit diplomacy» on the part of Turkish Presidents, Dr. Tamkoç suggests that the fifty-year history of the Turkish Republic indicates that the Presidents of Turkey have had the final say in both domestic and foreign policy, including the issues of war and peace. While this was particularly true of Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü, in the earlier days of the Republic, it was also true of Celal Bayar after 1950, and of those who followed after the coup of May 1960. As the author notes, the roots of Turkish summit diplomacy lie deep in the traditional political system of the Turkish ghazi states and in the Ottoman Empire, where the head of state determined the goals of foreign policy and, in most instances, directly managed foreign affairs. The practice was carried over into the Republican era.

The delineation of Turkish policy therefore, is rather logically organized around the Presidents of the Republic. For example, in the period of Atatürk (1919-1937), we have the discussion of Atatürk's diplomacy during the struggle for independence (1919-1922), relations with the USSR and with the Western Powers, and an account of the Lausanne Conference, with somewhat detailed discussion of the problems of Mosul, the Turkish Straits, Hatay, the capitulations, etc. Then follow discussions of the development of policy under İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar — the Turkish position in World War II and after, including entry into NATO. Chapter 13 takes up the development of foreign policy under Presidents Gürsel, Sunay and Korutürk, with

special attention devoted to the Cyprus problem, particularly after 1960 and 1974, and the impact of the Cyprus problem on the orientation of Turkish foreign policy.

Professor Tamkoç's study concludes that throughout the first fifty years of the Republic, with the exception of the Chiefs of the General Staff and the commanders of the land, sea and air forces, only a handful of individuals were involved in decision-making in foreign policy and its management and implementation. These included six presidents, fifteen prime ministers and sixteen ministers of foreign affairs.

This is a very well-written, highly informative and responsible volume, although there will be, quite naturally, different points of view concerning some of the problems which the author discusses. One very useful appendix contains a Who's who of some forty sketches of the Turkish political elite. The volume closes with a well-selected bibliography, both of primary documentary sources and of books and articles which treat of Turkish policy. Both the author and the publisher are to be congratulated on a job well done. This is a very useful volume, which ought to be widely studied and read.

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Michael B. Petrovich, *Yugoslavia. A Bibliographic Guide*. Washington D. C., [Library of Congress], 1974, pp. 270.

There is an urgent need today in the area of Yugoslav studies for a comprehensive bibliography, since the country is becoming increasingly important for many scholars and statesmen throughout the world.

This bibliographic guide is a compilation of titles representing more than 2500 publications issued in the languages of Yugoslavia as well in the languages of Western Europe; it has been prepared by Professor Petrovich with the aid of staff members of the Library of Congress Slavic and Central European Division Reference Department. This publication continues the series of bibliographic guides on Central European countries, published by the Library of Congress.

The bibliographical guide is divided into 13 subject chapters: 1. General reference works, 2. The land, 3. The population, 4. History, 5. Politics and Government, 6. Law, 7. Economy, 8. Social Conditions, 9. Religion and philosophy, 10. Education and culture, 11. Languages, 12. Literature, 13. Art. All these chapters are subdivided into four nationality groups: Serbian, Croat, Slovene and Macedonian. In the first 155 pages we find short descriptions of publications, which are alphabetically listed in the second part of the bibliographical guide. It is important to point out that most of the publications and magazine articles on Yugoslavia published in the past seven or eight years have not been considered. If one were to be dependent upon this bibliographic guide for research on contemporary Yugoslavia, the problem would be quite serious. This is especially vital if we consider the fact that Yugoslavia changes its economic and political, as well as its ideological structure, every three or four years.