

capture of the island of Rhodes and three more pages relating the exploits of "the ambitious monk Martinuzzi", an obscure mid-sixteenth century Hungarian enemy of the Habsburgs. He uses a paragraph to tell of an undistinguished seventeenth century commander, Ferhad the Foolhardy, but not a word about Ferhad's contemporary, the grand vizier Kuyuju Murad Pasha who, by establishing peace with Austria and wiping out the Anatolian rebels, saved the Empire. He dismisses the important religious rebellion of the conservative Wahhabs in the nineteenth century as "a rebellion in Arabia". As for the "Terrible Turk", he admits the Bulgarians began the massacre of Muslims, but goes on to detail the Turks' savagery which, he asserts, "was more terrible" than the Bulgarian, because the Turkish massacre was "indiscriminate". It seems strange indeed that an author who lived through both World Wars and also knew of the American experience in southeast Asia could assert, when writing of massacres of any kind, that one people were more or less "discriminating" than another.

Despite these curiosities, the book should be read by anyone who enjoys precise, well-organized, exciting chapters with a story-line which moves like a script from the BBC's *Masterpiece Theatre*. He will visualize the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 when flower of European chivalry fell to the bold strokes of Bayezid the Thunderbolt. He will feel almost a part of the sultan's household in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent. He will find that the United States in 1877 sold rifles to Sultan Abdul Aziz which, when used by Osman Pasha's force at Plevna, held the Russians at bay for weeks. He will enjoy well-selected pictures throughout the book which add an important dimension to the cultural understanding of the Empire. He should read the book for its wit and charm, as a delightful introduction to an important subject. Afterwards, recognizing the book's deficiencies, he should move from Kinross to the growing number of specialized monographs, in which greater accuracy, based on Ottoman sources, will balance his point-of-view.

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Ergun Özbudun, *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 254.

Multi-party democracy has come to most countries in the world as a foreign import, wished upon them by colonial or neo-colonial powers, or by a "Westernized" native leadership which accepted democracy (or at least its trappings) as an indivisible part of modernization. The developing countries without a democratic tradition have adapted their political life to this new import in various ways, often by merely expressing the old, pre-democratic power relationships in democratic dress.

Professor Ergun Özbudun of Ankara University examines the process of Turkey's political modernization concentrating on the period 1960-70, with short remarks about democracy in the Ottoman Empire and in the first four decades of the Republic. The author holds that economic and social modernization brings changes in four different aspects of political participation. First, the *nature* of a voter's participation changes as he is exposed to mass communications, new work and income situations, and new social possibilities: from being a "mobilized" voter who makes his choices at the behest of a village *aga* or workshop *patron*, the modern voter becomes more and more "autonomous", making his choices as best fit his personal interests. Along with this development comes a second change, in the *motives* behind a voter's choices: before modernization, his choices would be "deferential", based on his re-

spect for his social and economic betters, but as modernization progresses he tends to make "instrumental" choices, those which will produce concrete social or economic benefits for himself and those around him. In thoroughly modern societies, the voter feels capable of basing his choices on a "civic sense" of what will be good for the nation as a whole. Third, the *bases* of political participation change: in a traditional society ties of kinship and community are the most important, but in a modern society a voter tends to identify more with those of his own nationwide economic and social class. Fourth, the *amount* of political participation changes as the wealth brought by modernization allows greater numbers of people to move up into the more politically-active middle class. The author's theoretical basis for this study is taken from the current sociological literature, with frequent references to it.

Özbudun finds the Turkish case to fit the general mode overall, but to differ in several minor but significant ways. For instance, as the Turkish middle class increased in numbers, there was actually a *decline* in voter turnout from this class, especially in the election of 1969, rather than the increase which the theoretical framework demands. The author suggests that this anomaly comes from a particular voter disenchantment with the party positions in 1969, as these positions were undergoing significant realignment, and many voters found it easier to stay away from the polls than to come to grips with these changes. Also, Özbudun reminds his readers that political participation is not limited to voting but also includes attendance at rallies, organizing activities and the like, and that these may have increased in intensity even though voting decreased.

Several of the author's speculations will have to be supported by further research, but data on the 1973 elections (unavailable to the author during the major part of his work) support many of his important hypotheses. A summary of the 1973 results and notes on their significance are given in the book's concluding chapter, with fuller coverage available in an article by Özbudun and Frank Tachau (*IJMES*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1975), pp. 460-479). Full data on the elections of 1977 will not be available for some time, but a glance at newspaper reports tends to support Özbudun's findings.

Historians may take exception to the highly generalized comments on political development under the Empire and early Republic, but it must be remembered that the author's purpose is sociological and his focus the 1960's and '70's. For a full appreciation of social change and political participation in Turkey during this focal period, the scholar in Turkish studies will find it helpful to begin with this well-written and very useful book.

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Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: The Chetniks*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1975, pp. 508.

In the war and the revolution which took place in Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945, three main forces took active part: the Chetniks, the Ustashas, and the Partisans. Dr. Jozo Tomasevich, Professor Emeritus of Economics at San Francisco State University, has divided his magistral work into three volumes, of which *The Chetniks* is the first. The Chetniks, an old Serbian ultranationalist organization, began their existence during the Balkan Wars. Later on in Yugoslavia they became active proponents of the Great Serbian idea, assisting the police in the persecution of left-wing elements and particularly in the repression of peasantry. The Ustashas, who will be the subject of the second volume, were extreme Croatian nationalists founded after the assassination of the Croatian Peasant leader Stjepan Radić in 1928, as a