were a nation; they even appeared on the census as such. Whether the Yugoslav decision-makers had intended that the Bosnian Muslims become so literal-minded in their identification, it became a juridical and political reality that Bosnian Muslims were a nation. As such, it is not surprising that their expectations changed because the political system encouraged that change.

Furthermore, the war and its "ethnic cleansing" of the Bosnian Muslims has further differentiated them from the Bosnian population collectively — possibly to a degree that only the tragedy of war could have accomplished. Many Bosnian Muslims have begun, contrary to prewar attitudes, to cling to and emphasize the Muslim element of their nationhood, as the most singularly defining characteristic of their national identification. In effect, many Bosnian Muslims are being "shelled into Islam."

While certain of the author's points, such as his treatment of the Bosnian Muslims, may be worthy of contention, this book contains many admirably perceptive observations. In particular, Crnobrnja closes by submitting that the story of Yugoslavia might have a more salutary ending if Europe, of which Yugoslavia is an integral part, would develop and exert a more integrated and effective policy on national borders and the rights of national minorities. In this, while Crnobrnja does not break new ground, he lends his voice to a plea that the great powers who "won the Cold War" should now act responsibly to prolong and spread the ensuing promise of peace.

The author's projections of the conclusion of this "drama" seem bold. His optimism is consistent with his arguments; and his uncertainties about the final curtain are well justified, as they would be for any play in which the actors continue to pen their own scenes.

Francine Friedman


These two books deal each with a nation locked in the protracted conflict shaking the region of Transcaucasia. Both authors present comprehensive treatments of the modern history of Azerbaijan and Armenia respectively, a welcome departure from the monographs of a short if crucial period, the years of the Russian Revolution and its immediate aftermath beyond the Caucasus. Their books cover the same two centuries, from the Russian conquest to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the intercommunal violence that has come in its wake. Altstadt and Suny deal with the peoples divided by the state frontiers, the Azerbaijanis by the border between Russia/USSR and Iran, and the Armenians, between the Russian and Ottoman empires. Yet these divisions are not the primary concerns of either of the authors.

Suny makes it clear that the division of the Armenians ended with the deportations of 1915, and from then on what has remained of the Armenian-populated land is the corner of Transcaucasia under more advanced Russian/Soviet rule. As for the Azerbaijanis, Altstadt in her book centers almost exclusively on those living north of the frontier Araxes River, in recognition of the fact that upon the Russian conquest they had entered a path of historical development vastly different from their ethnic brothers in Iran. As anyone writing on the history of Azerbaijan, she faced the question of the name for the people who are known to care little for their eth-
nym, a reflection of the Islamic world's tradition where ethnic identity has been of limited significance. She opted for the name Azerbaijani Turks, a choice connoting geographical as well as ethno-linguistic identity. Still, to some ears it may sound as a rough equivalent of "the Dutch Germans." The emphasis on Turkishness as the basic attribute of Azerbaijani identity is an accepted view but more so among the Azerbaijani elites. Among the population at large, especially in rural areas, where the Islamic revival is under way, Iran often appears as the spiritual homeland. But there is no doubt that it was among the intellectuals and entrepreneurs of the Russian-held Azerbaijan that the Turkic-Azerbaijani national identity began to emerge. More than other authors, Altstadt emphasizes economic factors and social change as the forces molding the Azerbaijani community north of the Araxes.

The formation of more particularistic Azerbaijani identity entailed emancipation from Iranian cultural domination, and here a dose of Russian and even Ottoman-Turkish influence was helpful. In the long run, though, Azerbaijani identity was also taking shape through disengagement from excessive Russian and even Turkish sway. Altstadt tends to treat her subject in as strict a focus as possible on the processes within the Azerbaijani community, keeping to a minimum the impact from outside, notably Iran, Turkey, or even Russia. Her view of the political and intellectual evolution of the Azerbaijanis tends to put forward native particularism. This approach differs from that of Suny who, while focusing on the Caucasian Armenia, includes a broad discussion of the Anatolian Armenians, as well as of the world-wide diaspora.

The two books in many ways complement one another; all the same there is no forgetting that they were composed on different lines. Altstadt's work is a systematic survey of two centuries of Azerbaijani history, while the volume by Suny is a collection of essays on select issues published over the years in anthologies and scholarly journals. Understandably, there are more lacunae in his presentation. Some themes that are noted are not developed, and there is also more that is controversial. Like most historians of Armenia, Suny tends to view Russian rule favorably, as a channel for drawing closer to the West, a goal whose value he never questions. His book takes notice of some difficulties in the friendship by quoting Russian statements insulting Armenians; but it does not dwell on the more ominous instances of Russia failing to come to the rescue of the Armenians, encouraging violence against them, or making deals at their expense. He gives due credit to the 1920s Soviet policies of promoting Armenian national culture, but the other side of the coin was the Armenians' loss of their privileged position throughout Transcaucasia where they no longer controlled the city governments of Baku and Tiflis. Here, the same Soviet nativization (korenizatsiia) policy cost the Armenians the loss of much of their clout.

Suny's treatment of the 1915 Armenian tragedy is remarkable for its tone of open-mindedness and moderation. He goes to a great length to present the views of Turkish and Turcophile historians, and even those of Ottoman officials. He acknowledges, at least indirectly, that there could be considerations of military security behind the deportations, and is cautious with the use of figures. His approach in the chapter under the telling title, "Thinking of the Unthinkable," contributes to the new tone of dispassionate discussions on the fate of the Anatolian Armenians. Could it be that the term "unthinkable" would one day be applicable to a reconciliation, an act that would put Armenian independence on a stronger footing?

Somewhat surprisingly, Suny gives little space to the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflicts, except for the Nagorno-Karabagh war in the book's closing part. By contrast, in Altstadt's view, the in-