

## On China

*By Henry Kissinger*

New York: The Penguin Press, 2012, 586 pages,  
ISBN: 9781594202711.

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Every book on China is a potential bestseller these days. Literature on the topic is abundant, growing as we speak and not easy to follow. Themes on the political, economic and social development of China have been monopolising policy and academic debates. Henry Kissinger's *On China* is as interesting as it can be, and contributes to this trend. Not only because he personally orchestrated the most dramatic diplomatic initiative of the Cold War in which the US succeeded in establishing a working strategic relationship with Maoist China, but also because of China's meteoric rise to superpower status within a generation.

Kissinger was not only the first official American emissary to Communist China, he can truly claim to be the chief architect of one of the pillars of the post-war international system. He advised and directed the White House's China policy for four decades, and on almost 50 visits to China consulted with every one of its leaders. To the degree that Washington and Beijing now understand each other,

it is in good measure because Kissinger has been striving to find "strategic concepts" that could be made to alleviate conflict, mutual grievance and fear.

Prior to the publication of this book the definitive resource on China was Jonathan Spence's *The Search of Modern China* (New York, Norton, 1990). It is still indispensable to a modern understanding of China. Kissinger's book, according to Spence, tries to "make sense of China's diplomacy and foreign policies across two and a half millennia, and to bring China's past full circle in order to illuminate the present... it is part reminiscence, part reflection, part history, and part intuitive exploration".<sup>1</sup>

Kissinger's portrait of China goes well beyond the stereotype of the proud, ancient civilisation humiliated by the West and now rising again. Because it has been for millennia the central country of Asia and has the largest population and resource base, China's situation is fundamentally different from that of the West's numerous great powers. With the

building of the Great Wall, China became the world's largest gated community, protecting itself from neighbours that it could not eliminate. Traditional China's greatest accomplishment was not its vastness but rather its constant re-emergence from periods of disunity and conquest. Kissinger points out that China's diplomacy mirrors the game of *wei qi*, also known as *go*, in which players try to encircle one another, rather than the Western strategic game of chess in which the goal is to eliminate the adversary.

There are 18 chapters plus an epilogue. The first three chapters are devoted to China's history. The book deftly traces the rhythms and patterns in Chinese history (its cycles of turning inward in isolationist defensiveness and outward to the broader world) and underlines the fact that China's exceptionalism is cultural: China does not proselytise or claim that its institutions "are relevant outside China," yet it tends to grade "all other states as various levels of tributaries based on their approximation to Chinese cultural and political forms".

According to Kissinger there are four key elements to understanding the Chinese mind: Confucianism ("a single, universal, generally applicable truth as the standard of individual conduct and social cohesion"); Sun Tzu (outsmarting:

good; direct conflict: bad); an ancient board game called *wei qi* (or *go*, which stresses "the protracted campaign"); and China's "century of humiliation" in the 1800s.

Early China was plagued by internecine conflict that threatened the empire's sustainability. Confucius (551-479 BC), an itinerant philosopher largely ignored in his lifetime, provided the "glue" that has both kept the empire together since, while uniting its people, and providing much of Asia's "state religion". Expertise in Confucian thought became the key to advancement after the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) adopted Confucius' thinking. In doing so, the state assumed a moral obligation to provide virtue and harmony, and its people took on an obligation to obey the state as well as honour their ancestors and emphasise learning.

Between 1405-1433, China's Admiral Zheng sent out a fleet of large, technically advanced ships to Africa, the Middle East, India and other closer locales. The purpose of the voyages is unclear to historians, and the next Emperor ordered the fleet destroyed, along with Zheng's records of those voyages. The withdrawal from contact with Western nations limited access to new ideas and led to China being physically and economically dominated by others

from the mid-1800s until the 1990s—its “Century of Humiliation.” (China’s share of the world’s GDP was about 25% in 1500, grew to approximately 30% in 1820, and fell to about 4% in 1950).

Chapter four is about Mao’s Continuous Revolution. This chapter is superb and superbly written. If you study American China relations, the question that is always asked is whether or not America lost China in 1949. Kissinger correctly reminds Americans that China might never have been theirs to lose, and so they have been asking the wrong question all along. Mao always believed that the Confucian order of harmony had resulted in a weak China. He therefore believed that progress could only come from brutal confrontations both within and with outside adversaries for China to advance.

After a chapter on the Korean War, chapter six is an excellent analysis of China’s strategy of confronting the Soviet Union and creating the Sino-Soviet split, and the United States with the Taiwan Strait Crisis. The chapter is riveting, and immensely contributes to our understanding of history.

Following a chapter on the great domestic turmoil in the 1960s and the Cultural Revolution, the author takes us through the Road to Reconciliation in chapter eight, and, in chapter nine, the

first encounters with Nixon, himself and the Chinese leadership. It is a fascinating portrayal of a head-to-head meeting where Kissinger recounts in minute-by-minute detail the secret mission in 1971 that prepared the way for President Nixon’s historic visit and the personal interactions with Premier Zhou Enlai and Mao. What is interesting is Kissinger’s confession that the Nixon-Kissinger visits 1971-72 turned out to have been the easy part. “That China and the United States would find a way to come together was inevitable given the necessities of the time”, he writes. “It would have happened sooner or later whatever the leadership in either country”. Both nations were exhausted from war (Vietnam, clashes on the Soviet border) and domestic strife (anti-war protests in Nixon’s case, the Cultural Revolution in Mao’s).

Kissinger was and still is overwhelmed by Mao’s stature. He describes him as “the philosopher king”. All Mao’s decisions are based on meticulous planning; informed by the millennia of China’s culture; and with long term considerations. “Mao enunciated the doctrine of ‘continuous revolution’, but when the Chinese national interest required it, he could be patient and take the long view”, he writes. “The manipulation of ‘contradictions’ was his proclaimed strategy, yet it was in the service of an ultimate goal

drawn from the Confucian concept of *da tong*, or the Great Harmony". Also, Kissinger's portraying of Mao's successors is indicative of an appreciative intimacy. He remembers Zhou Enlai as conducting "conversations with the effortless grace and superior intelligence of the Confucian sage". He adds that the elegant Zhou—who would be "criticized for having concentrated on softening some of Mao's practices rather than resisting them—faced the classic quandary of the "adviser to the prince", who must balance "the benefits of the ability to alter events against the possibility of exclusion, should he bring his objections to any one policy to a head".

Of Deng Xiaoping, Kissinger reminds us that he and his family suffered greatly during the Cultural Revolution - he was exiled to perform manual labour, and his son was "tormented by Red Guards and pushed off the top of a building at Beijing University" and denied admission to a hospital for his broken back. Upon his return to government, Deng worked to replace the Revolution's emphasis on ideological purity with the values of "order, professionalism and efficiency", and Kissinger credits him with fashioning the modernisations that would transform "Mao's drab China of agricultural communes" into a bustling economic giant. Overall, the author describes Chinese leaders

as practitioners of power politics that enabled China, "despite its insistent Communist propaganda, to conduct itself as essentially a geopolitical 'free agent' of the cold war," making a tactical partnership with the United States in order to contain the Soviet Union. In chapters 11 and 12 we see the end of the Mao Era. Zhou Enlai falls and Deng's first return to power begins.

When at the end of the book Kissinger discusses present trends and challenges he deals with the essential question of the future of Sino-American relations: With no common enemy to bind them, what will keep the peace and cooperation between them? China has become an industrial powerhouse with global ambitions and continues to grow. The radical shift in the balance of power turned the two nations into mutually dependent economic giants, but it left them without an overarching strategic design that could sustain a working partnership. While both governments officially emphasise cooperation, Kissinger is not yet ready to rule out a return to strategic competition and conflict.

Kissinger addresses this question by looking to the "Crowe Memorandum" of 1907.<sup>2</sup> Crowe argued that it was in Germany's interest to "build as powerful a navy as she can afford" and that this

would itself lead to “objective” conflict with the British Empire, no matter what German diplomats said or did. There is today a “Crowe school of thought” in the United States, Kissinger observes, which sees China’s rise “as incompatible with America’s position in the Pacific” and therefore best met with preemptively hostile policies. He perceives growing anxieties in both societies and fears they are exacerbated by Americans who claim that democracy in China is a prerequisite for a trusting relationship. He warns that a new resulting Cold War would arrest progress in both nations and cause them to “analyse themselves into self-fulfilling prophecies” when in reality their main competition is more likely to be economic than military. Rather than preparing for a showdown with China, Kissinger suggests building a Pacific Community along the lines of the Atlantic Community to promote security through inclusivity and mutual respect. For Kissinger, “relations between China and the United States need not and should not become a zero-sum game”.

Finally, what about human rights and China’s poor record? As a true student and practitioner of *realpolitik* he

argues that if America’s drive to spread democratic values is made the main condition for a functioning strategic interaction between Washington and Beijing, “deadlock is inevitable”. For Kissinger, “foreign policy must define means as well as objectives, and if the means employed grow beyond the tolerance of the international framework or of a relationship considered essential for national security, a choice must be made”. He is not explicit but we know what he advocates and it is unnerving.

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## Endnotes

- 1 Jonathan D. Spence, “Kissinger and China”, *New York Review of Books*, 9 June 2011.
- 2 On the Crowe Memorandum see, J.S. Dunn, *The Crowe Memorandum: Sir Eyre Crowe and Foreign Office Perceptions of Germany: 1918-1925*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

## Tribal Modern: Branding New Nations in the Arab Gulf

*By Miriam Cooke*

Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2014, 214 pages, ISBN: 9780520280106.

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*Tribal Modern: Branding New Nations in the Arab Gulf* is a comprehensive volume specifically dedicated to understanding and evaluating the contemporary identity-building and nation-branding practices in the Arab Gulf countries. As the title of the book reveals, in this work, renowned Duke University Professor Miriam Cooke essentially tries to address the question of how peoples of the Arab Gulf negotiate the complexities of the modern world with their tribal values. While answering this question, Professor Cooke rules out binary assumptions, e.g. the “modern vs. traditional” duality, and argues that the tribal and the modern must be thought of together. In her understanding the tribal is not the traditional and certainly not the primitive. Instead, the tribal—as it appears in the Arab Gulf today— is integral to the modern and constitutes a crucial element in the Arab Gulf’s modernity.

Miriam Cooke reminds us about the return of the tribal where it signals racial privilege, social status and exclusive entitlement to a share in national profits.

By examining the trends and social dynamics in the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait, Cooke traces the emergence of national brands that combine the spectacle of tribal and modern identities.

To explain the convergence of the tribal and the modern Cooke heavily focuses on the Qur’anic notion of the *barzakh* which actually has two different meanings:<sup>1</sup> The first one designates the metaphysical space between life and the hereafter and the second one describes the physical space between sweet and salty waters. The latter signifies an undiluted convergence. Although an original metaphor to explain the relation between the tribal and the modern, the emphasis on and the use of *barzakh* goes too far in Cooke’s work so that the notion nearly turns out to be an empty-signifier. Most observers of the Arab Gulf are well aware that the drastic transformation the region is undergoing reveals the tensions shaped by the modern vs. traditional dichotomy. Cooke snubs this binary opposition and claims to find a way out by employing the concept of *barzakh*;

however, this approach does not really convince the reader.

Cooke also notes that the seemingly oppositional tropes between the tribal and the modern are negotiated and played out in the “heritage engineering” projects which are currently mushrooming elsewhere in the Arab Gulf monarchies. Here, rightly, Cooke refers to *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), the monumental work that famous British historian Eric Hobsbawm edited with Terence Ranger. Cooke argues that Arab Gulf states are pursuing what Hobsbawm calls the “invention of tradition”<sup>2</sup> to provide themselves with symbolic capital that helps to convert the wealth generated from hydrocarbon resources into nationally legible cultural capital, and they project socio-national cohesion with an emphasis on tribal purity.

Miriam Cooke stresses that an obsession with authenticity and constant reference to cultural and tribal purity, or *asala*, is very much related to the challenges posed by globalisation and modernity, as nations attempt to rebuild their cultural identities. Therefore, she notes that the Arab Gulf states, “whose citizens are the first generation to grow up with a national, rather than a regional identity, are involved in a future articulation of a largely unrecorded past that lies buried under the surface

of identical newly global cities”. In this sense, many of these heritage projects are state-sponsored and help construct a new patriotism.

While examining the Arab Gulf societies and their lineages, Cooke also refers to 14-15<sup>th</sup> century Arab thinker Ibn Khaldun’s now classical distinction between the pastoral nomadic, otherwise known as “*badawa*”, and the sedentary urban, known as “*hadara*”. The “*badawa*” symbolises nomadism, loyalty and tribalism and “*hadara*”, on the other hand, is a symbol of modernity, urbanisation and individualism. These two terms, she argues, still figure importantly in the way Gulf Arabs define themselves and their lineages. In this way, Cooke points to a psychological barrier between the two forms of tribal existence.

It is indeed correct that today tribal roots are more important than ever for the *Khaleejis*. However, Cooke argues that modern regimes held tribal lineage in affective tension with the national identity, as the discrepancy between national borders and tribal territories pose serious challenges for racialised nation building.

Cooke also touches upon other topics related to performing the national identity, like increasing popularity of Nabati/Bedouin poetry, falconing, camel races and tribal dress. In addition to

the above-mentioned topics, she brings gender issues into the picture, too.

An important shortcoming which Cooke's book suffers is the lack of analytical and methodological subtlety. Having produced influential pieces on gender and Middle East studies and being very much familiar with the Gulf region, throughout her book Cook displays an abundance of useful material on contemporary social dynamics of the Arab Gulf. However, overusing the concept of *barzakh* weakens the theoretical strength of the book.

Overall, Professor Cooke's book is a timely and interesting contribution to the fields of nation-branding and Arab Gulf studies. However, more systematic work on nationalism and identity building in this region remains much needed. Let's hope Cooke's volume paves the way for further research.

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## Endnotes

- 1 The *barzakh* mentioned in the Holy Qur'an three times. In Surat Al-Mu'minun (23:100), Surat Al-Furqan (25:53) and Surat Ar-Rahman (55:19-22).
- 2 Hobsbawm defines "invented traditions" as follows: " 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.... However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition." See, Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 1.

## A Threat Against Europe? Security, Migration and Integration

*By J.P. Burgess and S. Gutwirth (eds.)*

Brussels: Brussels University Press, 2011, 224 pages, ISBN: 9054879297.

*A Threat Against Europe? Security, Migration and Integration* provides a theoretical and empirical understanding of security, border control and the management of migration practices within Europe using up-to-date research. It discusses how the concepts of security, migration and integration relate to the European setting while expanding the understanding of security.

The subject of the book is highly relevant to current discussions and developments on migration that are shaping policy and politics within Europe and the European Union (EU). Threat perception and the understanding of security have fundamentally changed meaning all around the world after the terrorist attack of 9/11, followed by London and Madrid bombings. As the editors of this book point out, it is essential to provide a wide-ranging revision and broadening of the notion of security in order to understand the interconnectedness of security, migration and integration.

The control and management of migration have become important

topics for most of the states that are experiencing migration, either as a transit or destination country, gradually moving towards to the top of political agendas around the globe. Realising that limiting the international movement of people is difficult, if not impossible, the US and European states are becoming innovative in terms of developing policies, methods and institutions for border management, control and surveillance. In addition, a range of legal or juridical control mechanisms are used. The perceived understanding of insecurity and threat as a result of migratory movements brings Europe to the dilemma of either promoting its moral values of protection fundamental rights or advancing security measures.

Looking at various aspects of this dilemma, the contributors to this volume cover comprehensive range of topics including trends in European immigration policies, the strategies used by European states to reduce “unwanted” migration, defining the legal and “digital” borders of Europe, the understanding of citizenship within

the context of Europe, the link between the international fight against terrorism and individual rights, the development and ethnics of European border practices with the European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR), the impact of the development-security-environment-nexus (DESNEX), the legal authority of immigration laws and policing the Schengen area.

Taking migration and the movements of people as its main subject, this volume looks at the concept of security from a different perspective than its traditional understanding. It analyses security from three different points of view. It firstly argues that insecurity can happen at the country of origin where economic, health, nutritional and military insecurity can motivate migrants to move. Secondly, in a country of transit or during their journey migrants can expose themselves to insecurity through people smugglers or traffickers, or at risky border crossings. Finally, in the country of destination insecurity can result from irregularity, marginalisation, discrimination, exploitation or xenophobia.

Looking at both at theoretical background and empirical findings, this well-structured and well-researched book also provides the reader with technical operational details as well as the judicial aspects of migration management and

border control. This combination of theory and practice, as well as legal and technical studies, are difficult to find in a single volume. Thus, its scope and depth is an important asset of this book.

Through its 11 chapters this book tries to look at both sides in that it focuses on migrants in terms of their perception of insecurity as well as on the receiver side of migration in the destination countries. In the European destination countries, the understanding of the threat perception is shaped by the movement of people that resonates though the development of policies to respond to society's profound feeling of insecurity. The policies and mechanisms at the EU and member state level are instruments to respond to these challenges. The chapters on EU's border agency FRONTEX, the EUROSUR and databases for digital surveillance show the EU's need for better coordination and management of migration. They also demonstrate the struggle to keep a balanced approach in terms of respect of fundamental rights, an individual's right to privacy and the legal protection under the rule of law.

With its comprehensive coverage of concepts of migration, security and integration this volume, with its theoretical and empirical studies, delivers the editors' goal. It definitely undertakes the revision and broadening the notion of

security through a mapping and analysis of the link between these concepts and is a valuable addition to literature on these topics. It is a must read for researchers and practitioners working on these areas and a great addition to libraries either

with a general scope or specialised on these topics.

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## Debating Security in Turkey: Challenges and Changes in the Twenty-First Century

*By Ebru Canan-Sokollu*

Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013, 347 pages, ISBN: 9780739148716.

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*Debating Security in Turkey: Challenges and Changes in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Ebru Canan-Sokollu, is an analysis of security challenges and prospects facing Turkey at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is an edited book composed of four parts inclusive of chapters written by different authors, each one of whom focus on different loci of Turkish domestic and international politics.

The first part, “Approaches to Security and Challenges in the Twenty-First Century”, includes three chapters which cover mostly the theoretical perspectives of the term “security”, its changing meaning, and what has been its effects. On a theoretical basis, security is analysed

under the context of the shift in Turkey’s security policies after the Cold War and then during the JDP government. As Snyder argues in the first chapter, in Turkey geo-political changes have been enormous and have directly affected the security policies adopted. Consequently Turkey has found itself with the need to develop a “regional” reference to tackle the challenges that it is facing as it is on the frontline between the West and radical Islamic forces. Moreover Diez tries to challenge the “Regional Security Complex Theory”, which sees Turkey as an “insulator”. Diez argues that Turkey should be seen as “a meeting ground of security dynamics that result in domestic political struggles about the legitimate order”. Additionally Öner covers the

theoretical debate about the relationship between the nature of “security” and “challenge” in the case of Turkey by arguing that we have seen a shift from a Hobbesian view of security towards a Kantian foreign policy. In other words, Turkey has moved away from military security towards “soft power” security.

The second part, “Turkey and Internal Security Challenges in the Twenty-First Century”, focuses on the main security challenges. Akça and Balta-Paker investigates the role of the Turkish military in politics. Before the JDP came to power, Turkey’s security was guided by a Kemalist ideology that emphasised the militarisation of domestic politics. When the JDP came in power these ideologies started to be left behind and the civilian government gained more power. The second challenge, the Islamisation of the politics, has become more obvious during the JDP’s time in power. According to Özoğuz- Bolgi, this may not be a real threat to the security of Turkey. Due to international and domestic pressures, that JDP have understood that should change their Islamic worldview and have started to consider itself as a centre-right party.

While speaking about security policies, the most important sources are external threats. In the third part, “Turkey and External Security Challenges in the

Twenty-First Century”, Turkey’s external threats are analysed based on four main regions: the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Caspian. In the Mediterranean the most important issue remains Cyprus. Sözen argues that Turkey’s shift towards soft power has had effects on the Cyprus conflict and peace negotiations. After offering some possible solutions of the issue, Sözen concludes that the real solution of the issue depends on military-civilian relations. Furthermore, on Turkey’s relations with Israel and the Palestinians, Tocci argues these have changed due to the deterioration of relations with Israel. In order to have a balanced policy in Middle East, Tocci suggests that Turkey should promote reconciliation on the basis of international law. In the following chapter, Gözkaman analyses the Kurdish and Turkmen question through Turkish-Iraqi relations. Even though he’s not very optimistic, Gözkaman argues that multilateral efforts are needed to improve relations with Iraq and to solve the Kurdish issue. The two following chapters look at Turkey’s role in the Caucasus and the Caspian. Gültekin-Punsmann analyses the relations with Russia and considers this political and economic relation as a source of stability in the region, while Eriş emphasises the role of Turkey in the energy security as an oil supplier between Caspian basin and EU.

The fourth part, “The Euro-Atlantic Partnership in the Twenty-First Century”, focuses on Turkey’s relations with Euro-Atlantic states. In terms of relations with the USA, İşeri argues that the Obama Administration has been trying to meliorate its relations with the Muslim world. Consequently Turkey is seen as a key ally. While analysing the security policies of Turkey in the Western Balkans, Balcer concludes that the stability of the region depends on Turkey’s accession to the EU. Accordingly if Turkey does not become a member the Euroscepticism in the Balkans will increase. At the same time, the EU plays a major role in relations between Turkey and Greece. Unfortunately, as Ker-Lindsay argues, relations between both states seem to be highly dependent on the EU. The final two chapters discuss environment policies and the perception of Turkish elites on security policies. In the last chapter of this part, the author İzci argues that unfortunately environmental policies have not been taken seriously by the government. And

Üstün and Şenyuva, while analysing Turkish elite perceptions on security, conclude that the elite still see the use of both hard and soft power tools as important.

This book analyses Turkey’s security policies and their changes based on internal and external effects. To the reader it presents a clear picture of the challenges that Turkey is facing during these critical periods. Even though the book has a lack of primary sources, its well-structured content may be considered an important asset in Turkish security literature. Moreover this book is a contribution to regional security studies, such as on Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Caspian. It may be beneficial for students of international relations and political science who may be interested in the Turkish foreign policy and its challenges and evolution through time.

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## Iranian Mythology and Islamic Revolution: The Shah and the Ayatollah

*By Fereydoun Hoveyda*

Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003, 136 pages, ISBN: 9780275978587.

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People usually sanctify the person, thing or place that they believe have supreme importance for the area they live, as well as variously interpreting the uncertain phenomenon that they couldn't explain. They transfer these from generation to generation by enhancing the social phenomenon encountered every day. Legends are the main elements that affiliates people with other people, their habitat and their spirituality. Legends commonly exist in traditional societies such as Iran. Also, in traditional societies there is a strong belief in the existence of an extraordinary power that controls humanity. Natural disasters are believed to be punishment for bad behaviours of the societies. In the same way, good happenings or successes are awarded for good behaviour. For instance, a great number of Iranians in 1979 believed that the face of Khomeini was reflected in the full moon, as well as many of people believing that he was the metempsychosis of the awaited 12<sup>th</sup> Imam.

Fereydoun Hoveyda, an Iranian with a specialisation in mythological histories, explains in his book that mythology is important for Iranian society and the leaders. *The Shah and the Ayatollah* has four chapters. First, the author describes the places that Muhammed Rıza Shah and Khomeini lived, in order to show how location had an impact upon the characters of these people and explains their similarities and difference. He believes that the differences between the two characters, who were to be competitors in the future, had been set out from the beginning of their lives. Khomeini was nominated as a *badghadam* (birth of ill omen) due to his father's death just after Khomeini was born; on the other hand Rıza Shah was nominated as *khoshghadam* (birth of good omen) due to his father's promotion. Indeed, his father became the commander of the Cossack brigade one year after his birth and then minister of the war cabinet. According to the author, while Khomeini was growing up in poverty with his fundamentalist

aunt, Shah was living in luxury. While Khomeini was educated by anti-modern clerics who had fled from the Pahlavi authoritarian regime, Shah was educated in Swiss modern school with the children of the elite. All these differences provide the basis of their competition.

Secondly, the author builds up the theoretical frame of the book. For this reason, he explains legends in Iranian mythology and assimilates Muhammed Rıza Shah and Khomeini with them. He emphasises two legends written in *Shahnameh* by Ferdowsi, which have a particular importance for Iranian mythology. The first one is the legend of Jamshid and Feridun. The myth was that the Zoroastrian God Ahura Mazda got angry with the guiltiness and cupidity of the people and took the sunlight from the earth. As a result the Zoroastrian devil Ahriman ruled over the world. But the saviour Jamshid brought peace to humanity by dethroning Ahriman. Then Ahura Mazda was pleased with this situation and gives sunlight again. Eventually, Jamshid was kept by solemnity and power which lead to a negligence of the loyalty against Ahura Mazda. This would lead him to take the sunlight from the earth again. Zahak dethroned Jamshid with the help of Ahriman and caused tyranny to return. People were oppressed by the tyrant Zahak and prayed to Ahura Mazda for a

saviour. Then Feridun came and brought peace to society again. With this legend, the author correlates Muhammed Rıza Shah and Khomeini. Although the income obtained from oil brought peace to the society, Shah was arrogant and ruled harshly. The people started to wait for Feridun again. Then Khomeini arrived, like coming from the paradise by his plane, and brought peace to the society again.

The second legend concerns Rostam and Sohrab. Sohrab was born and his father Rostam didn't know about the existence of his son. Sohrab grew up and became a powerful soldier. Then he decided to look for his father. He met him at a battle field and was killed by his father during single combat. The author states that according to a Greek legend Oedipus, the son kills his father, but this is impossible in the Iranian tradition so the father kills his son. It is believed that the son can never stand against his father. With this legend, the author looks at how the two people managed to get the support of the people. While referendum results were over 95% in the Rıza Shah period, the referendum results were also over 95% in the Khomeini period. He wonders what made people, who had previously defended the modernist attitude, to in a short period of time turn to traditional attitudes. The author argues that the answer comes from the father

character in Iranian society. Previously, the character of the father was Riza Shah and it was said that “The king of Iran is a teacher, a master, a father, in short he is everything”. But in the course of time, he loses his power as a result of his weakness against his opposition. Khomeini then became a new father who was nominated as a saviour, and said that “Iranians are children in need of custodian”. After all these examples, the author concludes that the character of the father is encountered in wide range of Iranian phenomenon from father of a family, to tribal sheikh, and from the landlord to clergy or Shah

there was always a system of hierarchy which means that the father has the right to speak and cannot be opposed.

In conclusion, the author explains Iranian society by analysing the figures of saviour and the father successfully. It has to be mentioned that there are still many people in Iran who believe that Khomeini hasn't died, and that one day he will come back.

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