



Reconcilable Differences. Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflict

Sean Byrne and Cynthia L. Irvin (eds.)

Kumarian Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 1565491092 \$55.00

PBK: ISBN: 1565491084 \$24.95

pp. 240 (including: illustrations & index)

As the title of this volume suggests, its editors and contributors take a decidedly more positive perspective on the possibility to resolve violent ethnic conflict than could be expected if one simply follows the daily news of civil war and destruction around the globe. But then, this book is much more than a merely journalistic account of events. It combines both theoretical analyses of the causes and context of ethnic conflicts with the study of real-world cases and the success and failure of various attempts to resolve them.

Byrne and Irvin have joined forces with thirteen other authors that approach the subject from very different disciplinary and methodological angles, including political science and international relations perspectives as well as those of sociology, psychology, and geography. This makes for an interesting mix and contributes to a much-needed integration of an emerging discipline of ethnic conflict studies that cannot do without the input from disciplines across the social sciences and humanities.

Part one of the book examines causes of, and theoretical approaches to, ethnopolitical conflicts. It begins with a chapter by John Agnew on the geopolitical context of such conflicts. Looking at three distinct periods: 1815-1875, 1875-1945, and 1945-1990 before examining ethnic conflicts in the context of the 'new world order' after 1990, Agnew argues that rather than being rooted in ancient hatreds, ethnic conflicts are as much a function of 'the relative position of territorial states and empires and the identity of dominant states' (p. 18). This is, in a way, one of the foundational arguments of the volume as it makes possible a view that takes ethnic conflict not as an inevitable given of human relations, but rather as something that occurs in specific circumstances. Even though one might like to disagree with Agnew's proposition that 'globalisation and fragmentation are opposite sides of the same coin that has produced the upwelling of ethnopolitical conflict of the past twenty years' (p. 21), one can only reasonably expect to do something about ethnic conflicts if their causes can be influenced and conditions be created in which they are less likely to erupt.

John Nagle, Frederick Pearson, and Mark Suprun take this as a starting point for their analysis of American conflict resolution efforts in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In a convincing examination of the social and political settings of ethnic conflict in this region (except for the contention that ethnic German from Central and Eastern Europe are 'immediately entitled to German citizenship', which they have not been since 1993), they argue that 'when positing solutions to ethnic tensions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, one must realise that the fundamental associational characteristic is the group.' Thus, even though it may not always seem democratic from a western perspective, 'political negotiations must be aimed at group accommodation' (p. 37).

In the final chapter of part one, Neal Crater and Sean Byrne examine the dynamics of social cubism exemplified by two short case studies of Northern Ireland and Quebec. The central problem with this perspective is that, while it allows ample space for the analysis of the interplay between psychological and material factors, it does not seem to allow for the consideration of the international context, which is crucial in both cases, particularly for the understanding of the Northern Irish peace process of the 1990s. Thus, the



comparative examination of Northern Ireland and Quebec remains unsatisfactory, neglecting the role of France in Quebec, and of the US and Irish diaspora and of the EU in Northern Ireland. This is rather unfortunate, especially because the case of Northern Ireland would have lent itself extremely well to an argument about how 'turning points' can be created and used by domestic and international actors in their efforts to resolve longstanding conflicts.

As a whole, part one of the book also misses a more comprehensive definition of what ethnic (ethnopolitical, ethnoterritorial?) conflicts really are. This is all the more problematic as the book is obviously intended, at least in part, as a textbook, indicated by the selection of study questions at the end of each chapter. Perhaps a somewhat longer introductory chapter would have been useful, as this could also have included a broader overview of different theories of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Part two combines three different approaches to conflict resolution – basic needs, constructive storytelling, and identity politics. Kathleen Cavanaugh and Brian Polkinghorn use the basic needs approach in their respective chapters to explain the nature of protracted social and environmental resource conflicts. Using the case of Northern Ireland (Cavanaugh), and the US, South Africa, Bosnia and Israel (Polkinghorn) to substantiate their arguments, both authors provide important insights into the role of basic human needs in conflict processes.

Polkinghorn's chapter is also well connected to Jessica Senehi's examination of storytelling as a tool for community and peace-building. While Polkinghorn gives some vivid examples of how claims making and storytelling are closely linked and instrumental in attempts to shape outsiders' views of a particular environmental conflict in southern US and their perception of who is right and wrong and how the conflict can be solved (pp. 89-91). Senehi takes things further by assessing the usefulness of storytelling as a technique in peace-building. She contends that 'understanding the role of storytelling in peace-building is significant for facilitating cultural spaces where people can participate in defining their communities, voicing their experience, healing from past conflict, and shaping their future.' (p. 97) As Senehi demonstrates, completely in line with the underlying argument of the entire volume, stories 'can be a means of *reformulating cultural notions in order to comment critically and persuasively on community life*' (p.103, my emphasis), but she also recognises that the value and effectiveness of stories is constrained by the ideological, economic, and power factors of the context in which they are told (p. 110).

These constraints are also recognised by Ho-Won Jeong who looks at the limits and opportunities of peace-building in identity driven ethnopolitical conflicts in the final chapter of part two. Because ethnic identities are 'constructed externally as well as internally', and are therefore dependent upon the very constraints that Senehi has identified, Jeong argues that 'one of the most important elements in peace-building ... is the creation of a new political process which securitises *new* identities without threats to others.' (p. 123, my emphasis)

The final part of the volume looks at strategies and techniques in conflict resolution and reduction. Using a range of different cases, the authors examine the virtues and failures of constitutional design (Zagar on Yugoslavia), development strategies (McCall and Duncan on South Africa), supraregional integration (Dixon on [Northern] Ireland), and negotiation (Irvin on the IRA and ETA). This is a particularly worthwhile venture because it forcefully and convincingly, although only implicitly, drives home an important point: there is no universally applicable model of conflict resolution. As much as a particular

approach may work in one case, it can be counter-productive or ineffective in a different conflict (e.g., IRA-ETA) or in the same conflict at a different time (e.g., Yugoslavia). Thus, the only criticism, similar to my criticism of part one, is that a concluding chapter is missing from part three, and, for that matter, from the book as a whole. Especially its use as a textbook is hampered without a summary of the important findings, of which there are no doubt many in this collection of valuable essays. Having said that, however, the volume as a whole is a sincere and successful effort to put together multiple perspectives on the causes, dynamics, and consequences of ethnic conflicts and the ways in which they can be resolved. As such it deserves a wide academic and professional readership.

Stefan Wolff, University of Bath, UK

Macedonia: The Politics of Identity and Difference

Jane K. Cowan (ed.)

Pluto Press, 2001

PBK: ISBN: 0 7453 1589 5 £13.99

HBK: ISBN: 0 7453 1594 1 £45.00

pp. 184 (including: index, bibliography)

The publication of this collection has several factors in its favour, not least of all its timeliness. Reading it amidst the recent alarming reports from the Kosovo-Tetovo border, underscored for me all the more clearly the need to develop a framework for theorizing identities 'on the ground'. This micro-level approach is in my opinion the most precise tool social anthropology has at its disposal, and in this sense, the volume could be taken as a demonstration of the good use that can be made of it. One of the most important points made in the introduction to the volume is the need for identity theory to move beyond the 'mosaic' metaphor in describing Balkan identities (pp. 8-9), for such approaches reproduce essentialist conceptualisations of cultures. Indeed, made almost a century after Brailsford's 'Macedonia', this comment marks a turning point in both the theory and the ethnography of the area.

The volume is highly readable and makes for a good reference on Greece, Macedonia, minority identity and political anthropology (especially of the Balkans). The introduction, as well as a good number of the chapters, treat 'identity' in a refreshing way. They problematise situations and concepts that are otherwise taken for granted—multiculturalism would be a good example, where its Ottoman and contemporary European versions are examined by Agelopoulos, while Schwartz and Danforth provide instances of the latter kind solidifying 'ethnic' identities in ways they never were 'in the Balkans'. The chapters seem to fall into three sections, each analysing Macedonian identity in different geographical locations: northern Greece (on which the majority of contributions focus), the Republic of Macedonia, and diasporic centers—a division that actually highlights the need for similar work on 'Pirin Macedonia' (in western Bulgaria). As regards emphasis on identity components, there is almost a consensus in looking at Macedonian identity in its 'ethnic' sense.

Agelopoulos' closing chapter is in fact the only paper discussing Macedonian identity in its 'geographical' sense. This mere proposition might have set the rest of the volume rather uncomfortably on its quest to problematise the salience of 'ethnic' identities, were it not for the emphasis in other chapters on how the independence of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has affected Macedonian 'ethnicity' in very disparate ways. In his astute distinctions between the 'multiculturalism' of the Ottoman millet



system, the 'sanitised' version of Greek European 'multicultural' discourse (from which immigrants are largely absent) and the 'messy' situation of immigration-based 'multiculturalism', Agelopoulos seems to imply a re-consideration of the concept as well as those of 'cosmopolitanism' and 'pluralism'.

Van Boeschoten's chapter (in a rather sociological vein) is a good introduction to the aforementioned 'ethnic' Macedonian identity in Greece, with valuable data and important insights. Showing how Slavic-speakers have become a marginalised group in Greece since the arrival of refugees from Asia Minor in 1923, this chapter shows how linguistic difference may eventually gain the salience of 'ethnicity' in answer to Karakasidou's work on how such differences have been overshadowed in the process of Greek nation-building. Indeed, while the latter's absence from this volume is quite surprising, Boeschoten's comparison underscores the differential ways in which Macedonian 'ethnicity' has manifested itself in Greece over the last century (a point, however, which might be better served by a more sharply defined concept of 'difference'). Vereni's chapter brings out exactly this complexity, in a brilliant analysis of the uncertainty of identity. While concentrating on serious engagement with one informant, Vereni provides concrete evidence for the limitations of 'mosaic' models. In a very sensitive but lucid analysis, the chapter tries to unpack the concept of '*Ellin Makedonas*' [Macedonian Greek] through the interweaving of ancient, local and personal histories—the 'Greater' and 'Lesser', as the author calls them—and manages to do it splendidly.

Michailidis' contribution focuses more on 'Greater' history, even if this is that of the losers. This is a good top-down analysis of a historical discourse moving from a position of inferiority to one of hegemony. Danforth and Schwartz work almost along parallel lines in analysing respectively how Florina region immigrants to Australia become 'ethnic' Macedonians or Greeks and how immigrants from Macedonia become 'ethnic' Macedonians, Albanians, or Turks in Denmark. Yet, they both provide food for thought on very different issues: Danforth through his comments on individuals who prefer 'not to talk' about their identity and Schwarz on the implications of 'action research'—i.e., anthropological engagement with community politics. Brown's is another contribution that takes the discussion of Macedonian identity beyond the limits of Greece, by discussing the symbolic significance of the much-debated Vergina star/Macedonian sun within the context of cultural accommodation in the Republic and then giving an enlightening analysis of Macedonian minority politics. His parallelism between Kosovo and western Macedonia is alarming indeed, even if it is at points not helped by rather generalising and thus vague phrases like '[Albanian] willful withdrawal from the public realm, with the aim of destabilising the republic' (p. 131).

In sum, I found this a very accessible collection that can be put to good use by area experts as well as students introduced to the subject for the first time.

References

Brailsford, H., 1906, *Macedonia, Its Races and their Future*, London, Methuen Press
Karakasidou, A., 1997, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*, Chicago, Chicago University Press

Olga Demetriou, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

A Farewell to Arms? From 'Long War' to Long Peace in Northern Ireland

Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke & Fiona Stephen (eds.)

Manchester University Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 0719057965 £45.00

PBK: ISBN: 0719057973 £16.99

pp. xx + 360 (including: glossary & abbreviations, index & appendices)

This very wide-ranging and impressive series of essays, with twenty chapters analysing particular aspects of the 'peace process' in Northern Ireland, constitutes a significant addition to the rapidly-growing 'post-Belfast Agreement' literature. The editors have assembled many of the key academics working on Northern Ireland within political science in the UK and Ireland, but have also included contributions from some of the protagonists themselves (notably, chapters from Martin Mansergh, adviser on Northern Ireland to successive Prime Ministers from the Republic of Ireland, and SDLP Minister for Higher Education in the new Northern Ireland Executive, Sean Farren, as well as adviser to the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, Kate Fearon, and Brice Dickson, recently appointed as Chief Commissioner for the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission).

The contributions are grouped in five thematic sections, exploring the context of the 'peace process', the evolution of party political responses to the developing negotiations leading to eventual settlement, problems associated with implementing the Agreement reached in April 1998, socio-economic facets of the 'post-conflict' environment, and international and comparative dimensions of the Northern Irish situation. The effort devoted to this final section is one of the original features of this collection, and the editors are unapologetic regarding their belief in the utility of such approaches: 'No doubt there will be those who will think that eight chapters on the international and comparative dimensions of the peace process is something of a luxury. We disagree strongly, indeed would insist that only by bringing in the wider world can we really begin to make sense of the Irish peace process.' (p. xv) This objective is laudable, and there are several thought-provoking attempts to situate recent developments in Northern Ireland within a wider British-Irish (Paul Gillespie) or regional European (Elizabeth Meehan, Francesco Letamendia and John Loughlin), or even global framework (Fred Halliday, Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke). However, for at least some readers, particularly those without a thorough knowledge of the historical backdrop to the conflict, it will be necessary to supplement this volume with more specific contextual material.

Although the editors, and several contributors, make a strong case for 'international contextualisation of the Irish case' (p. 275), this formulation masks some unspoken assumptions concerning the appropriate locus of study. For example, whilst the editors rightly insist upon bringing the conflict and peace process into wider comparative focus, they also risk narrowing the prism by referring regularly to 'the Irish peace process' and 'the Irish Question' (pp. 2-3) as the apparently unproblematic site of the book's analysis. Aside from the unacknowledged origin of the former term in the Republican movement's strategic vocabulary, this description risks presenting a *fait accompli* to the reader. Arguably, a British/Irish isles framework would represent a less parochial, and more apt starting point, for an understanding of the series of complex historical relations across these islands, of which the present Northern Ireland conflict forms only one dimension.

One further illustration should reinforce the point: the editors ask in their introduction whether the signing of the Belfast Agreement means we can 'now talk of an end to one particular phase in Irish history and the opening up of another one? ... A few years ago this [majorities in both Northern Ireland and the Republic in favour of the final settlement concluded in the Agreement] would have been inconceivable: whether it marks a "closure" to the Irish Question or merely another way of asking it, we shall have



to wait and see.' (p. 6) Returning to this theme in their conclusion, the editors argue that, although the survival of the Agreement is by no means assured, 'What can safely be concluded, nevertheless, is that the success of the Agreement presents the only foreseeable alternative to Irish unity which is capable of bringing about the closure of the Irish Question.' (p. 296) It is certainly possible to doubt whether Irish unity, even if this could be engineered as a realistic alternative, through demographic change, international pressure or British exasperation, would result in the kind of "closure" postulated here.

Taken together, in so far as such a disparate yet balanced series of essays can be judged collectively, these contributions form a very significant resource for students of the conflict, and the peace process, in Northern Ireland. They also provide a sometimes contentious comparative framework for understanding the contemporary evolution of this polity. The inclusion of detailed appendices, reproducing critical documents from across the decade of the peace process, is also another important advantage of this volume. Many of the chapters deserve considered reviews of their own, and it is extremely difficult to choose particular highlights. However, at the risk of directing readers towards this reviewer's own particular areas of interest, Arthur Aughey's lucid and prescient account of unionist responses to the Agreement certainly sheds significant light on what has become perhaps the defining issue for the future of the Agreement: can a majority within unionism be persuaded that the Irish republican movement is genuinely committed to pursue its politics only by democratic, non-violent means, even if the medium-term outcome of such politics does not result in Irish unity? Another chapter that especially engaged this reviewer was Mike Morrissey's survey of Northern Ireland's economic performance and prospects, which showed that despite some narrowing of the gap between GDP per capita in Northern Ireland and for the UK as a whole during the 1990s (p. 136), the 'diseconomies of division' generated by the long conflict still require urgent attention.

For relatively experienced students of recent political developments in Northern Ireland, this volume provides a number of fresh and thought-provoking analyses, and will prove a useful resource during what may well be turbulent times ahead. "Closure", however, remains some way off.

Stephen Hopkins, University of Leicester, UK

Political Participation and Ethnic Minorities: Chinese Overseas in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the United States

Amy L. Freedman

Routledge, 2000,

HBK: ISBN 0415924456 £45.00

PBK: ISBN 0415924464 £12.99

pp. xvi + 231 (including notes, bibliography and index)

Amy Freedman's comparative study of the ethnic Chinese citizens in Malaysia, Indonesia and the United States seeks to examine the following questions: (1) when or under what conditions do Chinese become politically active in their adopted countries?; (2) does political influence flow from group participation?; and (3) do communal organizations and their leaders play a role in determining the nature and scope of participation?. Freedman's starting point is that levels of political participation for Chinese overseas do not seem to correlate with their socio-economic standing. Freedman's hypothesis is that Chinese communities participate in politics 'through the mobilization efforts of

community leaders when there are political, economic and social incentives to do so' (p. 14).

In looking at her case studies, Freedman focuses on examining the political institutions that shape political participation. She argues that conventional understanding of the themes of acculturation (i.e., the adoption of the local language, the indigenization of names, adaptation of cultural practices etc), socioeconomic status, ethnic or cultural approaches (that the identity of the Chinese is of utmost importance in understanding their role in the political process) are inadequate. Instead, Freedman proffers an emphasis on institutional approach, along the lines of 'new institutionalism', in support of her thesis that ethnic Chinese political participation is dependent upon 'political opportunity structures' facilitating such a process. This, in turn, hinges on whether 'the costs of doing nothing are higher than the costs of participation' (p. 42).

Ultimately, Freedman's answers to the questions are not surprising; in fact, one could reasonably argue that they are self-evident. Chinese become politically active in their adopted countries 'when there is direct mobilization by elites for electoral purposes'. Even here, Freedman's empirical evidence is somewhat unconvincing and overstates the impact of the electoral process in Indonesia and the United States (viz. Monterey Park in California and New York). The stark reality is that the ethnic Chinese there do not affect national politics in any significant way given their small numbers. Since Chinese-Malaysians comprise about 28 per cent of the population, they still exert some measure of political influence and this was amply demonstrated in the 1999 general elections when the Malay vote was split. Yet, the gradual but sure decline in the Chinese-Malaysian population can only mean declining influence.

Freedman's answer to the question whether political influence flows from group participation reveals the criticality of open political systems in ensuring that the minority groups are not marginalised. In Indonesia, the Suharto regime conjured the tragic lie of the ethnic Chinese as 'internal outsiders' who relied greatly on rapacious tie-ups with the indigenous political elites to make their wealth at the expense of impoverishing the indigenous majority. This, coupled with the flight of ethnic Chinese during hard times, is viewed as an act of disloyalty. Yet this belies the fact that there are many less well-off ethnic Chinese who remain behind and bear the brunt of ethno-violence. In this regard, the political and economic elites have compromised the security of the ethnic Chinese community.

To her third question, Freedman demonstrates that communal organizations and their leaders do play a role in determining the nature and scope of participation. She suggests that business groups are better at gaining political influence while social service agencies are better at community mobilization. Here, a more nuanced approach here would have provided for better analysis. The gaining of political influence as a result of socioeconomic power has more often than not led to very sinister intentions being read into the political script in all three countries. This was played out to disastrous effect in the lead-up and aftermath of the fall of Indonesia's Suharto. In Malaysia and Indonesia, the Chinese have a tendency to participate politically at the informal level, essentially using their wealth to barter for political influence and economic privileges. However, this informal politics only serves to reinforce the marginality and mistrust of the citizen-Chinese vis-à-vis the dominant ethnic groups.

The reviewer found certain labels that Freedman uses as problematic, contributing to the common misperceptions that plague ethnic Chinese living outside China. For instance, in describing Malaysia, Indonesia and the United States as 'adopted countries' and the ethnic Chinese in these countries as 'diasporic Chinese', Freedman appears to ignore that



the majority of the ethnic Chinese in these countries were born and bred in those countries and have been citizens since birth. To liken the Chinese as a diaspora only serves to liken them, inappropriately, to the Jews and this is a loaded image in Southeast Asia, where Islamic resurgence is still a dominant political reality. In discussing Chinese exclusion in the United States, Freedman also ignores the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) as well as miscegenation laws. Independent Malaysia and Indonesia never had such laws but yet their ethnic Chinese communities seem to be more politically emasculated (and perhaps increasingly economically threatened) than the Chinese-Americans today. The American case study points strongly to democracy, the rule of law, coalition-building and the political will to recognize the rights of the minority ethnic Chinese as institutional measures that would help reduce the mutual distrust and encourage better inter-ethnic understanding.

While this work provides a succinct overview of the state of affairs for the ethnic Chinese in three countries with differing levels of economic and political development, it, unfortunately, does not help us decipher the myth and persisting image of the citizen-Chinese in all three countries as 'internal outsiders' and 'economic animals' of varying degrees. Citizenship is but a symbolic representation of belonging – more form than substance.

The issue of the ethnic Chinese supposed economic dominance and dubious loyalty in much of Southeast Asia continues to flag the need for a more definitive study. Freedman does not adequately, and rather belatedly, deal with the role of the ethnic Chinese political and economic elites and the threat perception of China in the affecting the political participation of the ethnic Chinese. Freedman's work highlights that the study of ethnic politics could potentially benefit from a political economy approach – one that examines the role of state and para-statal institutions and their politico-economic interactions with an economically influential ethnic minority. The ensuing feedback on state-society relations will also be helpful in furthering our understanding of low-level ethnic conflict.

Eugene Kheng Boon Tan, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Reaping the Whirlwind: The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan

Michael Griffin

Pluto, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0745312748 £19.99

pp. 285 (including: index & references)

This is a welcome addition to the parsimonious literature available on contemporary Afghanistan and on the Taliban in particular. Michael Griffin explores in the form of an *'aide memoire'* the rise of the Taliban, a movement that remarkably swiftly acquired men, weapons, a plan and funding. In roughly 200 pages Griffin takes us through vignettes of the conflict, vividly evoking the actors (the faction leaders, the foreign states, the international organisations and the Western oil companies) and the issues (such as opium, oil and gas, smuggling and terrorism). The book is deliberately not chronological, emphasising how cause and effect in this often neglected country cannot be neatly compartmentalised. As such, Griffin remains true to his aim that the book, although 'plotted as a whodunnit', does not offer answers.

The book's chapters are each devoted to a different event, character or issue surrounding the Taliban's emergence and advance. It opens with the graphic picture of

former President Mohammad Najibullah and his brother, Shahpur Ahmadzai, strung up by their necks from an elevated traffic island outside the presidential palace in Kabul. As Griffin writes, the picture, transmitted around the world on 28 September 1996, sealed perceptions of the Taliban for the ensuing years. The book succeeds in contextualising this picture, but without offering an apology for the Taliban. The first four chapters are devoted to the internal dynamics of the Taliban challenge. Since the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989 and the surprising survival of the caretaker government until 1992, the period until 1996 was marked by the corruption, chaos and bitter fighting of the various parties comprising the Cold-War *mujahedin* resistance. Griffin proceeds to portray: the Taliban's unstoppable march to Kabul; the Taliban's enigmatic one-eyed mullah, Mohammad Omar (seven years after the movement was founded, writes Griffin, the Mullah's physical features are unknown outside of his southern base, the town of Kandahar); the Taliban creed (which, Griffin maintains, is not about restoring pre-communist tradition but is its very own cultural revolution); the divisive temperament of Pashtun society (Afghanistan's largest ethnic group and the world's largest tribal community); and the exiled royal Zahir Shah as a possible post-*mujahedin* option (mainly because Afghan kings and khans' legitimacy depend(ed) primarily on descent, but with the problem that Shah 'was that rarest of Afghan phenomena, a reluctant ruler' [p.88]).

The internal and external power nexus is inseparable in the ensuing twelve chapters. The key players remain Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the US and Russia, with India, Iran, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan now also involved. With the Soviet invasion Jimmy Carter approved the clandestine supply of ammunition to what would evolve into the *mujahedin* resistance, using as a facilitator Pakistan's General Zia and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Of the seven parties identified and ultimately funded by the ISI, the only non-Pashtun group was *Jamiat-i Islami*, led by the Tajiks Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud (Tajiks comprised some 25 per cent of the population). The US-Pakistan alliance effectively ended with the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the US courting Pakistan's key rival, India. Nevertheless, Griffin explains how both the US and Pakistan (backed by Saudi Arabia) have a stake in the emergence of the Sunni Taliban. Pakistan remains interested in an Islamabad-friendly, Pashtun-dominated government, with Iran convinced that the Taliban is a US sponsored movement designed to diminish Tehran's influence in the country's Farsi-speaking regions. The old and new players are also involved by virtue of the country's commodities and lawlessness: the possible extraction and transportation of oil and particularly natural gas (while a trans-Afghan pipeline was mooted in the mid-1990s, Russia strove to maintain its monopoly on pipeline routes); opium (by 1994 Afghanistan had become the world's largest producer); and its use as an asylum or training ground for terrorists (in particular Osama bin-Ladin).

Overall, the Taliban's image abroad, dialogue with the international aid and human rights community and non-recognition by the United Nations, have been shaped by its reactionary gender policies. These have entailed a ban on the employment of women (except in the health sector) and formal female education and severe restrictions on the male and female dress code and the movement of women outside their homes. These policies have further fuelled the West's replacement of the communist threat with that of an oversimplified menace of 'fundamentalist Islam'. Interpreting their rise, Griffin comments that the Taliban were not another *mujahedin* tribe who fought for food or money; their disciplined forces appeared united in their fight against corruption and this "'Robin Hood" quality would never vanish from the movement's legend' (pp. 35-6). Warns Griffin: 'Afghan history had shown time and again that a government without external links is a government without a future' (p. 84).



The book is densely packed, with events and leaders reappearing in different issues as the story unfolds. The narrative might have been aided by a detailed ethnic map of Afghanistan and a glossary of terms. Those expecting a thematic and tidy account of the Taliban will be disconcerted; those interested in an interpretation of the complexity of the movement will, however, not be disappointed.

Sally N. Cummings, University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

European Foreign Policy: Key Documents

Christopher Hill and Karen E. Smith (eds.)

Routledge (in association with the Secretariat of the European Parliament), 2000

HBK: ISBN 0415158222 £70.00

PBK: ISBN 0415158230 £20.99

pp. 512

European Foreign Policy provides the most comprehensive collection of primary documents on post-1945 European foreign policy cooperation, in particular the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and its predecessor European Political Cooperation (EPC), published to date. Many of the documents published here, particularly the earlier ones, are not easily available, whether in printed form or on the internet. This book is therefore a valuable addition to bookshelves and libraries for anyone concerned with European foreign, security and defence policy issues. It will be a handy reference tool for academics and a useful means of directing students to primary documents.

At nearly five hundred pages, the book includes a wide range of documents—and all the most important ones—on EC/EU foreign policy. These are organised into a series of sections covering: the historical development of EC/EU foreign policy; the institutional mechanisms established for foreign policy cooperation within the EC/EU; the Western European Union and European defence cooperation; and major policy areas, including East-West relations during the Cold War, relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe since then, the Middle East, the war in the former Yugoslavia and Europe's global role (in particular in Africa and Asia). Useful and succinct introductory commentaries to the various sections and the major individual documents provide key background information to readers who may not be aware of the circumstances that gave rise to particular developments. The preface includes an excellent brief bibliography directing readers to other key documentary and analytical works. Some related NATO and Conference on/Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE) documents are also included. While one can always find additional documents that might perhaps have been included in a volume of this nature, it is clear that only the limitations of space—and publisher's patience—prevented the inclusion of further documents in this case.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with the growth of the internet, it is surprising and disappointing that a volume of this nature is both necessary and valuable. NATO, the WEU and the OSCE have all long completed the task of putting virtually all their publicly available current and historical documents on the internet. While the same can be said for contemporary EU documents, the historical, pre-1990s material is not available on the EU website. As the compilers of this volume point out in their preface, anyone seeking the original Treaty of Rome—as distinct from the current version of the Treaty on European Union—needs to look elsewhere, for example the Tufts University's website in the United States! Following the Irish public's rejection of the Treaty of Nice,

and the widely mooted sense of disconnection between the people's of Europe and what ought to be their Union, there is much discussion of improving transparency and the availability of information on the EU. Hopefully this volume will not need to be reprinted!

Andrew Cottey, University College Cork, Republic of Ireland, and University of Bradford, United Kingdom

Reflections on Humanitarian Action: Principles, Ethics and Contradictions

Humanitarian Studies Unit (ed.)

Pluto Press, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0745317278 £ 45.00 \$69.95

PBK: ISBN: 074531726X £ 14.99 \$23.95

pp. 203 (including: index, notes, list of abbreviations)

Reflections on Humanitarian Action is a collection of eight essays and a very comprehensive introduction that aims to give an overview of issues surrounding the use of humanitarian action from ethical considerations to practical evaluations. As with all collections of essays it is somewhat hit and miss. However, as a taster of the issues involved and an introduction to themes and authors previously unread, this particular collection proves to be a very worthy read.

Adam Roberts introduces the volume by giving his views of the evolution to prominence of humanitarian principles in international politics, taking in an overview of International Humanitarian Law and humanitarian action. He looks at elements of humanitarian action new to the 1990's and singles out six specific UN-related changes which are illustrative of the significantly different approach of international society, closing with a discussion of the NATO action in Kosovo. There is also a discussion of impartiality, accountability and the issue of universal obligation. Of particular interest though was the section in which he touched briefly on the elevation of humanitarian issues to the fore in international politics. He associates this rise with the media, multilateral decision-making, state interests and the use of humanitarianism as an alternative to political ideology in the post-Cold War vacuum. This part of the essay is only covered in three of the thirty-one pages, but was easily deserving of much more attention.

Joana Abrrisketa's essay aims to evaluate a legal basis for the right to humanitarian aid. Unfortunately the majority of the essay is taken up with definitions, a history, listing and discussion of the relevant Geneva protocols and UN resolutions and thus the actual question of the right to aid was relegated to a two page conclusion. Although much of the ground work and the legal basis for the right was outlined throughout the essay it would have benefited the reader to have brought the argument forward and integrated it more with the discussion of the facts. Xabier Etxeberria looks at the ethical principles of humanitarian action in relation to the 'NGO Code' and provides a useful discussion of ethical conflict inherent in it.

In one of the better essays in the collection Francisco Rey covers the difficulties caused by the recent proliferation of humanitarian actors and attempts made by the UN, EU, OECD, IMRCRC and NGOs themselves, to coordinate. In a discussion of numerous initiatives and proposals Rey highlights the potential for mixed motives, confusion and the squandering of resources that the surge in actors has brought to the international arena. Most interesting of all was the essay by David Sogge on the need respect the views of victims in humanitarian action. As this was an area unfamiliar to me I found his argument on relief operations causing dependency, or even interdependency for victims



and actors, fascinating. He highlights the lack of coverage of these issues in literature and discusses the various perspectives relating to it. He discusses the position and attitudes of actors along the 'aid chain' and highlights the dominance of the 'myth of dependency'. He alludes to a number of texts on this subject and on the perverse outcomes of aid operations, and makes the wishes and opinions of the recipients an area the reader will wish to explore further.

The essay by Joanne Raisin and Alexander Ramsbotham provides more questions than answers as it aims to outline 'a conceptual framework of humanitarian intervention' by focusing on relief and development activities within humanitarian interventions. However, it goes on to focus in some depth on neutrality in operations—particularly Somalia, and humanitarian outcomes and objectives in humanitarian intervention, having earlier chosen to avoid giving a definition of humanitarian ideals by which a reader could share in their interpretation. This presumption that the humanitarianism that they subscribe to should be self-evident, forces the reader to do much of the work to make the connections to which they allude. Having said that, it raises relevant questions on the issue of long-term development in complex political emergencies.

Mariano Aguirre provides a refreshingly different account of the media's impact on humanitarian action by arguing that the media is not as powerful in such situations as is often supposed, nor are we better informed by the increase in media attention to emergencies and conflicts. The essay then moves on to argue that despite this there should be recognition of the responsibility of the media in their coverage of such crises, directly and indirectly. Mariano advocates increased training and awareness, especially for editors, on the influence they wield. Where the media can play a role in conflict prevention, giving victims a voice and in affecting the delicate balance of democracy, there needs to be a continuous policy of acting responsibly for when the images have faded from the screens.

The final chapter is a harrowing account of where a humanitarian action failed. The chronicle of the activities of Operation Lifeline Sudan in the village of Ajiep in Sudan is a sobering read but illustrates the lack of efficiency and organisation and coherence on the ground. It raises serious questions for the future in terms of the flawed evaluation of the organisation, as much as for the failures of the action itself. Altogether this was an interesting collection with a good balance of theory and practice essays. For anyone interested in this area, it provides an insight into some of the most prominent issues and literature in the field.

Susan Godfrey, University of Aberdeen, UK

The Multiculturalism of Fear

Jacob T. Levy

Oxford University Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 0198297122 £19.99

pp. 278

In *The Multiculturalism of Fear*, Jacob T. Levy puts forward a normative political and social theory of multiculturalism that is concerned with 'mitigating the recurrent dangers such as state violence toward cultural minorities, inter-ethnic warfare, and intra-communal attacks on those who try to alter or leave their cultural communities'. (p. 12) Inspired by Montesquieu and, more particularly, by the late Judith Shklar's 'Liberalism of Fear', Levy's theory emphasises the avoidance of cruelty, humiliation and political

violence in a world where ethnic pluralism is a fact of life. Thus, his account differs from other theories of multiculturalism, such as Charles Taylor's multiculturalism of recognition and Will Kymlicka's multiculturalism of rights which argue for the preservation of ethnic identities, or those theorists who advocate the transcendence of ethnic and cultural identities. It also seeks to differentiate itself from the multiculturalism debate in American politics and education.

The book is divided into three parts: The first two parts cover the theoretical groundwork while the third part applies the normative theory to a variety of policy problems that multiethnic states are faced with. Part I outlines the multiculturalism of fear and explains why it is preferable to consociational pluralism and the multiculturalisms of recognition and rights. Part II continues to advance the multiculturalism of fear by querying the premises of theorists of moderate, liberal, and universalistic nationalism that all ascribe moral value to loyalty to, and the preservation of, nations or cultural communities. Levy takes issue with the idea that culture is a collective good because its adherents have nothing to say about the potential evils that may arise from ethnic pluralism.

Having extensively laid out and differentiated his multiculturalism of fear, in part III Levy introduces a way of categorising cultural rights-claims and, by applying his scheme to policies of accommodating ethnic pluralism, shows how his theory can be used. Levy's classification consists of eight, inductively derived categories of cultural rights-claims: (1) Exemptions, (2) Assistance, (3) Self-government, (4) External rules, (5) Internal rules, (6) Recognition/Enforcement, (7) Representation, and (8) Symbolic claims. As he points out, the value of his typology lies in its usefulness and not in capturing the totality of all potential claims. It seeks to be empirically plausible rather than universally applicable.

In the final three chapters of the book, Levy makes the case for a multiculturalism of fear by examining the ways in which the indigenous law of the minority can be incorporated into the dominant legal system (chapter 6), how nationalist or indigenous conceptions of land can be accommodated within a liberal society (chapter 7), and how disputes over symbolic issues should be dealt with (chapter 8).

Concerning the accommodation of indigenous law on such issues as land, family, and punishment, Levy distinguishes three modes of incorporation: common law, customary law, and self government. From the perspective of his multiculturalism of fear, it is important to make this distinction because 'the failure to do so has often been unfairly disadvantageous to indigenous peoples'. (p. 175) While he does not seek to recommend one mode of incorporation over another, having discussed all three Levy sees that common law is the most advantageous for indigenous minorities from the point of view of a multiculturalism of fear. In his view, '[c]ustomary incorporation without a commonly accessible civil law is dangerous to members of the indigenous community' while '[t]erritorial models of ethnocultural self-government are systematically prone to conflicts over borders and the local minorities problem'. (pp. 193-4) Therefore, what is needed 'is a framework of legal recognition, a common law for mediating between the conflicting laws, which steers a middle course between the imposition of a single cultural model and the impossible quest for cultural autarky'. (p. 196)

In chapter 7, Levy discusses how territorial claims by indigenous minorities can be accommodated, a question to which existing theorists of multiculturalism, by departing from culture posited as a public good, have not provided satisfactory answers. Levy begins by recalling how land has been conceptualised by theorists of nationalism and liberalism, both of which he finds inadequate if not dangerous for a multiculturalism of fear. The nationalist view of land as place derives sovereignty over a particular piece of



land from inalienable ownership of a particular nation thus hampering mobility. In contrast, liberals separate sovereignty and ownership over land on the basis that it is tradable and divisible property thus opening the door for dispossession of seemingly uncultivated land. As neither outcome is desirable from a multiculturalism of fear's point of view, Levy proposes kinds of ownership under a common law of exchange that accommodate liberal concerns of mobility and indigenous fears of suppression by, e.g., including provisions for both individual and collective ownership and excluding a provision for permanent inalienability.

In the final chapter, Levy deals with symbolic ethnocultural disputes over how the state names groups or places or what historical figures are honoured with public buildings named after them etc. He considers four approaches to problems of ethnic symbolism: (1) The state may speak and use symbols freely, (2) The state may not speak, (3) The state must recognise each cultural community on its own terms, and (4) The state must exercise prudence. Examining the symbolic aspects of specific issues such as official languages, slavery, and official apologies for past wrongs or injustices, Levy advises that the minimum standard of symbolic politics should be non-humiliation. 'If a state cannot affirm each group on its own terms, it can at least refrain from symbolically humiliating any of them.' (p. 234)

Levy's book offers many interesting ideas about how to deal with the enormous challenges ethnocultural pluralism throws forth in most states. It deserves a wide readership beyond political theory, and should also be studied by international relations scholars, conflict researchers and practitioners, policy-makers, and diplomats.

Susanne M. Baier-Allen, Center for European Integration Studies, Bonn

Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain

Shamit Saggar

Manchester University Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 0719059879 £40.00

pp. xv + 268

Ever since ethnic political mobilization became a major concern for advanced democracies during the 1970s, considerable efforts have been devoted to understanding its mainsprings, as well as its political consequences. Nevertheless, while there has been much empirical work conducted on the topic in Australia, Canada and the United States, Britain has remained something of an anomaly. Despite the presence of three million voters in Britain of ethnic minority descent (defined as south Asian, African and Caribbean), comparatively little work has systematically examined how they behave politically. This book seeks to redress this gap in our knowledge.

The absence of systematic empirical research can be traced to the comparative numerical weakness of minority groups in Britain, their geographical dispersion across the country combined with the first past the post electoral system, low levels of turnout, and fragmentation within and between the groups themselves. Not least, the major political parties have, for the most part, been reluctant to make explicit political appeals to the ethnic minorities, while the ethnic minorities themselves have been unwilling to mobilize outside the established party system. Britain has hardly been unique in this, but it is clear that the ethnic minorities there face greater institutional barriers to representation than their counterparts in, say, Australia or Canada.

The analyses in the book are based on an ethnic oversample of the 1997 British Election Study survey. This enables the author to examine patterns of political behaviour in the context of an election, comparing those patterns with those of the dominant white majority. Perhaps surprisingly, this is the first major academic survey of political opinions among non-whites in Britain; previous studies have had to rely on census data or on commercial polls, with their attendant methodological and substantive drawbacks.

The central question is whether ethnic political behaviour mirrors the political behaviour of whites, suggesting political integration, or whether it differs, suggesting the persistence of ethnic loyalties. This is investigated from a variety of perspectives. Examining the issues that motivate ethnic minorities, the conclusion, based on the survey data, is that there is a 'remarkable degree of similarity between ethnic minority and white voting agendas, save for limited differences on a handful of issues' (p. 38). Party strategies provide an interesting backdrop to this, so that, despite the apparent 'colour blindness' of the major parties, three quarters of ethnic minority voters regularly vote Labour, and only a small minority Conservative. Subsequent chapters develop these themes in detail, by examining electoral participation, party choice and political attitudes.

Throughout, Asians emerge as politically distinctive in a number of ways. First, they display high levels of electoral participation 'that match and possibly exceed those of the white majority group' (p. 117). Their participation is considerably higher than that of their black counterparts, and they tend to hold political attitudes that are distinctive as well. Second, of all of the ethnic groups, they are most likely to vote for the Conservatives, although the exact reasons for this are difficult to tease out of the data because of small sample sizes. One possibility is their greater commitment to democratic norms (by way of democracy in their homelands) and a consequently greater political maturity. Overall, these results suggest a strong pattern of ethnic kinship among Asians, which will make them an important political force in the future.

The conclusion of the study is that Britain's ethnic minorities are firmly on the road to political integration with the white majority, most notably in terms of electoral participation. But inevitably there are caveats, especially with regard to how particular socioeconomic factors like education influence political behaviour and outlooks; while the ethnic groups are motivated by socioeconomic interests in their voting, the relative weight of particular factors in the overall equation varies.

Overall, this is a path-breaking study of ethnic politics in Britain, which blends theory and analysis to provide important insights into current patterns, as well as predictions about future developments. It is likely to remain the standard work on the topic for some time to come.

Ian McAllister, The Australian National University, Australia



The New International Relations: Theory and Practice

Marie-Claude Smouts (ed.)

Hurst and Company (in association with Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris) Translated from the French by Jonathan Derrick

HBK: ISBN 0850654328 £40.00

PBK: ISBN 0850654336 £16.50

pp. x +226 (including index)

The American dominance of the academic study of international relations might be a little overstated in a world where researchers from various locations have made significant contributions to our understanding of the structure and dynamics of global politics. Furthermore, the return to normative theory has reintroduced students to classical continental writers such as Rousseau and Kant and has paved the way for a stronger engagement with the 'continental' philosophies of critical theory and postmodernism. Indeed, the publication of this volume can be seen as part of a new willingness to engage with non-American traditions. Yet there is no doubting that the era of US predominance of international politics has coincided with an Americo-centrism in its academic study, and this bias might be especially obvious from a French perspective. The editor's introduction certainly reveals an antipathy to a perceived US supremacy. She complains that until recently 'interdisciplinary debates have flourished at a rate commensurate with the whims of the American superpower, echoed by fashions and career orientations on its university campuses', resulting in a series of 'lifeless' academic debates that have 'never much interested French scholars' (p. 6). This collection of fifteen essays by writers associated with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales in Paris clearly wants to reinvigorate the discipline. One of its main aims is to explore new directions that may be challenging the very idea of a separate academic subject called international relations. The book is divided into three parts, each containing a set of short essays that aim to identify and assess the most significant contributions in this area.

Part 1, entitled 'The Misadventures of the Westphalian Model', is composed of critical surveys by analysts who challenge the realist, state-centred approach. Badie explores the conceptualization of the state and condemns the universalism inherent in the realist approach. Decolonization, he points out, appeared to consolidate the spread of the sovereign state, but post-colonial politics have demonstrated the weaknesses of imported models of political organization. Dieckhoff and Jaffrelot, in a chapter on the nation-state and post-nationalism, explore the challenges posed to territorial integrity by nationalism and self-determination with special reference to globalization and the EU. The focus on the 'strange animal' (p. 55) that is the EU is sustained in a chapter by Lequesne. He surveys the theoretical literature about this organization in terms of a shift from intergovernmentalism, to a multi-level polity, to a model of governance for the contemporary world based on fluid decision making, diffused power and networks of action. Cohen examines decision-making analysis and comes down in favour of the concept of 'bounded rationality'. In the final chapter in this section, Smouts looks at international cooperation in terms of an evolution from coexistence to world governance and a 'new multilateralism'. This may seem at odds with the emphasis in other chapters on the dominance of the US, but Smouts, drawing on the work of Cox, wants to use the term not as a statement about present realities but as a critical challenge to the current structure of world order.

Part two examines some new visions of international relations. Postel-Vinay examines the spatial transformation of the world and draws on the 'new geography' to emphasise the fluid, interactive nature of boundaries once thought of as permanent. Laïdi believes that political analysis can be enriched by the problematic of time, and is interested in

particular in the concept of world time. Colonomos focuses on the sociology of networks, whilst the diffusion of ideas is discussed by Santiso, with special reference to democratization. Coussy is concerned with how the study of International Political Economy will be changed by new themes and debates caused by globalization. Part three focuses more directly on conflict. The three chapters here by Salamé, Bigo and Le Gloannec, all focus on common themes: the impact of the end of bipolarity and the emergence of the US as the only superpower; the consequences of globalization; the changing nature of warfare and the decline of conventional interstate wars; and the competing narratives about global order and disorder.

There is very little in this volume on ethno-political conflict. The rather flimsy index has no entry for ethnicity and only one for nationalism. Of course, many of the themes of the book touch on these areas, including: the impact of globalization and the importance of international networks; the reconceptualization of the state; and the multiplicity of actors in global society. However, their significance for ethnic conflict is not addressed in any systematic way, and ethnicity really only appears in the chapters by Dieckhoff and Jaffrelot, Salamé and Bigo. In the latter, the emphasis on the decline of both territoriality and nationalism works against a proper understanding. In the other two, the discussion lasts for no more than a few paragraphs.

As its central concerns appear to be fairly universal in contemporary research, in what ways does this collection live up to its promise of something new? If there is a distinctive voice it appears to be a willingness to ask fundamental questions rather than engage in what Kuhn termed 'normal science'. One consequence of this is a bias towards theoretical rather than empirical enquiry. There is also a greater openness to the integration of international relations with political and social theory. The 'sociological imagination' is especially strong, and Smouts argues that the 'object of international relations studies is the way in which global space is structured on the basis of networks and social interaction' (p. 2). There is also a pervading sense that the academic study of international relations is in crisis. Thus, the conclusion by Hassner declares that 'it is impossible to talk about international relations theory and its crisis without referring to the crisis of the world order and of political philosophy' (p. 213). For these reasons this is a valuable book which makes contemporary French approaches accessible to a wider audience. It should appeal to students and teachers receptive to challenging questions about their subject.

Stephen Ryan, University of Ulster, United Kingdom

Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Dzemaal Sokolovic and Florian Bieber, eds.

Ashgate Publishing, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0754614859 \$69.95 £39.95

pp. 207 + x, (including bibliography)

In the six years since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia-Herzegovina has largely vanished from the consciousness of the West. What remains of the constant wartime coverage of siege and massacre is little more than a sporadic handful of stories about corruption in Sarajevo or political obstruction by the Republika Srpska. Dzemaal Sokolovic and Florian Bieber's *Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina* is a valuable reminder of what the West seems to have forgotten—that ending the war may have ended three years of slaughter but did not end Bosnia's problems. The Bosnian war was a challenge to the West's political and military will, and



social and economic reconstruction, within a context of ethnic fragmentation and physical devastation, is a challenge to the West's usual vision of democracy.

Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies grew out of 1998 and 1999 seminars on 'Democracy and Human Rights in Multi-Ethnic Societies' held inside Bosnia by the Institute for Strengthening Democracy in the 'open' city (open to returning refugees of all ethnic groups) of Konjic. The issue at Konjic was both the viability of multiethnic states and the difficulties of 'institutionalizing diversity', of reconciling ethnic diversity with democratic procedures. Sokolovic and Bieber concentrate here on the question of how Western liberal visions of democracy can be adapted to multiethnic states rather than on the concrete work of reconstruction, and of the dozen authors included in this collection, only two—Dusan Babic, writing on the role of the press in post-war Bosnia, and Margaret Vandiver, writing on the return of Muslim refugees to the Serb-held town of Kozarac—are chiefly concerned with events on the ground. The articles assembled in *Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies* focus on Bosnia-Herzegovina largely as a backdrop to more conceptual issues.

The two key articles here—Thomas William Simon's 'The Injustice of Procedural Democracy' and Daniel Kofman's 'Self-determination in a Multiethnic State: Bosnians, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs'—form the heart of the book. Simon makes the too-often forgotten point that, where politics is divided along stable ethnic lines, a purely procedural democracy does nothing to overcome the exclusion of ethnic minorities and can operate to legitimize exclusion. The standard American assumption that democracy is about procedures and not some given set of results breaks down where majorities are fixed groups and not transient combinations of interests. Where permanent ethnic majorities exist, a minority can only acquiesce in its status or seek to break up the state. Simon provides a sharp critique of such usual variants of procedural democracy as proportional representation, arguing that proportional representation need not increase the representation of the most-disadvantaged groups and can increase the power of small, intransigent, often anti-democratic parties. For multiethnic states, Simon argues that non-majoritarian procedures such as selection by lot and requirements for consensus may serve the interests of democracy more than either plurality voting or proportional representation. Daniel Kofman deftly discusses the limits of the right of self-determination, arguing that pre-war Bosnia-Herzegovina enjoyed a right of secession from the old Yugoslav federation, but that no such right can be assumed for the ethnic groups of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Kofman's view, territorial groups with a distinct historical and cultural identity would enjoy a protective right of secession; where such groups inhabit longstanding administrative or constitutional units, the principle of *uti possidetis* would allow a seceding group to keep its borders intact. Remnants of former majority groups—Anglophones in Quebec, Russians in the Baltic states, Serbs in Bosnia—would have a full claim to individual and cultural rights, but would enjoy no recursive right of secession from the new state. For Kofman, rebuilding Bosnia as a democratic state involves strengthening the unitary features of the republic, building acceptance of the legitimacy of the republic as a whole as well as guaranteeing the rights of Serbs and Croats. Self-determination, Kofman stresses, need not be an excuse for endless fragmentation.

Two other articles discuss constitutional and electoral systems for promoting reconciliation. Richard Lewis looks at the 1993 Belgian constitution, with its division of power between regions and 'communities', as a possible source of mechanisms for building political consensus within divided societies. Peter Emerson provides an introduction to the idea of 'quota Borda' voting, allowing individual voters to divide a given number of 'points' among a list of candidates—a system used in the 1780s by the French Academy of Sciences and currently used by some US corporations to elect board

members. Both articles are concerned with the need to find electoral and constitutional systems that can force voters toward a politics of consensus. Yet while Lewis recognizes that relative affluence has been key in creating a spirit of tolerance and compromise in Belgian politics, neither author gives sufficient weight to economic reconstruction as a political factor or to the wartime hatreds that have made ethnic parties continuing political havens and survival tools for Bosnian communities.

Sokolovic and Bieber have produced a collection that identifies the conceptual problems of applying Western liberal ideas of democracy to multiethnic societies—the problem of ‘permanent majorities’, the need to define and limit the ambiguous concept of self-determination, and the problem of finding ways for minority groups to achieve meaningful representation without disintegrating states. The articles by Simon and Kofman provide clear statements of the issues involved in creating multiethnic democracy, and Lewis and Emerson have raised the possibilities of alternative electoral systems. One might wish that two other articles—Ariyoshi Ogawa on the role of NGOs in establishing postwar civil society and Fionnuala ni Aolain’s excellent analysis of the effects of the Dayton Peace Accords on re-creating a legal system for Bosnia-Herzegovina—had been expanded, since the role of ‘outside’ forces (NATO, the EU, the UN) is too often neglected by other authors in the collection. The role of Bosnia as a Western protectorate is alluded to, but the problem of reconstruction from ‘outside’ and ‘above’ needs to be both elaborated and directly addressed.

Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies reminds readers that the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina did not vanish with the end of the war. The imposition of peace may have made democracy possible, Sokolovic and Bieber point out, but ‘democracy’ must be adapted to the needs of fractured societies. The Konjic participants take as a given that a world of fragmented mono-ethnic states is unacceptable both as a threat to peace and as a rejection of humane values. The articles here represent a realization that ethnic politics are a challenge to conventional visions of democracy and that any search for ways to build consensus within divided states will require a re-thinking of both electoral mechanics and the nature of communities. *Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies* is the first volume of a proposed series of Konjic seminar presentations. One hopes that the thoughtful conceptual essays here will be followed by essays on the concrete situation in Bosnia and the application of theoretical analysis to Kosovo and Macedonia.

Lohr E. Miller, Louisiana State University, USA

The Issue of Political Ethnicity in Africa

Emmanuel Ike Udogu (ed.)

Ashgate, 2001

HBK 0 7546 15561 £39.95

pp. 216 (including selected bibliography & index)

In African studies of the past two decades, the focus in the study of ethnicity has been put on ethnic group identities, which were seen as contemporary inventions, totally void of substance and to be filled with any marker their bearers desire. This focus now slowly gives way to the notion that they do have some substance after all, and that identity formation is less important than questions about the workings of ethnicity. The works of Anthony Smith and Donald Horowitz, the latter long-time ignored by Africanists, have gained ground. The present volume, edited by Udogu, is an example of this development. The thinking of both Smith and Horowitz is largely present in most contributions, although some of the proposed analyses are set in a rather outdated



ideological framework. The bundle contains five theoretical and generalising chapters (Udogu, Kalu, Ihonvbere, Ejobowah and Soyinka-Airewele) and three case studies: on Nigeria (Vaughan), Kenya (Wafula Okumu) and Sierra Leone (Zack-Williams).

A refreshing element of the work presented, is that none of the contributors seem to be afraid to rethink and use terminology previously discarded as politically incorrect. As Soyinka-Airewele remarks, 'for the African intellectual, it would appear that the starting point in the study and negotiation of multi-ethnic politics must be the abandonment of rigid positions and counterproductive assumptions regarding ethnicity' (p. 179). A position that should hold not only for African scholars, but for all scholars. In his contribution on ethnicity and theory in African politics, Udogu argues that, given the definition of 'tribe', the word could and will be used by him as synonymous with 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity'. He is followed in this use of 'tribe' by Wafula Okumu writing on Kenya, despite the connotations of savagery and primitivism attached to the term. These connotations are analysed in Soyinka-Airewele's contribution, which shows that the term 'tribe' is still reserved for African contexts in a negatively stereotyped imagery. However, the idea put forward by Udogu that scholarly terminology and the social political processes they describe should be disconnected from their public and political load might open an interesting debate on the clarity of terminology that is sometimes still lacking in ethnic studies.

All contributors take the existence of ethnic groups and identities as given. Their focus is entirely on the question how ethnicity and ethnic identities work in a contemporary African political field, more specifically, on the relationship between the state and ethnicity. Kalu dedicates his contribution to concepts of statehood and their applicability in Africa. Ihonvbere explains the attraction of ethnicity as a reaction to the irrelevance of the state in Africa and the political domination of the state in the Gramscian meaning of the term. The three case studies presented on Nigeria, Kenya and Sierra Leone all focus on the interaction between state and ethnic politics. Vaughan shows how in Nigeria ethnic politics on state level undermined the 1993 elections and attempts to install democracy on the one hand, and how, on the other hand, ethnic mobilisation in civil society can work in favour of state-reviving impulses of democracy. Wafula Okumu takes an entirely state-centred perspective on how in Kenya the nation-state has been conceptualised, constructed and undermined by ethnic politics. Zack-Williams shows how in Sierra Leone the state could be monopolised by a coalition of ethnic minorities (notably the Limba) through the creation of an ethnic association, the Ekutay, that served as a nexus of power. Finally, Ejobowah focuses on the applicability of various models of intrastate ethnic conflict-reduction in Africa.

The book provides a comprehensive overview of variations in state-ethnic interaction; ethnic groups monopolising the state, the centrifugal and cohesive powers of ethnic organisation, the ethnization of multi-party democracy, intra-ethnic conflicts and coalition forming, ethnization of politics through a political elite and the making of political elites through ethnic organisation, the attempted elimination of ethnic dangers by the state and, vice versa, the attempted elimination of the state by ethnic groups. All these subjects are dealt with, thus giving insight into the complexity of ethnicity as politics.

In their discussions of these relations, the contributors as a whole take a rather double stance. On the one hand, the pertinent question is raised whether ethnicity is problematic per se for state functioning in Africa. From Ejobowah's discussion of conflict-reduction strategies, for example, it becomes clear that the problems of most African states lie not so much in the workings of ethnicity in politics, as in the refusal of those groups in power to moderate their political and economic appetite in consociational co-

operation with other political factions. Something that was already made clear in Bayart's influential works on 'the politics of the belly' (Bayart, 1986; 1993, Bayart, Ellis & Hibou, 1999). On the other hand, all contributions in this bundle make clear, or at least their authors seem to have the perception, that ethnic politics are indeed problematic and threatening to the all-important state.

Unfortunately, the exclusively state-centred focus prevents the authors from engaging with some of the most important ethnic phenomena in contemporary African society. The workings of inter-ethnic politics outside the orbit of the state, or the functioning of ethnic politics in transnational settings (diasporas, ethnic groups in border areas, etc.) are totally excluded. This is a serious omission, especially since some of the most poignant problems in present-day Africa—ranging from illicit trade networks to the war ravaging the Democratic Republic of Congo—can only be studied from a broader perspective than that allowed by the authors. The question how far ethnic politics can or cannot provide a working alternative to an absent state, a question of some importance in large regions of various African states, remains outside the scope of the present work.

References

- Bayart, J.-F., 1986, 'Civil society in Africa', in Chabal, P., ed., *Political domination in Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
 Bayart, J.-F., 1993, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Essex, Addison Wesley Longman Limited
 Bayart, J.-F., Ellis, B. and Hibou, B., 1999, *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*, Oxford, James Currey

Baz Lecocq, Amsterdam School for Social Science Studies, Netherlands

Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy

Paddy Woodworth

Cork University Press, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 1859182763 £19.95 €25.50

pp. 470

Sex, murder, blackmail, kidnapping, and corruption, crimes that seem to come straight from a television soap opera. Sadly, the events that this book describes in great detail involve gruesome attacks, murder and kidnapping conducted by mercenaries hired by Spanish security forces under the auspices of the Interior Ministry and calling themselves the Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (known by their acronym, GAL). Between 1983 and 1987, the GAL killed 27 persons, including 10 persons with no connection to the Basque terrorist group, ETA, the GAL's supposed target.

This book provides the first serious attempt to provide an up to date account, in English, of one of the darkest episodes of recent Spanish democracy through the eyes of a journalist who has spent extended periods of time in Spain and more specifically, in the Basque Country. The book starts off with a personal anecdote, namely, the author's experience of sharing a flat in the months following the death of General Franco with Julián Sancristóbal, Civil Governor of the Basque province of Vizcaya (1982-4) who was later to play a key role in the Socialist government's dirty war against suspected ETA terrorists. In the chapters that follow, the book tries to break through the minefield that is Basque nationalism to provide a well-researched and carefully balanced account of the Spanish government's dirty war against the Basques. Most of the GAL's activities were



conducted in the French Basque Country and at the time that Felipe González's PSOE party came to power in 1982, the south of France continued to be a sanctuary for members of ETA. In the final part, the book describes in full detail the media and judicial investigations that led to the conviction of various former PSOE officials including José Barrionuevo, former Interior Minister under former prime minister Felipe González's administration, for involvement in GAL activities.

The main problem with the book is its organisation. Although it does attempt to stick to a chronological sequence of events, chapters seem to backtrack all the time so that in the middle of a particular chapter the reader is sometimes confused by an erratic chronology of events. In addition, many seemingly unimportant events or quotes are unnecessarily repeated throughout the text, e.g., former deputy prime minister Alfonso Guerra's remark that he 'had the impression that these are people who want to prove their worthiness to join the GAL, but do not belong to that organisation' (pp. 108 and 188) or former French interior minister Charles Pasqua's infamous quote that 'democracy ends where the interests of the state begin' (pp. 319 and 410).

The book also seems to suffer slightly from a tendency to be overly evocative or impressionistic. It is difficult not to allow emotions to get in the way when discussing many of the horrific acts committed by the Spanish security forces against suspected ETA members. Nevertheless, the author's highly sympathetic view of the Basque problem at times obscures the objectivity of the narrative. He refers to prime minister José María Aznar's 'extraordinary sangfroid' (p. 267) following a failed assassination attempt by ETA on his life and refers to Herri Batasuna leader Santiago Brouard's 'remarkable character' (p. 127). Other anecdotes included seem to be petty and unnecessary, most notably when the author brings up the 'sexual insufficiency' of one of the GAL's key figures (p. 202) or describes yet another of the GAL's key players as possessing 'cold reptilian features' (p. 365). In other instances, the author's language and metaphors are overstated, e.g. 'the only questions now was how far the disease had spread and whether Spain's democratic structures could survive further diagnosis, let alone endure whatever surgery might be necessary to cure the body politic' (p. 276). Finally, a more serious flaw of the book is the author's tendency to oversimplify matters, e.g., attributing the rise of revolutionary terrorism to individuals' moral complexity and ambiguity. In another example of oversimplification, the author ignores the very visible divisions in Basque society between separatist and non-separatist factions as well as among those supporting or rejecting violence as a means towards independence.

Despite its organisational flaws, the book does provide an excellent analysis, from a non-academic point of view, of several fundamental questions in the study of both Basque nationalism and political terrorism. First, the author provides a thorough examination of how the issue of combating political terrorism fits into Spain's *Estado de Derecho*, roughly translated as 'rule of law', upon which its 1978 Constitution is based. González's quote, 'the rule of law is defended in the courts, and in the salons, but also in the sewers', sums up the essence of much of what this book is both questioning, that is the lengths to which a democratic state will go to combat terrorism without endangering its own democratic credentials. Second and less successfully, the author attempts to demonstrate that the Spanish public was complicit in the dirty war fought against ETA until the more gruesome details were revealed through the Spanish courts and media in the mid 1990s. Third, the author attempts to describe how relations between the French and Spanish governments over the issue of fighting terrorism were crucial in the development of the GAL. Thus, the book aggressively pursues the question of whether the GAL actions were intended to persuade the French government to pursue stronger collaborative measures and to change French public opinion of viewing ETA members as terrorists rather than as political refugees.

Finally and most importantly, the author argues that the dirty war fought against ETA, far from suppressing radical Basque nationalism, in fact fanned the flames of suspicion and hate of many Basque nationalists who perhaps previously might have been reluctant to support ETA against the Spanish state. To this end, the book is a thorough piece of investigative journalism into how the GAL came to pose a serious question mark on the success of the Spanish transition to democracy and makes a critical empirical contribution to a better understanding of this still ongoing political tragedy in Spain and the Basque Country.

Elisa Roller, University of Manchester, UK
