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#### Book reviews

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## Book Reviews

### **Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India**

Sanjib Baruah

New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2005, 275 pp., ISBN 0195669819

India's 'Seven Sisters'—the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura in the far northeast of the country—deserve much more international and academic attention than they have hitherto received. To both Indian and foreign observers the region is a place apart, lacking many of the generally accepted characteristics associated with the rest of India. A densely hilly frontier area, its people are more likely to be Southeast Asian in appearance, Tibeto-Burman or Mon-Khmer in speech, 'tribal' by lifestyle and Christian or indigenous by belief than they are to look South Asian, to be Indo-European-speaking or Hindu. Demographically, the Seven Sisters hold just 3.8% of the population of India but 24.2% of its so-called 'animists', 22.1% of its Christians, 6.9% of its Muslims but only 2.8% of its Hindus. Indeed, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya all have Christian majorities. Socially, closeness to Burma and the Golden Triangle of opium production has meant widespread heroin addiction in Manipur. Politically, the region is more prone than any other in India to reorganization (being subdivided into new states four times since the 1960s) and is host to a bewildering number of armed ethno-linguistic separatist groups—a speciality of the northeast. Internationally, swathes of Arunachal Pradesh are claimed by China.

Alas for the reader, the extremely illustrative statistics come from Mushiral Hasan's *Legacy of a Divided Nation* (1997)—the other details originate with this reviewer—and none of them are included in *Durable Disorder*, a collection of republished articles which the author claims as "an invitation to think about the region's political troubles outside the hackneyed paradigm of 'insurgency'" (p. viii). This is an admirable and ambitious aim which, if it had been more than only partially successful, might have greatly advanced general knowledge and understanding of a region which, for one reason or another (large parts of the area well away from the frontier are restricted military zones), remains shut off from outside curiosity. Despite advertising itself on the dust-jacket as "of interest to students, researchers and scholars in politics and history, journalists, policy makers, defence analysts, and the informed lay reader", *Durable Disorder* as a whole is recommendable only to those with some preliminary knowledge of the history, ethno-linguistic composition, geography and geopolitics of northeast India. Only three chapters of 10—relating to overviews of military rule in the area, to the coalescence of a 'Naga nation', and to the inherent contradiction between local ethnic homelands for scheduled tribes and pan-Indian civic nationalism—can be read without prior acquaintance of the northeast. In particular, Baruah's discussion of Assamese nationalist groups in two chapters requires more than a basic understanding of the realities of the area, and a hardy tolerance of acronyms.

As is often the case with such compilations, the chapters of *Durable Disorder* vary in quality and usefulness, making for a distinctly uneven read. The author's determination to present a broad anthology covering the politics, sociologies and histories of the different peoples and conflicts of northeast India left this reviewer feeling that the subtitle—with its emphasis on politics—misrepresents the book. Similarly, the haphazard order of the chapters—which veer from enthralling histories to dense theoretical discussions without any clear rationale in an apparently random selection process—is both illogical and unhelpful. Perhaps the most self-defeating and frustrating aspect of a book intended to provide insight into a hitherto largely unknown region is the disappointing lack of any maps to show districts, localities and the domains of ethnic groups described in the text. This reviewer would strongly advise that such maps be inserted in the event of *Durable Disorder* attaining a second edition. Likewise, a few tables detailing census data on the size of ethno-linguistic groups in each of the Seven Sisters are sorely needed.

The one redeeming feature of *Durable Disorder* is its indisputably unique contribution to academic knowledge of the Naga nation. Baruah provides a thorough yet concise explanation of the coalescence of a self-acknowledging Naga nation from many unrelated (indeed, in some cases previously antagonistic) hill groups. This Naga nation is not united by language, culture or religion, but, as Baruah diligently explains, is made one only by the sentiment of belonging to a greater ethnicity divided by both the internal borders of the northeast and by the international frontier between India and Burma. (For European readers, one suggests, the closest analogy would be the multilingual, cross-border unity of the Kurds, also of heterogeneous origin.) In itself this background to Naga militancies would be enough to commend the book to libraries, yet Baruah goes one further and skilfully contrasts the development of Naga ethnic assertiveness with the civic nationalism of the Manipuris, who have long felt threatened by Naga claims. To great effect, Baruah succeeds in presenting objectively the histories, aims and present contentions of both the Nagas and Manipuris in one very worthwhile chapter, thereby underlining the two peoples' fateful symbiosis. Furthermore, as the chapter in question is easily the most readable in the book, the author produces an insightful and invaluable resource highly recommended to those in academia and outside who wish to acquaint themselves with what must be one of the world's least understood conflicts.

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## Reference

Hasan, M. (1997) *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence* (London: Hurst and Company).

## **Facing the Past Facing the Future: Confronting Ethnicity and Conflict in Bosnia and Former Yugoslavia**

Florian Bieber & Carsten Wieland (Eds)

Ravenna, Longo Editore, 2005, 169 pp., ISBN 88-8063-464-X

Carsten Wieland opens this slim volume with an argument against the persistence of ethnicity in the construction of group identity. On the cases of India and Bosnia he elaborates

on the mixed theoretical approach to ethnicity: ethnic groups are essentially groups of people with the same religious beliefs sharing the same myths, symbols, language, customs and external rule. While this may be a workable theoretical framework, Wieland contradicts himself. He warns against succumbing to ethno-national demands for an independent state because ethnic political mobilization results in the deepening of political cleavages along ethno-national lines. Yet he also claims that ethno-national cleavages disappear after the establishment of the ethno-national state. Wieland's 'ideologically thin' concept of ethnicity would thus seem to lose its meaning even to the members of ethnic minorities in such a state or, more concretely, to the survivors of the war's victims. Wieland sees a way out of ethnicity's quagmire, however: moving politics onto the European Union's supranational level.

In the meantime Bosnians must deal with the war's impact. The issue of dealing with the past resonates in the first part of the book. A conclusion surfaces that for Bosnia to reach catharsis the issues of guilt and responsibility for the war's atrocities must be resolved. Eric D. Gordy establishes the conceptual and real-life differences between guilt and responsibility: while the former is a legal term applying to individuals who have committed crimes, the latter is a social and moral concept. The acceptance of both, however, may help process the uncomfortable past and create "a culture of responsibility" that would obliterate the air of passivity and powerlessness. The crucial problem remains how to demarcate the past. Senada Šelo Šabić uses her comparison of the post-war state building in Germany and Bosnia to demonstrate that the lack of a clear break with the past through a clearly defined starting point for reconstruction—"Zero Hour"—has contributed to Bosnia's slow progress. Unlike in post-World War II Germany, international actors intervened in Bosnia as peace arbitrators among winnerless factions without understanding the conflict's causes, without having had their core interests at stake and without the determination to impose a radical change of rules. Instead, Bosnians were allowed to continue the conflict by peaceful means, encouraged by the political framework that helped cement ethnic cleavages, or even reinforce them, as Wieland argues. The semblance of the Zero Hour then developed only as a by-product of protectoral intervention.

How the past is perceived matters as well. Biljana Bijelić argues that the representations of Bosnia's citizens remain locked in the vestiges of the wartime rhetoric. Bijelić analyses two representational strategies that Westerner commentators and Balkan insiders applied to frame the conflict: 'normalization of violence', in which all warring sides were equally guilty because they followed their violent historical destiny; and 'eternal victimhood' of one noble side that had to defend itself against the savagery of others. Both approaches suggested the actors' victimhood to be the cultural predisposition to violence, which in turn enabled the responsibility and guilt for the violence to disappear under the veil of deterministic irrationality. If we acknowledge the role of the Western discourse in shaping Balkan identities that Bijelić documents, the view from the outside is bleak. In the book's second part, Chris O'Sullivan and Margaret Verdimer lament in their complementing chapters the ignorance of the US media and the American general public. O'Sullivan finds in his survey that the news media's portrayal of the Bosnian war in simplistic ancient-hatreds terms determined the American public's influence on inaction as US Balkan policy. The piece comes as a supplement to Bijelić's documentation of Balkan stereotypes in intellectuals' discourse but remains on the level of observation

contained in its title and lacks comparable analytical depth. By contrast, Verdimer summarizes various surveys of public knowledge of the issue and concludes that the lack of action by the USA resulted from the American public's lack of knowledge and disengagement from politics. A decade later, and with a different war in the news, it is hard to imagine Bosnia becoming familiar following the author's recommendations.

The final section of the book points at two principal issues that Bosnians have been dealing with since Dayton. David Chandler summarizes the international community's fight against corruption in Bosnia with the Office of the High Representative's Comprehensive Anti-Corruption Strategy. The strategy's first pillar, the public awareness campaign that aims to educate Bosnia's citizens about the costs of corruption, seems to have resulted in even lower levels of intra- and inter-ethnic trust. The second pillar, institution building through increasing restriction and bypassing of the country's institutions, has weakened the indigenous political processes and further discouraged public participation in politics. Chandler rightly concludes that such externally imposed solutions undermine the promotion of public interest through democratic negotiation and lead to the institutionalizations of societal cleavages. What is missing from the analysis is a suggestion that any credible anti-corruption campaign must not only deal with prevention but also with punishment. Consistently bringing corrupt officials to justice would help prove the resolve of the international community. Tying into the discussion of the extra-institutional nature of international intervention Florian Bieber discusses the basic features of Arend Lijphart's consociational model as they apply to Bosnia before and after the 2002 constitutional reform that ensured minority political representation in the two entities. Despite better representation, however, minority rights are upheld insufficiently: discrimination and segregation in education persist. Bieber's recommendation is to strengthen group rights, to establish citizenship as the marker of identity and, crucially, for the international community to reflect on its responsibility for distorting Bosnia's political processes while asking for change from within.

The alternating focus in the volume between the issues of ethnicity during the armed conflict and the practicalities of post-war reconstruction creates an impression that the contributions could have been used in two different books. It may, however, also serve as testimony to how difficult it will be to expunge the unprocessed past from the post-Dayton efforts to make Bosnia a viable multi-ethnic state. Until an ethos of individual accountability becomes established underneath the thicket of identity politics, economic reconstruction and democratic governance, Bosnia will continue to be at war with itself.

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### **Peace without Politics? Ten Years of International State-Building in Bosnia**

David Chandler (Ed.)

London, Routledge, 2005, 256 pp., 0415348226

Also published as Special Issue of *International Peacekeeping*, 12(3), 2005

There is little surprise that the 10-year anniversary of the Dayton peace agreement which ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) will be marked with numerous

conferences, seminars and publications, both looking back on the past decade and looking forward to BiH's uncertain, yet slowly emerging future. That David Chandler has collected and edited a volume of articles focusing on the role of the international community (IC) in BiH is also not surprising, as Chandler was the first person to publish a monograph on post-Dayton BiH. As a set of stand-alone articles in an academic journal, there are several points of interest that deserve note. However, when viewed as a book, this collection suffers from a weakness of many edited volumes in terms of the unevenness of the contributions, resulting in distracting stylistic differences and at times tenuously related themes.

Highlights of the collection include the piece by Sumantra Bose, whose assessment of the results of this "state of international design" is surprisingly positive in light of his generally more critical 2002 book *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. He concludes that, while the nature of the IC presence in BiH is deserving of reflection and constructive criticism, it has on balance done more good for BiH than harm, with the result that BiH society is better off because of it. His appreciation of the importance of the passage of time as a core element in a long-term solution is realistic. And, while his brief suggestion that the European Stability Initiative 2004 proposal to reorganize the country along 12 cantons is worthy of serious debate fails to appreciate the multifaceted political implications that would quickly ensure that this specific proposal would be dead on arrival, his general support for constitutional change is valid and reflects reality, as reform is now spoken of regularly as an inevitable task for the future.

Dominik Zaum, one of the few contributors with experience of working in BiH with the IC, provides an insider's technocratic look at one specific aspect of reform—economic reform and the transformation of the payment bureaus—to explain the delicate interplay between technical reform and political implementation processes. Florian Bieber compares two of BiH's most interesting and challenging cities—Mostar and Brčko—pointing to the relative successes of the 'Brčko model'. Richard Caplan provides some useful suggestions of ways to increase the accountability of the IC in BiH, while also giving some examples of successful 'Bosnianization' of government functions. The impact of internal accountability mechanisms (such as domestic think-tanks, etc.) will naturally increase and improve with time as the country continues to normalize. (For example, in June 2005 an independent BiH research group published a report entitled, *Arithmetic of Irresponsibility*, which examines the need for a functional transition of responsibilities from the IC to BiH authorities.) Caplan's research would benefit from consideration of the impact of individual nation-state agendas on the overall functioning of the IC, as this dynamic has an effect on every aspect of international community work, and in turn affects the accountability mechanisms available.

Roberto Belloni provides a focused case study on return in Prijedor, explaining that the success of return in this region was based primarily on the determination of Bosniak displaced persons, an activism that was facilitated by, though not dependent on, the IC. Gemma Collantes Celador looks at the role of police reform in terms of the goals of the overall post-war reconstruction process. This is an interesting topic, although the focus on the role of the UN International Police Task Force (IPTF) loses some relevance at a time of much more sweeping police reform talks that have called into question the broader issues of constitutional and state structure and organization.

Any volume on post-Dayton BiH would benefit from an analysis of the evolution and development of the country's political parties, for it is difficult to appreciate the actions of the much-analysed international community in a vacuum separate from the domestic political environment. The increasing splintering of the HDZ BiH,<sup>1</sup> and the power struggle between the SDS and SNSD<sup>2</sup> to define the future agenda for BiH's Serbs, have had definite effects on the process and pace of reforms, and, *inter alia*, on the actions (and reactions) of the international community. Chandler's underlying assumption that BiH has experienced 'peace without politics' cannot be strongly argued without such an examination.

Chandler's signature critical approach to the international intervention in BiH fails to provide a suitable link among these often optimistic and constructively critical contributions. His criticisms of even the plans for phasing BiH away from the era of the High Representative and into the era of EU membership negotiations seem to be more reflective of his ideological quarrel with the EU and with globalization more generally rather than based on a realistic prognosis for the country (and the region's) future. And his frustrated claims that the BiH public has been excluded from all these processes fails to appreciate either the extent of civil society work by domestic and international actors, or the depths of and reasons for voter apathy and disillusion—all highly critical elements. (V. P. Gagnon's recent book, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*, is very useful in explaining the wartime process of civic demobilization in the region.) A reader with experience on the ground in post-Dayton BiH would find it difficult to relate Chandler's arguments to the reality of BiH.

A review of the footnotes included in this volume reveals relatively few notations of interviews with the players involved (two notable exceptions being Celador's article on police reform and Fagan's piece on civil society), and a reliance on primary documents from the various noted international organizations or secondary academic/policy literature. A stronger balance of field research and local language sources would strengthen all the contributions, and the book as a whole.

These criticisms reflect the fact that this collection—like post-Dayton BiH—is an unfinished story. Ten years is a convenient time for reflection, but a completely random timeframe in terms of the long-term process of post-war reconstruction, rehabilitation and state building. One very positive trend that can be noted in the past few years is the emergence of an increasing number of young scholars from the region who have studied in universities throughout Europe and North America, and who can bring a dual-hatted perspective to their analysis of the region. The next 10 years will prove to be important both in terms of BiH's continued democratic consolidation, and in terms of the scholarship that will gradually emerge.

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## Notes

1. Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica BiH, or Croat Democratic Union, the leading Croat nationalist party.
2. Srpska Demokratska Stranka, or Serb Democratic Party, has been the leading Serb nationalist party. Stranka Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata, or Party of Independent Social Democrats, is a Serb party that has increasingly challenged the SDS.

**Nation-Building, Ethnicity and Language Politics in Transition Countries**

Farmiah Daftary &amp; François Grin (Eds)

Flensburg, European Centre for Minority Issues and Open Society Institute, 2003, 292 pp., ISBN 9639419583

Will Kymlicka and François Grin, two of the most prominent academics in the field of ethnicity and language politics, provide the initial contribution for this edited volume on language politics. They make a very interesting exploration of what they term the 'Achilles' heel' of liberal theory. Language issues can never be privatized. States must take decisions on the language(s) of the public space. "And whichever language is chosen will obviously fare much better than those languages which are not chosen and thereby relegated to private life" (p. 9). Kymlicka and Grin direct attention to the confusion that often arises between language politics and language policies. They argue that, while language policy addresses issues of implementation, language politics focus on the process whereby objectives are chosen. The difference between the two is hardly clear-cut but it sets a very interesting context for a book that explores language politics in transition countries.

The volume is divided into three sections and the first focuses on the ideology of nationalism in post-communist countries. In any nationalist context there is a sense of 'normality' about one language for the state. Minority languages are tolerated provided they accept a lesser status. Farmimah Daftary and Kinga Gál explore the context of language politics in Slovakia where minority rights and language rights have proven extremely sensitive issues in the early phases of state building. Priit Järve examines language policies in the three formerly Soviet Baltic states, which now form part of the European Union. The link between language and citizenship has proved a contentious issue in Estonian and Latvia in particular. However, Järve notes that citizens in these states are increasingly preoccupied with learning English, which may ultimately defuse tensions around former Russian language dominance. In a subsequent chapter on identities and language politics in Ukraine, Viktor Stepanenko explores attempts at revitalizing the Ukrainian language and reversing the Russification of the country. In particular he analyses difficulties arising between the official language policy in favour of Ukrainian and the practical reality of everyday life, where Russian is the primary language of communication.

Contributors in the second section of the book concentrate on titular language promotion and bilingualism in cases which have not received sufficient academic attention to date. Rouben Karapetyan looks at the development of Armenian language legislation and emphasizes the role of sociolinguistic and historic factors in the emergence of language legislation. This contribution emphasizes the significance of Armenian as a marker of identity for a small nation (especially after the genocide in 1915) and explains the significance of different issues in the debate over language legislation. A subsequent chapter on Tatarstan by Yagfar Garipov and Helen Faller considers the revival of the Tatar language in the context of integration into the Russian empire, while François Grin surveys language legislation in Kalmykia. The significance of Grin's case study lies in the highly original background of the Kalmyk people, who are the only Buddhist people indigenous to Europe. Grin suggests that, although this example is characterized by geographical remoteness and economic difficulties, policies adopted here may very well resemble others in Western Europe for languages such as Breton, Scottish Gaelic or Sardinian.

The final section of the book focuses on identity, differentiation and unification. Petra Roter explores the impact of the Slovenian language in uniting the Slovenian nation within the context of what she calls 'Slovenian smallness'. This chapter provides some very interesting insights into the relationship between language and citizenship in Slovenia. When the independence euphoria was over, the Slovenian population became increasingly unhappy with the Slovenian Citizenship Act. An opinion poll in 1990 favoured knowledge of Slovenian as a precondition of citizenship. In 1994 an amendment included much stricter language requirements as a condition for citizenship.

Evolving language politics also form the basis of a subsequent contribution by Carmen Kettley, which illustrates the sensitivity of minority language demands with the example of the Hungarian minority in post-communist Romania. Here it is considered 'normal' for ethnic Hungarians to speak Romanian when interacting with officials but there appears to be little consideration for the Hungarian language when dealing with public officials in situations where Hungarians form a distinct majority.

In the final chapter Ian F. Hancock tackles the crucial issue of the standardization of the Romani language. Hancock criticizes European nations which glorify their own history but deny any historical narratives to 'gypsies' whom they regard as a people "whose church was made of cheese and who steal (or wander) because they stole (or made) Christ's nails" (p. 274). The emergence of a common Romani language could potentially generate a sense of belonging to a common stateless nation that is scattered throughout Europe. The issue is hardly confined to the Romani language. Many contested languages in Western Europe such as Scots and Ulster-Scots are currently debating the pros and cons of a standardization process and the tensions arising in deciding which 'dialect' shall become the norm.

The main value of this book lies in the originality of the case-studies explored. Where there is an ever-increasing number of books on language policies and language politics in recent years, much of the focus of such work has remained on central and western Europe. This book directs our attention further eastwards and suggests that there are many case studies that are yet to be fruitfully explored in a discipline that has yet to receive full academic recognition.

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### **Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality, and Sovereignty in History**

Stanley Engerman & Jacob Metzer (Eds)

London, Routledge, 2004, 415 pp., ISBN 0415321263

Regimes have been planting settlers to militarily secure their borders and to overwhelm troublesome local populations since time immemorial but the democratic era adds a new dimension to the relationship between population composition and sovereign control. With the rise of democratic and nationalist ideologies in the 19th and 20th centuries claims to land were increasingly based on what kind of people lived where. When claims to territory are based on 'the will of the people' there are powerful new reasons to influence the ethnic composition of 'the people'.

Almost all the chapters in this collection show evidence of extensive original research and are of very high quality. The book illuminates the direct connections between

property, sovereignty and identity in a wide variety of case studies, which range from Hawaii, Germany, and the USA, to Finland, South Africa, Australia, Ireland, Lithuania, Argentina, sub-arctic Canada, sub-Saharan Africa and Sri Lanka, and across broad spans of the 19th and 20th centuries. These studies take land tenure and property regimes seriously and in so doing provide a new angle on several familiar situations of ethnic conflict.

In a chapter dealing directly with the intersection of property, ethnicity and sovereignty Scott Eddie analyses the Prussian Settlement Commission established in 1886 to buy land in eastern Prussia owned by ethnic Poles and to settle it with ethnic German farmers. In this scheme the link between sovereignty, ethnic identity and property ownership was explicit and transparent. German sovereignty would be bolstered and reinforced by purchasing and populating the land field by field and house by house with people whose ethno-national identity was aligned directly with the state. The Commission settled 150 000 Germans, focusing their efforts on areas where ethnic Germans were a large enough minority for targeted state action to change this to a majority. By settlement and purchase of individual plots of land the German state sought to bolster its sovereign control of, and claim to, the territory. In the wake of the first world war large chunks of these territories were granted to Poland because they had ethnic Polish majorities. In a realization of the fears which prompted the establishment of the commission, the ethnic balance within internal administrative boundaries ultimately became the basis for the redrawing of international boundaries.

In a chapter on Israel which focuses on the Jewish National Fund, established in 1901 to purchase land in Palestine with the direct aim of providing the basis for a sovereign Jewish state, Jacob Metzger, one of the editors, notes how the fund was directly inspired by the Prussian Settlement Commission. This had similarly emphasized both the purchase of land and its settlement as a basis for securing sovereign control. The way in which the phrase 'facts on the ground' is currently used to justify Israeli claims to sovereignty over areas settled in the West Bank since 1967 demonstrates how settlement schemes can still be used to secure sovereign control. The Israeli case illustrates the connections between ethnicity, land ownership and international borders in the starkest possible way but other chapters in this collection, particularly those on Sri Lanka, on Anatolia and on Lithuania illustrate how this connection can be present in less obvious ways. Samuel Huntington's 2004 *Foreign Affairs* article, 'The Hispanic challenge', arguing that Latino immigrants to the USA posed a direct threat to US identity because Mexico is contiguous with the USA and because immigrants are regionally concentrated along the Mexican border, provides a current US version of the German arguments on the 'Polish problem' of the 19th century and a reminder that the link between international borders and ethnic identity can take diverse forms.

There are a few weak chapters that might have been pruned but perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the collection is the failure to focus contributors more clearly on the intersection between land rights, ethno-nationality and sovereignty. The absence of a concluding chapter is emblematic of this failure to make the collection more coherent. All the chapters address the crucial intersection between ethnicity, property and sovereignty but several of them then address very specific economic issues located at this intersection, debates that relate primarily to economic questions around land markets and land uses rather than to land rights.

The editors note in the introduction that property and sovereignty are not the same but that they are related. While the book gives us valuable analyses of the way in which property and sovereignty are related in individual cases, it doesn't provide us with a systematic new analysis of that relationship, despite some discussion in the introduction. Nonetheless there is a lot of excellent work in the book and it is a valuable addition to the literature on the relationship between conflict, territory and ethno-national identity.

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### **Conflict and Security in the Former Soviet Union: The Role of the OSCE**

Maria Raquel Freire

Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003, 280 pp., ISBN 0754635260, £47.50

*Conflict and Security in the Former Soviet Union* provides an outline of the activities of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in post-Soviet space. The book opens with an introductory chapter which provides a theoretical elaboration of the concept of 'security' and the OSCE's role in the post-cold war security arena. Maria Raquel Freire advocates a broad understanding of both conflict and security, one which provides "an all-encompassing explanation of conflict situations, involving different political, economic, social, cultural or ethnic aspects" (p. 6). In doing so she joins other academics who argue for a reconsideration of the cold war concept of 'security' in accordance with the demands of a broader agenda. Where traditional security studies have been located within a realist tradition Freire argues for a more inclusive understanding which allows for the creation of a common inter-state security space (p. 8). This new approach to security, Freire argues, is not just an academic one, but is central to the multifaceted "integrative reasoning" (p.10) which underlies the OSCE's concept of security—in which state, collective and individual constitute important points of reference.

The rather weak opening chapter is followed by one which describes the OSCE's evolution. Freire focuses mainly on the organization's decision-making and executive bodies, structures and institutions. A concise outline of the military, economic and human dimensions of its activities is complemented with a very brief description of its mechanisms and resources. Freire shows the major problems involved in the organization's implementation processes, but this is a largely descriptive account and she does not provide a detailed assessment of the issues.

Chapter 3 seeks to explain the agenda of European security in the post-cold war period by focusing on the stabilizing impact of international involvement in the region. The investigation outlines both the interaction and competition between the United Nations, European Union, NATO, the Council of Europe and the OSCE in relation to the region, but fails to address the involvement of the local populace in the prevention and/or resolution of conflicts. On the basis of this investigation Freire concludes, correctly in this reviewer's opinion, that "the OSCE's relevance in the former Soviet Union is in part derived from the other organisations' weaknesses in the area" (p. 70).

Chapter 4 provides extended analyses of Russia's influence on stability in the post-Soviet space. Freire examines Russia's position within and toward the OSCE and it

relations with its neighbours. She makes it clear that the relationship between the post-Soviet states is highly imbalanced thanks to Russia's dominance of the region. Although she notes correctly that the Russian Federation clearly favoured the OSCE's efforts to reduce the role of NATO in the region (p. 99) she seems to overestimate the leverage of Russian foreign policy with regard to European involvement (cf. p. 101). Despite a clear argument on the role of the OSCE as a collective security framework in the Former Soviet Union, only an insufficient assessment is made of the organization's involvement in conflicts which are at variance with Russia's ambitions. Furthermore, Freire avoids discussing the OSCE's limitations on an institutional level and at the level of its field performance. Nor does she mention the organization's fears of nurturing Russia's feeling of exclusion. An examination of these crucial points would show the intertwinement of Russia's foreign and domestic policies more clearly and would be a useful means of attaining a deeper understanding as to why no greater cooperation on the part of Russia has been possible.

Chapter 5 provides a further elaboration of the triangular relationship between Russia, its neighbours and the OSCE, but this time focuses on the OSCE's activities in the region. This chapter disappoints in that it provides only fragmentary analyses of the organization's role in conflicts in Latvia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya and Tajikistan. The presentation of the events is partial and incomplete with regard to the OSCE's involvement, not to mention the role played by other international organizations.

The deficits of analysis are even more evident in the case studies provided in Chapters 6 (Estonia) and 7 (Moldova). In both cases insufficient account is given of each country's historical experience, sociopolitical and economic situation and ethno-cultural demographic composition. Consequently the reader's understanding of the major difficulties faced by the OSCE missions in conflict prevention (in Estonia) and crisis management (in Moldova) is significantly inhibited. A short assessment of the conflicting parties' official positions leaves descriptions of negotiations unclear, coercive instruments vaguely pictured and exact issues of confrontation inadequately discussed.

Despite the shortcomings of the case studies, Freire is very successful in her attempts to highlight the ways in which the OSCE exploited its strategic advantages and deployed its expertise in problem resolution. *Conflict and Security in the Former Soviet Union* presents useful information on the central issues the OSCE has had to face during its involvement in a post-Soviet space and in this regard it can be recommended as valuable introductory reading on the OSCE's development since the end of the Cold War.

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### **Sinn Fein and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation**

Gerard Murray & Jonathan Tonge

London, Hurst and Company, 2005, xvi + 304 pp., ISBN 1-85065-649-5 (hbk), £40, ISBN 1-85065-648-7 (pbk), £14.95

*Sinn Fein and the SDLP* charts the evolution of two of the most important political parties in contemporary Ireland. The book provides an analysis of the factors

contributing to their formation in 1970, and discusses how they have developed electorally since then and, more crucially, why “two long-established political arch-enemies are now singing from the same hymn sheet” (p. xvi). Thus we see that the momentum propelling Sinn Fein owes much to the sophistication of its political and electoral machinery. Long vilified by Unionists for its links to the outlawed IRA, the dynamics underpinning Sinn Fein’s development have received little serious examination by past commentators. Sinn Fein nevertheless achieved widespread credence among Northern nationalists in the wake of the Hunger Strikes of the early 1980s and has continued to do so to the present day. The SDLP’s commitment to constitutional politics gave the party a moral edge and undoubtedly contributed to its electoral successes under John Hume’s proficient leadership between 1979 and 2001; yet, as the authors duly remind us, it was no less committed to a united Ireland than its republican opponents: “Irish unity in the traditional sense was the ultimate goal of the party” (p. 202). The SDLP’s origins in the Civil Rights movement gave it a “reddish, left of centre hue” but its post-1975 intake soon became “clearly Catholic nationalist to the exclusion of competing identities” (p. 204). With Sinn Fein’s active engagement in the peace process since 1994 it has become possible to detect the subtle nuances differentiating these parties along social, economic and political lines.

Murray and Tonge offer us an expert reassessment of how rhetoric and ideology have been deployed *vis-à-vis* the overarching political goals of these parties. They examine closely “the reasons for the birth of both organisations, analysing the relationship of each to traditional forms of Irish nationalism” (p. ix) and explore the extent of ‘endogenous’ and ‘exogenous’ factors in influencing or determining their political successes and failures. What is particularly useful is the way in which the authors have situated the towering personalities of John Hume and Gerry Adams in the context of their respective parties’ evolution. An argument carried over from Tonge’s earlier book, *The New Northern Irish Politics?* (Palgrave, 2004), that “political winners have become electoral losers” is allotted more analytical attention here as a way of explaining why the SDLP’s ‘harsh’ treatment at the hands of the electorate is far from over (pp. 267–269). The compulsion behind nationalist and republican involvement in the peace process may be the result of an overriding belief in a united Ireland endgame; however, it is far from clear how long this so-called ‘transitional’ phase from political participation in the Northern state to Irish unity is likely to last.

The structure of the book is broadly chronological; however, it is punctuated by insightful thematic chapters which explore the intricacies of macro-political initiatives (such as the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973, the Anglo Irish Agreement of 1985 and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998) aimed at solving the Northern Ireland ‘problem’. The authors provide a detailed historical account of how these affected both nationalist parties. The reorientation of the republican movement is one of the most intriguing aspects of the book. Murray and Tonge offer a reappraisal of how the “move towards electoralism followed an infertile period for the armed struggle” (p. 106). Adams’s decision to push Sinn Fein in the direction of constitutional politics may have been regarded, in hindsight, as ‘strategic’ but, as the authors point out, it “was a combination of fortuitous circumstance and the determination of the prisoners, rather than strategic planning by Sinn Fein, that led to the decisive entry into electoral politics” (p. 110). They also provide much lively analysis of Ed Maloney’s earlier revelation that Adams had secret contacts with Tom King and the Conservative government from the mid-1980s, showing how

this fits into the overall political development of Sinn Fein. Scholars of Irish republicanism will find a robust explanation of how the party's political development has not always neatly dovetailed its ideological goals (pp. 159–166). The process by which Sinn Fein sold the 1998 Agreement to its constituency is unpacked throughout the closing chapters of the book. This is by far the most robust analysis of republicanism because we see, quite clearly, how Sinn Fein functions as a *political party vis-à-vis* Sinn Fein as a *political wing* of the Provisional IRA. We are therefore furnished with a much soberer and invaluable insight into the mechanical workings of the party's organization at critical junctures.

The pre-1970 origins of nationalist and republican politics in Northern Ireland are explored by the authors as a prelude to a much fuller analysis of how Sinn Fein and the SDLP developed against the backdrop of violence during the 'troubles'. However, more might have been said about how and why conservative republican politics failed to take root in industrialized Belfast during the 1950s and 1960s, especially when a Belfast-based leadership was later to successfully wrest control of the IRA from the mid-1980s onwards. A variety of anti-partitionist politicians was certainly elected in Belfast before 1969 but they had been successful only by colouring their politics with a recognizable 'red tinge'. In the 1950s and 1960s most electoral competition at either local government or Stormont parliamentary levels took place between the largest cross-sectarian democratic socialist party, the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP), and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). Paddy Devlin, later to come to prominence in the SDLP, had previously contested elections on an NILP mandate. The SDLP's first leader, Gerry Fitt, like Devlin, would later be sidelined by the Hume faction in the late 1970s because of his hardened commitment to labourism. An appreciation of 'pre-troubles' politics is fundamental to our understanding of the enigma of nationalist competition in Belfast and beyond and can contribute to a much fuller appreciation of how Sinn Fein has overtaken its SDLP rival in the early years of the 21st century. Apart from this trivial historical point there is little else to find disagreeable about this book.

Overall *Sinn Fein and the SDLP* is a superbly written book. It will certainly appeal beyond the confines of academia because of its accessible style and authoritative scholarship. The book's value to the discipline of political history is obvious but the methodological robustness of its attitudinal survey work should not be overlooked.

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### **Identity Dynamics and the Construction of Boundaries**

Bo Petersson & Eric Clark (Eds)

Lund, Nordic Academic Press, 2003, 224 pp., ISBN 9189116437

During the final decades of the previous century borders, boundaries and frontiers became almost paradigmatic, as academic literature analysed almost anything and everything in terms of inclusion, exclusion, liminality and other boundary-related concepts. One of the key shifts in explanation was that identities were increasingly seen as defined not by and from their 'core', but by and from their 'edges'. Still evolving, the debate continues to suffer from a certain sloppiness in the use of its key terms, all too often treated as interchangeable. To some extent, this uncertainty is a reflection of the more general

uncertainties arising from globalization and multicultural representations that are challenging received notions of identities, their potentials—and their limits. These uncertainties are addressed by several essays in Petersson and Clark's book, which brings together selected papers presented in the context of a cross-disciplinary PhD course, involving political scientists, human geographers, linguists and area studies experts, held at Lund University, Sweden, in 2001/2.

Following an introduction by the editors, the book is divided into three parts. Under the theme 'Images of Self and Other', Iver Neumann discusses the mutual, discursive construction of Russia and the West. Scott McIver examines the theoretical concept of the 'other' and, highlighting the frictional aspect of the link between self and other, analyses the relationships between contemporary Ireland and its principal 'others', which he sees as being the UK and the European Union. Drawing on the case of a famous athlete and her fall from grace, Kristian Nilsson considers how national self definition may include 'others' who are successful in certain fields of socially valued activity, and exclude them if they fail to meet certain assumed characteristics of the *gegläubte Gemeinschaft* (Weber).

The second section, which explicitly focuses on the uncertainties noted earlier, comprises four chapters. Reviewing changes in the political landscape of Sweden brought about by recent immigration, Sara Kalm looks especially at the issue of political representation, and at whether political decision making actually benefits if immigrants are represented by agents seen as members of their own group. Taking examples from Russia and Sweden, Bo Petersson examines xenophobic stereotypes and scapegoat images, and deals in particular with the responsibility of the mass media in this context. Anders Lund Hansen's case study of an urban neighbourhood in Copenhagen casts light on how the material and social construction and change utilize and, in turn, feed back into processes of ethnic and class identification. Also with reference to Copenhagen, Eric Clark argues that metaphors of the multicultural city need to be grounded in both experience and political projects, and that boundaries implicit in these metaphors are therefore particularly important.

Contested borders, citizenship and belonging is the theme of the third part. EU citizenship, and the exclusion of 'third-country-nationals' from it, is discussed by Christian Fernández, who demonstrates how an analysis of the excluded group can offer insights into the construction of a European *demos*. Anders Hellström continues this discussion with a critical analysis of official statements about the EU's 'unity in diversity'. In the final chapter Ulf Hedetoft explores the borders of the national from both above and below and points out that EU member states are currently trying to redefine borders as asymmetrical membranes with varying degrees of permeability depending on which barbarians happen to be at the gates.

This collection provides interesting and at times fascinating insights into case studies, in particular of Nordic countries, suggesting broader relevance in a European context and beyond. As collections of papers from summer schools and intensive PhD courses go, this is already a fairly coherent volume; nevertheless, it suffers—unduly—from the unevenness characteristic of its genre. In their introduction the editors express the hope that their collection might “whet the reader's appetite, and thus stimulate further research and reflection” (p. 17). It certainly does achieve that, at least to some extent. The editors also say that it was not their aim to “span or exhaust” the wide-ranging research agendas called for by their theme, and indeed they did neither. In principle, that is quite legitimate, and it would be unreasonable to expect otherwise from any single book, especially a relatively short one such as this,

comprising only 10 essays. However, from this reviewer's perspective, the book would have deserved a far more thorough introduction to those wide-ranging research agendas alluded to than a mere seven pages allow. This would not only have added greater coherence to the varied contributions, but would also have made the collection more useful for the reader who might be interested in pursuing 'further research and reflection'. To this end, the case study material on its own, while certainly very interesting, is hardly sufficient to make the book stand out among an already abundant and still proliferating literature on its theme.

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### **From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics**

Donna Lee Van Cott

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 296, ISBN: 0521855020

"We are President", were the first words of Evo Morales on 22 January 2006 when he became Bolivia's first indigenous leader in its 180-year history. In Venezuela, President Chavez is seen as a supporter of indigenous peoples' rights, and Ecuador is witnessing the integration of indigenous peoples' concerns within its political agenda. The access of indigenous peoples into politics in Latin America is clearly at the centre of the political movements in the region, and this is the result of a long-term struggle by indigenous peoples. Van Cott's excellent book takes us through this journey that saw indigenous peoples' social movements entering into party politics across Latin America.

This book offers a comparative analysis of the role of political parties organized around ethnicity by scrutinizing the relationship between ethnic struggles and politics. One of the focal questions that the author examines is why and how indigenous movements have been transformed into political parties. In doing so the author explores the reasons that have led the indigenous peoples' leadership to revert from an organization based around social movements to a 'Western' framework of political parties imported with the colonization of the region by the Europeans.

In the first chapter, Van Cott's book offers a clear theoretical analysis of the transition from ethnic movement to political parties. This chapter examines the connection between constitutional rights secured in the 1990s and the formation of ethnic parties. In the 1990s most Latin American countries went through a crucial political transition that created what the author describes as "a permissive institutional environment" (p. 9) which offered a space for indigenous movements to enter politics. As the author notes, there are some external factors (such as the neoliberal reforms imposed from the outside in the 1980s), as well as internal factors (such as decentralization or parliamentary reserved seats), which explain the opening of a space for indigenous leadership to choose to move to party politics. The book also offers an historical account of the relationship between trade unions and indigenous peoples, and the author notes how both the fragmentation and decline of leftist parties have influenced the emergence of ethnic parties. Overall, the first chapter (and the introduction) offers an extremely comprehensive and well researched analysis of the different reasons that led leaders of social movements to decide to undergo changes and transform their movements into political parties.

Based on such theoretical analysis, the book then progresses to a more empirical analysis by examining the situations in six Latin American countries where indigenous peoples

have established political parties (Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina and Colombia). One of the rationales for this focus is to allow a comparison between countries with a very large indigenous population (Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru) and those with a small indigenous population (Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela), as well as to allow comparison of situations where such transformation has been successful with less successful stories (Argentina and Peru). Even though there are some clear differences in the way the indigenous political parties have managed to integrate into the political arenas of states, Van Cott notes that overall indigenous parties have become vital actors in the politics of all six countries. She underlines how these political parties have had a number of positive effects on democratic institutions, notably by improving access to political representation of extremely marginalized groups. It is worth noting that the evolution from social and ethnic movements to political parties in the countries examined gives a clear illustration of how these movements have pushed for the inclusion of new themes—such as cultural diversity, racial discrimination and access to economic development for the most marginalized—on the political agenda of those states.

Consequently it would be wrong to see this book only through the lens of political theory on indigenous movements in Latin America, as it has a much more global reach. First, the book is relevant to anyone interested in the relationship between ethnicity and politics. Outside its specific focus on indigenous movements, the book addresses the fundamental issue of why a person belonging to a specific ethnic group will suddenly prefer to be a member or vote for a political party which is organized on ethnic lines. Ultimately, the book also examines the failure of governments to address ethnic concerns and how such failure leads to the emergence of political parties focusing on ethnicity. Second, the relevance of the book's theory does not stop at the borders of Latin America. Despite its focus on the region, the book will be relevant to understanding political developments in other regions of the globe. Indigenous peoples are facing similar dilemmas in several other places. For example, in Aceh, in West Papua, in Kenya, in Mexico and in South Africa, indigenous peoples are also entering into politics. In this regard, outside its particular focus on Latin America, the book should be seen as a global reflection on access to power for indigenous peoples world-wide, and the significance of such transformation in terms of democracy.

Overall, this book offers a rich and profound analysis of the interrelation between ethnicity and politics by offering an insightful analysis of the evolution of indigenous social movements into political parties. It would be fascinating to see in the future how indigenous movements which now have access to the political arena based on ethnic lines are going to manage that access to power. It is to be hoped that Van Cott will pursue her research on the evolution of indigenous movements from political parties to governmental positions. Yet, for the time being, this is only the beginning of a new history, and so far Van Cott's book offers a meticulous and fascinating presentation of the move from social movements to political parties. For this reason this book should be seen as an important reference on the relationship between ethnicity and political parties.

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