

Not all whites were willing to do so. In practices that would stretch well into the nineteenth century, most congregations forced black congregants into pews or benches located in the rear of churches, or up into overhead galleries. Some whites worried that allowing too many Africans or African Americans into their doors would degrade the congregation, and others fretted that liberated blacks might wish to serve as elders or deacons. Those who disagreed often did so on proslavery grounds. The Reverend Peter Lowe insisted that physical bondage did not conflict with spiritual liberation, a theory that dated back to the earliest days of Christianity. Either because he agreed with that sentiment or simply because he thought it imperative to save African souls, even Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, a liberated West African minister, defended physical enslavement provided it accompanied Christian salvation. Lowe expressed the view of many Dutch slaveholders when he argued that far from weakening the chains of servitude, “religion will make them good Christians & better servants” (p. 111).

Mosterman’s prose is clear but occasionally lapses into jargon, and her frequent use of future tense might have caught the eye of a good editor in less budgetarily restrained times. But *Spaces of Enslavement* is firmly grounded in the relevant secondary sources, and her archival research, and especially her impressive use of Dutch Reformed Sources makes this a valuable addition to the growing historiography of slavery in early New York.

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VOLLER, YANIV. *Second-Generation Liberation Wars. Rethinking Colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan*. [Intelligence and National Security in Africa and the Middle East.] Cambridge University Press, Cambridge [etc.] 2022. xiv, 271 pp. Maps. £75.00. (E-book: \$80.00.)

The concept of colonialism has been extensively revisited in the last decade. Scholars have been moving away from a narrow understanding of it based on the theoretical tool of periodization. The arbitrary divide between what is colonial and what is post-colonial indeed relies on the assumption that both form two different and coherent units of time. These units would be separated by a critical juncture, i.e. independence, starkly altering the evolution of political, social, and economic entities. However, the post-independence period in Africa and in the Middle East, even though glorified by various nationalist movements, did not witness such a paradigm shift. After all, the term post-colonial gained a foothold in our collective psyche, therefore emphasizing the colonial dimension and the self-imagination of newly created states. Yaniv Voller’s *Second-Generation Liberation Wars* is a perfect example thereof. Focusing on secessionist movements in Northern Iraq and Southern Sudan, the book’s main argument is that “conflicts that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century

between postcolonial secessionist movements and their governments ended up reviving some of the realities of the struggle between national liberation movements and the European empires in the colonies in previous decades” (p. 4).

Secessionism and regionalism in post-colonial states remain a somewhat unexplored area of the social sciences, mainly because, in the so-called Global South, only the political centre has been deemed relevant to study. The *uti possidetis* principle, adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1964 and maintaining the sanctity of colonial borders, also seems to have closed various debates on sovereignty. Moreover, conflicts taking place in post-colonial settings have been overwhelmingly analysed through the lenses of identity, economic marginality, and extraversion, but rarely in terms of unfinished ideational struggle about the nature of the colonial state. The book’s major contribution is therefore to offer a new structural and global understanding, rooted in ideational history, of already well-known conflicts.

To do so, Voller rightly emphasizes the need to pay more attention to global ideas, discourses, and practices beyond a strictly utilitarian perspective too often assumed in political science (Chapter One). Following a growing trend in international relations to study practices and role conceptions, *Second-Generation Liberation Wars* offers to treat colonialism and decolonization as sets of practices to explain why post-colonial liberation movements in the 1960s adopted an anti-colonial framework to justify their cause. Voller’s argument is based on an already well-developed body of the literature rooted in the nowadays untrendy structuralist tradition. While avoiding any deterministic conclusion, the book indeed insists on how the colonial structure “ended up shaping the identities, policies and strategies of parties to [post-colonial] conflict” (p. 55). By highlighting the importance of tacitly learnt social norms and absorbed practices, one might however regret that the author did not start a more in-depth conversation with the immaterial dimension of structuralism, emphasizing the ideological context within which actors compete with each other. For instance, Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, defined as “a set of norms and expectations unconsciously acquired by individuals through experience and socialization”,<sup>1</sup> could have been usefully mobilized.

Chapter Two lays out the international historical context and the implementation of colonial practices, i.e. the ideational structure of colonialism, which had a long-lasting impact in Sudan and Iraq. It also analyses discourses and practices of what the author called the first-generation anti-colonial movement, fighting against European oppression. While this introduction to Third-Worldism and anti-colonial struggle is important for the non-specialist reader, it will be of limited interest to scholars familiar with imperial history. Similarly, the historical introduction to colonial practices in Sudan and Iraq does not aim to amend the existing literature; its sole purpose is to lay the ground for future developments.

Voller interestingly touches upon the idea of cognitional legacies between political generations, albeit without naming it. He also emphasizes the importance of the transmission of ideologies between states (Chapter Three). While the post-colonial historiography highlights the heydays of nationalist movements in newly independent

<sup>1</sup>Oxford Reference, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095914456>.

states, Voller reminds us that post-colonial elites reproduced the colonial structure of power and hierarchies. Educated elites, argues Voller, absorbed the “developmental state” mentality introduced by colonial institutions, even though the discourses of the elites promised a new era for a new nation. In turn, the excessive use of force, the underrepresentation of marginalized communities, and the hyper-centralization of power by a single party took place in the name of state-building and development. Critiques to such an approach on post-colonial politics would argue that it lacks a *longue durée* perspective on state formation and that too much weight is given to the colonial administration and to the international context, at the expense of long, local, and historical continuities. However, Voller rightly insists on how particular was the decolonial moment and how the last two decades of the colonial period were crucial to the making of post-colonial elites in Iraq and Sudan.

Post-colonial insurgents framed their rebellion as anti-colonial because “their experiences as part of the struggle against European colonialism taught them that it is by becoming anti-colonial liberation movements that they could be heard and achieve their goals” (p. 140). They subsequently developed anti-colonial discourses and tactics, not only for the sake of public diplomacy, but because insurgents’ actions were anchored within the broader intellectual frameworks of global anti-colonialism and non-alignment. Colonialism had indeed become synonymous with injustice in the so-called Third World. In Chapter Four, Voller describes remarkably how post-colonial liberation movements in Southern Sudan and Northern Iraq used the same norms, values, and guerrilla tactics deployed against the colonial authority to advance their own interests.

However, the anti-colonial strategy used by Kurdish and Southern Sudanese elites did not endure. To survive and prevail, liberation movements had to constantly evolve to fit within a new world order (Chapter Five). Here, Voller offers an interesting explanation for why liberation movements changed strategy at the end of the 1980s. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of Yugoslavia gave more room to negotiate secession and toned down anti-colonial ideas. Moreover, the need to demonstrate a capacity to govern became essential for any liberation movement willing to be supported by the international community. In turn, rather than anti-colonial struggle, liberal state-building became the strategy to adopt in order to achieve liberation. The author’s study of the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) is, to that end, very revealing. It shows perfectly the efforts of rebel leaders to create a social contract in the territories they control, something anti-colonial movements were not aiming at.

Voller’s research demonstrates how fundamentally colonial the post-colonial period in Sudan and Iraq was, and how colonialism represented an important set of norms and practices post-colonial actors were relying on to frame their struggle. The book also emphasizes the relevance of studying generational practices and their impact on state trajectories. Moreover, the author invites the reader to think about going beyond a post-colonial order in African and Middle-Eastern politics, therefore indirectly questioning the assumptions of contemporary post-colonial studies. The 1980s indeed opened a new era for the post-colonial state. New global norms, rooted within post-cold war liberal peace-making, created new patterns of civil

conflicts, new roles, and new practices that belligerents referred to. How, then, could one characterize this post-postcolonial period? The author barely touches upon this vast question in the conclusion, though admittedly doing so was certainly not the main purpose of the book.

*Second-Generation Liberation Wars* will be of interest to comparativists studying post-colonial conflicts, but also to scholars interested in successor states, international relations, and the meaning of liberation politics in the Global South. However, experts working on Southern Sudan and Iraq will find no new historical elements: the book relies mostly on well-known secondary sources, something the author is transparent about in the introduction. Methodologically, the research demonstrates how relevant in-depth case studies are in comparative politics and how in-depth inductive research can generate valid generalizations. To that extent it is surprising to read that the author insists the book is not a comparative project.

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BARTHÉLÉMY, PASCALE. *Sororité et Colonialisme. Françaises et Africaines au temps de la guerre froide (1944–1962)*. Éditions de la Sorbonne, Paris 2022. 368 pp. € 35.00.

During the past few decades, postcolonial and decolonial feminism, as well as Afro feminism, have strongly contributed to enabling us to rethink encounters and alliances between women at the transnational level. Situated in this context, Pascale Barthélémy's in-depth historical research on French and African women aims to explore the origins of political solidarity between Black, White, and Métis women in contexts characterized by the violence of the colonial system. In doing so, Barthélémy has contributed to the few studies that have emphasized the political mobilization of African women in connection with the rest of the world, while not failing to acknowledge the pioneering work in this perspective by Meredith Terretta, among others. On the other hand, by adopting a perspective of transnational and connected history, she engages in the historiographical debate with authors such as Francisca De Haan, Celia Donert, and Yulia Gradska, who have contributed to the study of women's movements and women's organizations, focusing on the role of women as political agents and on their internationalization, thus overcoming a vision limited to nation states or colonies. The careful analysis and well-argued interpretations are based on a wide variety of sources – institutional, private, press, images, interviews collected during extensive archival work in France, Belgium, Senegal, Mali, Italy, and the Netherlands, which also provided the images of the book's rich iconographic contribution.

The period studied is between 1944, when French female citizens obtained the right to vote and stand for election, and the First Conference of All African Women (Dar es-Salaam, 1962). The focus is on how sisterhood and colonialism