of colonialism on ethnic politicization and mobilization is neither addressed nor refuted in the case studies.

Overall, *Beyond Ethnic Politics in Africa* elevates the importance of social structure in the study of electoral and ethnic politics. Yet it leaves open the question of the causal impact of these social structures versus the powerful historical forces that produced them. This sets a clear research agenda for readers of this journal and other scholars to pursue.

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GUINEA-BISSAU: MICRO-STATE AND NARCO-STATE?

Guinea-Bissau: Micro-State to 'Narco-State'.
Edited by Patrick Chabal and Toby Green.
London: Hurst & Company, 2016. Pp. *xxvi* + 290. £25.00, paperback (ISBN: 978-1-84904-521-6)
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Key Words: Guinea-Bissau, civil wars, drugs, political, economic.

Guinea-Bissau: Micro-State to 'Narco-State' is dedicated to the memory of Patrick Chabal, who began it with Toby Green and died before its completion. Chabal was a renowned Africanist, known for, among other things, his excellent biography of Amílcar Cabral.[1] His careful research and insightful conclusions are indispensable to our understanding of Guinea-Bissau's past.

This volume builds on Chabal's legacy by impressively placing Guinea-Bissau's present political and economic crises in historical context. For the contributors, whose backgrounds represent a variety of academic disciplines, the civil war in Guinea-Bissau in 1998 and 1999 was a turning point in the country's economic and political trajectory. Since then, Guinea-Bissau has experienced military coup after military coup and been subjected to ever-increasing levels of elite corruption. The country is today teetering on the edge of becoming a failed state. Taken together, the Introduction, ten chapters, and Conclusion examine the causes of the 1998 and 1999 civil war and the continuities and discontinuities in politics, economics, and cultural expressions before and after it. One of the most striking results of the civil war was that international drug syndicates were able to exploit political instability to establish in Guinea-Bissau transshipment centers for narcotics. The volume asks what it means to be a narco-state and whether the label should be applied to Guinea-Bissau.

In the chapters of Part One, Green, Joshua B. Forrest, and Philip J. Havik examine the extent to which crises since the civil war of 1998 and 1999 resulted from long-term economic and political realities. Green argues that ethnic tensions, which have been a driver

1 P. Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge, 1983).

of conflict in Guinea-Bissau since 1999, must be understood as a product of the ethnic categories that were created under Portuguese colonialism and reinforced by postcolonial elites. Forrest continues the deep analysis of the region's past by describing the long history of state fragility in the area. Lacking legitimacy in local civil societies, the Portuguese colonial state embraced violence to gain compliance. Similarly, after Guinea-Bissau's civil war, 'violent military interventions would dominate the state-level arena' (53). Havik also describes a disconnect between the state and local civil society. He examines continuities over time in rural farmers' abilities to produce, without state support, monocrop exports and subsistence crops for consumption.

In Part Two of the volume, contributors explore manifestations of Guinea-Bissau's present crises. Marina Padrão Temudo and Manuel Bivar Abrantes argue that the civil war of the late 1990s marked a turning point for Guinea-Bissau's rural societies. Before the civil war, food sovereignty strategies made rural societies resilient. Since the civil war, rural people have struggled to adjust to climate change, the social consequences of an increased reliance on cashews as an export crop, and the state's imposition of structural adjustment measures. Moreover, during and after the civil war, elites engaged in behaviors that were harmful to rural societies, causing rural people to perceive the state as 'cannibalizing the lives of people' (103). If the civil war marked a turning point for agricultural production, it also marked a turning point for religion, which has exercised increasing influence in the public sphere since 1999. Yet, Ramon Sarró and Miguel de Barros argue that religious life in Guinea-Bissau shows continuities over time, as people today use 'mixed religion', as they did in the past, to cope with the crises that they face (122).

Part Two also features chapters by Aliou Ly and José Lingna Nafafé. Ly considers the role of 'gendered-decision making and male self-interest' in opening Guinea-Bissau to narco-trafficking (126). Nafafé examines the nature of Guinea-Bissau's diaspora since the civil war. Whereas in previous decades those who earned degrees abroad often returned home, since about 2000 that has not been the norm, and 'brain drain' has exacerbated the country's political and economic decline. Nonetheless, new technologies such as the internet allow members of the diaspora to maintain regular contact with and influence the thinking of people in Guinea-Bissau.

The final part of the volume examines the political consequences of Guinea-Bissau's recent crises. Christopher Kohl provides a detailed overview of the political landscape since independence. He argues that 'an increase in the ethnicization of Guinea-Bissau's politics' is evident among elites but cannot yet be identified throughout society (164–5). Simon Massey explores how the arrival of South American drug syndicates in Guinea-Bissau affected the balance of power between political and military elites. Exploiting wealth from the drug trade, military commanders have increasingly used violence to stymie attempts at reform and to exercise control over politicians. Finally, Hassoum Ceesay examines the implications of massive amounts of narcotics moving from South America through Guinea-Bissau and on to Europe: the depression of salaries in the civil service; decay of hospitals; disillusionment of the young; decline of cultural institutions; collapse of the education sector; fostering of safe havens for insurgents from other countries; assassination of reporters; and destruction of the judicial system. 'It is hard', Ceesay concludes, 'for a keen observer like this writer to offer anything but a negative prognosis for the future' (227).

Green, Chabal, and this volume's contributors have produced a frank, insightful, and poignant must-read analysis of Guinea-Bissau's recent political and economic crises. What the volume says most powerfully is that this micro-state is not on the minds enough of the world's scholarly community and policy makers. To be sure, Green is correct that 'Guinea-Bissau is still currently a country that "works"' (234). It works despite the fact that people in the region have long coped with the devastating consequences of the West's demands — centuries ago for sugar and tobacco and now for cocaine. It works because folk in Guinea-Bissau — those people whom political elites have failed to serve — have to make it work as they seek to care for their families and chart their own course.

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AFRICAN KINGS AND BLACK SLAVES IN THE EARLY MODERN ATLANTIC

African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic.
By Herman L. Bennett.
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In this brief but compact book, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic*, Herman Bennett makes a series of important claims on behalf of the study of Africa and African-European relations in the early years of contact (up to about 1560). Contending that much of our understanding of the African background to the history of the Americas, and particularly the slave trade and slavery, draws disproportionately on Northern Europe in the period of the Enlightenment, Bennett maintains that the two centuries of Iberian dominance in relations with Africa and with the slave trade in Africa and slavery in Americas has been neglected. This neglect has come at a cost to understanding the larger-scale dynamic that underlies the more recent and more discussed periods.

While the book deals in a wide range of topics, including the relationship between slavery and sovereignty in which the early period is characterized by the predominance of the rights of the state over individual rights — allowing kings to exert checks on the owners of slaves in matters touching on sovereignty — to the significance of performance of power as a piece of evidence, one of its most important foci is a sustained critique of some parts of postcolonial theory.

Notably, Bennett contends, Europeans did not consider Africa as a place with no sovereignty where Europeans were free, in fact, and enjoined to do as they pleased. Taking specific aim at charter statements and canon law, he carefully contextualizes the famous Papal Bull *Romanus Pontifex* of 1455, which is widely regarded as giving Europeans (but specifically identified as Christians) full range to do whatever suited them in Africa, or in non-Christian lands.