

every couple of sentences throughout this chapter we come upon *hegemon*, *hegemony*, *hegemonic*, or *hegemonical*. Surely access to a thesaurus would have allowed her some variety of word selection! She does bring the ANC into the discussion, though it may not have been necessary to spend so much space on their “hegemonic project” (70). Davies is able to illustrate the interplay among black and white (especially Afrikaner) businesses, capital flows, and leaders in corporations listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The security that derives from this strength, along with “Afrikaans capital” (98), tie directly into contemporary processes of globalization.

The author makes a number of assumptions that are drawn from her academic background in international relations but are not necessarily fully known to readers outside her field. She refers to a Gramscian framework (6) and Gramsci’s legacy (11) but never provides details about his 1971 model. She also refers to a number of fairly obscure individuals and phenomena without identifying or explaining them: Karen Zoid (120), the “Koos de la Rey phenomenon” (which is later misspelled), the “Silberstein incident,” and others. Referring to the reaction of modern Afrikaners to majority rule, the author provides a footnote to my own study of the Boers in East Africa (141, n.25); however, that publication is part of a trilogy dealing with the Boer diaspora to the U.S., Argentina, and East Africa following the Anglo Boer War a century earlier.

There are 664 footnotes to expand and clarify the 137 pages of text. The reader is never sure when Davies is exploring and expounding her views or those of a previous author. And there is superfluous material throughout. For example, I would ask whether all of chapter 3 was necessary. A couple of centuries ago Emperor Joseph II commented to Mozart about one of his compositions that “there are simply too many notes.” About this book I would say: there are simply too many words!

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Messay Kebede. *Radicalism and Cultural Dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960–1974*.

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Messay Kebede’s book reopens the debate over the question of why the students who benefited most from Emperor Haile Selassie’s educational policies chose Marxism-Leninism over liberalism as the guiding ideology for transforming Ethiopian society during the 1960s and 1970s. The author defines liberalism as “the protection of individual rights achieved through such means as the rule of law, limitation on state power, freedom of expression and organization, and support to private enterprises through the expansion of the free market economy” (2). He argues that the major

reason that Ethiopia's intelligentsia of the 1960s and 1970s became vulnerable to Marxism's utopian promises was that their modern education under Haile Selassie had "caused cultural cracks into which radical ideas, which were then in vogue, were injected" (4). According to the author, modern education, introduced by the imperial regime, divorced the educated elite from their traditional roots, rendering them incapable of spearheading a societal renovation such as those that transformed Meiji Japan or Gandhi's India.

In his discussion of the genesis of the radical student movements, the author provides vivid vignettes of the late 1960s and early 1970s, when urban sophisticates and rural aspirants to social mobility clashed culturally and ideologically in the shared milieu of the university. He captures the ideological tenor of the day and the utopianism of the converts to Marxist-Leninism by remembering students agonizing over the wretched conditions of Ethiopia's peasantry. Yet despite his capacity to bring to life the lived experience of those heady days of student activism, Kebede's conclusion—that the ideological mismatch between Ethiopian culture (with a presumed socialist affinity) and imperial policies (based on capitalist principles) provides the key to understanding the ascendancy of radicals over moderates—is, in the end, more puzzling than persuasive. Nor is the mystery unraveled when Kebede proposes that Haile Selassie's "Eurocentric" educational policies led to a "cultural colonization" of the educated youth who, in the absence of a renovated traditional culture, became self-hating nihilists capable only of imitating the West rather than constructing a viable political alternative able to meet the diverse needs of the Ethiopian polity. He lauds Meiji Japan and Mahatma Gandhi's India, whose rulers did not "expel" traditional (religious) education from the national curriculum, thereby avoiding a "spiritual hunger" haunting their modernizing citizenry (101). "The great tragedy of Ethiopia," he asserts, "is . . . that it did not produce domestic, homegrown intellectuals, who might have conceived of modernization as an upgrading of traditional culture" (100).

Although he has a novel view of the politics of post-1945 Ethiopia, where modern education was prioritized as a vehicle for socioeconomic development, Kebede's views are not buttressed by lucid, reasoned arguments or empirically supported by data; his arguments often leave the reader baffled about what actual alternative education he is suggesting. Nevertheless, his emphasis on reexamining the role of culture in the events that led to the ignominious demise of Ethiopia's last emperor focuses our attention on questions that are deserving of a more systematic inquiry. A more nuanced analysis of these questions would have avoided the generalizations that weaken the book's bold interrogation of the role of culture in shaping the political choices of a particular generation.

In the absence of a comprehensive analytical framework, Kebede's assessment of the failure of Ethiopian intellectuals to defend traditional values such as "compassion for the poor," the "abnegation of the monk,

and . . . the bravery . . . of the warrior” is difficult to reconcile with the realities of the 1960s and 1970s when the national curriculum included—nay required—that students pass the Amharic language exams and undertake *explications du texte* of fictional novels of the Italo-Ethiopian wars such as Germacaw Takla Hawaryat’s *Areya: Tarikawi Leb Weked* (*Areya: Historical Fiction*) (Berhanena Salam, 1968 [1960, Ethiopian calendar]), to name only one. Kebede posits an “affinity between socialist ideology and Ethiopian Christianity” while believing that capitalism remained “at odds” with traditional culture, which “had contempt for merchants and moneymaking activities it associated with Islam” (115). This bold hypothesis deserves more than a cursory statement, since a major unifying/divisive theme for reformists and radicals alike was the advocacy for the rights of oppressed religious and ethnic minorities, legitimated by Leninist and Stalinist rhetoric. Perhaps a brief discussion of the rigidity of a traditional culture based on a messianic Christianity that excluded its Muslim citizenry would have deepened the understanding of centrifugal forces that tore apart the fabric of Ethiopian society as its modernized elite left the majority of the populace in a feudal quagmire. The reader is left perplexed by the author’s leap of faith in reconciling Coptic traditions with Marxist dialectics while simultaneously arguing that Ethiopia’s educated elite of these decades suffered from “a colonial mentality” brought about by their modern education. Yet while Kebede is cynical about the ability of any intellectuals to effect national transformation, his own account indicates that educators as well as armed men were capable of seizing power.

Despite the often confusing style and the sometimes dubious reasoning, Messay Kebede’s reexamination of the impact of radicalism in Ethiopia does remind us to look again at the legacies bequeathed to the country by the intelligentsia of the 1960s and 1970s.

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Tricia Redeker Hepner. *Soldiers, Martyrs, and Exiles: Political Conflict in Eritrea and the Diaspora*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Ethnography of Political Violence series. xiv + 249 pp. List of Abbreviations. Notes. Glossary. References. Index. Maps. \$55.00. Cloth.

I worked with Trish Hepner from 1998 to 2000, when I was the ceremonial president of the Eritrean Studies Association and she was the indispensable secretary. I was impressed then by her intelligence and compassion, and my admiration for her has only been strengthened by this book. As the book jacket states, it “provides a moving and trenchant critique of political intolerance and violence.”