

Republicans and evangelicals from pushing the Reagan administration to support RENAMO in Mozambique, or to go further in supporting UNITA. Yet in the final analysis both the Carter and Reagan administrations, according to Gleijeses, were to blame for the Angolan wars because of the covert aid to Savimbi's UNITA and at first real and then tacit support for South Africa's aims in Angola. One of the goals of both of Gleijeses's books is to disprove the lie of two administrations that the U.S. became involved in Angola only because the Cubans "invaded and occupied Angola as Soviet proxies, while the United States sought to bring peace and democracy to that unhappy country." He argues that "in America's memory, Reagan's policies of constructive engagement and linkage persuaded South Africa to see reason and agree to the independence of Namibia"—a viewpoint, however, that "distorts reality" (513). Much of the narrative shows how the Cubans in particular were the ones who forced the South Africans to finally withdraw from Angola in 1988, to "abandon Savimbi," and to "agree to free elections in Namibia" (508). Gleijeses goes to great lengths to prove that it was the Cubans, with Soviet military aid (U.S.\$6 billion) but not Soviet control, who masterminded both the diplomatic and military efforts to allow Angola and SWAPO to succeed. Chester Crocker would later take credit for this, but Gleijeses is not convinced that the U.S. policies had much impact on South African behavior; it was the final military defeat of the SADF by Cuban-led forces in 1987 that made the difference.

This is an important book, not only for setting the diplomatic record straight over a central theater of Cold War conflict, but also because Gleijeses is a master at breathing life into texts of internal debates and struggles to explain why the official diplomatic record rarely, on its own, constitutes the "truth." There is always much to learn from Gleijeses about writing diplomatic history. Never satisfied with deriving meaning from memorandums of conversations between world leaders, he takes the time to provide future generations with the backstory, showing the politics, the lies, and the often empty promises that appear in the official record.

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Myles Osborne. *Ethnicity and Empire in Kenya: Loyalty and Martial Race among the Kamba, c. 1800 to the Present*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2014. xiii + 276 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$99.00. Cloth. ISBN: 978-1107061040.

Ethnicity and Empire is not a full history of the Kamba, though it does address important aspects of that history, nor is it a conventional study of the construction of an ethnic community, though it does follow and outline the process of "becoming" over a long period. At the core of the book is an

examination of what it has meant to be Kamba at different times and for different people, an exposition of the core values of “Kamba-ness” set in historical context.

Articulating values and reaching a degree of community consensus in the process is never easy or without conflict. Osborne looks at the emergence of different strands of identity and at the values each reflected. Some were gendered, most notably embodied in colonial military service; others were based on inequalities of power and wealth, made sharper by uneven access first to the profits of hunting and trade, then to the colonial resources of chiefly authority and mission literacy, and finally, perhaps, to the new opportunities brought by local pre- and post-independence politics; others again were more experientially based—searching for food in times of dearth, fighting the Empire’s wars far from home, migrating to find waged work. Identities are thus composites. The author shows how each facet of “Kamba-ness” was initially promoted by a particular group before becoming more widely acceptable to the community. That stock ownership was a defining Kamba characteristic was first asserted by men who had gained wealth—but not necessarily influence and respect—by becoming early colonial chiefs. For them, wealth in cattle might substitute for the local authority that skills in hunting and managing trade had once brought. Men who achieved a degree of security and prestige through long service in the army or police made their claims in a slightly different way by asserting that it was loyalty and discipline that “made” the Kamba. They skillfully played on colonial notions of “martial races” to differentiate the Kamba from lesser “others” and later used their dominance in the services to pressure the colonial government into giving the Kamba privileged access to development resources in order to keep them “loyal.” Women under pressure formed self-help groups and argued that a tradition of community service was what underpinned being Kamba.

At the root of any Kamba moral as well as social identity were the linked notions of virtue, honor, and “loyalty.” These had deep historical resonance. Osborne shows how the key word *iwi*, which had originally carried the meaning of hearing and obeying in vernacular translations of the Bible and reflected hunting and trading virtues, was redefined to include the “loyalty” of military service. This loyalty, however, was not primarily something owed to those worthy of command, as the British imagined, but a reflection of a deeper concept of personal honor: in being “loyal” to the British, Kamba *askari* were first being loyal to themselves. Yet the honor of the warrior, to use Iliffe’s term, was not the only form. By the 1940s, if not earlier, women were asserting their own honor—a female version of Iliffe’s householder’s honor. For them, virtue lay not in housebound “obedience” as such, but in working to support their families, and by extension, the community. Without this connection, martial honor was mere male pretension. Eventually, women won their point and “loyalty” became domesticated.

The long historical perspective of the book allows the author to show how assertions of identity and the concepts on which they were

based were shaped and redefined by changing circumstances. He draws on earlier historical studies to contextualize and deepen his argument. Ambler and Jackson had looked at the gradual emergence of Kamba communities; Tignor and Munro had placed them in a colonial context. But none of these studies looked directly at the core values, nor did they see them as internally contested. This book not only offers a subtler understanding of the making of identity but also raises new questions about the Kamba experience more generally. Osborne has interesting things to say about “martial races” and the construction of “loyalism,” about the local roots of the de-stocking crisis of 1938, and about the rather overshadowed history of Ukambani during and after the Emergency of the 1950s and the move to Independence.

Ethnicity, as Lonsdale has argued, has both an exterior architecture—how the community defines itself in relation to others—and an internal architecture—how the community sees itself. *Ethnicity and Empire* looks particularly at the latter while still addressing the former. It may be that the study of ethnicity, which has been so central to African studies for so long, now needs the stimulation of new perspectives. This book is one of a new generation of histories that are attempting to reinvigorate the debate.

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Michelle R. Moyd. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014. xxii + 328 pp. Maps. Photographs. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$32.95. Paper. ISBN: 978-0-8214-2089-8.

German rule in East Africa rested on recruiting and empowering African soldiers (*askari*) to serve in the colonial defense force (*Schutztruppe*) from the beginning of conquest in the 1890s through World War I, when the *Schutztruppe* was disbanded and askari ceased to have a historical role. *Violent Intermediaries* centers the role of the askari in the construction and maintenance of the German colonial state, not only in asserting German power in wars of conquest and anticolonial rebellions, but also in the day-to-day activities that constituted colonial rule. In so doing, Moyd treats askari as agents, not just tools, of colonialism, who acted with their own interests in mind, particularly seeking to become power brokers in local communities surrounding colonial garrisons, where they served alternate roles as husbands, fathers, patrons, traders, and cultural intermediaries. Typically treated as a faceless backdrop in other histories, the askari are embedded here in the daily performance of colonial power, and Moyd