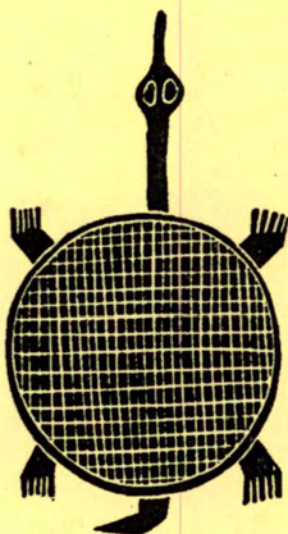


Southern Africa



an annotated bibliography



National
Foreign Affairs
Training Center

Southern Africa

-an annotated bibliography

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This bibliography was compiled by Krista Lessig, an intern for Spring 1995. Sections of the text were taken from the 1991 edition of *Sub-Saharan Africa: A Selected Functional and Country Bibliography*. This publication is not designed to be a comprehensive bibliography of the countries listed. Rather, it is intended to give the reader a place to begin further research by offering some of the best known, well-regarded, and accessible material available.

Items followed by a call number in brackets [], are located in the FSI library. Some entries are available only at the Main State library, and are noted as such. Please check items marked with a * at the FSI library first, since they may have been ordered after this bibliography was published.

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General Material

Bryant, Coralie, ed. *Poverty, Policy, and Food Security in Southern Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

This is a well-written and readable book for students of southern African politics and for development professionals at all levels. It examines the region's development prospects, focusing on political and economic problems as manifested in issues of food production and distribution. The authors concentrate on the role of South Africa in regional trade, finance, and agriculture.

*Crocker, Chester A. *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1993.

A personal account by the former assistant secretary of state of his eight year period in spent in an attempt to oversee Namibia's transfer to independence and struggles over the Angolan civil war. The book offers a riveting inside view of the process of US policy-making. His views are sure to be controversial to some, this book is important to understanding southern Africa's regional dynamics.

Hanlon, Joseph. *Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. [HF 1613.4 .Z4 .A4355]

Well-written and thoroughly researched, this hard-hitting analysis by a former BBC correspondent details South Africa's aggressive regional policy of the 1980s and the varying responses of its neighbors.

*Konczacki, Z. A.; Jane L. Parpart, & Timothy Shaw, eds. *Studies in the Economic History of Southern Africa, Vol. 1 & 2*. London: Frank Cass, 1990.

Volume 1 discusses Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana and Namibia, while Volume 2 covers South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland. Topics covered include industrial development, capitalism, land and labor relations, and many more. This is an excellent collection of papers dealing with Southern Africa's diverse economic history.

*Omer-Cooper, J.D. *A History of Southern Africa, 2nd ed.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1994. [DT 766 .O44]

The author provides an analytical/narrative account of the history of southern Africa, centered around the origins of South African society as it is today and the internal and external stresses upon it. The study of southern African history has gone through a series of reassessments in recent years and this is the first general history to take full account of the debates. It digests and assimilates the latest interpretations while at the same time remaining accessible to students and nonspecialist readers.

1. Angola

Bender, Gerald. *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978. [DT 611.42 .B4]

The product of a decade of research, writing, and revision, Bender has written an authoritative challenge to official and conventional versions of Portuguese colonialism. The work analyzes "Lusotropicalism" (that somewhat mystical colonial ideology), quantifies and appraises the nature of white settlement, examines patterns of racial dominance in purportedly nonracial societies, and assesses Portuguese responses to the political and military challenges to its former colonial system. The first two chapters present the general thesis followed by supporting evidence from the case of Angola.

*Black, Richard. *Angola*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press,

Another excellent volume in the World Bibliographic series.

*Broadhead, Susan H. *Historical Dictionary of Angola. 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992.

A greatly expanded edition from the 1980 version, Broadhead's historical account is an excellent place to begin one's research.

*Henderson, Lawrence W. *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1993.

*James, W. Martin. *A Political History of the Civil War in Angola, 1974-1990*. Transaction Publishers, 1991.

A general account focused mostly on UNITA's (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) role in the Angolan civil war. It is a somewhat simplistic treatment, but provides a good overview of one side of the conflict.

Kapuscinski, Ryszard. *Another Day of Life*. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

A journey to the besieged center of Angola's civil war.

Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay. *The Angolan War: A Study in Soviet Policy in the Third World*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980. [DT 611.75 .K6]

A detailed review of Soviet actions in Angola by a respected scholar who has specialized for more than a decade on Soviet relations with the Third World. Klinghoffer interweaves both ideological and geopolitical considerations in assessing Soviet motivation, but the most remarkable theme is, perhaps, the cautious and improvised quality of Soviet action each step of the way. An excellent complement to analyses of Western policy and the Angolan orientation of Marcum's volumes.

Marcum, John. *The Angolan Revolution: The Anatomy of an Explosion, 1950-1962*, Volume 1. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1969; and *The Angolan Revolution: Exile Politics and Guerrilla Warfare, 1962-1976*, Volume 2. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1978. [DT 611.7 .M3]

The definitive analysis of the rise of Angolan nationalism, these volumes conditioned all subsequent scholarly research on Angola and remain the indispensable basis for a thorough understanding of later political conflict. Marcum's great strength is his ability to synthesize primary and secondary sources into a narrative that is both empirically sound yet highly readable. The final section, on the departure of the Portuguese and the activities of external forces, is somewhat more tentative and less persuasive.

*McCormick, Shawn H. *The Angolan Economy: Prospects for Growth in a Postwar Economy*. Washington, D.C: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1994.

McCormick provides the reader with a very good general overview of the Angolan economy. His clear writing style, and non-technical explanations make this the best choice for the quick understanding of the Angolan economy.

Miller, Joseph C. *Way of Death. Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

This work is a crucial reference for anyone studying the eighteenth century. It covers the Angolan slave trade from Angola to the ocean (and coastal operations) to Brazil and finally to Portugal. Miller argues that the system grew because of the advantages gained at each stage of the journey. Although lengthy (the total work is 700 pages), it is fascinating reading in the richness of its questions, connections, and insights.

*Mohanty, Susama. *Political Development & Ethnic Identity in Africa: A Study of Angola since 1960*. New Delhi: Radiant Publications, 1992.

*Spikes, Daniel. *Angola & the Politics of Intervention: From Local Bush War to Chronic Crisis in Southern Africa*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1993.

Spikes study offers a detailed account of the Angolan civil war, focusing mostly on 1975-1976, when outside forces intervened in the three-way civil war. The book's epilogue carries the story up through 1992.

*Williams, Abiodun. *In Search of Peace Negotiations & the Angolan Civil War*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1994.

*Windrich, Elaine. *The Cold War Guerrilla: Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. Media, and the Angolan War*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Analyzing major U.S. newspaper coverage of the Angolan civil war, Windrich attempts to show that the media was pro-Savimbi in order to aid U.S. policies, and that this propaganda ultimately hurt the legitimate Angolan government and its people. This is definitely not an objective view of the conflict, but it is nevertheless a fascinating analysis.

2. Botswana

Alverson, Hoyt. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness: Value and Self-Identity Among the Tswana of Southern Africa*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978. [DT 797 .A4]

Alverson gathered interviews and studied language forms among the Tswana in Botswana and South Africa for more than two-and-a-half years in order to test the

familiar "scars of bondage" thesis regarding the psychological effects of colonialism. His conclusion in general is that the Tswana were able to sustain their world, in which their dignity and self esteem remained intact, despite radical institutional changes.

Alverson, Marianne. *Under African Sun*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

In 1972 Marianne Alverson, her husband Hoyt, and their two young sons arrived at the bush homestead in Botswana where they were to spend the next two years. From the first moments of dreamlike confusion to the final painful reentry into Western society, *Under African Sun* traces Alverson's personal transformation from an outsider to a full participant in the daily life and rhythms of the Tswana people. *Under African Sun* is much more than a chronicle of the Alversons' assimilation; it is also a sensitive and realistic portrait of the Tswana people.

Chirenje, J. Mutero. *Chief Kgama and His Times, c. 1835-1923: The Story of a Southern African Ruler*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman, 1978. [DT 795 .K5 .C4]

Aimed at the nonspecialist, this clearly written work offers an excellent if specific introduction to the political, economic, and social history of the Ngwato region of Botswana from the perspective of Kgama III, the grandfather of the late Seretse Khama. Chirenje is superb in detailing just how much ability and energy was required in order to use some whites to fend off others, always from a position of weakness, while simultaneously playing the complex, ruthless, almost Shakespearean games of royal politics.

*Harvey, Charles. *Botswana: Is the Economic Miracle Over?* Brighton, England: Institute for Development Studies, 1992.

Harvey poses the question of whether Botswana's miraculous economic growth rate can be attained again. He argues that much of the decline was due to increased government spending, compounded by a worsening mineral market. If the government can control their spending once again, Harvey feels a good growth rate is possible.

Parson, Jack. *Botswana: Liberal Democracy and the Labor Reserve in Southern Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. [DT 791 .P37]

This clearly written survey of the evolution of Botswana's political economy is the single best introduction to the country. Parson focuses on state and class relations in tracing how development strategies have deepened the country's dependence on South Africa and resulted in a relatively rich governing class alongside a much poorer "peasantariat".

*Peters, Pauline E. *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy, & Culture in Botswana*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

This work attempts to bridge the gap between theory and practice in development concepts in Botswana. Peters addresses the question of whether or not personal property rights are always best for a society. She presents a very good argument, somewhat hindered for the general reader by its scholarly style.

Picard, Louis A. *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. [JQ 2760 .A2 .P53]

Although an academic treatise, this volume also serves as a fairly good introduction to Botswana's colonial background and post-colonial politics. Picard argues that Botswana's relative success suggests a role for state management or a top-down strategy for economic growth in other African countries.

*Stedman, Stephen J., editor. *Botswana: The Political Economy of Democratic Development*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Discusses Botswana's economic success during the period of 1965-1985 under a multiparty liberal democratic government, and also the country's place in internal relations within southern Africa. The volume attempt to divulge problem areas which might inhibit further development.

Wilmsen, Edwin N. *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Wilmsen overturns one of the central concepts of anthropological and social theory: the idea of remote hunter-gatherer societies untouched by political and economic forces. Wilmsen painstakingly reconstructs the history and anthropology of the Kalahari, introducing the voices of real persons from the past and present and providing data on animal ecology, food acquisition and distribution, nutrition, physiology, fertility, kinship, labor relations, and land tenure. He shows that entrenched ideology has perpetuated San dispossession and underclass status, and he calls for policy changes by the governments of Botswana and Namibia.

*Wiseman, John A. *Botswana*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1993.

Another volume in the World Bibliographical series, this book provides an excellent introductory overview and a comprehensive bibliography.

3. Lesotho

Bardill, John E. and Cobbe, James H. *Lesotho: Dilemmas of Dependence in Southern Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985. [DT 787.5 .B37]

Another excellent volume in a series, this introductory overview is absolutely the single best book on Lesotho.

*Eldredge, Elizabeth A. *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth Century Lesotho*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

An impressive study of internal dynamics within the tiny nation of Lesotho, Eldredge's work places significance on women's exploitation and internal production. One of the best works on Lesotho thus far.

Ferguson, James. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. [HD2131.z8 F47 1990]

"In this very readable and highly informative case study of failed development in Lesotho during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ferguson examines less the "whys" of failure than the impacts of the development "business" on the country. The book's title refers to the author's conclusion (based on work in Lesotho in the early 1980s) that the development apparatus was not a vehicle for eliminating poverty; instead, it became a "machine" for reinforcing and expanding bureaucratic state power. Ferguson contends that reforms that appear to be technical and apolitical bring with them political side effects that tend to overwhelm the intended or claimed main effects. This is thoroughly documented for Lesotho, but similar examples of increased state control as a result of rural development project are also cited from Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, and South Africa." -- R.A. Simko, *Choice*, December, 1990.

Murray, Colin. *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. [HQ 693.7 .M87]

A revised doctoral dissertation, this is still the best single source on one of Lesotho's most significant features, its labor linkage to South Africa.

Thompson, Leonard. *Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, 1786-1870*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. [DT 787.2 .M67 .T45]

Drawing on his unrivaled command of written and oral sources, Thompson relates, in a highly readable style, the dramatic story of the creator of Lesotho and one of the most impressive figures of nineteenth-century Africa.

4. Malawi

*Chakanza, J.C., and K.R. Ross. *Religious pluralism in contemporary Malawi*. Malawi: University of Malawi, 1992.

This work analyses how people are pulled into different religions, in this case traditional, missionary, and independent-type groups. Chakanza uses an economic analysis to draw out his conclusions.

*Chakanza, J.C., K. Fiedler and K.R. Ross. *Missiology in Malawi*. Malawi: University of Malawi, 1992.

This book consists of a collection of papers from a 1993 Theological Conference. The book questions the traditional view of missions merely being colonialism in a different form, and uses the rapid growth of the church since independence as a basis for its argument.

*Crosby, Cynthia A. *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*. 2nd ed. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993.

Not the best work in this series, it is often generalized and shows awkward organization but it does provide adequate information.

Kalinga, Owen J.M. *A History of the Ngonde Kingdom of Malawi*. New York: Mouton, 1985. [DT 864 .K29]

Only the most serious of students would read all of this densely written study of a group in northern Malawi from about 1600 to 1894, but a judicious sampling of its major

themes would enhance the appreciation of all readers of the complexities of historical research in the region.

Mandala, Elias C. *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859 – 1960*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

Another sub-national historical work, the emphasis in this academic study is on the efforts of farmers in southern Malawi to control their lives through complex forms of resistance and accommodation to the various demands on them as sources of labor.

Pachai, Bridglal. *Malawi: The History of the Nation*. London: Longman, 1973. [DT 859 .P3]

Originally prepared for a Malawi radio series, Pachai's book is stronger in entertainment value than critical analysis, and Malawi's recent history, after 1951, is glossed over. Pachai's extensive use of original quotations and numerous old photographs offers the reader ample opportunity to grasp the full flavor of life in colonial Malawi.

*Sahn, David E. *Development Through Dualism?: Land Tenure, Policy, and Poverty in Malawi*. Washington, D.C: CFNPP, 1991.

*Schoffeleers, J. Matthew. *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi, c. A. D. 1600*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

One of few studies delving into premodern African religions, this work provides an intriguing look into Malawi's Mbona cult.

Short, Philip. *Banda*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974. [DT 858 .S53]

In 356 pages Philip Short presents a thorough biography of Hastings Banda which is both entertaining and essential to an understanding of modern Malawi politics. In tracing Banda's life from his childhood to his role in the early 1970s as Malawi's controversially conservative Prime Minister, Short remains fundamentally objective, preferring to let Banda and his critics speak for themselves.

Spring, Anita. *Agricultural Development in Malawi: A Project for Women in Development*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.

Documenting development efforts in Malawi, this book recounts the process by which the Women in Agricultural Development Project (WIADP) remedied the omission of women agriculturists in development projects. In her review of theoretical issues, objectives, methodologies, and results, Dr. Spring demonstrates how a concern with women in development can be integrated successfully into the various aspects of research, extension, training, planning, and policy in a developing country.

*Virmani, K.K. *Dr. Banda in the Making of Malawi*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1992.

A more recent look into the life of Hastings Banda and the nation he led. This volume covers not only history, but also looks at development efforts and suggests that more South-South cooperation between nations is needed for development.

Williams, T. David. *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978. [DT 463 .H46]

This highly readable product of primarily secondary sources offers a useful introduction to the essential features of the Malawi of Hastings Banda. The major strength of the book is the excellent bibliographic essay; the key weakness is the failure to place Malawi's experience in a comparative perspective, which might have moderated the sharp critique of Banda's record.

5. Mozambique

*Abrahamsson, Hans & Nilsson, Anders. *Mozambique: The Troubled Transformation from Socialist Transition to Free Market Capitalism*. London: Zed Books, 1995.

*Andersson, Hilary. *Mozambique: A War Against the People*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

*Ayisi, Ruth Ansah. *Mozambique*. Maputo: UNICEF, 1992.

*Azevedo, Mario. *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1991. [DT3337 .A94 1991]

Excellent reference book and a great place to start getting to know Mozambique.

*Finnegan, William. *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Finnegan offers a unique view of Mozambique's devastating two-decade civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO. His most interesting conclusion is that the war will have no easy end simply by the succession of South African and Soviet support. Finnegan feels that despite the reasons for the war's beginning, it has evolved into a more deep-seeded crisis which was aggravated by FRELIMO's removal of most traditional institutions. This is an excellent study which offers the reader much to think about.

Hanlon, Joseph. *Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire*. London: Zed Press, 1984. [DT 463.5 .H36]

A readable introduction to the politics and policies of FRELIMO in post-colonial Mozambique, this survey by a BBC correspondent is highly recommended for generalists and specialists alike due to its scrupulous and largely successful effort to explain contemporary Mozambique with as much honesty and balance as possible, despite the author's socialist views.

*Hanlon, Joseph. *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots?* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991. [HC890 .H36 1991] available at Main State library.

Henriksen, Thomas H. *Mozambique: A History*. London: Rex Collings, 1979. [DT 459 .H4]

Selected as an "Outstanding Academic Book" by the library journal Choice, this is a scholarly yet readable survey of Mozambican history from approximately 1500 to the mid-1970s. Henriksen's strength is his rigorous effort to achieve balance, which he does remarkably well, even with respect to the colonial period; he draws effectively on recent research on African resistance, although he neglects significant economic and social changes and the subtle ideological evolution of FRELIMO after 1962.

Henriksen, Thomas H. *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Mozambique's War of Independence, 1964-1974*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983. [DT 463 .H46]

In an excellent sequel to his general history, Henriksen continues his refreshingly circumspect approach to the available data, an attitude of enormous value when assessing

something as emotional and controversial as FRELIMO's war for independence. Highly recommended as the most dispassionate and comprehensive, if somewhat prosaic, treatment of the crucial formative process underlying so much of contemporary Mozambique.

Honwana, Raul, (edited and with an introduction by Allen F. Isaacman). *The Life History of Raul Honwana: An Inside View of Mozambique from Colonialism to Independence, 1905-1975*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

Beginning with his heritage and ending with the day on which he witnessed, "with indescribable emotions," the proclamation of Mozambican independence, Raul Honwana provides an inside view of a colonial society in flux and offers significant new insights into Mozambique's social and political history.

Isaacman, Allen and Isaacman, Barbara. *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. [DT 463 .I82]

The Isaacmans, and particularly Allen, are well known for their prodigious knowledge of Mozambique and their pro-FRELIMO sympathies. In this case, one result is a superb volume in terms of detailed information, numerous photographs and cartoons, a wealth of well-digested and clearly presented tables of socio-economic data, and a good selection of maps. Another result, however, is the firm FRELIMO-centric perspective which should engender caution in the reader whenever the nationalist organization and its ideology are discussed. If handled in a critical manner, this is a very useful book, and is preferable to the similar but much less balanced works of Barry Munslow, *Mozambique: The Revolution and its Origins* (London: Longman, 1983), or John S. Saul, ed., *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985).

Magaia, Lina. *Dumba Nengue: Run for Your Life Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988.

A powerful and moving first-hand account. Mozambican writer Lina Magaia tells the stories of her neighbors and friends in rural Gaza province, the human targets of the terror campaign of RENAMO, the anti-government group assisted by South African agents.

*Marshall, Judith. *Literacy, Power, & Democracy in Mozambique: The Governance of Learning From Colonization to the Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.

This book analyses literacy at Matola Industrial Company, from colonial times through independence. Examines the difference in literacy rates between men and women, and the problem of achieving literacy due to bureaucratic difficulties. This is a good study of an important issue.

*Newitt, M D D. *A History of Mozambique*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Newitt, M.D.D. *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1973. [DT 463 .N4]

Newitt demonstrates a thorough familiarity with the relevant original sources, including extensive Portuguese records, in producing this definitive study of the political, economic, and social changes along the Zambezi from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The advanced student will find this formidable volume particularly effective in its delineation of the complexities of early colonial rule and its evenhanded, dispassionate treatment of Portuguese/African relations.

Torp, Jens E. *Mozambique: Politics, Economics and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

Urdang, Stephanie. *And Still They Dance: Women, War, and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988.

The author weaves together women's life stories and experiences, analysis, and personal observation to produce an inspiring yet sobering picture of how women continue to struggle both for their survival and their liberation. Urdang is sympathetic to the FRELIMO government, but she does not hesitate to show its inconsistencies and failures.

6. Namibia

Bridgeman, Jon M. *The Revolt of the Hereros*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981. [DT 714 .B74]

The strength of this gracefully written analysis of the military defeat of the Hereros in 1904 is the author's vivid narration and his obvious understanding of the complexities for both sides of guerrilla warfare in a large and arid territory. Although the

broader social and economic context of the resistance by the Africans is not well treated, the serious student of Namibia's background will find this volume to be engaging and quite well illustrated with its 8 maps, 4 tables, and 19 photographs.

*Cliffe, Lionel; Bush, Ray; Lindsay, Jenny; Mokopakgosi, Brian; Pankhurst, Donna & Tsie, Balefi. *The Transition to Independence in Namibia*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, Inc. 1994.

This study will provide the reader with a clear and accurate picture of Namibia transformation to an independent state and the beginnings of democratic government. The book Also raises a concern for the kind of government that has arisen after Namibia long struggle for independence.

*Dreyer, Ronald. *Namibia & Southern Africa: Regional Dynamics of Decolonization, 1945-1990*. New York. Kegan Paul International, 1994.

Dreyer provides a good perspective of southern Africa's role in the Namibian independence struggle.

Eriksen, Tore Linne and Moorson, Richard. *The Political Economy of Namibia: An Annotated Critical Bibliography*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1989.

While both writers are well to the left of-center, their assessments are clear and the reader can therefore discern the quality of the works reviewed. More than 1,500 entries are included in this comprehensive work which, in an earlier version, won the 1986 award for the best bibliography from the African Studies Association.

*Gordon, Robert J. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

Gordon examines how the image of a savage Africa has affected the people of Namibia within their everyday lives.

*Grotpeter, John J. *Historical Dictionary of Namibia*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

Another excellent volume in this series, Grotpeter provides good background material and a general overview of the country.

Herbstein, Denis and Evenson, John. *The Devils Are Among Us: The War for Namibia*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1990.

Katjavivi, Peter H. *A History of Resistance in Namibia*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990.

An understandably biased albeit well-written history by a member of the Namibian Constituent Assembly and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) who is also an historian by academic background.

*Leys, Colin & Saul, John S. *Namibia's Liberation Struggle: The Two-Edged Sword*. London: Ohio University Press.

Based on extensive interviews and unpublished documents, Leys and Saul put together a fascinating study which delves into the remarkable victory of SWAPO over South Africa force in March of 1990. Looks into the compromises made in order to bring about this long sought after victory.

Norval, Morgan. *Death in the Desert: The Namibian Tragedy*. Washington, DC: Selous Foundation, 1989.

Soggot, David. *Namibia: The Violent Heritage*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.

A meticulous narrative of the personalities and politics in Namibia in the late 1970s and early 1980s by a liberal South African defense lawyer now living in London.

Stiff, Peter. *Nine Days of War: Namibia – Before, During, and After*. Alberton, South Africa: Lemur Books, 1989.

See Wilmsen, under BOTSWANA.

7. South Africa

Adam, Herbert and Kogila Moodley. *South Africa Without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Domination*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986. [DT 763 .A6248]

A major study of the complexities of social forces and power distribution in South Africa, this informed volume is recommended for advanced students.

*Baker, Pauline H., Alex Boraine, and Warren Krafchik, eds. *South Africa & the World Economy in the 1990's*. Cape Town: David Philip Publication, 1993.

The result of a conference convened by the Aspen Institute and IDASA (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), this book examines the international dimensions of South Africa's economy in the future. It is an excellent examination of how the rest of the world interacts with South Africa.

Baker, Pauline H. *The United States and South Africa: The Reagan Years*. New York: Foreign Policy Association and The Ford Foundation, 1989.

Written for the intelligent and informed non-Africanist who seeks a succinct, accurate, and well-reasoned analysis of American policy in southern Africa in the 1980s, this book succeeds admirably. The cogent arguments of Dr. Baker are supplemented by an array of relevant maps, compelling photographs, useful chronologies, and outstanding bibliographies. Very highly recommended.

*Beinart, William. *Twentieth Century South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

*Borstelmann, Thomas. *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States & Southern Africa in the Early Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Another critical study of U.S. policy and its support of the apartheid regime. A better account U.S. policy is provided below, see Mokoena.

*Cawthra, Gavin. *Policing South Africa: The SAP & the Transition from Apartheid*. London: Zed Books, 1993.

Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theater*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1985.

In Township Tonight explores the colorful, complex history of South African popular culture against a background of that troubled nation's social, political, and economic environment.

*De Villiers, Les. *In Sight of Surrender: The U.S. Sanctions Campaign Against South Africa, 1946-1993*. Brookfield, VT: Greenwood Publishing, 1995.

Edgar, Robert R., ed. *Sanctioning Apartheid*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1991.

Although economic sanctions *per se* may be modified in 1991, the arguments surrounding their imposition and impact on South Africa will persist in new forms throughout the 1990s. This collection of articles is the most comprehensive and balanced available at this time.

Gastrow, Shelagh. *Who's Who in South African Politics*. 3rd revised and expanded edition. Johannesburg: Raven Press; and Oxford, England: Hans Zell Publishers, 1990. [DT 779 .954 .G37]

Each of the more than 130 political figures, ranging from leaders of the shadowy far right to parochial black organizations, has a biographical essay (averaging some 1,200 words) and a photograph. An appendix contains the names of all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary office holders.

Greenberg, Stanley. *Race and State in Capitalist Development: South Africa in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980. [HT 1531]

The next step following familiarity with the basic outline of South African history is to come to grips with the complex arguments over the interrelationships of race, class, and industrialization. Greenberg argues in this formidable work that the emerging industrial order in South Africa has not been historically incompatible with the constraints and immobility of the racial caste system, although the more recent maturing of capitalism in the country has resulted in growing modifications of the argument. The author applies the argument more briefly to Northern Ireland, Israel, and Alabama. A similar formulation of the argument, with extensive comparison to the American experience, may be found in John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Finally, there is the provocative critique of both

liberal and Marxist perspectives by Sam C. Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982).

*Gutteridge, W.F. *South Africa: From Apartheid to National Unity*. Brookfield, VT: Aldershot, 1995.

Holland, Heidi. *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress*. New York: George Braziller, 1990.

In a well-structured historical approach, Holland, a South African journalist, traces the evolution of the ANC from 1912 to 1988, dealing with the major issues and personalities that shaped its present organization and strategies. This book is an excellent resource even for those unfamiliar with South Africa and the ANC, because Holland provides the reader with a sense of the political and economic setting influencing the direction of the ANC, especially the Afrikaner-black confrontation in the 1970s and 1980s.

*Johnson, Walton R. *Dismantling Apartheid: A South African Town in Transition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Focusing his research in the town of Umlata, Johnson gives the reader a basis for understanding the changes the entire country of South Africa is currently undergoing.

*Juckes, Tim J. *Opposition in South Africa: The Leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela & Stephen Biko*. Brookfield, VT: Greenwood Publishing, 1995.

*Kanfer, Stefan. *The Last Empire: South Africa, Diamonds, & De Beers from Cecil Rhodes to the Oppenheimers*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1993.

A historical account of the most powerful actors in this region of Africa, Kanfer provides the reader with an easy to understand account of this global phenomenon. This work is important to understand many of the dynamics which have operated and are continuing to operate in South Africa and the surrounding region.

Lelyveld, Joseph. *Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White*. New York: Times Books, 1985. [DT 763 .L315]

Another in the long tradition of American literary/journalistic efforts to explain South Africa, this work is exceptionally insightful due to Lelyveld's historical perspective

(he spent a year in South Africa in 1966 before returning there in 1980), his eye for ironic details, and his dogged determination to write about the African only after extensive and varied experiences with numerous representatives of the masses. Highly recommended for all readers.

Lewis, Jr., Stephen R. *The Economics of Apartheid*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1990.

Lewis' clear, concise, empirical examination of the economic issues of apartheid does not enter into moralistic, theoretical, or philosophical issues. Rather, the author, having stated his own opposition to apartheid, proceeds to define the issues and give a brief history of the origins and evolution of race relations and apartheid in South Africa as demonstrated by statistical data on population, geography, and the economy, especially in the 20th century. The author suggests that the end of apartheid is inevitable and, therefore, that South Africa must make choices from among various options discussed in a futuristic concluding chapter.

*Lulat, Y. G-M. *Analyzing U. S. Relations with South Africa: Past, Present & Future*. Buffalo, NY: Librosmondiale International Publishers, 1994.

Malan, Rian. *My Traitor's Heart: A South African Exile Returns to Face His Country, His Tribe, and His Conscience*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990.

This soul-searching account of an Afrikaner's life in apartheid South Africa joins a growing body of publications by South Africans of every ethnic group. Malan, the grand nephew of a major definer of the doctrine of apartheid, left South Africa in 1977, in part to avoid military service, and returned eight years later. This book reports his observations of violent death in the land. Well-written, gripping, and disturbing, the descriptions leave one with a sense of despair which makes Malan's final note of hope all the more remarkable.

Mandaza, Ibbo and Magubane, Bernard, eds. *Whither South Africa?* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988.

This series of critical essays examines the sociopolitical dynamics of the revolutionary situation in southern Africa. It takes a special look at the contributions of U.S. policy in the region and the role of women in South Africa.

*Mare, Gerhard. *Ethnicity & Politics in South Africa*. London: Humanities Press International, 1993.

The author examines ethnicity as a general concept in South Africa, specifically within the Zulu nation. Mare believes that ethnicity and political mobilization should be separated, although ethnicity does need to be addressed, because it will not simply fade away. This work is useful for the question it raises for the African continent as a whole.

Marks, Shula. *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*. London: Longman, 1987.

This book, a collection of essays by renowned historians and social scientists, explores South Africa's racially divided social order and the ethnic issues that influence policy. Topics included cover a wide range, from the evolution of a hegemonic segregationist ideology and the "invention" of the Afrikaner culture, to the increasing economic strains and rising tide of black opposition facing the state over the past decade. Based on extensive research, this book represents a radical assessment of South Africa's recent history and provides the basis for a deeper understanding of contemporary politics in that troubled society.

*Mokoena, Kenneth., ed. *South Africa & the United States: A National Security Archive Documents Reader*. New York: New Press, 1993.

Thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, internal US documents from the past thirty years have been collected by Mokoena to provide a picture of US policy towards South Africa. Necessary reading to understand policy shifts over time.

*Norval, Morgan. *Politics by Other Means: The ANC's War on South Africa*. Selous Foundation Press, 1993.

This work presents theories about the future governance of post-apartheid South Africa and is helpful to understand the players currently operating in the country.

Platzky, Laurine and Walker, Cheryl. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1985; and Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1984. [DT 763.6 .P56]

A summation of five volumes produced by fifty researchers over three years, this authoritative work addresses every significant issue associated with the South African government's massive relocation policy over the past two decades.

Shava, Piniel Viriri. *A People's Voice: Black South African Writing in the Twentieth Century*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1989.

A comprehensive attempt to analyze and synthesize a wide range of South African literature in the 20th century, Shava grapples with the conflict between literary values and political goals.

*Stedman, Stephen J., ed. *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. [HC905 .S685 1994]

This is an excellent study which addresses what problems the post-apartheid government of South Africa will have to face to continue on the road to development, such as restructuring the government, establishing stronger regional ties, integrating civil service with the police, and providing an outlet for the nation's youth.

*Switzer, Les. *Power & Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa & the Making of South Africa*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Switzer uses the example of the Ciskei Xhosa to represent the South African situation in general, and makes intriguing comparison between the smaller society and the whole of which it is a part.

*Thede, Nancy & Beaudet, Pierre., editors. *A Post-Apartheid Southern Africa?* New York: Saint Martin's Press, Inc., 1993.

This work contains theories concerning the future of post-apartheid South Africa.

Thompson, Leonard. *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

Professor Thompson deftly leads the reader into the intellectual history of the Afrikaner people by examining their political myths, the extent to which they correspond to other scientific and historical evidence, and the degree to which the myths can be altered and manipulated for different objectives. Essential reading for serious students of South African history and the Afrikaner worldview. One would hope now for complementary studies of the political mythology of English-speaking South Africans and blacks.

West, Richard. *The Diamonds and the Necklace: A South African Journey*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989.

8. Swaziland

*Bischoff, Paul. *Peace, Nationalism and the State of Human Rights in Swaziland*. Lesotho: University of Lesotho, 1989.

Bischoff states his belief that a nation will have extreme difficulties ensure the protection of human rights as long as its economy is dominant by foreign entities, and sustainable development remains unattainable.

*Bischoff, Paul. *Swaziland's International Relations and Foreign Policy: A Study of a Small African State in International Relations*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990.

Bischoff is a strong believer in the underdevelopment/dependency schools of thought dealing with the problems of Africa. Although this doctrine is stressed a little too strongly, his book does provide good information about a country not often studied.

Bonner, Philip. *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. [DT 971.7 .B66]

Although not easy reading, this significant study is worth the effort for the serious student of the Swazi people, because it analyzes thoroughly the nineteenth-century background of contemporary Swaziland.

Booth, Alan R. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. [DT 971 .B58]

Clearly written and informative, this survey of Swaziland is highly recommended for the general reader. Booth emphasizes economic forces, involving labor migration and class formation, more than political and cultural patterns, but the book is comprehensive enough to serve as a useful guide to further study, particularly in view of its excellent bibliography.

*Harris, Betty J. *The Political Economy of the Southern African Periphery: Cottage Industries, Factories, and Female Wage Labor in Swaziland Compared*. New York: Saint Martin Press, 1993.

An excellent, if albeit overly detailed, examination of labor in Swaziland and how it specifically compares to Lesotho and South Africa.

*Rose, Laurel L. *The Politics of Harmony: Land Dispute Strategies in Swaziland*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Rose examines the use of harmony ideologies to resolve land disputes by traditional ruling elites in Swaziland.

9. Zambia

*Bardouille, R. *Research of Zambian Women in Retrospect and Prospect: An Annotated Bibliography*. Lusaka: SIDA, 1992.

This is an excellent bibliography with lengthy annotations and a superb introduction.

Burdette, Marcia M. *Zambia: Between Two Worlds*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. [DT 963 .B87]

Highly recommended as an introduction to the history, culture, politics, and economy of the country, this book is clearly written in an engaging style for a lay American audience.

*Chitambo, A.M. *Women in Zambia: A Bibliographical Guide and Directory*. Lusaka: Women and Law in South Africa Research Project, 1991.

Bardouille's bibliography is superior, but this one includes some more general topics which might be of interest.

Colson, Elizabeth and Scudder, Thayer. *For Prayer and Profit: The Ritual, Economic, and Social Importance of Beer in Gwembe District, Zambia, 1950-1982*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988. [DT 963.42 .C65]

Truly a gem, this book examines change and continuity in an area of Zambia through a focus on beer consumption over a 30-year period. The impeccable scholarship, lucid writing style, and solid content recommend this book to anyone seeking to understand aspects of African culture and African daily life, and how these have been influenced by social and economic changes at the national and international levels.

Gertzel, Cherry, ed. *The Dynamics of a One-Party State in Zambia*. Dover, NH: Longwood Publishing Group, 1984. [JQ 2811 .G47]

This book offers the specialist a carefully organized description of the adoption of the single-party regime and the general elections of 1973 and 1978. Ably written by knowledgeable authorities, the dominant theme is the exacerbation of political struggles by the country's economic woes, which were significantly linked to the sharp rise in oil prices while copper export revenues plummeted.

*Hamalengwa, Munyonzwe. *Class Struggles in Zambia, 1889-1989 & the Fall of Kenneth Kaunda; 1990-1991*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992.

The author analyses the interaction between ruling groups and the working classes over a hundred year period, focusing particularly on the labor movement, its politicization and its importance in democratization.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. *Distant Companions: Servants and Employees in Zambia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989.

This first book on urban Zambia's largest salaried occupation is a welcome and important contribution to African social history and ethnography. It compels the reader to reexamine the construction and persistence of colonial work and gender relations, the false assumptions of the modernization theory, and the many forms that domestic service assumes in the contemporary world.

Prins, Gwyn. *The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980. [DT 963.42 .P74]

Widely hailed as a seminal historical work, this dense volume rejects both class analysis and structural-functionalism in favor of "core concepts" (ecological, organizational, cosmological) as the most useful explanatory framework for narrative history. Prins spent 29 months in the field and drew on every known archival record in developing this award-winning analysis of the Bulozzi in Western Zambia from 1876 to 1896.

Skjonsberg, Else. *Change in an African Village: Kefa Speaks*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1989.

A unique study of everyday life in a community in Zambia -- rural life depicted from the perspective of ordinary villagers. The amazingly detailed time allocation study adds to the richness of the descriptions of everyday rural life and to the understanding of time as a most scarce resource, at least for women. In addition, the book is outright enjoyable to read. A must for people professionally and otherwise concerned with rural Africa.

*Sumaili, Fanuel K., editor. *Zambia in the 1990's*. Lusaka: Professors World Peace Academy, 1991.

*Sumaili, Fanuel K. *Zambia Writer's Talking*. Ndola: Printpak Zambia Ltd, 1991.

This is a collection of interviews with Zambian writers dealing with their view of the literary scene. This is a great volume and deals with many issues critical to Zambia today.

Vickery, Kenneth P. *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialism, 1890-1939*. New York: Greenwood, 1986. [HC 915 .Z7 .S678]

A competent academic study of how some African farmers were able to adapt to conditions under colonialism, avoid migration, and shape their own future. This is a technical, densely-detailed study for the specialist.

10. Zimbabwe

*Weiss, Ruth. *Zimbabwe & the New Elite*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1994.

Offering a journalist's perspective on an elite created by the Zimbabwean war, Weiss gives a useful analysis of ethnic and economic factors leading to this development.

Charlton, Michael. *The Last Colony in Africa: Diplomacy and the Independence of Rhodesia*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

*Cheney, Patricia. *The Land and People of Zimbabwe*. New York: Lippincott, 1991.

Davidow, Jeffrey. *A Peace in Southern Africa: The Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. [DT 962.75 .D38]

This well-structured analysis of the negotiating process from which independent Zimbabwe emerged is highly recommended for the specialist interested in Zimbabwe or regional politics in southern Africa. Written by an experienced American official, the book has been criticized for its excessive admiration of the fairness of the settlement and the negotiating skills of the British.

Frederiske, Julie. *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. New York: Penguin Books 1984. [DT 962 .75 .F73]

A fascinating collection of propaganda leaflets, poems, photographs, film titles, songs, cartoons, and government documents from 1980 and 1981, organized to demonstrate the racism and illusions of the white Rhodesian authorities, this is a captivating entry into the intensity and emotionalism of the conflict, albeit from just one perspective.

Gann, Lewis H. and Henriksen, Thomas H. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Battle in the Bush*. New York: Praeger, 1981; Martin, David and Johnson, Phyllis. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1982. [DT 962 .75 .G37]

Zimbabwe's profoundly bitter decolonization is reflected in its historiography, as these two complementary volumes demonstrate. Martin and Johnson, two experienced journalists, tell the tale from a ZANU perspective, with the ZAPU leadership and its allies, notably Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, coming in for nearly as much criticism as Ian Smith and his Western allies. For Gann and Henriksen, two historians, the commitment is to tell the white settlers' side of the story before it is lost in the nationalism of the new Zimbabwe. Both books should be read, but the one by Martin and Johnson is preferable due to its greater effort to analyze, especially the crucial 1972-1976 period, and its fascinating behind-the-scenes narrative based on personal interviews and secret documents obtained by the two journalists.

*Gore, Charles, Yemi Katerere, and Sam Moyo, eds.. *The Case For Sustainable Development in Zimbabwe: Conceptual Problems, Conflicts and Contradictions*. Harare: ENDA and ZERO, 1992.

This study addresses solutions to environmental issues in Zimbabwe. The authors also stress that human needs must also be dealt with when determining methods to avoid environmental degradation.

Herbst, Jeffrey. *State Politics in Zimbabwe*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

*Horn, Nancy E. *Cultivation Customers: Market Women in Harare, Zimbabwe*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

Virtually ignored by government statistics, market women in Harare are vital to the national economy, and Horn examines commerce by offering data on exactly what proportion of the economy these women's activities fill. An excellent study adding to a growing understanding of the importance of women's trade in hostile urban environments.

*Kriger, Norma. *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Kriger offers the unique viewpoint that rather participating in Zimbabwe liberation war due to nationalism, the peasants had distinctive agendas. This contradicts some other viewpoints on the Zimbabwean war, but provides a fascinating analysis.

Lan, David. *Guns and Rain*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985. [BF 1242 .Z55 .L36]

This academic treatise on how "spirit mediums" of the Dande in northeastern Zimbabwe provided legitimacy to the anti-colonial guerrillas has been widely acclaimed. The study is beautifully written and should be of interest to anyone concerned with how local politics and nationalist movements can influence each other, or anyone wanting to understand more about Zimbabwe. Not for the novice.

*Palmer, Robin H. & Isobel Birch. *Zimbabwe: A Land Divided*. Oxford: Oxfam, 1992.

Palmer supplies a general account of current conflicts in Zimbabwe. It is a very simplistic account, but provides a quick and easy overview.

*Riddell, Roger. *Zimbabwe to 1996: At the Heart of a Growing Region*. London: Economic Intelligence Unit, 1992.

This is an excellent study addressing both political and economical dimensions. Riddell observes Zimbabwe change for socialist ideals to structural adjustment programs and offers ideas on future prospects for the Zimbabwean nation.

*Shadur, Mark A. *Labour Relations in a Developing Country: A Case Study on Zimbabwe*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994.

Shadur analyses the debate between economic growth and social development which has plagued much of Africa. Zimbabwe attempted to pursue a "revolutionary socialism" in order to achieve both these goals. What made the nation turn to structural adjustment, and how have they fared on the quest for development? An excellent analysis is given here.

*Staunton, Irene., editor. *Mothers of the Revolution: The War Experiences of Thirty Zimbabwean Women*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Excellent oral history of women engaged in different facets of the liberation war. Their voices are extremely powerful and eloquent.

Stedman, Stephen J. *Peacemaking in Civil War: International Mediation in Zimbabwe, 1974-1980*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.

Stedman analyzes four international attempts to mediate a settlement to the Zimbabwean civil war of the 1970s and compares the three failed negotiations -- the 1974-75 Kenneth Kaunda/John Vorster 'detente' exercise, the Henry Kissinger mediation that led to the Geneva conference of 1976, and the Anglo-American initiatives of David Owen and Cyrus Vance in 1977-1978 -- with the successful 1979 Lancaster House Conference on Rhodesia, chaired by Lord Carrington. Drawing on primary sources not available previously, his discussion of the factors that distinguish the failures from the successful attempt is a major contribution to conflict resolution theory. A final chapter considers the lessons of the Zimbabwe experience for South Africa today.

Stoneman, Colin and Cliffe, Lionel. *Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

*Sylvester, Christine. *Zimbabwe: The Terrain of Contradictory Development*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

Sylvester's study examines the interesting mix of ideologies currently coexisting in Africa after ten years of independence.

Tamarkin, M. *The Making of Zimbabwe: Decolonization in the Context of Regional and International Politics*. Portland, OR: International Specialized Book Services, 1990.

Western Africa



an annotated bibliography



National Foreign Affairs Training Center
School of Area Studies
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Western Africa

an annotated bibliography

The School of Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute prepares area bibliographies for use in its training programs. In addition to this bibliography, the School publishes bibliographies of Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the Near East and North Africa, Latin America, South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia.

Primary emphasis in the selection of items is given to materials in the Institute's library. Preference is accorded to recently published materials in order to highlight the most up-to-date studies and to ensure a balanced presentation of differing viewpoints on an issue.

This bibliography has been the work of many people: John Collier, Lorraine Gardner, Krista Lessig, an intern for Spring 1995, and Hannah Baldwin. Many sections of the text were taken from the 1991 edition of *Sub-Saharan Africa: A Selected Functional and Country Bibliography*. This publication is not intended to be a comprehensive bibliography. Rather, it is designed to give the reader a place to begin further research by offering some of the best known, well-regarded, and accessible material available.

Items followed by a call number in brackets [], are located in the FSI library. Some entries are available only at the Main State library, and are noted as such. Please check items marked with a * at the FSI library first, since they may have been ordered after this bibliography was published.

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General Material

Boahen, Adu, with Ajayi, Jacob F. Ade, and Tidy, Michael. *Topics in West African History*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1986.

This concise chronicle of significant events in West African history explores the ancient trans-Saharan caravan trade that linked the savanna and forest areas of West Africa with North Africa, the Mediterranean World, and Europe; the region's early states and kingdoms; the relationship of West Africa to Europe from the 15th century to the independence revolution; and West Africa's experience since the end of colonialism.

*Callaway, Barbara and Lucy Creevey. *The Heritage of Islam: Women, Religion, and Politics in West Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1994.

This work provides useful insights into the impact of Islam on the lives of West African women, focusing on Senegal and Kano, Nigeria. A variety of topics such as Islamic law, education, and regional and local economies, as well as women within the political process, are addressed. Aside from the "progress" that is obviously "enhancing" women's education, political, and economic opportunities, the women of Senegal and, especially, women of Kano clearly continue to face obstacles. The discussion on Islam's redefinition of women's status is provocative. Although Islam provides individual rights, respect, inheritance privileges, property rights, and divorce regulations, the authors are correct in their judgment that its patriarchy largely suppressed freedoms and rights embedded in pre-Islamic norms.

Clarke, Peter B. *West Africa and Islam*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold, 1982. [BP 64 .A4 .W348]

A welcome guide for the nonspecialist, this volume is both authoritative and readable. Clarke's discussion of the role of Islam in contemporary West African politics, particularly in Nigeria, is quite useful. Clarke has also written a companion volume, *West Africa and Christianity* (Baltimore: Edward Arnold, 1986).

*Conteh-Morgan, John. *Theatre & Drama in Francophone Africa: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press 1992.

Creevey, Lucy E., ed. *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and the Sahel*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986. [HD 6073 .A292 .A358]

Based on presentations at a conference on training and animation of rural women in Mali, this book looks at how development programs can effectively involve women. Here is some light reading which will introduce the reader to aspects of rural Africa, as well as women-in-development issues.

*D'Almeida, Irene A. *Francophone African Women Writers: Destroying the Emptiness of Silence*. University Press of Florida, 1994.

Echenberg, Myron. *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990.

Only France among the colonial powers implemented an extensive militarization of its African colonies by adopting, among other measures, universal male conscription from 1912 until 1960. Professor Echenberg traces the history during this period of the large and diverse group of West Africans who served in the "Tirailleurs Senegalais" regiments of the French Colonial Army. A book for historians and/or students of military matters, this scholarly volume also sheds light on the background of the African and French military institutions and societal relations of contemporary Francophone Africa.

Harrison, Christopher. *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

A well-written, finely researched study, Harrison's book belongs to a growing literature on a relatively brief period in African history that has been inadequately studied. In his superb introduction, Harrison weaves together religious issues, colonial policy, European perceptions of Islam, and the origins of French policy in French West Africa, particularly Senegal, Guinea, and Mali. His notes and bibliography are excellent.

Hiskett, Mervyn. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1984.

This clear, comprehensive survey of Islam from its earliest development in West Africa to the end of the colonial era is the first study of its kind to be written from an Islamic perspective. Throughout, the book emphasizes the nature of Islamic scholarship and its profound impact on the region. New insights on Christian missionary activity are provided and the book takes into account many previously neglected Hausa and Arabic sources.

*Kirk-Greene, Anthony & Daniel Bach, eds. *State & Society in Francophone Africa Since Independence*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

1. Benin

Allen, Chris, Michael S. Radu, and Keith Somerville, et al. *Benin, The Congo, Burkina Faso: Economics, Politics and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

This book demonstrates the failure of three African states to follow the Marxist model. Allen does the best at proving that Benin is not a socialist state, but Radu and Somerville on the Congo and Somerville and Joan Baxter on Burkina Faso are also able to reach the same conclusion. All three state systems, in fact, answer Allen's description of 'a common African system' in which the politico-administrative structure can best be described as 'centralized bureaucratic'.

*Decalo, Samuel. *Historical Dictionary of Benin, 3rd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994. [DT 541.5 .D4]

Presents the dominant historical, social, economic, and political features of Benin, and outlines biographies of some of the most important personalities who have appeared on the Beninois public scene. Includes a fairly comprehensive bibliography. FSI library contains the 2nd, 1987 edition.

Manning, Patrick. *Slavery, Colonialism and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. [HC 1010 .M36]

For those with inquiring minds and theoretical inclinations, this heavy volume is highly recommended because the author utilizes solid scholarship on the economic history of Dahomey to address significant universal issues in political economy. Manning employs both neoclassical economic tools and Marxian analysis to explain Dahomey's economic growth for three centuries followed by its relative decline since the 1930s. For the less academic reader, the book is still very valuable for its exceptionally comprehensive bibliography and its more general sections, namely chapters 1, 3, 7, 8, 11, and 12.

Ronen, Dov. *Dahomey: Between Tradition and Modernity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975. [DT 541.62 .R6]

Ronen is particularly effective in sorting out the highly personalized political conflict among a handful of players at the core of the Benin system. His primary failure is the neglect of the power of the *salariat*, the deeply rooted bureaucracy of Benin, and he does not emphasize adequately the influence of the French. While the names have changed since 1972, and there is a whole new lexicon to be learned, the fundamental socio-political structure remains intact and Ronen's penetrating analysis remains a solid introduction to it.

2. Burkina Faso

See Allen, under BENIN.

Anderson, Samantha, ed. *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983-1987*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1987.

This work is an excellent introduction to the 1983 revolution and the ensuing government of Sankara. While other accounts are necessary for balance, one must examine Sankara's perspective and rhetoric to understand his impact on contemporary Burkina Faso.

Irwin, Paul. *Liptako Speaks: History from Oral Tradition in Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981. [DT 553 .U79 .L564]

The author has collected, condensed, and evaluated a large array of oral traditions from the Liptako people in northern Burkina Faso in order to assess the validity of oral history methodologies. While some of the work is, therefore, devoted to discussions of methodology, most of the account does bring to life a fascinating picture of the Liptako in the nineteenth century, with particular attention paid to their political styles.

McFarland, Daniel. *Historical Dictionary of Upper Volta*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1978. [DT 553 .U75 .M3]

Although the author of this reference work seems slightly less sure of his material than other writers in the series, the resulting product is nonetheless of enormous value as a quick source of information in English and a guide to further research.

*Sharp, Robin. *Burkina Faso: New Life for the Sahel?* State Mutual Book & Periodical Service, 1990.

Skinner, Elliott P. *African Urban Life: The Transformation of Ouagadougou*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974. [HN 810 .U63 .O97]

This is still an excellent introduction in English to Burkina Faso, although the focus is primarily the urbanization process in Ouagadougou. Skinner, a social anthropologist and former American Ambassador to the country (1966-1969), is also the author of the major work in English on the Mossi: *The Mossi of the Upper Volta: The Political Development of a Sudanese People*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964).

Skinner, Elliot P. *The Mossi of Burkina Faso: Chiefs, Politicians, and Soldiers*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1989.

3. Cape Verde

*Bigman, Laura. *History and Hunger in West Africa: Food Production and Entitlement in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Focusing on lusophone Africa, Bigman's study attempts to fill a gap in food crisis literature; the author bases her study largely on Portuguese language sources. This work raises several important questions dealing with the capacity of African societies to produce food, the availability of foodstuffs, and a nation's dependence on external sources for their food supply.

Chabal, Patrick. *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. [DT 613.76 .C3 .C52]

This is the most objective and best balanced account of the often romanticized life and thought of the Cape Verdean revolutionary, Amilcar Cabral. Cabral emerges here as a pragmatic radical who is also an effective leader and a warm, likable man -- not at all like the "African Lenin" of some of his hagiography. However, Patrick Chabal accepts rather uncritically the debatable assertions of PAIGC military efficacy and internal unity. For a well-written example of the more sympathetic perspective, see Basil Davidson, *No*

Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky: The Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (London: Zed Press, 1982).

Davidson, Basil. ***The Fortunate Isles: A Study in African Transformation***. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1989.

Davidson offers a very useful account of recent Cape Verdean history, before passing on to a personal interpretation of life in the new Cape Verde Republic. Davidson's information, drawn from intimate contacts with individuals of all social and political levels, adds a valuable new resource for the understanding of the islands.

Duncan, T. Bentley. ***Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth Century Commerce and Navigation***. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972. [HF 3699 .M4 .D85]

This is a well-researched study of the discovery, settlement, and evolution of Portuguese island groups in the Atlantic in the seventeenth century and, to a lesser extent, in the eighteenth century. The two chapters devoted to Cape Verde capture the enduring themes of life on the islands: insularity, an Atlantic Ocean worldview, complex Afro-Portuguese relations, and constant drought-induced poverty.

Foy, Colm. ***Cape Verde, Politics, Economics and Society***. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. [DT 671 .C28 .F68]

Journalist Foy bases this book on government documents and interviews with government officials. More rhetoric than fact, the book provides little clue as to the history, social structure, culture, or daily life of Cape Verde. It is, however, one of the few books in English about post-colonial Cape Verde, and it provides a PAICV perspective on contemporary politics and economics in the archipelago.

Lobban, Richard and Halter, Marilyn. ***Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cape Verde. 3rd ed.*** Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994. [DT 613.5 .L62]

This new edition is considerable better than the authors' first attempt, and while still not the best source available, it is useful. FSI Library contains the 2nd ed.

Meintel, Dierdre. ***Race, Culture, and Portuguese Colonialism in Cabo Verde***. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, Foreign and Comparative Studies Program, 1984. [DT 671 .C242 .M44]

Highly recommended as the best introduction to Cape Verde for the general reader as well as the advanced student. While the core of the volume centers around the author's field work on race relations in Cape Verde, she minimizes anthropological jargon while adding contextual description so as to end up with a clearly written guide to Cape Verdean society and culture. A useful glossary of Crioulo terms, an excellent but not annotated bibliography, and an index complete the book.

*Moser, Gerald M. *Changing Africa: The First Literary Generation of Independent Cape Verde*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992.

Moser's book provides an excellent overview of Cape Verdean writers, adding a great deal of useful cultural information on the nation. He includes poems and short stories in Portuguese with English translations, which is extremely useful to those readers who are beginning their study of Portuguese.

4. Côte d'Ivoire

Gbagbo, Laurent. *Côte d'Ivoire: Pour une alternative démocratique*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1983. [JQ 3386 .A2 G33]

A former university lecturer, Gbagbo has become something of a symbol to Abidjan's educated youth due to his resistance to the dominance (Gbagbo calls it dictatorship) of Houphouët-Boigny and the Ivorian political establishment. Worth examining to gain a feel for the intellectual ferment underlying recent events, and the French-language forms in which it finds expression.

*Gbagbo, Laurent. *Côte d'Ivoire: Agir pour les libertés*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991.

This book offers the reader a look at the Popular Front in Côte d'Ivoire by one of the most preeminent French writers on Africa.

*Gottlieb, Alma. *Parallel Worlds*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.

This thoroughly enjoyable book is the result of a team effort on the part of Gottlieb, an anthropologist, and her husband, a writer. The two spent a year in Côte d'Ivoire while Gottlieb researched the *Bégné*. Their different interpretations on this

common experience offers the reader a view into Africa's complexity, and insight into why mistakes and misinterpretations are often made on the part of Westerners.

*Gottlieb, Alma. *Under the Kapok Tree: Identity and Difference in Beng Thought*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Another fine work by Gottlieb, this book is an ethnology of the Beng, and is based on the same research material as *Parallel Worlds*. Her other book is better for the general reader, this one is recommended only for the anthropologically-inclined.

Guerry, Vincent. *Life with the Baoule?'*. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1975. [DT 545.42 .G8]

Vincent Guerry, a Benedictine monk who lived as a villager for seven years among the Baoule, pursues two themes in this delightful little book: a somewhat haphazard but enchantingly described overview of several social customs among the villagers he knew well, and a more abstract but equally beautifully written essay on how the worldview of the Baoule differs from that of a typical Westerner. If Guerry's romanticism is not to your liking there are four other recommended works (in order of readability) with more structure, written by people who lived there:

1. Carol Spindel, *In the Shadow of the Sacred Grove*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).
2. Alexander Alland, *When the Spider Danced* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975).
3. Anita J. Glaze, *Art and Death in a Senufo Village* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981).
4. Robert Launay, *Traders Without Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

*Launay, Robert. *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Based on field research done in the academic year of 1984-5, Launay provides an intriguing look into the lives of the Dyula Muslims in the small town of Korhogo. Launay focuses his research on understanding how Islam influences all aspects of everyday life, and this individualized approach adds much to one's understanding of a Muslim culture.

Lewis, Barbara. *Ivory Coast*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

Mundt, Robert J. *Historical Dictionary of Côte d'Ivoire*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. [DT 545.57 .M86]

This small volume contains much useful information, although at times the treatment is uneven. Nevertheless, it is valuable for its excellent bibliographic references.

*Rapley, John. *Ivoirien Capitalism: African Entrepreneurs in Côte d'Ivoire*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1993.

Rapley's excellent study examines the role of indigenous capitalists in Côte d'Ivoire's economy, offering a contradiction of dependency school and underdevelopment school theories. Rapley argues that not only does indigenous capitalism exist in Africa, it is also a significant factor in development.

*Steiner, Christopher Burghard. *African Art in Transit*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

The continuing commodification of African Art in European and American markets provides the basis for Steiner's study. By research done among Côte d'Ivoire art traders, the "middlemen", the author questions the reason for this trend, our definitions of authenticity regarding African art, and the effects this commodification has had on the production of art.

Walker, Sheila S. *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. [BV 3785 .H348 .W34]

Professor Walker examines the remarkable achievements of a charismatic religious figure, Liberia-born William Wade Harris, who, in 1913, began an indigenous Christian church among Ivorian coastal societies which soon expanded to more than 100,000 members. A fascinating and authoritative work for those with a keen interest in history, social change, or specific efforts to blend African and Western elements into dynamic new socio-cultural forms.

Weiskel, Timothy C. *French Colonial Rule and the Baoule Peoples: Resistance and Collaboration 1889-1911*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. [DT 545.7 .W44]

A stimulating study which argues that the most explanatory variable of early Baoule-French relations was competition for control over labor. When the French began pressing for a greater and more dependable supply of labor, they were attacking the very center of the Baoule system in which control over labor was the primary determinant of the power and status of the male elders. An excellent piece of scholarship, Weiskel's

perspective should be compared to the more Euro-centered approach of earlier survey works on the colonial period.

Zartman, I. William and Delgado, Christopher, eds. *The Political Economy of the Ivory Coast*. New York: Praeger, 1984. [HC 1025 .P64]

This is a conference-originated collection of essays on selected aspects of Ivorian economics, generally examined within a neoclassical framework, combined with one excellent contribution on the political elite in Abidjan.

5. Gambia

Gailey, Harry A. *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia, 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. [DT 509.5 .G34]

Like its predecessors in this series, the latest volume on Gambia compiles facts and information in a dictionary format, and presents a broad analysis of post-independence history to complement the better-known colonial past.

Hudson, Mark. *Our Grandmothers' Drums*. New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1990.

Hudson re-creates life in an African village in Gambia, describing the 14 months he spent there as a resident of the village and observer at a British medical mission. Although Hudson's chief purpose was to examine the lives of the women, his actual study evolved into a much fuller portrait of rural African life and culture. In this highly detailed and sympathetic account, the people of Dulaba emerge as individual personalities and not as anthropological statistics.

Hughes, Arnold, "**From Colonialism to Confederation: The Gambian Experience of Independence, 1965-1982.**" In Robin Cohen, ed., *African Islands and Enclaves*, pp. 57-80. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983. [DT 30.5 .A364]

This well-written article combines an overview of recent political history with a judicious and authoritative analysis of the essential elements of Gambian politics. Hughes' sanguine assessment of Jawara's leadership is not widely shared among Gambia's educated youth. The bibliography lists four doctoral dissertations on politics in Gambia done in the 1970s at American universities.

*Hughes, Arnold, ed. *The Gambia: Studies in Society and Politics*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1991.

Compiled after a 1989 conference at the Centre for West African Studies at the University of Birmingham, these papers, while slightly dated, provide solid discussion on many topics including agriculture, women and rural development, law and political processes, and others.

*Jabara, Cathy L. *Economic Reform and Poverty in the Gambia: a Survey of the Pre- and Post-ERP Experience*. Cornell Food and Nutrition Policy Program, 1990.

This highly technical study examines linkages between economic reforms and outcomes at the household level. The economic recovery program (ERP) instituted in mid-1985 to stabilize the economy is evaluated regarding how this reforms affected the economy.

Wiseman, John, "*The Social and Economic Bases of Party Political Support in Serekunda, The Gambia.*" *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 23, no. 1 (March 1985), pp.3-29.

The complexities of Gambian politics are delineated in this empirical study based on the responses of 400 Gambians in 1981 to a survey questionnaire regarding the relationship of socioeconomic variables and political loyalties. The forty-nine footnotes may be mined for other written sources on various aspects of Gambian life.

6. Ghana

*Allman, Jean M. *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Allman offers the reader a fresh look into the National Liberation Movement formed as a rejection of Nkrumah's vision of unitarian government, his research and interviews provide a fresh interpretation of events which occurred in the 1950s.

*Anin, T.E. *Essays on the Political Economy of Ghana*. Accra: Selwyn Publishers, 1991.

A Ghanaian banker examines how the nation can regain her 1957-independence euphoria. Anin traces the political economy of Ghana from independence, through plans for development, up to the present day, and offers prophecies for the future. The author looks at the role of the indigenous entrepreneur, structural adjustment programs, external debt, state corporations. Anin offer policy prescriptions, specifically addressing agricultural and rural development, as well as finance. An excellent and well-rounded study.

*Ayee, Joseph R. *An Anatomy of Public Policy Implementation: The Case of Decentralization Policies in Ghana*. New York: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994.

Baynham, Simon. *The Military and Politics in Nkrumah's Ghana*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. [DT 512 .B39]

A study of the military between 1957 and 1966, this book analyzes the character and organization of the Ghanaian army, its nature and development as an institution, and its relation to the country's wider societal structure. This is a dense text of special interest to the military-minded, but it does include a history of civilian-military relations in Ghana and some information about Ghanaian politics, society, and ethnic relations.

Chazan, Naomi. *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. [HC 1060 .C43]

Chazan uses orthodox Weberian concepts of power, legitimacy, and authority to explain the complexities of politics in post-1969 Ghana in this comprehensive and magnificently researched work. A must for any serious student of Ghanaian politics, all readers will benefit from Part III which contains the definitive political history of the past five regimes. For two very different interpretations of the earlier Nkrumah era, see Dennis Austin, *Ghana Observed: Essays on the Politics of a West African Republic* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976) and Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989, second edition).

*Edgerton, Robert B. *The Fall of the Asante Empire: The Hundred-Year War for Africa's Gold Coast*. New York: Free Press., 1995.

Edgerton presents a novelistic book examining the struggle from 1807 to 1900 for the Ghanaian nation between the British and local indigenous groups. This work is good for the general reader and is not at all scholarly. If one is interested in a more intriguing tale of Ghanaian history, read this book.

*Frimpong-Ansah, Jonathan H. *The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992. [HC1060 .F75 1992]

Writing from both a practical and theoretical viewpoint Frimpong-Ansah, a former Governor of the Bank of Ghana, offers an intriguing study of political economy in Ghana and its changes from colonial to post-colonial times.

*Herbst, Jeffrey. *Politics of Reform in Ghana: 1982-1991*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

This study of politics and economic reform in Ghana is highly valuable. Herbst highlights the errors which plunged Ghana, previously perceived as a potential leader for African development, further into debt. He offers the Ghanaian situation as an example for the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and feels that with a continuous and dedicated reform effort designed to address the specific problems of each country, Africa can develop successfully.

Huq, M. M. *The Economy of Ghana: The First 25 Years Since Independence*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

This book is a very useful survey of the Ghanaian economy up to 1983 (when the dramatic changes were introduced) and it contains a wealth of hard-to-find data. Although the story it tells is a depressing one of misguided policies and poor management, it does end on a note of optimism that the corner has been turned.

*Myers, Robert A. *Ghana*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1991.

This is an excellent annotated bibliography to refer to for more information about Ghana. It is very broad in scope, and while it not comprehensive, it contains sources which are readily available.

*Owusu-Ansah, David & McFarland, Daniel M. *Historical Dictionary of Ghana, 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994. {1985 ed. in FSI library}

Updated from 1985, this volume, like others in the series, provides the reader with a good background and an excellent place to begin further research.

Pellow, Deborah and Chazan, Naomi. *Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986. [DT 512 .P44]

This introductory survey is highly recommended as the first best step toward understanding Ghana, Ghanaians, and the range of interpretations of Ghana's post-colonial experience.

Robertson, Claire C. *Sharing the Same Bowl: A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra, Ghana*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984. [HQ 1816 .Z8]

In four chapters of this book, lengthy interviews with four elderly women are utilized to describe the historic process of socio-economic change among the Ga people of Accra. The other four chapters argue analytically that the expansion of economic power and autonomy by the women came to be perceived eventually as a threat to the male authority structure, thus leading to persecution and repression. Not easy reading, but highly regarded as a contribution to the study of gender relations and class formation in Africa.

*Rothchild, Donald., editor. *Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1991.

This volume contains twelve essays plus an introduction by Rothchild which cover the PNDC, Rawlings, rural and educational development, and the current structural adjustment reforms in Ghana.

*Shams, Hadi & Alexander Sarvis. *Ghana under Structural Adjustment: The Poverty Impact*. New York: New York University Press, 1991.

*Shillington, Kevin. *Ghana & the Rawlings Factor*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

Through interviews with Jerry Rawlings and other top officials of the PNDC party, along with extensive historical research, Shillington gives a good interview of the leadership of the Ghanaian state, from Kwame Nkrumah to the present.

*Yankah, Kojo. *The Trials of J. J. Rawlings: Echoes of the 31st December Revolution*. Hampton, VA: United Brothers & Sisters Communications Systems, 1992.

The author, the Director of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, pens a rousing book in support of Rawlings and his movement to reform Ghanaian politics. Although

sometimes difficult to follow, this book is a vital tool to help the reader understand the complex situation in Ghana today.

*Yankah, Kwesi. *Speaking for the Chief: Okyeame & the Politics of Akan Royal Orator*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995.

7. Guinea

Derman, William. *Serfs, Peasants and Socialists: A Former Serf Village in the Republic of Guinea*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973. [DT 543.42 .D4]

In this sociological study, Derman reviews the historic rise of Fulani dominance in the Futa Jalon and devotes considerable attention to the nature of the serf, or slave status to which they forced the Susu, Dialonke, and other original inhabitants. These traditional patterns of dominance/deference still obtained with surprising strength in rural regions of Sekou Toure's Guinea despite his socialist rhetoric and the trends of the colonial period toward a convergence of status between the Fulani and their subordinate neighbors.

*Kaba, Lansiné. *La Guinea dit "non" a de Gaulle*. Paris: Editions Chaka, 1989.

This book discusses the political situation in Guinea, Sekou Toure, and the PDG. Good book to practice your French reading skills.

O'Toole, Thomas E. *Historical Dictionary of Guinea: Republic of Guinea-Conakry, 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. [DT 543.5 .O8]

A reference work which is not very good, primarily due to the paucity and disarray of research on Guinea. This is evident from the bibliography which, nonetheless, is still a useful point of departure for becoming familiar with Guinean studies.

*Tilleman, Erik and Selena Winsnes. *A Short & Simple Account of the Country Guinea & Its Nature*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

8. Guinea-Bissau

*Aguilar, Renato and Mario Zejan. *Guinea-Bissau: A Fresh Start?* Gothemburg University, 1991.

A study done for the SIDA, this work traces economic development and the affect of structural adjustment policies on Guinea-Bissau. Aguilar offers a good deal of historical background along with macroeconomical analysis. A good study for those interested in Guinea-Bissau's economy.

*Bigman, Laura. *History and Hunger in West Africa: Food Production and Entitlement in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Focusing on lusophone Africa, Bigman's study attempts to fill a gap in food crisis literature; the author bases her study largely on Portuguese language sources. This work raises several important questions, dealing with the capacity of African societies to produce food, the availability of foodstuffs, and a nation's dependence on external sources for their food supply.

Chabal, Patrick. *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. [DT 613.76 .C3 .C52]

This is the most objective and best balanced account of the often romanticized life and thought of the Cape Verdean revolutionary, Amilcar Cabral. Cabral emerges here as a pragmatic radical who is also an effective leader and a warm, likable man -- not at all like the "African Lenin" of some of his hagiography. However, Patrick Chabal accepts rather uncritically the debatable assertions of PAIGC military efficacy and internal unity. For a well-written example of the more sympathetic perspective, see Basil Davidson, *No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky: The Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde* (London: Zed Press, 1982).

*Forrest, Joshua B. *Guinea-Bissau: Power, Conflict & Renewal in a West African Nation*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

Forrest's highly critical study of the attempts at development within the Guinea-Bissau state is an excellent overview of many aspects of this society. The author feels that

the state, both in colonial and post-colonial times, has appropriated domestic resources to the detriment of the population. Forrest also believes that Guinea-Bissau's greatest strength is its diverse society. Geography, politics, economics and culture overviews are given as a part of this study.

Galli, Rosemary E. and Jones, Jocelyn. *Guinea-Bissau: Politics, Economics and Society*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. [HC 1080 .G35]

Two academics with experience in the international development community provide the best introduction to Guinea-Bissau in this survey spanning a variety of topics. This is the first book in English to provide a discussion of the history of Guinea-Bissau, as well as a critical analysis of the national liberation movement, the PAIGC, and the efforts toward economic development.

Lobban, Richard and Forrest, Joshua. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988. [DT 613 .5 .L62]

This peculiar collection contains numerous entries relating to Cape Verdean culture, Portuguese imperial history, and anti-colonial groups in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde; unfortunately, it cannot be recommended because it contains relatively little information about Guinea-Bissau itself, and much of that is incomplete or incorrect.

Lopes, Carlos. *Guinea-Bissau: From Liberation Struggle to Independent Statehood*. London: Zed Press, 1986; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.

Despite the often turgid prose and the emphasis on the jargon of Marxian dependency theory, this book is valuable as an introduction to the thinking and frustrations of contemporary Bissauan intellectuals who are concerned about the failure of the post-colonial government to live up to the ideals of the revolution. It should be examined only after reading the volumes by Chabal, and Galli and Jones.

9. Liberia

*Barrett, Lindsay. *Report on Liberia*. Monrovia: Yandia Printing Press, 1993.

This volume is essentially a collection of articles written for West Africa Magazine. The author, a Jamaican/Nigerian whose has been reporting on Liberia for a number of years, openly admits a bias against Charles Taylor. His coverage is

nevertheless excellent, and provides the reader with an in-depth look into Liberia's continuing civil war.

*Beyan, Amos J. *The American Colonization Society & the Creation of the Liberian State: A Historical Perspective, 1822-1900*. University Press of America., 1991.

Dunn, D. Elwood and Holsoe, Svend E. *Historical Dictionary of Liberia, 2nd edition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988. [DT 631 .D955]

One of the more scholarly of the historical dictionaries in the series, the real worth of this one lies in its biographies.

Dunn, D. Elwood and Tarr, S. Byron. *Liberia: A National Polity in Transition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988. [DT 631 .D953]

Written by two Liberian academics with senior-level government experience, this survey is basically a political history with a 40-page chapter on the Liberian economy of the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately the stilted writing style undermines clarity in some places.

Gershoni, Yekutiël. *Black Colonialism: The Americo-Liberian Struggle for the Hinterland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985. [DT 634 .G47]

A straightforward and succinctly written account of the main themes in Liberia's history, with emphasis on the 1900-1930 period during which the internal "colonialism" was most elaborate and relations with the United States and European powers most complex.

*Gifford, Paul. *Christianity & Politics in Doe's Liberia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

The author, a professor of religious studies, offers a highly critical view of the Christianizing influence in Liberia, much of which was contributed by American missionaries. He feels that Christianization diverted the attention of the population from the causes of many of the ills of Liberian society, and played a significant role in the nation's continuing underdeveloped status.

*Horton, S. Augustu P. *Liberia's Underdevelopment - In spite of the Struggle: A Personal Analysis of the Underlying Reasons for Liberia's Underdevelopment*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993.

Written by a Liberian who tends to rail against the imperialist United States, Horton argues that the people need to be responsible for development, rather than government leaders or foreign entities. A bit laudatory at times, this book still offers the reader an inside view of the politics of Liberia.

*Kieh, George K., Jr. *Dependency & the Foreign Policy of a Small Power: The Liberian Case*. San Francisco. Mellen Research University Press, 1993.

A study arising from the dependency school, Kieh shows how Liberia's relationship with the Western world, particularly the United States, has inhibited the development of the West African State. The author lays a large part of the blame for Liberia's current crisis on corrupt leadership as well.

Liebenow, J. Gus. *Liberia, The Quest for Democracy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987. [DT 631 .L53]

If your reading time is limited, this is the one book to read to learn about Liberia's political culture. Fast-paced and highly recommended.

Shick, Tom W. *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. [DT 633 .S4]

A richly textured book which brings to life the history and social dynamics of the Afro-American colonists in nineteenth-century Liberia. While Shick demonstrates an awareness of abstract historical issues, the strength of the work is his lively narrative which is laced with family genealogies -- one reads of real events happening in the lives of real people. One reads, furthermore, of those who left America only to recreate it, and of the organizations and norms which made their survival possible but hindered the development of sound relations with those Africans already in Liberia.

Stakeman, Randolph. *The Cultural Politics of Religious Change: A Study of the Sanoyea Kpelle in Liberia*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986. [BL 2480 .K72 .S72]

This is an exceptionally well-written study of the impact of Lutheran missions on religious behavior, ritual performance, and ideas about the supernatural among the largest ethnic group in Liberia.

10. Mali

Brenner, Louis. *West African Sufi: The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984. [BP 80 .C46 .B73]

Based on authoritative scholarship, this difficult book offers insights into the role of Islam in twentieth-century Malian history. Brenner analyzes, in the context of French colonial control, the spiritual life and leadership of Cerno Bokar (c. 1883-1940), a member of a leading religio-political Malian family which was closely associated with the Tijaniyya order of Sufis.

Courlander, Harold and Seko, Ousmane. *The Heart of the Ngoni: Heroes of the African Kingdom of Segou*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1982. [GR 350.32 .B3 H47]

Among the Bambara, the djeli (or griot) sings praises and tales of noble heroes to the accompaniment of the ngoni (stringed instrument) in order to reinforce Bambara values and reaffirm the propriety of the social system. Collected here are eleven historical narratives adapted from praise songs about mainly military exploits in the sixteenth-century state of Segou. See also the most famous Malian epic of them all in D.T. Niane, *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1965) or John William Johnson, *The Epic of Son-Jara* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). A foray into Bambara art for the serious student is available in Pascal J. Imperato, *Buffoons, Queens and Wooden Horsemen: The Dyo and Goyan Societies of the Bambara of Mali* (Manhasset, NY: Kilima House, 1983).

See Creevey, under WEST AFRICA.

Gray, Clive, et al. *Health Care in Africa: A Study of the Mali Rural Health Project*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

The Mali Rural Health Project was designed as a model effort within the U.S. foreign aid program for extending rudimentary health services in rural areas of developing nations. Although some success was achieved, the program proved to be too costly for nation-wide implementation, thus failing to achieve its immediate goals. The

authors' candid assessment of the project's performance, however, provides valuable lessons for health care development in Third World settings, in particular, the need to incorporate community mobilization and local cost recovery as facets of rural health care delivery systems.

Imperato, Pascal J. *Historical Dictionary of Mali*. Second edition. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1986. [DT 551.5]

The author's wide range of interests and obvious affection for Malian studies are evident throughout this reference work. A careful study of Dr. Imperato's superb bibliographic essay is an absolute must before proceeding into serious investigation of any of the aspects of Mali.

Imperato, Pascal J. *Mali: A Search for Direction*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

The Westview country studies are generally excellent introductions to a particular country, and this new volume on Mali is no exception. This introductory text examines the post-colonial evolution of the developing nation against the background of its long and complex history.

Levtzion, Nehemia. *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980. [DT 532.15 .L48]

Following a readable chronological overview, Levtzion discusses the major historical themes of the West African Sahel during its so-called Golden Age (800-1500): relationships between the nomadic Berbers and sedentary Blacks, the political role of Islam, similarities and differences between ancient Ghana and Mali, and what Levtzion sees as the determining role of economic motivations and relations. For the avid historian, there is an even more formidable work: Elias N. Saad, *A Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400-1900*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

McNaughton, Patrick R. *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power and Art in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988. [DT 551 .45 .M38]

This is an academic narrative by an anthropologist who apprenticed himself briefly to a blacksmith. The study is designed to show how the blacksmith's work is facilitated and enhanced by his other roles as healer, sorcerer, and mediator, and to provide some insights into the culture of the Mande of Mali. The book includes nearly 80 illustrations.

Roberts, Richard L. *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves. The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987. [HC 1035 .R63]

This scholarly investigation into the relationship between the state, warfare, and the economy under the Segu, Bambara, Usonian, and French colonial states provides insights into the complex economic history of what is today the state of Mali. Not light reading, the well-organized text does raise interesting questions about what causes a local economy to expand or contract, which may also be relevant to contemporary Mali.

*Toulmin, Camilla *Cattle, Women, and Wells: Managing Household Survival in the Sahel*. New York: Claredon Press, 1992.

Conducting her research in the Kala community in central Mali, Toulmin examines what options are open to farmers in this region. Her book investigates the factors of risk, long-term planning, and the linkages between economic performance and household management and what effect these factors have on agriculture producers.

*Wisniewski, David. *Sundiata: Lion King of Mali*. New York: Clarion Books, 1992.

Wisniewski provides a retelling of an old story which offers the reader a fascinating look at this legendary hero.

11. Mauritania

*Calderini, Simonetta, Delia Cortese, and James L.A. Webb, Jr. *Mauritania*. Santa Barbara, CA. Clio Press, 1992.

This is an excellent annotated bibliography, which includes both French and English sources

Gerteiny, Alfred G. *Historical Dictionary of Mauritania*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981. [DT 554.57 .G47]

Gerteiny, Alfred G. *Mauritania*. New York: Praeger, 1967.

Because Dr. Gerteiny is so significant among English language sources on Mauritania, it is important to be aware of his emphasis on cultural and political phenomena at the expense of adequate analysis of the role of economic factors. The *Dictionary*, for example, does not include the terms abid (slave) and haratine (freed slave), and the institution of slavery -- a major socio-economic phenomenon -- is dismissed as being "abolished on July 5, 1980." His two books remain, nonetheless, the departure point for Mauritanian studies, particularly the bibliography and bibliographical essays in the *Dictionary*.

***Mauritania: A Country Study, 2nd ed.** Washington, DC. USGPO, 1990.

Stewart, C.C. and Stewart, E.K. *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania: A Case Study from the 19th Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. [BP 64 .M3 S73]

Using Arabic sources extensively, the Stewarts focus on the life of Mauritania's great Islamic scholar, Shaikh Sidiyya al Kabir (1775-1868), as a means of illuminating the complexities of Mauritanian politics in the crucial nineteenth century era. Shaikh Sidiyya, using a prodigious knowledge of Islamic law and his enormous prestige as a mystic/miracle worker, gradually assumed a commanding role as the privileged arbiter of the various conflicts in and between the Hassani, Zawiya, and other classes, clans, and groups.

12. Niger

Baier, Stephen. *An Economic History of Central Niger*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. [HC 547 .N5 B34]

A revised and expanded doctoral thesis, this scholarly study focuses on the capacity of the Nigerian peoples to adapt their economic and social activities to changing ecological and political conditions. Particularly interesting is the chapter which profiles the flexibility of the region's most successful trader, Al-Haji Mukhtar, who began trading before 1914, and who, by the 1960s, had become the head of a modern enterprise.

***Charlick, Robert B. *Niger: Personal Rule & Survival in the Sahel*.** Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

Charlick sets out to fill a gap left in the literature about the Niger nation-state, which he feels has focused on rural development only. He discusses the effect national

and international policy making in the urban centers has on village level life. The book provides a good background on relatively recent directions in Niger's governance, as well as giving possible development directions for Niger in the global arena.

Decalo, Samuel. *Historical Dictionary of Niger, 2nd edition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989.

Another in the series of historical dictionaries; a history in the form of alphabetized subject entries. Decalo provides information on Niger's economy, history, geography, demography, and political and military leaders. Includes a bibliography.

Fuglestad, Finn. *A History of Niger, 1850-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984. [DT 547.65 .F83]

This work suffers from a lack of clarity, partly because Fuglestad tries to compress too much data (192 pages of text, 1,155 footnotes) and partly because he is a Norwegian writing in English from French language sources. On the other hand, Niger's history is complex and ambiguous, and thus Fuglestad's material warrants careful study by the serious student of the country, particularly in tandem with the Baier book (above).

*Glew, Robert S. & Babale, Chaibou., eds. *Hausa Folktales from Niger*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1993.

Taken from Niger radio broadcasts between 1988 and 1989, these tales are based on popular themes from Hausa folklore and provide an insight into their cultural values.

*Miles, William F. *Hausaland Divided: Colonialism & Independence in Nigeria & Niger*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1994.

This well-researched study examines the question of ethnicity and colonial boundaries established by the British and French during the early 20th century. Using two border villages as the basis for his study, Miles raises many questions concerning the controversial issues of ethnic groups and nationality and lends insight into the causes of conflict today in much of Africa.

Stoller, Paul. *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession among the Songhay of Niger*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Stoller, Paul and Olkes, Cheryl. *In Sorcery's Shadow: A Memoir of Apprenticeship Among the Songhay of Niger*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987. [DT 547 .45 .S65 .S76]

Either or both of these works is highly recommended. Stoller's intermittent sojourns among the Songhay over a 20-year period and his eventual acceptance as a "servant to spirits," along with his intimate knowledge of their language, gave him unparalleled insight into a possession cult in the village of Tillaberi. The former volume is more academic and the latter more personal, but both are engaging and ought to be read by anyone preparing to live and work in Niger.

13. Nigeria

Achebe, Chinua. *The Trouble with Nigeria*. London: Heinemann, 1984. [DT 515/8 .A67]

Achebe demonstrates with wit and candor that numerous Nigerians are aware of "the trouble with Nigeria," even if he inadvertently proves himself to be part of the problem through his intellectual elitism. Filled with remarkable insights and memorable anecdotes, this brief (63 pages) essay by Nigeria's well-known novelist is highly recommended, especially the chapter on leadership.

*Arya, Pyare L. *Structure, Policies & Growth Prospects of Nigeria*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993.

Arya argues that the past failures of structural adjustment programs and import substitution in Nigeria was due to a failure to take into account Nigerian society, its values, religions, ethnic composition, etc. He makes suggestions on how to improve Nigeria's economy, and broadly addresses such areas as agricultural policy and growth, technology, oil resources, ECOWAS, corruption, and the political economy. This is an excellent study.

Bierstaker, Thomas J. *Multinational Corporations, the State, and Control of the Nigerian Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. [HG 5881 .A3 .B54]

A study of the causes and effects of the Nigerian government's "indigenization" program in the 1970s, Bierstaker's analysis of the politico-economic interactions within Nigeria in terms of current theories is masterful and convincing. The book represents an important contribution to the theoretical, empirical, and methodological literature on the role of multinational enterprises in the struggle of developing nations for economic

independence from foreign and international forces. However, because of its rather narrow topic, it will complement, not substitute for, more general books about the Nigerian economy or multinational businesses.

Diamond, Larry. *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria, The Failure of the First Republic*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988. [DT 515.832 .D53]

This highly-detailed, thought-provoking analysis of political culture, government structure, and regional, ethnic, and party cleavages in contemporary Nigeria is heavy reading, yet is certain to emerge as one of the "must-read" books on the country.

*Ekwe-Ekwe, Herbert. *The Biafra War: Nigeria & the Aftermath*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991.

The author attempts to explain the causes of the Biafra War by examining changes in Nigerian society and governance after World War II. He makes broader statements concerning the arbitrary formation of nation-states in Africa and feels perhaps Africa should not maintain the borders imposed by colonialism. These borders can be seen as the root of the Biafra War, as well as other conflicts throughout Africa.

Eyo, Ekpo. *Treasures of Ancient Nigeria*. New York: Random House, 1980. [N 7399 .N5 .E94]

A rich picture anthology accompanied by three scholarly and readable essays on the art exhibition which toured the United States with great success in 1980. The photographs are done with skill and the captions are genuinely informative, but of particular value is Frank Willett's overview of the Nigerian artistic tradition.

*Falola, Toyin & Olanrewaju, S. A., editors. *Rural Development Problems in Nigeria*. New York: Ashgate Publishing Company. 1992.

*Forrest, Tom. *The Advance of African Capital: The Growth of Nigerian Private Enterprise*. University Press of Virginia. 1994.

This is an extensive study of private enterprise in Nigeria covering the colonial period to the present, including trade, foreign capital, and the state's relationship with businesses.

*Forrest, Tom. *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992. [HC1055 .F67 1993]

This book examines the interplay of politics and economics, with a detailed look at issues and challenges which affect Nigeria. In particular, the difficulties of allowing political competition between ruling groups during a transition to civilian rule.

Gambari, Ibrahim A. *Theory and Reality in Foreign Policy Making: Nigeria After the Second Republic*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989.

An important contribution on foreign policy formulation in Africa, and particularly Nigeria, because Gambari combines the theoretical background of an academic with substantive practical experience. He is currently the Nigerian Permanent Representative at the United Nations and served as the country's foreign minister in 1984-85.

Graf, William D. *The Nigerian State: Economy, State, Class and Political System in the Post-Colonial Era*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1988.

The author uses a chronological framework and class analysis to examine Nigeria. He sees each succeeding set of political structures as a temporary coalition of forces and classes, internal and external. The process of decolonization is seen as the transfer to a successor elite, the civilian-military alternations appear as a series of factional shifts, and the federal structure is seen as a device for the elite to take advantage of state largesse.

Hill, Polly. *Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1977. [DT 515.42 .H52]

While not as well known as her earlier work on which this book is based, *Rural Hausa: A Village and a Setting* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), in many ways this is a more interesting and better-written volume. Population pressures on the land, growing economic inequalities, changing systems of farm production, and all the consequences for inheritance, land sales, migration, and family structure are competently discussed. Numerous tables, figures, and appendices substantiate Hill's assertions; case histories of people's lives lend drama to the otherwise dry generalizations. Essential reading for the serious student of Northern Nigeria.

Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of Nigeria*. New York: Longman, 1983. [DT 515.5 .I8]

Four refreshing features characterize this significant book, which are good despite the book being dated: a focus on the ordinary person (peasants, traders, canoemen,

slaves, catechists, soldiers, etc.); the incorporation of a massive amount of historical research, nearly all of it in Nigeria; a thematic organization (religion, origins of states, economy, etc.) which requires previous knowledge of Nigerian chronology (read the Crowder book first); and an aggressively Nigerian perspective, exemplified by the short shrift given the colonial era and the dogged determination to emphasize unifying rather than divisive relationships among Nigeria's peoples.

*Ihonvbere, Julius O. *Nigeria: The Politics of Adjustment & Democracy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1993.

Ihonvbere offers a study which is highly critical of Babangida's military rule, stating that crime and corruption characterize this government and that there is no outlet for popular organizations. By the use of class analysis, the author makes the observation that socialism still can exist in Africa, but there needs to be a true commitment to reform and growth.

*Kastfelt, Niels. *Religion & Politics in Nigeria*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, Incorporated. 1994.

Kirk-Greene, Anthony and Rimmer, Douglas. *Nigeria Since 1970: A Political and Economic Outline*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981. [HC 1055 .K56]

For those seeking a short and reliable account of Nigeria in the 1970s, this overview is highly recommended. For two collections of interpretive essays on the same period, see Oyeleye Oyediran, ed., *Nigerian Government and Politics Under Military Rule, 1966-79* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979); and Keith Panter-Brick, ed., *Soldiers and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria* (Totowa, NJ: Biblio Distribution Centre, 1978). See also the Marxist analysis contained in Toyin Falola and Julius Ihonvbere, *The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-84* (London: Zed Press, 1985).

Laitin, David D. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

This book's significance derives from Laitin's explanation of why the commitment to either Islam or Christianity by the vast majority of Yoruba has not been translated into divisive political action. The author's sophisticated theoretical analysis of this situation is offered to negate two prevalent views of contemporary African politics: on the one hand, the idea that independent Africa is inherently beset by primordial tribal conflicts, and on the other than such ethnic groups function in the political arena only as interest blocs. In this case, continued adherence to traditional cultural features, particularly the ancestral

city, provides the dominant framework. Laitin's study demonstrates the essential complexity of African politics, and is recommended for advanced students.

*Miles, William F. *Hausaland Divided: Colonialism & Independence in Nigeria & Niger*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1994.

This well-researched study examines the question of ethnicity and colonial boundaries established by the British and French during the early 20th century. Using two border villages as the basis for his study, Miles raises many questions concerning the controversial issues of ethnic groups and nationality and lends insight into the causes of conflict in much of Africa today.

*Ogbondah, Chris W. *Military Regimes & the Press in Nigeria, 1966-1993: Human Rights & National Development*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 1994.

*Olagunju, Tunji; Adele Jinadu and Sam Oyovbaire. *Transition to Democracy in Nigeria: 1985 - 1993*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Safari Books Limited, 1993.

This book, dedicated to General Babangida, examines the general's "Politics of the transition" program. The authors attempt to show that social forces were responsible for a departure from Babangida's original plan and that he provided good leadership for his nation.

*Olukoshi, Adebayo O., ed. *Politics of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*. London: James Currey, Ltd, 1993.

A more balanced account of adjustment programs in Nigeria, Olukoshi's study covers a wide area of political economy, and offers a summary of the explanations for Nigeria's economic crisis.

Paden, John. *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973. [BP 173.7 .P3]

With notable skill and clarity, John Paden illuminates the nature and operation of the two dominant Muslim brotherhoods of the region, their orientations toward authority and community within the context of party politics in Kano between 1950 and 1965, and the activities throughout of two politicians, Aminu Kano and Sa'adu Zungu. For those more interested in Northern Nigerian politics (without the emphasis on Kano), the better choice would be Professor Paden's, *Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986). The reading in both

books is difficult due to the unfamiliar terms and names; it may help to read the conclusions and summarizing sections first.

*Peil, Margaret. *Lagos: The City Is the People*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Incorporated. 1991.

Peil, an American sociologist, profiles the Nigerian capital, discussing a wide range of topics of interest to anyone who will be living there.

*Shepard, Robert B. *Nigeria, Africa, & the United States: From Kennedy to Reagan*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991.

In this highly critical study of U.S. foreign policy, Shepard state the view that policy makers have rarely responded to a true Nigeria or African situation, but instead continue to distort the nation to fit their own policy goals.

Synge, Richard. *Nigeria to 1993: Will Liberalisation Work?* Special Report Number 1134. New York: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1989.

*Ugwu, Ignatius. *Contemporary Issues in Local Government and Democracy in Nigeria*. Enugu, Nigeria: Acena Publishing, 1993.

Local government democracy, community development, and other issues which have hampered Nigeria's development are the main parts which make up this text. The author offers some interesting recommendation, but his writing style is sometimes difficult to follow.

Waterman, Christopher A. *Juju: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

This history and ethnography of *juju* is the first detailed account of the evolution and social significance of a West African popular music. Waterman follows the development of *juju* from the 1930s through Nigerian independence to the 1980s oil boom, linking the music to political and economic change in Nigeria and the development of Yoruba nationalism.

14. Senegal

*Boone, Catherine. *Merchant Capital and the Roots of State Power in Senegal: 1930 - 1985*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Using the case of Senegal, Boone investigates how states inhibit economic growth, from the colonial period to neo-colonialism. This book is an excellent source of Senegal's economic history, as well as a model for how governance functions throughout Africa.

*Bugul, Ken. *The Abandoned Baobab: The Autobiography of a Senegalese Woman*. New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991.

This book is the intriguing story of a Senegalese woman's search for her own identity and will give the reader a relaxing break from more scholarly studies.

*Clark, Andrew F. & Phillips, Lucie C. *Historical Dictionary of Senegal. 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

This is another good volume in this series which provides the reader with an excellent overview of Senegal.

Colvin, Lucie G. *Historical Dictionary of Senegal*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981. [DT 549.5 .C57]

Colvin is a respected historian who knows Senegal well, and the result is an accurate, authoritative, and useful guide to Senegalese studies. Includes a capsule history, an eighteen-page chronology, lists of traditional rulers and colonial governors, and an excellent bibliography.

*Delgado, Christopher L. & Jammeh, Sidi., editors. *The Political Economy of Senegal under Structural Adjustment*. New York: Praeger, 1991. [HC1045 .P66 1991] available at Main State Library.

This excellent study of Senegal's political and economic systems covers a wide range of issues, including the role of the peanut industry, France's influence, population growth, agricultural policy, external shocks and more. Though it is now a little dated, this work provides a superb background of Senegal.

Fatton, Robert, Jr. *The Making of a Liberal Democracy: Senegal's Passive Revolution, 1975-1985*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. [DT 549 .8 .F37]

A heavily theoretical investigation of the modern state, this study explores the process of peaceful democratization that transformed Senegal from a one-party state to a multi-party liberal democracy. If you can wade through the academic jargon, the book is replete with details of social relations in contemporary Senegal and recent political history.

Gellar, Sheldon. *Senegal: An African Nation Between Islam and the West*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982. [DT 549.22 .G44]

Highly recommended as a well-written introduction to the essential themes in Senegalese history and the key features of the post-colonial state.

*Linares, Olga F. *Prayer, Power and Production: The Jola of Casamance, Senegal*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

This volume investigates different agricultural practices among three villages of the Jola. Excellent look into the difference that exist among one ethnic group.

O'Brien, Donal B. and Coulon, Christian, eds. *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

O'Brien, Rita Cruise, ed. *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment: Dependence in Senegal*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979. [HC 547 .S4 .P6]

Here, in one volume, is one of the more complete collections in English of popular perceptions of the negative effects on ordinary Senegalese arising from more than a century of political/economic relations with France. The major flaw in this edited work is the lack of attention given to Senegalese who were members of Muslim brotherhoods and who lived on the periphery in such regions as Fleuve, Senegal Orientale, or Casamance. If O'Brien's essay on the negative role of expatriates (primarily the French, of course) intrigues you, a further elaboration is available in her earlier book, *White Society in Black Africa: The French of Senegal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).

Pfaff, Francoise. *The Cinema of Ousmane Sembene: A Pioneer of African Film*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984. [PN 1998 .A3 .S4256]

Sembene is a towering figure among Senegalese *artistes* and this authoritative study offers a comprehensive introduction to his life, philosophy, and pivotal role within the short history of African filmmaking. Six major films are analyzed: "Borom Sarret," "Black Girl," "Mandabi," "Emitai," "Xala," and "Ceddo."

Vengroff, Richard and Johnston, Alan. *Decentralization and the Implementation of Rural Development in Senegal*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

This book evaluates a 1972 administrative reform in an AID-funded study which was intended to decentralize authority and involve local communities in development. The study concludes that while Senegal has gone further than most African countries in even attempting to devolve power to the level of rural producers, decentralization has not occurred. This study examines the problem of breaking the long heritage of centralization.

15. Sierra Leone

*Binns, Margeret and Tony Binns. *Sierra Leone*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1992.

This volume includes great background and an excellent bibliography. Superb place to begin if one wishes to conduct further research.

Cox, Thomas S. *Civil-Military Relations in Sierra Leone: A Case Study of African Soldiers in Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976. [DT 516.8 .C6]

Cox offers a thorough analysis of civil-military relationships and the national political activities of the 1967-74 period. The author's field work during 1969 and 1970 enables him to provide one of the best portrayals of the principal military and civilian figures of the time and the "stumbling, rambling ad hoc" nature of political change at this level. As in the case of Barrows' thesis (above), Cox finds personal cleavages and reciprocity relationships to be more significant than ethnicity or ideology, with the latter almost non-existent.

*Fyle, C. Magbaily, ed. *The State and the Provision of Social Services in Sierra Leone Since Independence, 1961 - 1991*. Dakar: Codesria Press, 1993.

This book gives a good overview of the political and economical situation in Sierra Leone. As Africa moves towards privatization and free enterprise more authors

like Fyle are analyzing the affect of this transition on resources previously supplied by the state, such as transportation and education. This is an excellent inquiry into this change in society.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara E., et al. *Community Leadership and the Transformation of Freetown, 1801-1976*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978. [DT 516.9 .F7 .H37]

Freetown, like most African cities, is a city of immigrants; this lengthy tome represents a socio-cultural history of immigration, centered around the evolution of its institutions which served the needs of newly arrived immigrants from the interior of the country. Written by a social anthropologist, an economic historian, and a specialist in Islamic history, the work is marred by too many digressions from the primary arguments and too much detail incorporated into the body rather than the footnotes. Nonetheless, for anyone seeking to go deeply into the personality of one of the world's more fascinating cities, this is the best course.

*Mukonoweshuro, Eliphas G. *Colonialism, Class Formation & Underdevelopment in Sierra Leone*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.

The author offers a look into how the colonial state developed class structures in Sierra Leone and how these structures have affected development. While not the best work on the subject, it is a good source if one is interested in class studies.

Nunley, John W. *Moving with the Face of the Devil: Art and Politics in Urban West Africa*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987. [GN 655 .S5 .N85]

This captivating, generously-illustrated study of the "Ode-lay," or secret masquerade societies of Freetown, draws the reader into the history, organization, aesthetics, and politics of the masqueraders. Unusual and readable, the book also includes a concise history of Sierra Leone, as well as Freetown itself, biographies of artists who make the masquerade costumes, and music used in the masquerades.

*Reno, William Sampson Klock. *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

*Weeks, John. *Development Strategy & the Economy of Sierra Leone*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992.

Weeks studies the effects IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs had on Sierra Leone during the late 1970s and into the 1980s. Sierra Leone experienced

very little growth and high rates of inflation during this period. Weeks uses many IMF and World Bank documents to support his conclusion that the biases of the World Bank towards free market principles despite conditions with individual countries, was a significant factor in Sierra Leone's poor performance. This is a controversial book, and also very engaging.

16. Togo

Cornevin, Robert. *Histoire du Togo*. Paris: Editions Berger-Levtault, 1969.

A general history of Togo with interesting chapters on early Togolese history, an extended discussion of the colonial period, with in-depth coverage of the colonial administration.

*Curkeet, A. A. *Togo: Portrait of a West African Francophone Republic in the 1980s*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1993.

This book focuses not only on Togolese society but on the development community as well. Curkeet wanted to examine the effect these foreign organizations have on the small nation-state, and the result is a glimpse into how the development process is actually achieved.

Decalo, Samuel. *Historical Dictionary of Togo, 2nd edition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. [DT 582.5 .D4]

In view of the paucity of writing in English on Togo, this reference work is an absolute must for anyone seeking an introduction to the country.

*Konrad, Zinta. *Ewe Comic Heroes: Trickster Tales in Togo*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.

This collection of Ewe trickster tales offers the reader insight into a one of Togo's ethnic groups by introducing him/her to their cultural values.

Knoll, Arthur J. *Togo Under Imperial Germany, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Colonial Rule*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1978. [DT 582.7 .K57]

The first serious book in English about any aspect of Togo, this work is based on impressive and comprehensive research, but is written in a less than scintillating style. The author does a good job in striking a balance between Euro- and Afro-centric orientations, and he conveys, more than anything else, the enormous complexities of the early colonial period in which a variety of African social systems (including the Afro-Brazilians in Togo) interacted with at least three sets of foreigners: traders, missionaries, and colonial administrators.

Levtzion, Nehemia. *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

While this work covers a broad area of West Africa, including the Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Gonja areas of northern Ghana, the Chokossi State, centered around Mango in northern Togo, and another part of the Kotokoli of north-central Togo are included. An excellent source for understanding the Islamic influence and traditional power structures of Muslim rule in the area.

Packer, George. *The Village of Waiting*. New York: Random House, 1988.

In 1982-83, Packer worked for the Peace Corps as an English teacher in the village of Lavie in Togo, and here recounts his occasionally comic, more often poignant, and frequently tragic experiences in sharp, descriptive prose. He does not romanticize Africa or Africans, but writes with an honest sense of realism and the perspective of an outsider who nevertheless cares very deeply for his subject. He presents a full view of Togolese customs and society, exploring such topics as work, medical care, marriage and sex, politics, drought, and tourists.

Reindorf, Carl Christian. *The History of Gold Coast and Asante*. New York: Panther House.

Chapters cover early Togolese history, including the arrival of the Mina in the Aneho area. Useful for an overview of the movement of peoples during the pre-colonial period.

17. Western Sahara

Davis, John. *Conflict in Northwest Africa: The Western Sahara Dispute*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1983. [DT 346 .S7 .D44]

This is an incisive and analytical treatment of the Saharan conflict, and it is accompanied by a suitable background for the general reader on the land, people, and history of the region. For Damis the heart of the conflict lies in the antagonism between "a pro-Western monarchy and a liberal economy in Morocco versus an authoritarian one-party regime and a socialist economy in Algeria."

Hodges, Tony. *Western Sahara: The Roots of a Desert War*. Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1983. [DT 346 .S7 .H58]

This superbly researched and extensively documented study is likely to remain the definitive work on the region for some time to come. One should, therefore, be aware of the author's sympathy for the Polisario Front, "arguably the most effective guerrilla movement in Africa" (p.332), and his anti-Moroccan bias which leads him to present the monarchy's internal politics and historic claims to the region in as poor a light as the data will allow. Because Hodges' work is so detailed, the general reader may wish to turn to the more abbreviated material in his *Historical Dictionary of Western Sahara* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982).

Kamil, Leo. *Fueling the Fire: U.S. Policy and the Western Sahara Conflict*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1987. (DT 346.S7.K35)

A lively political tract by a dedicated Saharawi nationalist writing under a pseudonym, this is an important partisan statement which should be of interest to anyone involved with policy in the region. A comparable pro-Polisario work is Thomas Jallaud; *Polisario and the Desert War* (London: Zed Press, 1986).

*Pazzanita, Anthony G. & Hodges, Tony. *Historical Dictionary of Western Sahara*. 2nd ed. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

This book provides a comprehensive history of Western Sahara including an excellent bibliography.

*Zoubir, Yahia H. & Volman, Daniel., editors. *International Dimensions of the Western Sahara Conflict*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993.

Central Africa



an annotated bibliography



National
Foreign Affairs
Training Center

Central Africa

-an annotated bibliography

The School of Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute prepares area bibliographies for use in its training programs. In addition to this bibliography, the School publishes bibliographies of Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the Near East and North Africa, Latin America, South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia.

This bibliography was compiled by Krista Lessig, an intern for Spring 1995. Sections of the text were taken from the 1991 edition of *Sub-Saharan Africa: A Selected Functional and Country Bibliography*. This publication is not designed to be a comprehensive bibliography of the countries listed. Rather, it is intended to give the reader a place to begin further research by offering some of the best known, well-regarded, and accessible material available.

Items followed by a call number in brackets [], are located in the FSI library. Some entries are available only at the Main State library, and are noted as such. Please check items marked with a * at the FSI library first, since they may have been ordered after this bibliography was published.

The contents of this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of State or the United States Government.

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General Material

Birmingham, David and Martin, Phyllis, eds. *History of Central Africa*, 2 vols. New York: Longman, 1983. [DT 352.5 .H58]

In this two-volume study, the editors and fifteen respected specialists have produced the first comprehensive survey of central African history, a work which is attractive in format, readable in style, and up-to-date in content. In Volume I the period from 1400 to 1870 is covered according to ecological zones (Zimbabwe plateau, Indian Ocean zone, forest, north-central savanna, etc.); Volume II picks up the story within political boundaries and develops it to approximately 1980. The serious student will find this work indispensable as the definitive introduction and reference work for the entire region. Those with interests limited to one country will find the index and the extensive, annotated bibliographies well worth consulting as a point of departure.

Vansina, Jan. *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

This sweeping survey of the past five millennia in central Africa demonstrates how much progress has been made in reconstructing the historical record of one of Africa's least researched regions. Vansina covers the original settlement of the equatorial rain forest (southern Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, the Congo, half of Zaire, and portions of the Central African Republic and Angola), the periods of expansion and innovation in agriculture, the development of metallurgy, the rise and fall of political forms and centers of power, and many other deeply historical concepts, values, and ideologies. Not easy reading, but well worth the effort for the serious student of African history.

1. Burundi

*LeMarchand, Rene. *Burundi: Ethnocide As Discourse & Practice*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994.

LeMarchand focuses his discussion on the 1972 and 1988 conflicts in Burundi in an attempt to understand the roots of the current situation. He feels those events shaped political myths of Hutu and Tutsi which continue to dictate their relations, including the recent 1993 outbreak of violence.

Ntahombaye, Philippe. *Des Noms et des Hommes: Aspects Psychologiques et Sociologiques du Nom au Burundi*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 1983. [DT 450.65 .R86 .N73]

Based on a doctoral dissertation by a Burundian linguist, this study is formidable reading in French, and would probably be so in English. However, for those willing to wade through the linguistic jargon, it could prove useful as a guide to sorting out Burundian names (so challenging for European-language speakers), and it contains numerous insights into the socio-psychological patterns which underlie naming practices.

Weinstein, Warren. *Burundi*. African Historical Dictionaries Series. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976.

Somewhat dated, but still useful as an introduction to the country.

Wolbers, Marian T. *Burundi*. Places and Peoples of the World Series. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.

2. Cameroon

Azevedo, Mario, ed. *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Settings*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

This book could serve as a basic introduction to Cameroon and Chad. Essays deal with general cultural diversity in Africa, and then in Cameroon and Chad; geography and economics, history and politics. There is also a particularly interesting chapter on health, as well as two essays on education and the status of women.

*Bjornson, Richard. *The African Quest for Freedom & Identity: Cameroonian Writing & the National Experience*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 1991. [PQ3988.5 .C27 B55 1991]

This inventive study examines the problem of colonial borders by looking at the works of African writers and comparing them to the Cameroonian experience. Bjornson shows that there is a possibility of developing a national consciousness, despite the fact the Cameroon was separated by British and French colonizers

Delancey, Mark W. *Cameroon: Dependence and Independence*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

This is the best introduction to Cameroon currently available and should be consulted prior to further research on the country. This volume provides a useful and generally insightful introduction to one of Africa's most successful political and economic systems. Delancey explores the reasons both for the country's successes and for the unresolved political, social and economic problems that threaten its future.

Gebauer, Paul. *Art of Cameroon*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1979.

A museum catalog of the author's collection; includes notes on each piece and an introduction to Cameroonian culture.

Joseph, Richard A. *Radical Nationalism in Cameroon: Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1977. [JQ 3529 .A8 .U5]

This is a well-written and thoroughly researched study of the emergence and evolution (up to 1956) of what was the country's first and in some ways most genuinely nationalist political party. Joseph is sympathetic to the UPC, and distortions flow from this commitment, but the work is still very valuable for its detailed examination of the political economy created in urban and rural spheres by French colonial policies, and its revealing analysis of the foundations of Cameroonian political consciousness laid in the 1946-1955 period.

*Mbuagbaw, Tanyi. *Changing Times Under President Paul Biya*. Calabar, Nigeria: Centaur Press, 1992.

Cameroonian government as seen by an ex-civil servant. Difficult to follow but it does provide an inside view into the problems people are experiencing in this nation. Highly critical of Biya and other officials.

*Muna, Bernard A. *Cameroon and the challenges of the 21st Century*. Yaounde. Tama Books, 1993.

*Njeuma, Martin. *Introduction to the History of Cameroon: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1989.

Schatzberg, Michael and Zartman, I. William, eds. *The Political Economy of Cameroon*. New York: Praeger, 1986. [JQ 3521 .P64]

The result of a conference on the country in 1984, this volume can be used selectively to provide a useful introduction to the country.

3. Central African Republic

Cordell, Dennis. *Dar al-Kuti and the Last Years of the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. [DT 546.39 .D37 C67]

Based on extensive research involving oral evidence and archives in France, Great Britain, Chad, and the CAR, this scholarly examination of an African trading empire from the 1880s to 1911 is well worth the effort required to master the unfamiliar terms and place names.

Cordell, Dennis, "La paix de la misère?: The Central African Republic," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18, no. 3 (1984), pp. 615-621.

In this crisply written review article, Cordell refers to many of the major works in French on the CAR while outlining the strengths and weaknesses of two volumes: Christian Prioul, *Entre Oubangui et Chari vers 1890* (Paris: Service de publication, Laboratoire d'ethnologie et de sociologie comparative, Université de Paris X, 1981), and Gerard Grellet, Monique Mainguet, and Pierre Soumille, *La République centrafricaine* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1982). Of the two, the latter is of more interest to the general reader (it is one of the *Que sais-je* series). It is, however, poorly integrated and uneven, which is why Cordell's review is such a valuable guide to its usage.

*Kalck, Pierre. *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992.

Another good volume in this series.

O'Toole, Thomas E. *Central African Republic: The Continent's Hidden Heart*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986. [DT 546.48 .K45]

Despite numerous deficiencies, this book is the best available in English and should be the starting point, particularly its up-to-date bibliography, for any further study of the Central African Republic.

Samarin, William J. *The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and the Ubangi Rivers, 1880-1990*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

This book analyzes the labor-based interaction between the Africans and the Europeans between 1880 and 1900 in areas of the Central African Republic and Zaire.

*Strong, Polly. *African Tales: Folklore of the Central African Republic*. New York: Telcraft Books, 1992.

This book will be enjoyable to persons of any age and provides a thoroughly interesting way to learn more about the culture of the Central African Republic.

4. Chad

Azevedo, Mario, ed. *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Settings*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

This book could serve as a basic introduction to Cameroon and Chad. Essays deal with general cultural diversity in Africa, and then in Cameroon and Chad; geography and economics, and history and politics. There is also an interesting chapter on health, as well as two essays on education and the status of women.

Collelo, Thomas, ed. *Chad: A Country Study*. Area Handbook Series. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990.

This volume, along with Decalo's *Dictionary* (below), is the indispensable starting point for authoritative information on the country.

Decalo, Samuel. *Historical Dictionary of Chad, 2nd edition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. [DT 546 .457 .D4]

Professor Decalo is one of the few American specialists on Chad and his writing is invariably lucid and authoritative. This book is no exception and it stands out as the indispensable reference work in English on the country.

Kelley, Michael P. *Chad: State in Disarray: Conditions of the State's Survival*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986. [DT 546 48 .K45]

Recommended primarily for its useful bibliography, the overwhelming emphasis in this slim volume is on past and present external relations, with a correspondingly superficial treatment of the territory's internal dynamics.

Mottern, Nicholas. *Suffering Strong: The Journal of a Westerner in Ethiopia, the Sudan, Eritrea and Chad*. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1987.

Mottern's journal tells readers much about the underlying causes of hunger in Africa. He draws readers in to experience both the embarrassment of seeing a starving child and the thrill of accomplishment of irrigated fields in Eritrea.

Reyna, Stephen P. *Wars Without End: The Political Economy of a Precolonial African State*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990.

Dense and often theoretical, this book nonetheless illustrates the deep history underlying Chad by its interpretation of the historical Bagirmi state from 1522 to 1897. Reyna's analysis helps to explain a significant source of the country's post-colonial instability.

*Sevigny, Joseph. *Chad*. Washington, D.C: AACRAO, 1995.

Wright, John L. *Libya, Chad and the Central Sahara*. Savage, MD: Barnes & Noble Imports, 1989.

Wright, senior political analyst for the Arabic Service of the BBC and author of earlier, well-received books, has expanded his scope to include Libya's hinterland in the central Sahara and the Republic of Chad. Wright has compiled almost a handbook of this seemingly isolated region, ranging topically from the origins of the trans-Saharan trade through the steady Muslim commercial and religious penetration and the great power rivalries to Qaddafi's more recent efforts to incorporate the area into a Libyan sphere of influence. If there is a central theme, the author writes, it is one of "exploitation of the natural and human resources of Black Africa by more 'advanced' North African societies and cultures." Has extensive footnotes and bibliography.

5. Congo

*Fegley, Randall. *Congo*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1993.

Highly useful bibliography including a wide range of publications in both French and English. Includes introduction with a history of Congo-Brazzaville.

See Allen, under BENIN.

Hung, Gregory N.T. *Agriculture and Rural Development in the People's Republic of Congo*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986.

Despite the under emphasis on nearly every topic except small-holder farmers, this work is essential in view of the lack of other literature on the Congo, and because the research is so authoritative and the bibliography so useful.

*Martin, Phyllis. *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Thompson, Virginia and Richard Adloff. *The Congo: Historical Dictionary of the People's Republic of the Congo*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984. [DT 546 .215]

A very useful reference work, this is one of the better volumes in the series due to the extensive experience of the authors with the research data on the Congo and its neighbors. The 32-page analysis of post-colonial politics is both readable and important as an introduction to more sophisticated interpretations of current trends.

6. Equatorial Guinea

*Sundiata, Ibrahim K. *From Slaving to Neoslavery: The Bight of Biafra and Fernando Po in the Era of Abolition, 1827 - 1930*. Madison,: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

The only book in English on the former Spanish colony, now home to the capitol of Equatorial Guinea, this book is an excellent study of the conditions which existed on the island during a transition from slavery to forced recruitment labor.

*Fegley, Randall. *Equatorial Guinea: An African Tragedy*. New York: Peter Long Publishers, 1989.

Through interviews with Equatorial Guinean nationals, Fegley attempts to paint a picture of a troubled country on a long road towards development.

Liniger-Goumaz, Max. *Historical Dictionary of Equatorial Guinea, 2nd edition*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988. [DT 620.5 .L55]

An absolutely essential reference work by one of the few specialists on Equatorial Guinea, this volume includes a useful 400-year chronology and a bibliography which demonstrates the paucity of English language sources on the territory.

Liniger-Goumaz, Max. *Small is Not Always Beautiful: The Story of Equatorial Guinea*. London: C. Hurst, 1988.

This book stands out as a major source of information on a neglected portion of Africa, which was pulled down to a severe level of violence and economic collapse by a dictator.

Sundiata, Ibrahim K. *Equatorial Guinea: Colonialism, State Terror, and the Search for Stability*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

The single best book on the country, this slim volume offers a scholarly yet readable overview of Equatorial Guinea's peoples, natural endowment, historical background, and current conditions. Sundiata is at his best in his balanced and analytical treatment of the tragic rule of the country's first president, Francisco Macias Nguema.

7. Gabon

*Barnes, James F. *Gabon: Beyond the Colonial Legacy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

A harsh look at the situation in Gabon and continuing French business involvement with the country. Barnes, who once taught comparative literature at the Universite Omar Bongo, feels that Gabon has not been allowed to develop a national identity.

de Saint-Paul, Marc A. *Gabon: The Development of a Nation*. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1989.

*Gardinier, David E. *Historical Dictionary of Gabon 2nd ed.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994. [DT 546.15 .G37]

This new edition greatly expands upon the 1981 version and provides a comprehensive look into the former French colony.

8. Rwanda

*Fegley, Randall. *Rwanda*. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1993.

This book contains bibliographical information from many sources beyond English-language and provides a good introductory essay explaining briefly the history and culture of Rwanda. Although not perfect, it provides a good place to begin further study of this small nation.

*Learthen, Dorsey. *Historical Dictionary of Rwanda*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

This volume provides an adequate introduction into further bibliographical entries for Rwanda, and includes a good historical overview.

Linden, Ian. *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1977. [BR 1443 .R95 .L5]

Linden examines the role of the Catholic Church in Rwanda's unbelievably complex history, arguing in essence that the White Fathers, the key missionary order, favored the Tutsi originally and then turned to the Hutu when more socially conscious

and egalitarian missionaries began arriving after World War II. Well-researched by a thoroughly knowledgeable scholar, this is not easy reading due to the numerous Rwandan terms, the complex arguments, and the abundant material on theological doctrines and missionary methods.

***Newbury, Catherine. *The Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship & Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.**

Newbury examines the peculiar all-pervading Tutsi-Hutu relationship, from its origins to the dawn of independence. Recommended for Africanists and all interested in learning how Rwanda underwent massive change within a century.

***Taylor, Christopher C. *Milk, Honey, & Money: Changing Concepts in Rwandan Healing*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.**

In this book, Taylor attempts to analyze how patterns of healing represent changes in religion and thought patterns. He provides an interesting insight into how conflicts in Africa today invade all aspects of living and life.

9. Saõ Tomé and Príncipe

Hodges, Tony and Newitt, Malyn. *Saõ Tomé and Príncipe: From Plantation Colony to Microstate*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. [DT 615.18 .H63]

Since this is the only book on Saõ Tomé in English, it is fortunate that it is an exceptionally carefully researched and well-written survey of the history, society, politics, and economics of the country. Despite its brevity, the book also succeeds in presenting the little-known islands in comparison to other countries in Africa and the West Indies. Highly recommended.

10. Zaire

Elliott, Jeffrey M. and Dymally, Mervyn M., eds. *Voice of Zaire: Rhetoric or Reality?* New York: Paragon House, 1990.

Harms, Robert W. *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. [HF 3914 .H37]

In addition to the general surveys in Birmingham and Martin (see Central Africa), there are several recent studies of pre-colonial Zaire which are exciting to the historian and very formidable for the general reader. Probably the most readable of the specialized works is this remarkably ingenious reconstruction of the historical record in the middle Zaire valley. Other difficult works include Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), and Thomas Q. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981) on the Kuba and the Luba respectively.

*Jenike, David & Jenike, Mark. *A Walk Through the Rain Forest: Life in the Ituri Forest of Zaire*. New York: Franklin Watts Press, 1994.

*Leslie, Winsome J. *Zaire: Continuity & Political Change in an Oppressive State*. Westport, CT: Westview Press. 1993.

Leslie's book offers a chronicle of Zairian politics, from the days of colonialism to the current oppression of Mobutu Sese Seko. She feels that Zaire's potential for development has been sacrificed for Mobutu's personal gains, and that the Zairian leader has maintain his position for so long due in part to the West and the global economy. Well-researched and excellently argued, this volume will give the reader much to contemplate.

Leslie, Winsome. *The World Bank and Structural Transformation in Developing Countries: The Case of Zaire*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. [HG 3881.5 .W57 .L47]

The author draws conclusions about the nature and effectiveness of World Bank assistance by assessing its efforts to stimulate development in Zaire. Within Zaire, the Bank is faced with an authoritarian regime and a weak state. Externally, effectiveness is hampered by Bank operating procedures and organizational structure. Finally, the Bank is often caught between the conflicting interests of Western bilateral donors, which give countries such as Zaire considerable room for maneuver with respect to structural reform. Dr. Leslie concludes that criticisms of Bank efforts in developing countries typically overstate its power to implement change. Her study illustrates, as well, that the Bank must more effectively adapt to political factors associated with its reform efforts, in Zaire and elsewhere.

MacGaffey, Janet. *Entrepreneurs and Parasites*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. [HC 955 .Z7 .K49956]

A very scholarly and highly original study of the emergence and role of domestic capitalism and the black market in Zaire. This anthropologist brings the personal immediacy of ethnography to an examination of the political economy of the city of Kisangani. Especially recommended is the second chapter on the "political and economic contest - from colonial oppression to the fend-for-yourself present."

*MacGaffey Janet. *The Real Economy of Zaire: The Contribution of Smuggling and Other Unofficial Activity to National Wealth*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

MacGaffey, Wyatt. *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

In this systematic study of the religion of the BaKongo people of Central Africa, MacGaffey presents the results of some twenty years of research among the BaKongo, using his knowledge of the KiKongo language and his access to extensive unpublished archival materials. MacGaffey concentrates mainly on nineteenth-century Kongo religion and its changes in the twentieth century, but also refers back as far as the sixteenth century. He argues that much of the information known about Kongo society and religion is actually the product of a native tradition of interpretation akin to social science. By analyzing the basic principles of this organic tradition in great detail, MacGaffey shows that the underlying fabric of Kongo religion and culture -- of ritual and cosmology, structure and power -- has remained intact despite historical upheavals in the region.

*Meditz, Sandra W. and Tim Merrill, eds. *Zaire: A Country Study*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C: Library of Congress, 1994.

Another excellent volume in this series.

*Mokoli, Mondonga. *State Against Development: The Experience of Post-1965 Zaire*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Mokoli provides an analysis of state policies and their impact on Zairian people. He argues that Mobutu's policies were conducted for political reasons, not socio-

economic goals. This is a good work because it looks behind the policies, into their motivations and impacts.

*Mutua, Makua wa. *Zaire: Repression as Policy: A Human Rights Report*. New York: Lawyer's Committee on Human Rights, 1990.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, G., ed. *The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1986. [HC 955 .C75]

The product of an important conference in 1984, this somewhat dated collection of essays is focused on the nature of Mobutu's governance, its external linkages, and its impact on ordinary Zairians. Particularly useful as preparation for understanding and interacting effectively with Zaire's growing intellectual elite and the government's critics, both inside and outside the country.

*Sangmpam, S. N. *Pseudocapitalism & the Overpoliticized State: Reconciling Politics & Anthropology in Zaire*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994.

This is a highly theoretical work in which the author attempts to argue that there is not much difference between authoritarian and democratic rule when it comes to social change. This work is very difficult to follow, recommended only if the reader has particular interest in this subject along with a strong theoretical background.

Schatzberg, Michael G. *The Dialectics of Oppression in Zaire*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988.

Dr. Schatzberg demonstrates how measures adopted by the Mobutu regime to end the turbulent conditions of Zaire's early years have had precisely the opposite effect, creating new sources of worry, fear, and shortages for the citizenry. Oppression of the population by the political police, magistrature, and armed forces receives detailed attention, as does the state's manipulation of ideological symbols, myths, and metaphors. Schatzberg's original research, local-level perspective, and insightful theoretical analysis make this an important, if difficult, book.

*Schatzberg, Michael G. *Mobutu or Chaos? The United States & Zaire, 1960-1990*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991. [E183.8 .Z34]

Excellent critical study of the United States' past forty years of relations with Zaire, both the difficulties of ignoring the human rights violations and misguidance of international aid are examined.

Tidwell, Michael. *The Ponds of Kalambayi: An African Sojourn*. New York: Lyons & Burford Publishers, 1990.

The Ponds of Kalambayi is Tidwell's meticulous memoir of his two extremely difficult years as a fisheries extension agent with the Peace Corps in eastern Zaire.

Young, Crawford and Turner, Thomas. *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. [DT 658 .25 .Y68]

This is the one best book on Zaire, combining lucid writing, a comprehensive research base, and a theoretical underpinning of impressive elegance. If time is limited, read chapters 2, 10, 12, and the conclusions. If money is limited, spend on nothing else except this work; it is still the most useful and complete guide toward understanding contemporary Zaire.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:  Sandra Thurman, Director, Office of National AIDS Policy

SUBJECT: Report on Presidential Mission Looking at Children Orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa

This memorandum will provide findings and recommendations that arise from a Presidential Mission to sub-Saharan Africa looking at children orphaned by AIDS.

Summary

- In the next decade, 40 million children will be orphaned as a result of losing one or both parents to AIDS.
- AIDS is not just taking lives, it is threatening economics, stability, and civil society.
- AIDS is wiping out decades of progress on a variety of development fronts, including per capita GNP, infant mortality, and life expectancy.
- Leadership and investment can help, and has helped, to turn the tide.
- Political support for a more aggressive United States response is building.
- As goes Africa, so will go India, Asia, and the new Soviet states, and by 2005, more than 100 million people worldwide will be HIV+.

Background

This past World AIDS Day, you highlighted the growing global tragedy of children orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. At that time, you directed me to lead a fact-finding mission to the region and to report back to you with recommendations for productive action. From March 27 through April 5, I led a Presidential Delegation to Zambia, Uganda, and South Africa. I was accompanied by Representatives Jackson-Lee, Kilpatrick, and Lee, and senior staff from the offices of Senators Hatch, Helms, and Kennedy, and Representative Pelosi. We were also joined by a select group of individuals from outside of government including Mayor Dinkins, Bishop Felton May, and William Harris. [Attachment A: Manifest]

The goals of the trip were: to heighten awareness, promote leadership, and identify promising interventions. In Zambia and Uganda, we met with the Presidents and a variety of government ministers (health, welfare, community development, finance, etc.). In each country we visited a host of community-based programs serving children and families affected by AIDS, and talked with donors, experts, providers, and consumers about actions taken, lessons learned, and barriers to further progress.

Findings

AIDS is ravaging sub-Saharan Africa, shattering families and placing extraordinary burdens on the extended family and village systems that have been the backbone of African child rearing tradition.

AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, notes the UN, is the "worst infectious disease catastrophe since the bubonic plague." While sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only one tenth of the global population, it now carries 80-95% of the AIDS burden. In the region, 21 million people are already living with HIV, and every day, 11,000 additional people are infected. Since your press conference on World AIDS Day, 225,000 people in South Africa alone have become HIV infected, 150,000 of whom are teenagers. Nearly 10 million people in the region have died of AIDS and each day AIDS buries another 5,500. By 2005, the daily death toll will reach nearly 13,000.

While numbers vary from country to country, in nine sub-Saharan Africa countries, between one-fifth and one-third of all children are already orphaned by AIDS. Further, throughout the region, one-quarter of all children are already living with an HIV+ parent. During the next decade, more than 38 million children in sub-Saharan Africa will be orphaned by AIDS, causing unprecedented threats to child welfare. This vulnerability includes decreased access to food, education, health care, housing, and clothing and increased psychosocial distress brought on by death, isolation, and stigma. These children are also at extraordinary risk of physical and sexual abuse as well as child labor exploitation. This "slow burn disaster" is not expected to peak until at least 2030, leaving an entire generation in jeopardy.

AIDS is wiping out decades of progress on a host of development objectives. After hundreds of millions of dollars of donor investment and well-documented results, AIDS is now turning back the development clock to the 1960s. In the coming decade in sub-Saharan Africa, infant mortality (infants under the age of 1) will double and child mortality (children ages 1 to 5) will triple. In addition, despite steady increases in access to education, children caught in the crossfire of this epidemic will continue to drop out of school to work the fields and care for their dying parents, and far too few will find their way back. Finally, according to the US Census Bureau, AIDS has already reduced life expectancy in Zimbabwe by a quarter of a century and in Zambia from 56 to 37 years old. In the next few years, AIDS will reduce life expectancy in South Africa by a third, from 60 years old to 40.

AIDS is not only causing unfathomable human suffering, it is jeopardizing the economies, stability, and civil society of many sub-Saharan African nations.

AIDS is a trade and investment issue. At the recent meeting with African trade and finance ministers, Professor Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Harvard Institute for International Development, stated that, "a frontal attack on AIDS in Africa may now be the single most important strategy for economic development." According to the *Economist*, "a recent study in Namibia estimated that AIDS cost the country almost 8% of GNP in 1996" and "Kenya's GNP will be 14.5% smaller in 2005 than it would have been without AIDS, and the per capita income will be 10% lower." AIDS has hit professionals hard in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly civil servants, engineers, teachers, miners, and military personnel. According to a World Bank study, 34% of people with post-secondary education were HIV positive, compared to 18% of those with primary education, and civil servants were more than three times more likely to be HIV

positive than farmers. Finally, increased benefits and training costs, and disruption due to sick and bereavement leave are seriously affecting both the private and public sectors. Companies like British Petroleum and Barclay Bank told us that they are now hiring two employees for every one skilled job, assuming that one will die of AIDS.

AIDS is a security issue. According to the Economist, "the estimated HIV prevalence in the seven armies embroiled in the Congo range from 50% for the Angolans to 80% in Zimbabweans". Recent reports confirm that 40% of the South African military is also already HIV positive. US military and intelligence officials have raised this as a serious stability concern. According to a DCI classified document: "Extremely high levels of HIV infection among senior officers lead to rapid turnover in those positions. In countries where the military plays a central or strong role in government, such rapid turnover could weaken central government authority or bring to the fore a military commander opposed to the government. In countries in political transition, instability in the military and security forces could slow or even reverse the process."

AIDS is a crime issue. A South African anti-crime institute has linked the growing number of children orphaned by AIDS to future increases in crime and civil unrest. The assumption is that as the number of disaffected and undereducated young people increases, many sub-Saharan African countries may face serious threats to their social stability. Without appropriate intervention, many of the 2 million children projected to be orphaned by AIDS in South Africa alone, will raise themselves on the streets, often turning to crime, drugs, commercial sex, and gangs to survive. This not only seriously affects stability but also promotes the spread of HIV.

Determined leadership and partnership have made, and can continue to make, an extraordinary difference -- and save millions of lives.

Leadership matters. Amidst the tragedy of AIDS, there is opportunity. Uganda has shown that even a country with limited resources and a low literacy level can turn the tide on this burgeoning epidemic. President Museveni demonstrated bold leadership early on by making every government ministry take the problem seriously, requiring them to develop and implement a plan to reduce stigma and transmission, and care for those who became sick. As a result, Uganda created an "enabling environment" for donors to assist in this effort. Over the past decade, the US invested \$46 million in HIV prevention, care and support in Uganda and HIV rates among pregnant women dropped from 30% in 1991 to 15% in 1995 to 8% in 1998.

Effective solutions are community-based and multi-sectoral. In the longstanding African tradition, communities are searching for creative ways to support "the village" in its efforts to raise its children, but many of these villages are already overwhelmed by the growing number of young deaths and orphaned children. With support of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), communities are mobilizing to deal with school fees, food assistance, immunization and oral re-hydration, counseling, and the range of other services these children need. Through FINCA and other micro-finance programs, women are receiving loans, starting small businesses, and with increased household incomes, taking in children orphaned by AIDS. These efforts are low cost strategies designed to empower women (many of whom are HIV positive), protect children, and support extended families and communities in caring for their own. This community-based approach is universally preferred to the use of orphanages, a solution that can never keep pace with this burgeoning epidemic.

For a small fraction of the cost of one orphanage bed, many more vulnerable children can receive care in a family setting. The problem is, only a very tiny fraction of those children in need receive even this modest level of support.

A focus on children can be a catalyst. The only way to slow the number of children orphaned by AIDS is to reduce the transmission of HIV. Until there is an available vaccine, this means more aggressive prevention efforts. In addition, the delivery of nutritional counseling and low cost treatments for opportunistic infections, STDs, and TB to parents with AIDS can help them to live longer and better lives and enable them to plan for the future of their children. Finally, community mobilization to save orphans empowers those involved and enables them to believe that they can change their circumstances for the better. It brings home the very real consequences of HIV, something that is too often denied due to the long latency period and the "conspiracy of silence" that surrounds this illness. These additional benefits of orphan work have far reaching implications for the epidemic, and for development at large.

As the awareness of the disaster of AIDS in Africa intensifies, so does the politics push for a more aggressive United States response.

A recent Peter Hart Research poll finds major support for increased US assistance for AIDS in Africa among African American voters, and among voters generally. Although only 19% of voters said that they have heard or read a lot about the AIDS in Africa, two-thirds of voters believe it is a serious problem, that is not under control, and three-fourths of voters think that AIDS in Africa will directly affect people in the US. Despite the fact that most voters believe we are spending far more on foreign aid than we actually are, by nearly a two-to-one margin (54% - 29%), voters favor a proposal to increase US assistance to fight AIDS in Africa. This support is particularly intense in the African American community where 83% favor such a proposal (55% favor it strongly). [Attachment B: Poll to appear in an upcoming *USA Today* feature series on AIDS in Africa]

Rev. Leon Sullivan is organizing African American and other leaders to join in the fight against AIDS in Africa. As with Rev. Sullivan's anti-apartheid campaign, he is circulating "Sullivan Principles" for development in Africa. These principles, including our response to AIDS in Africa, will be at the top of the agenda at the African-African American Summit in Ghana in May. Political, religious, and other leaders from across the US will participate in the summit, including more than 100 mayors. Rev. Jackson also seeks to actively engage in this issue.

Within the Congressional Black Caucus, there is a growing sense that the time to act is now. Given the magnitude of the crisis described above, the issue of children orphaned by AIDS, and AIDS in Africa generally, is getting increased attention within the CBC. While AIDS will clearly kill more people in Africa than all previous wars combined, most believe that our response is not on "a war footing." The CBC is anxious to escalate our efforts.

Representative Jesse Jackson, Jr. has focused on the link between trade and AIDS. The Jackson HOPE for Africa alternative to the Administration's Economic Growth and Opportunity Act has received increased attention within the CBC, including Representative Clyburn, the new CBC Chair. His premise, not an unfounded one, is that given the impact of AIDS on African economies and the African work force, AIDS is an economic development issue.

He believes, as do many, that it is impossible to promote trade without an effective strategy for dealing with AIDS. While his bill is unlikely to be enacted, his general principle finds fertile ground among a growing number of political leaders and intellectuals. Representative Sheila Jackson Lee plans to lay out this linkage in her address at the Corporate Council on Africa Summit in Houston next week.

Former Congressman Ron Dellums is vigorously pushing a "Marshall Plan for AIDS in Africa." For Dellums, this is a moral crusade. He has been making the rounds in Washington and throughout the country asking, "Will we stand idly by and watch the biggest human tragedy in history, knowing there is much more that can be done? If we do, what will we tell our children?" He recently joined the board of AIDS Action in Washington and plans to invest considerable energy in this fight. His initial proposal was for a partnership with the pharmaceutical industry in an effort to bring anti-retroviral therapies to Africa. Given the lack of health care infrastructure in Africa, we do not believe that this is the most effective action at this time. However, his efforts are likely to call for a much more vigorous US response.

Among others in the Congress, there is a shared sense of foreboding that this issue could explode into the American consciousness and onto the political scene at any moment. Both Representative Pelosi and Senator Leahy (ranking Democrats, Foreign Operations Appropriations) are extremely interested in securing new money for our global AIDS program in FY2000. It was Pelosi who got the \$10 million increase for children orphaned by AIDS, and Representatives Kilpatrick and Jackson are also now on the subcommittee and will be pushing hard for more action. Further, Hatch and Kennedy staff accompanied us on this trip, and returned motivated to do something. Hatch has helped to make AIDS a bipartisan issue and his staff is seeking to put together a Republican working group on AIDS in Africa. Finally, while on Rep. Gephardt's Congressional Delegation to India, Representatives McDermott and DeLauro circulated information on AIDS in India, making the case that the AIDS related suffering and instability now gripping Africa will soon hit India, Asia, and the emerging Soviet states. They too believe we need to act now to avoid catastrophe.

Recommendations

Throughout our travel in Africa, it was clear that your "Partnership with Africa" has made hope a reality, even at the village level. From the children in Kitwe, Zambia to the women with HIV in Soweto who greeted us with a song entitled "President Clinton never loose your power," people across Africa know of this historic alliance, and many were anxious to show their gratitude. Unfortunately, AIDS threatens to decimate this partnership, as it has decimated everything in its path. To protect and defend this legacy, and the children and families who depend on it, an aggressive AIDS initiative, involving concrete action both here at home and abroad, is needed.

Given the magnitude of the AIDS pandemic and its devastating impact on economic development, trade, regional stability, and civil society in Africa today, and in India tomorrow, I recommend that we establish a Global AIDS Emergency Working Group to include the National Security Council, Office of Management and Budget, Office of the Vice President, USAID, Peace Corps and the Departments of Defense, State, Treasury, and HHS to make specific recommendations to you for an invigorated US response within the next forty-five days. This effort would be coordinated by the Office of National AIDS Policy. Areas of consideration would include the following.

New funding. The US global AIDS budget has been level funded at approximately \$120 million since 1993, in the face of a 300% rise in annual HIV incidence and the explosion of the epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa. USAID estimates that funds from all donors and host countries combined reach less than 10% of the at-risk or in-need population. If we are serious about promoting economic growth and opportunity in Africa and achieving our other development objectives, the Administration should push for an investment in the battle against AIDS that is more commensurate with the magnitude of the unfolding horror. While this was not accounted for in our FY2000 budget, there are reasons to be optimistic that viewing a new investment through the lenses of millions of children orphaned by AIDS, and as an element of free trade and political stability, may engender more bipartisan support. Given the importance of a multi-sectoral response to AIDS, it is essential that this be new money, not be taken from other USAID development accounts. Such an approach would be counterproductive to our overall development goals.

Debt swap for AIDS. In keeping with your goal to “ensure that no country committed to reform is left with a debt burden that keeps it from meeting its people's needs and spurring economic growth,” the Administration should explore a mechanism for allowing African countries to shift some of their debt payment toward an increased domestic investment in fighting AIDS. Target countries could be required to develop an AIDS action plan, with the debt swap agreement based on movement toward performance goals delineated in the plan.

Public-private partnerships. The Administration should promote a broad-based response to AIDS in Africa that engages multi-national corporations, labor, non-governmental organizations, universities, and the religious community. A few courageous leaders have stepped forward, but much more needs to be done. Such an effort would not only extend the reach of government funding, but could provide a much-needed source of expertise, training and technical assistance. Rev. Jackson, our appointed Envoy to Africa, could be enlisted in this effort.

Speaking with one voice. The Administration should adopt its own multi-sectoral response and instruct all of its agents in dialogue with African leaders to include a discussion about the importance of leadership on AIDS to the full range of other development objectives.

Mobilizing other donors. The Administration should raise the AIDS profile among the G-8 nations, and consider recommending their engagement in an AIDS debt swap program. While the French have pushed for a “therapeutic solidarity fund,” mobilizing resources for orphans, basic AIDS care, and prevention is a far more realistic goal.

Encouraging African leadership. The Administration should promote an AIDS summit for African Presidents or First Ladies. We know from Frank Greer's recent appearance at an election summit in Southern Africa that this issue is increasingly on the radar screen of top African political leaders. President and Mrs. Museveni certainly have much they could share with their colleagues. Reports from Zambia are that following our visit, President Chiluba has broken his silence and become an advocate now calling for the world to “combine resources to defeat AIDS as we did to defeat Hitler.” Participation in an Africa leaders summit by you, the Vice President, or Mrs. Clinton would ensure a major turnout and would reinforce our high level partnership with Africa.

ATTACHMENT A

PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO AFRICA MARCH 27, 1999 – APRIL 5, 1999

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Rep. Carolyn Kilpatrick, Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Appropriations,
Congressional Black Caucus
Rep. Barbara Lee, Africa Subcommittee, International Relations,
Congressional Black Caucus
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, Founder and Chair, Congressional Children's Caucus,
Congressional Black Caucus

CONGRESSIONAL STAFF

Bruce Artim, Health Staff, Senator Hatch
Mary Lynn Qurnell, Legislative Assistant, Senator Helms
Stephanie Robinson, General Counsel, Senator Kennedy
Carolyn Bartholomew, Legislative Director, Rep. Pelosi,
Minority Staff, Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Appropriations

NON-GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPANTS

William Harris, President, Children's Education and Research Institute
Bishop Felton May, General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church
David Dinkins, Chair, Black Leadership Coalition on AIDS
Dr. Jacob Gayle, World Bank
Rory Kennedy, Documentary filmmaker
Nick Doob, Documentary filmmaker

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

Sandy Thurman, Director, Office of National AIDS Policy
Michael Iskowitz, Consultant, USAID
Dr. Paul DeLay, Director, HIV/AIDS Programs, USAID
Maria Sotiropoulos, Protocol Officer, State Department
Phil Drouin, Africa Bureau, State Department

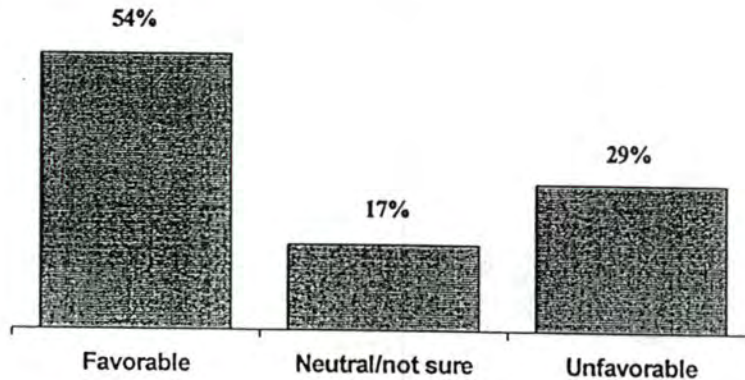
MILITARY PERSONNEL

Lt. Commander James Erskine
Dr. Anthony Barile
Brenda Geist, Director Congressional Travel

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Increase U.S. Assistance to Fight AIDS in Africa



Peter D. Hart Research Associates surveyed 1,411 registered voters, including 310 African Americans, by telephone between February 20 and 26, 1999, for the Children's Research and Education Institute.

American voters view the spread of AIDS in Africa as a serious problem. Although many voters have not heard much about the issue, they nonetheless believe that it is likely to have an impact here at home. A majority of Americans have a favorable view of a proposal to increase U.S. government assistance for international AIDS programs in Africa.

- ♦ The spread of AIDS in Africa is viewed as a serious problem by two-thirds (67%) of American voters, with 45% saying that it is an extremely serious problem and an additional 22% describing it as a quite serious problem.
- ♦ The same proportion (67%) believe that it is false to say that the global AIDS crisis is coming under control.
- ♦ In addition, three-quarters (75%) of voters believe that the AIDS epidemic in Africa will affect people in the United States.
- ♦ Although the issue is important, only 19% of voters say that they have read or heard a lot about it. Nearly half (48%) say that they have heard little or nothing about it.
- ♦ A 54% majority are favorable to a proposal to increase government assistance for international efforts to fight the spread of AIDS in Africa. Only 29% are unfavorable.
 - An overwhelming 83% majority of African Americans are favorable (55% strongly favorable), and only 10% are unfavorable.
- ♦ Support for greater assistance increases when it is placed in the context of an international effort. Three-quarters (76%) of voters say that they would be more likely to support assistance to help Africa deal with the AIDS epidemic if they knew that it would be a part of a larger international effort with Europe, Japan, and other countries doing their share.

AIDS in Africa

I'm going to mention some different issues, and I'd like to find out how serious a problem you consider each one to be in our country today. For each one, please tell me whether you consider it to be an extremely serious problem, a quite serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, or not that serious a problem.

	<u>Extremely Serious Problem</u>	<u>Quite Serious Problem</u>	<u>Somewhat Serious Problem</u>	<u>Not That Serious A Problem</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
The spread of AIDS in Africa	45	22	13	8	12

Now I'm going to read you another list of statements. For each statement, please tell me whether you're sure it's true, think it's probably true, think it's probably false, or are sure it's false.

	<u>Sure It's True</u>	<u>Think It's Probably True</u>	<u>Think It's Probably False</u>	<u>Sure It's False</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
The global AIDS crisis is coming under control	2	20	37	30	11

Now, I'm going to mention several proposals and I'd like to get your reaction. For each proposal I read, please tell me whether your reaction is very favorable, somewhat favorable, neutral, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable.

	<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Increasing U.S. government assistance for international efforts to fight the spread of AIDS in Africa						
ALL VOTERS	23	31	15	14	15	2
African Americans	55	28	6	5	5	1

How much have you heard or read about the issue of AIDS in Africa -- a lot, some, just a little, or not very much? **

	<u>ALL VOTERS</u>	<u>African Americans</u>
<u>Heard/Read</u>		
A lot	19	31
Some	32	28
Just a little	22	22
Have not heard/read very much	23	16
Heard/read nothing (VOL)	3	1
Not sure	1	2

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

AIDS in Africa

Do you think that the AIDS epidemic in Africa will affect people in the United States, or not? **

	ALL VOTERS	African Americans
Yes, will affect people in the U.S.....	75	83
No, will not affect people in the U.S ...	16	10
Not sure.....	9	7

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

If you knew that the U.S. assistance to help Africa deal with the AIDS epidemic would be part of a larger international effort with Europe, Japan, and other countries doing their share, would you be much more likely to support it, somewhat more likely to support it, or no more likely to support it? **

	ALL VOTERS	African Americans
Much more likely to support	37	49
Somewhat more likely to support	39	35
No more likely to support.....	20	12
Less likely to support (VOL)	1	-
Not sure.....	3	4

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

AIDS in Africa

Now I am going to read you some reasons that people might give for supporting increased U.S. government assistance to fight the spread of AIDS in Africa . For each one, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support increased assistance – very convincing, fairly convincing, only somewhat convincing, or not that convincing. **

	<u>Very Convincing</u>	<u>Fairly Convincing</u>	<u>Only Somewhat Convincing</u>	<u>Not That Convincing</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
We all live on one planet, and the whole world benefits from fighting the spread of AIDS--if the epidemic has spread that much in Africa, we are fooling ourselves if we think that it won't affect the U.S.--it will, unless we do something now					
ALL VOTERS	44	14	21	16	5
African Americans.....	67	12	11	7	3
The AIDS epidemic is creating millions of orphans that are overwhelming the capacities of orphanages and churches, and filling the streets of many African cities. An estimated forty million children will lose a parent to AIDS by 2010					
ALL VOTERS	40	15	23	15	7
African Americans.....	56	18	17	6	3