

Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era: American Africans in Ghana by KEVIN K. GAINES

Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. 342. £24.50.
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Gaines has written a detailed and engaging book which explores a neglected aspect of US foreign policy, joining a small but significant cadre of authors dedicated to highlighting the racial dimensions of US foreign policy (Plummer 1996; Von Eschen 1997; Borstelmann 2001; Meriwether 2002). The book reveals the foreign affairs activities of notables such as Malcolm X, Dr King and W. E. B. Du Bois. Although not explicitly stated, Gaines' scholarship transcends the narrow confines of theoretically suspect racial constructs. *American Africans in Ghana* illustrates the convergence of complex problems associated with nationality, race, cultural identity and foreign affairs during the 1960s.

Whilst the civil rights era emphasises African Americans' marginal status as second-class citizens, Gaines contextualises 1960s racial inequalities as the legacy of the US system of enslavement. Indeed the legacies of African enslavement and colonialism are integral features of this book (p. 2). Gaines suggests that the expatriates in Ghana desired to reconnect with their African identity, in addition to escaping from US racial oppression and Cold War constraints on political freedom. Cold War politics features heavily in this book, as Gaines explores the tensions arising from the U.S. Administration's negative reaction to the propaganda espoused by the African American internationalists in Ghana (p. 11).

Although race is emphasised, the narrative revolves around historical and cultural identity (p. 280). Gaines acknowledges African American intellectuals' attempts to formulate an organic political identity, despite efforts to maintain domestic and global white hegemony. Gaines argues that white America's use of anti-communism to maintain white hegemony was replicated within the international arena. The book seemingly validates Hunt's thesis regarding the racial orientation of US foreign policy (Hunt 1987). In short the suggestion that domestic race relations shape U.S. foreign policy needs to be thoroughly investigated.

The author's recognition of the expatriates' romanticised or over-critical views of Ghanaian politics is helpful. There are parallels regarding some African Americans' aversions to their African identity and the impact of colonialism on Ghanaians self-perceptions. The self-negation experienced by Pauli Murray (p. 117) in relation to her African origins is reminiscent of symptoms identified in Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*. Gaines avoids attributing Ghana's political instability to the personal abilities of Nkrumah by providing a balanced account of how Ghanaian political rivalries, in addition to racial, economic and Cold War politics, stifled Ghanaian politics.

Gaines' assertion that the African independence struggle and the African American civil rights struggle provided impetus for each group requires further research. Whilst he alludes to the existence of an African global constituency (p. 90), he recognises the problems associated with bridging the cultural and political differences between diasporan and continental Africans. Perhaps a more detailed examination of Pan-Africanism in regard to the diasporan origins of the concept would have explained the difficulties of implementing it on the African continent.

Gaines is less successful in explaining the links and differences between the earlier Pan-Africanist movement led by W. E. B. Du Bois, and the rearticulated Pan-Africanism and black power doctrines championed by Malcolm X. However, while authors often denude African Americans of their African identity, Gaines reveals the significance of identity formation in assisting or inhibiting their political progress (p. 282). The notion that the U.S. state's bolstering of blacks' American identity discouraged their support for African independence needs to be explored. The emotional resonance articulated in the epilogue regarding diasporan Africans' quest to celebrate their African heritage in addition to formulating a political relationship with Ghana makes a fitting end to this insightful book.

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Trading Down: Africa, value chains and the global economy by PETER

GIBBON and STEFANO PONTE

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The book draws from a strong body of empirical work by members of the 'Globalisation and Economic Restructuring in Africa' (GLAF) programme at the Danish Institute for International Studies (formerly Centre for Development Studies in Copenhagen), and uses this research to redefine the scope of value chain analysis in the context of globalisation. Value chain analysis has so far been concerned with how markets are coordinated, the role played by different actors along the chain (focusing on all links in the chain, not just production), the identification of economic rent, categories of value chain, and importantly, power in and governance of the chain. Gibbon and Ponte squarely position themselves as part of the political economy tradition of value chain analysis, with links to work by Gary Gereffi as opposed to the managerial approach associated with Michael Porter.

Gibbon and Ponte expand value chain analysis in two important ways. First, through a greater understanding of institutions and regulatory structure, including standards, they redress the 'vertical' bias of much value chain work to date. Second, they place commodity trade and value chains in the context of globalisation and the new trade policy architecture, and focus our attention to African players in global value chains, a region that has until recently received little attention from value chain analysts.

Gibbon and Ponte remind us that there are other important players as well as the lead agents, who may have some influence on the 'drivers' themselves. They highlight that value chains do not operate in 'an institutional and regulatory vacuum', and seek to incorporate international trade policy and the values of society, including consumers. They do this by linking convention theory and analysis of quality conventions to their understanding of (whole chain) governance in African value chains. Convention analysis focuses on the written and unwritten norms that govern behaviour, and originates from French theorists such as Thevenot and Boltanski. Convention analysis is