

Bibliography

Archives

Australia

National Archives of Australia, Canberra (NAA) [accessed online, naa.gov.au]
A8138 – Department of External Affairs

Belgium

Archives diplomatiques, Brussels (ADB)

Ethiopia

African Union Common Repository [accessed online, archives.au.int]

Federal Republic of Germany

Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (BA-K)
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (AdsD), Bonn
Sammlung Personalia (SP) – Erhard Eppler
Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin (PAAA)
Neues Amt (NA)

France

Centre des Archives diplomatiques, Nantes (CADN)
193PO – French embassy, Dar es Salaam
Archive Nationales, Paris (AN)
19850665– Centre d'études et de documentation d'Afrique et d'Outre-mer

German Democratic Republic

- Bundesarchiv, Berlin (BA-B)
 - Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (SAPMO)
 - DY 30 – Zentralkomitee der SED
 - DZ 8 – Solidaritätskomitee der DDR
- Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatsicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Berlin (BStU)
 - Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (MfS) – ‘Stasi’
- Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin (PAAA)
 - Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten (MfAA)

India

- Indian National Archives, New Delhi (INA)
 - Ministry of External Affairs

Netherlands

- Nationaal Archief, The Hague (NAN)
 - 2.05.253 – Dutch embassy, Dar es Salaam

Poland

- Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warsaw (MSZ)
 - Department V (DV)

Portugal

- Arquivo-Histórico e Diplomático, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon (AHD)
 - Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (MNE)
 - Ministério do Ultramar (MU)
- Arquivo Nacional, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (TT)
 - Polícia Internacional e do Defesa do Estado (PIDE)
 - Serviços de Centralização da Informação de Moçambique (SCCIM)
- Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon (FMS) [accessed online, casacomum.org]
 - Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade

South Africa

South African Defence Force Archives, Pretoria (SADF)

Tanzania

Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam (TNA)

589– Papers of I. Bhoke Munanka

593– Idara ya Habari (Information Services)

596– National Development Corporation

National Records Centre, Dodoma (NRC)

Prime Minister's Office (PMO)

Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA)

AK – Provincial Administration

Uganda

Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala (MISR)

Papers of Amir Jamal

United Kingdom

Bodleian Library, Oxford (BL)

Papers of George Ivan Smith

Institute for Commonwealth Studies, London (ICS)

Papers of Graham Mytton

Reuters Archive, London

The National Archives, London (UKNA)

Dominion Office (DO)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)

Foreign Office (FO)

Prime Minister's Office (PREM)

United States

CIA Electronic Reading Room [accessed online, cia.gov/library/readingroom]

Cold War International History Project, Wilson Center (CWIHP)

[accessed online, wilsoncenter.org/program/cold-war-international-history-project]

Frontline Diplomacy: The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (FAOHC) [accessed online, loc.gov/collections/foreign-affairs-oral-history]

Hoover Institute Archives, Stanford, California (HIA)

- Papers of Henry Bienen
 Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas (LBJL)
 National Security Files (NSF)
 Special Head of State Correspondence (SHSC)
 Papers of Leonhard H. Marks
 National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland
 (NARA)
 Record Group 59 – Department of State (RG 59)
 Bureau of African Affairs (BAA)
 Office of East African Affairs (OEAA)
 Central Foreign Policy Files (CFPF), 1967–69
 Czechoslovakian Crisis Microfilm
 Subject Numeric Files (SNF), 1964–66, 1970–73
 Oberlin College Archives, Ohio (OCA)
 Herbert Shore Collection in Honor of Eduardo C. Mondlane (HSC)
 Richard Nixon Presidential Library, Yorba Linda, California (RNL)
 National Security Council Files (NSCF)

Newspapers and Periodicals

- Africa Confidential* (UK; published as *Africa* plus the year number before
 1967, e.g., *Africa 1966*)
Africa Contemporary Record (UK)
Africa Now (UK)
Atlantic (United States)
Citizen (Tanzania)
Daily Nation (Kenya)
Daily News (Tanzania)
Daily Telegraph (UK)
Die Zeit (FRG)
East African Journal (Kenya)
Financial Times (UK)
*Foreign Affairs Bulletin: An Official Record of Foreign Policy of the
 United Republic of Tanzania* (Tanzania)
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FRG)
Guardian (UK)
Guardian on Sunday (Tanzania)
Index on Censorship (UK)
Jeune Afrique (Tunisia)
Mfanya Kazi (Tanzania)
Nationalist (Tanzania)
New Internationalist (UK)
New York Times (United States)
Ngurumo (Tanzania)

Observer (UK)
Peking Review (China)
Rai (Tanzania)
Raia Mwema (Tanzania)
Reporter (Kenya)
Revolution in Africa ('Albania'; real provenance unknown)
Spearhead (Tanzania)
Standard (Tanzania)
Sunday News (Tanzania)
Sunday Telegraph (UK)
Sunday Times (UK)
Times (UK)
Uhuru (Tanzania)
Vigilance Africa (China/Tanzania)
Wall Street Journal (United States)
Washington Post (United States)
Weekly News (Kenya)

Interviews

Babu, Ashura. Mikocheni, Dar es Salaam, 2 April 2019 (untaped).
 Kaduma, Ibrahim. Makongo, Dar es Salaam, 23 July 2015 (untaped).
 Msoma, Salim. Oyster Bay, Dar es Salaam, 2 July 2015 (untaped).
 Mwapachu, Juma. Oyster Bay, Dar es Salaam, 12 June 2015 (taped),
 29 May 2018 (untaped).
 Ngombale-Mwiru, Kingunge. Victoria, Dar es Salaam, 26 August 2015
 (taped).
 Nyakyi, Anthony. Masaki, Dar es Salaam, 28 July 2015 (taped).
 Rupia, Paul. Central Dar es Salaam, 3 August 2015 (untaped).
 Said, Mohamed. Magomeni Mapipa, Dar es Salaam, 8 July 2015 (untaped).
 Salim, Salim Ahmed. Masaki, Dar es Salaam, 29 August 2015 (taped).
 Ulimwengu, Jenerali. Oyster Bay, Dar es Salaam, 18 August 2015 (taped).

Personal Correspondence

Eppler, Erhard. 31 December 2016 (by email).

Published Primary Sources

Foreign Broadcasting Information Services [FBIS] Daily Report
Foreign Relations of the United States [FRUS], 1964-1968, vol. 24 – Africa
Hansard (Tanzania)
Hansard (UK)

Multimedia Resources

- British Pathé and Reuters Historical Collection (BPRHC). britishpathe.com.
- CBS 'Face the Nation' interview with Julius Nyerere, 2 January 1966, Herkovits Library of African Studies Audio Collection.
- Furtado, Joaquim (dir.), *A Guerra* (RTP, 2012), episode 13 – 'Morte de Eduardo Mondlane'.

Secondary Sources

- Aalen, Lovise. 'Ethiopian State Support to Insurgency in Southern Sudan from 1962 to 1983: Local, Regional and Global Connections', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8 (2014), 626–41.
- Adebanwi, Wale. 'The Radical Press and Security Agencies in Nigeria: Beyond Hegemonic Polarities', *African Studies Review*, 54 (2011), 45–69.
- Ahlman, Jeffrey S. 'Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa, and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa', *Kronos*, 37 (2011), 23–40.
- Ahlman, Jeffrey S. *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017).
- Ainslie, Rosalynde. *The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1966).
- Aldrich, Harriet. 'Uganda, Southern Sudan and the Idi Amin Coup', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48 (2020), 1109–39.
- Alexander, Jocelyn, JoAnn McGregor, and Blessing-Miles Tendi. 'The Transnational Histories of Southern African Liberation Movements: An Introduction', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 1–12.
- Alexander, Jocelyn, Paolo Israel, Miles Larmer, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira. 'Liberation Beyond the Nation: An Introduction', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46 (2020), 821–28.
- Allman, Jean. 'Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Post-Colonial History-Writing', *American Historical Review*, 118 (2013), 104–29.
- Allman, Jean. 'The Fate of All of Us: African Counterrevolutions and the Ends of 1968', *American Historical Review*, 123 (2018), 728–32.
- Amate, C. O. C. *Inside the OAU: Pan-Africanism in Practice* (London: Macmillan, 1986).
- Aminzade, Ronald. *Race, Nation, and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Tanzania* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

- Anderson, David M. 'Mau Mau in the High Court and the "Lost" British Empire Archives: Colonial Conspiracy or Bureaucratic Bungle?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39 (2011), 699–716.
- Antunes, José Freire. *Jorge Jardim: Agente secreto* (Venda Nova: Bertrand Editora, 1996).
- Ashekee, Toivo. 'Black Power and Armed Decolonization in Southern Africa: Stokely Carmichael, the African National Congress, and the African Liberation Movements, November 1967–December 1973', *Journal of African American History*, 104 (2019), 415–44.
- Babu, A. M. 'The 1964 Revolution: Lumpen or Vanguard?', in Abdul Sheriff and Ed Ferguson (eds.), *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* (London: James Currey, 1991), 220–47.
- Babu, A. M. 'Entrepreneurs in Tanzania: A Minister's Story', in Stephen Ellis and Yves-A. Fauré (eds.), *Entreprises et entrepreneurs africains* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 1995), 347–53.
- Babu, A. M. 'Memoirs: An Outline', in Haroub Othman (ed.), *Babu: I Saw the Future and It Works. Essays Celebrating the Life of Comrade Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu* (Dar es Salaam: E&D, 2001), 11–58.
- Babu, A. M. 'The Tanzania That Might Have Been', in Salma Babu and Amrit Wilson (eds.), *The Future That Works: Select Writings of A. M. Babu* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002), 16–23.
- Baker, Colin. *Revolt of the Ministers: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis, 1964–1965* (London: IB Tauris, 2001).
- Bamba, Abou B. 'An Unconventional Challenge to Apartheid: The Ivorian Dialogue Diplomacy with South Africa, 1960–1978', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 47 (2014), 77–99.
- Bamba, Abou B. *African Miracle, African Mirage: Transnational Politics and the Paradox of Modernization in Ivory Coast* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016).
- Baraka, Amiri. *The Autobiography of LeRoi Jones* (New York: Freundlich, 1984).
- Barton, Frank. *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance* (New York: Africana, 1979).
- Bayart, Jean-François. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (London: Longman, 1993 [1989]).
- Bedasse, Monique A. *Jah Kingdom: Rastafarians, Tanzania, and Pan-Africanism in the Age of Decolonization* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2017).
- Bernstein, Hilda. *The Rift: The Exile Experience of South Africans* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1994).
- Bgoya, Walter. 'From Tanzania to Kansas and Back Again', in William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb, Jr (eds.), *No Easy*

- Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950–2000* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), 103–106.
- Bienen, Henry. *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- Bjerck, Paul. 'Postcolonial Realism: Tanganyika's Foreign Policy Under Nyerere, 1960–1963', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 44 (2011), 216–47.
- Bjerck, Paul. 'Bomani, Paul', in Emmanuel A. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr (eds.), *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 484–85.
- Bjerck, Paul. *Building a Peaceful Nation: Julius Nyerere and the Establishment of Sovereignty in Tanzania* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015).
- Blum, Françoise, Pierre Guidi, and Ophélie Rillon (eds.). *Étudiants africains en mouvements: Contribution à une histoire des années 1968* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016).
- Boittin, Jennifer Anne. *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).
- Bonate, Liazzat J. K. 'Muslims of Northern Mozambique and the Liberation Movements', *Social Dynamics*, 35 (2009), 280–94.
- Bourgault, Louise M. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).
- Bragança, Aquino de, and Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.). *The African Liberation Reader, vol. 2: The National Liberation Movements* (London: Zed, 1982).
- Brandt, Willy. 'Problems of the Second Development Decade', *Intereconomics*, 4 (1969), 242–44.
- Brazinsky, Gregg A. *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry During the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).
- Brennan, James R. 'Democratizing Cinema and Censorship in Tanzania, 1920–1980', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38 (2005), 481–511.
- Brennan, James R. 'Youth, the TANU Youth League, and Managed Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, 1925–73', *Africa*, 76 (2006), 221–46.
- Brennan, James R. 'The Short History of Political Opposition and Multi-Party Democracy in Tanganyika, 1958–64', in Gregory H. Maddox and James L. Gibling (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 250–76.
- Brennan, James R. 'Destroying Mumiani: Cause, Context, and Violence in Late Colonial Dar es Salaam', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2 (2008), 95–111.

- Brennan, James R. 'Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa, 1953–1964', in Christopher J. Lee (ed.), *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 173–95.
- Brennan, James R. *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012).
- Brennan, James R. 'Julius Rex: Nyerere Through the Eyes of His Critics', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8 (2014), 459–77.
- Brennan, James R. 'The Cold War Battle over Global News in East Africa: Decolonization, the Free Flow of Information and the Media Business, 1960–1980', *Journal of Global History*, 10 (2015), 333–56.
- Brennan, James R. 'David Martin: Tracking the 1969 Killing of Mozambique's Independence Fighter, Eduardo Mondlane', in Anya Schiffrin and George Lugalambi (eds.), *African Muckraking: 100 Years of African Investigative Journalism* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2017), 11–19.
- Brennan, James R. 'The Secret Lives of Dennis Phombeah: Decolonization, the Cold War, and African Political Intelligence, 1953–1974', *International History Review*, 43 (2021), 153–69.
- Brennan, James R., and Andrew Burton. 'The Emerging Metropolis: A History of Dar es Salaam, circa 1862–2000', in James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton, and Yusuf Lawi (eds.), *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2007), 13–76.
- Brennan, James R., Andrew Burton, and Yusuf Lawi (eds.). *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2007).
- Brownell, Emily. *Gone to Ground: A History of Environment and Infrastructure in Dar es Salaam* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020).
- Burgess, G. Thomas. 'The Young Pioneers and the Rituals of Citizenship in Revolutionary Africa', *Africa Today*, 51 (2005), 3–29.
- Burgess, G. Thomas. 'An Imagined Generation: Umma Youth in Nationalist Zanzibar', in Gregory H. Maddox and James L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 216–49.
- Burgess, G. Thomas. 'A Socialist Diaspora: Ali Sultan Issa, the Soviet Union, and the Zanzibari Revolution', in Maxim Matusevich (ed.), *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounter* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), 263–91.
- Burton, Andrew. *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (London: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2005).

- Burton, Eric. 'Diverging Visions in Revolutionary Spaces: East German Advisers and Revolution from Above in Zanzibar, 1964–1970', in Anna Calori, Anne-Kristin Hartmetz, Bence Kocsev, James Mark, and Jan Zofka (eds.), *Between East and South: Spaces of Interaction in the Globalizing Economy of the Cold War* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2019), 85–115.
- Byrne, Jeffrey James. 'Beyond Continents, Colours, and the Cold War: Yugoslavia, Algeria, and the Struggle for Non-Alignment', *International History Review*, 37 (2015), 912–32.
- Byrne, Jeffrey James. *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization and the Third World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Cabrita, João M. *Mozambique: The Torturous Road to Democracy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).
- Cahen, Michel. 'The Mueda Case and Maconde Political Ethnicity: Some Notes on a Work in Progress', *Africana Studia*, 2 (1999), 29–46.
- Cahen, Michel. 'Nationalism and Ethnicities: Lessons from Mozambique', in Einar Braathen, Morten Bøås, and Gjermund Sæther (eds.), *Ethnicity Kills? The Politics of War, Peace and Ethnicity in SubSaharan Africa* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 163–87.
- Cahen, Michel. 'Lutte d'émancipation anticoloniale ou mouvement de libération nationale?', *Revue Historique*, 637 (2006), 113–38.
- Cahen, Michel. 'La "fin de l'histoire...unique": Trajectoires des anticolonialismes au Mozambique', *Portuguese Studies Review*, 16 (2008), 171–237.
- Callaci, Emily. "'Chief Village in a Nation of Villages": History, Race and Authority in Tanzania's Dodoma Plan', *Urban History*, 43 (2016), 96–116.
- Callaci, Emily. *Street Archives and City Life: Popular Intellectuals in Postcolonial Tanzania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).
- Callaci, Emily. 'Street Textuality: Socialism, Masculinity, and Urban Belonging in Tanzania's Pulp Fiction Publishing Industry, 1975–1985', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59 (2017), 183–210.
- Carpenter, Nathan Riley, and Benjamin N. Lawrance (eds.). *Africans in Exile: Mobility, Law, and Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).
- Červenka, Zdenek. *The Unfinished Quest for Unity: Africa and the OAU* (London: Julian Friedmann, 1977).
- Chamberlin, Paul Thomas. *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Chande, J. K. *A Knight in Africa: Journey from Bukene* (Manotick: Penumbra, 2005).

- Chaves, Rita. 'Autobiografias em Moçambique: A escrita como monument (2001–2013)', *Revista de História*, 178 (2019), 1–22.
- Chiume, Kanyama. *Autobiography of Kanyama Chiume* (London: Panaf, 1982).
- Chiume, Kanyama. *Banda's Malawi: An African Tragedy* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1992).
- Christiansen, Samantha, and Zachary A. Scarlett (eds.). *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).
- Clayton, Anthony. *The Zanzibar Revolution and Its Aftermath* (London: Hurst, 1981).
- Cliffe, Lionel. 'Review of Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development*', *Africa Review*, 1 (1971), 119–35.
- Cliffe, Lionel. 'Political Struggles Around the Adoption and Implementation of the Arusha Declaration', in Jeanette Hartmann (ed.), *Re-Thinking the Arusha Declaration* (Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research, 1991), 105–12.
- Cohen, Robert Carl. *Black Crusader: A Biography of Robert Franklin Williams* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1st ed., 1972).
- Cohen, Robert Carl. *Black Crusader: A Biography of Robert Franklin Williams* (Oregon: Jorvik Press, 3rd ed., 2015).
- Cook, Alexander C. 'Introduction: The Spiritual Atom Bomb and Its Global Fallout', in Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–22.
- Cooper, Frederick. 'Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective', *Journal of African History*, 49 (2008), 167–96.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Citizenship Between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945–1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).
- Coulson, Andrew. *Tanzania: A Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Curtis, Mark. *Unpeople: Britain's Secret Human Rights Abuses* (London: Vintage, 2004).
- Dallywater, Lena, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegar Fonseca (eds.). *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War "East": Transnational Activism, 1960–1990* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2019).
- Daly, Samuel Fury Childs. 'Archival Research in Africa', *African Affairs*, 116 (2017), 311–20.
- Das Gupta, Amit. 'The Non-Aligned and the German Question', in Nataša Mišković, Harald Fischer-Tiné, and Nada Boškovska (eds.), *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War: Delhi-Bandung-Belgrade* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 143–60.

- Das Neves Tembe, Joel. 'Uhuru na Kazi: Recapturing MANU Nationalism Through the Archive', *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 257–79.
- Das Neves Tembe, Joel (ed.). *História da luta de libertação nacional* (Maputo: Ministerio dos Combatentes – Direcção Nacional de Historia, 2014).
- Davidson, Basil. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Crisis of the Nation-State* (Oxford: James Currey, 1992).
- Dedering, Tilman. 'Ostpolitik and the Relations Between West Germany and South Africa', in Carole Fink and Bernd Schaefer (eds.), *Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: European and Global Responses* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 206–31.
- Delehanty, Sean. 'From Modernization to Villagization: The World Bank and Ujamaa', *Diplomatic History*, 44 (2020), 289–314.
- Derluguian, Georgi. 'The Social Origins of Good and Bad Governance: Re-Interpreting the 1968 Schism in FRELIMO', in Éric Morier-Genoud (ed.), *Sure Road? Nations and Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 79–101.
- DeRoche, Andy. *Kenneth Kaunda, the United States and Southern Africa* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
- Dietrich, Christopher R. W. *Oil Revolution: Anticolonial Elites, Sovereign Rights, and the Economic Culture of Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Dinani, Husseina. 'Gendering Villagization: Women and Kinship Networks in Colonial and Socialist Lindi', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 50 (2017), 275–99.
- Dinerman, Alice. *Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Revisionism in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of FRELIMO, 1975–1994* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Dinkel, Jürgen. *The Non-Aligned Movement: Genesis, Organization and Politics (1927–1992)*, trans. Alex Skinner (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
- Dube, Emmanuel M. 'Relations Between Liberation Movements and the OAU', in N. M. Shamuyarira (ed.), *Essays on the Liberation of Southern Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1971), 25–68.
- Dzhirkvelov, Ilya. *Secret Servant: My Life with the KGB and the Soviet Elite* (London: Collins, 1987).
- Eckert, Andreas. "'We Must Run While Others Walk": African Civil Servants, State Ideologies and Bureaucratic Practices in Tanzania, from the 1950s to the 1970s', in Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan (eds.), *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 205–19.
- Elkins, Caroline. 'Looking Beyond Mau Mau: Archiving Violence in the Era of Decolonization', *American Historical Review*, 120 (2015), 852–68.

- Ellis, Stephen. 'Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa', *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 1–26.
- Ellis, Stephen. *External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990* (London: Hurst, 2012).
- Ellis, Stephen, and Tsepo Sechaba. *Comrades Against Apartheid: The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile* (London: James Currey, 1992).
- El Shakry, Omnia. "'History Without Documents": The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East', *American Historical Review*, 120 (2015), 920–34.
- Engel, Ulf. "'I will not recognise East Germany just because Bonn is stupid". Anerkennungsdiplomatie in Tansania, 1964 bis 1965', in Ulrich van der Heyden and Franziska Benger (eds.), *Kalter Krieg in Ostafrika: Die Beziehungen der DDR zu Sansibar und Tansania* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 9–30.
- Eppler, Erhard. *Not Much Time for the Third World* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1972).
- Eppler, Erhard. *Komplettes Stückwerk: Erfahrungen aus fünfzig Jahren Politik* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1996).
- Eppler, Erhard. *Links Leben: Erinnerungen eines Weltkonservativen* (Berlin: Prophylläen, 2015).
- Eribo, Festus, and William Jong-Ebot (eds.). *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1997).
- Fair, Laura. *Reel Pleasures: Cinema Audiences and Entrepreneurs in Twentieth-Century Urban Tanzania* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018).
- Faringer, Gunilla L. *Press Freedom in Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1991).
- Fink, Carole, and Bernd Schaefer (eds.). *Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: European and Global Responses* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Fouéré, Marie-Aude. 'Recasting Julius Nyerere in Zanzibar: The Revolution, the Union, and the Enemy of the Nation', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8 (2014), 478–92.
- Freije, Vanessa. "'The Emancipation of Media": Latin American Advocacy for a New International Information Order in the 1970s', *Journal of Global History*, 14 (2019), 301–20.
- Friedman, Jeremy. *Shadow Cold War: The Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- Ganser, Daniele. *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation GLADIO and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005).
- Garland Mahler, Anne. *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

- Gehrig, Sebastian. 'Reaching Out to the Third World: East Germany's Anti-Apartheid and Socialist Human Rights Campaign', *German History*, 36 (2018), 574–97.
- Geiger, Susan. *TANU Women: Gender and the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).
- Gerits, Frank. "'When the Bull Elephants Fight": Kwame Nkrumah, Non-Alignment, and Pan-Africanism as an Interventionist Ideology in the Global Cold War (1957–66)', *International History Review*, 37 (2015), 951–69.
- Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).
- Ghassany, Harith. *Kwaheri Ukoloni, Kwaheri Uhuru!* (n.p.: self-published, 2010).
- Glassman, Jonathon. *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).
- Glejjeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
- Glejjeses, Piero. *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976–1991* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
- Glukhov, Arkadi. 'The Fateful August of 1968: Hot Summer in Dar es Salaam', in Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of African Studies, *Julius Nyerere: Humanist, Politician, Thinker*, trans. B. G. Petruk (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2005), 42–49.
- Goebel, Michael. *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Goyens, Tom. *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880–1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
- Gray, William Glenn. *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949–1969* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
- Grilli, Matteo. *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
- Gruffydd Jones, Branwen. 'Comradeship, Committed, and Conscious: The Anticolonial Archive Speaks to Our Times', in Shiera El-Malik and Isaac A. Kamola (eds.), *Politics of African Anticolonial Archive* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 57–82.

- Grundy, Trevor. 'Frene Ginwala, the Lenin Supplement, and the Storm Drains of History', *Politics Web*, 15 August 2017. politicsweb.co.za/opinion/frene-ginwala-the-lenin-supplement-and-the-storm-d.
- Guevara, Ernesto 'Che'. *The African Dream: The Diaries of the Revolutionary War in the Congo*, trans. Patrick Camillier (London: Harvill, 2001).
- Hachten, William A. *Muffled Drums: The News Media in Africa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971).
- Harper, Tim. 'Singapore, 1915, and the Birth of the Asian Underground', in Tim Harper and Sunil Amrith (eds.), *Sites of Asian Interaction: Ideas, Networks, and Mobility* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 10–37.
- Harper, Tim, and Sunil Amrith (eds.). *Sites of Asian Interaction: Ideas, Networks, and Mobility* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Hashil, Hashil Seif. *Mimi, Umma Party na Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar* (Paris: DL2A Buluu, 2018).
- Hasty, Jennifer. *The Press and Political Culture in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).
- Helleiner, Gerry. *Toward a Better World: Memoirs of a Life in International and Development Economics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).
- Hirji, Karim F. (ed.). *Cheche: Reminiscences of a Radical Magazine* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2010).
- Holtom, Duncan. 'Reconsidering the Power of the IFIs: Tanzania and the World Bank, 1978–1985', *Review of African Political Economy*, 32 (2005), 549–67.
- Hong, Young-Sun. *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Hopkins, Raymond F. *Political Roles in a New State: Tanzania's First Decade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971).
- Hunter, Emma. 'Jamal, Amir Habib', in Emmanuel A. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr (eds.), *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 190–191.
- Hunter, Emma. "'Our Common Humanity": Print, Power, and the Colonial Press in Interwar Tanganyika and French Cameroun', *Journal of Global History*, 7 (2012), 279–301.
- Hunter, Emma. 'Julius Nyerere', in Steven Casey and Jonathon Wright (eds.), *Mental Maps in the Era of Détente and the End of the Cold War, 1968–91* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 81–96.
- Hunter, Emma. 'Julius Nyerere, the Arusha Declaration, and the Deep Roots of a Contemporary Political Metaphor', in Marie-Aude Fouéré (ed.),

- Remembering Julius Nyerere in Tanzania: History, Memory, Legacy* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2015), 73–94.
- Hunter, Emma. *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Hutchison, Alan. *China's African Revolution* (London: Hutchinson, 1975).
- Igreja, Victor. 'Politics of Memory, Decentralisation and Recentralisation in Mozambique', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39 (2013), 313–55.
- Ingram, Kenneth. *Obote: A Political Biography* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Ivaska, Andrew. *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
- Ivaska, Andrew. 'Movement Youth in a Global Sixties Hub: The Everyday Lives of Transnational Activists in Postcolonial Dar es Salaam', in Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret (eds.), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 188–210.
- Ivaska, Andrew. 'Liberation in Transit: Eduardo Mondlane and Che Guevara in Dar es Salaam', in Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young, and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (London: Routledge, 2018), 27–38.
- Jackson, Stephen R. 'China's Third World Policy: The Case of Angola and Mozambique', *China Quarterly*, 142 (1997), 388–422.
- Jenks, John. 'Crash Course: The International Press Institute and Journalism Training in Anglophone Africa, 1963–1975', *Media History*, 26 (2020), 508–21.
- Jesus, José Manuel Duarte de. *Eduardo Mondlane: Um homem a abater* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2010).
- Jesus, José Manuel Duarte de. *A guerra secreta de Salazar em África. Aginter Press: Um rede internacional de contra-subversão e espionagem em Lisboa* (Algragide: Dom Quixote, 2012).
- Johnson, Phyllis, and David Martin. *Apartheid Terrorism: The Destabilization Report* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).
- Judt, Tony, with Timothy Snyder. *Thinking the Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin, 2012).
- Kaiser, Daniel. "'Makers of Bonds and Ties": Transnational Socialisation and National Liberation in Mozambique', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 29–48.
- Kambona, Oscar S. *Tanzania and the Rule of Law* (London: African News Service, n.d. [1970?]).

- Kapuściński, Ryszard. *The Shadow of the Sun: My African Life*, trans. Klara Glowczewska (London: Allen Lane, 2001).
- Kasrils, Ronnie. *Armed and Dangerous: From Undercover Struggle to Freedom* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1998).
- Kassum, Al Noor. *Africa's Winds of Change: Memoirs of an International Tanzanian* (London: IB Tauris, 2007).
- Keller, Renata. *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Keese, Alexander. 'Just Like in Colonial Times? Administrative Practice and Local Reflections on "Grassroots Neocolonialism" in Autonomous and Postcolonial Dahomey, 1958–65', *Journal of African History*, 60 (2019), 257–76.
- Khuri-Makdisi, Ilham. *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
- Kilian, Werner. *Die Hallstein-Doktrin: Der Diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR, 1955–1973* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2001).
- Konde, Hadji S. *Press Freedom in Tanzania* (Arusha: Eastern Africa Publications, 1984).
- Kondlo, Kwandiwe. *In the Twilight of the Revolution: The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), 1959–1994* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2009).
- Lal, Priya. 'Self-Reliance and the State: The Multiple Meanings of Development in Early Post-Colonial Tanzania', *Africa*, 82 (2012), 212–34.
- Lal, Priya. 'Maoism in Tanzania: Material Connections and Shared Imaginaries', in Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 96–116.
- Lal, Priya. *African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania: Between the Village and the World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Lal, Priya. 'African Socialism and the Limits of Global Familyhood: Tanzania and the New International Economic Order in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Humanity*, 6 (2015), 17–31.
- Lal, Priya. 'Tanzanian *Ujamaa* in a World of Peripheral Socialisms', in Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young, and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (London: Routledge, 2018), 367–80.
- Langland, Victoria. *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

- Larmer, Miles. *Rethinking African Politics: A History of Opposition in Zambia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
- Larmer, Miles. 'Nation-Making at the Border: Zambian Diplomacy in the Democratic Republic of Congo', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 61 (2019), 145–75.
- Larmer, Miles, and Erik Kennes. 'Rethinking the Katangese Secession', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42 (2014), 741–61.
- Laweki, Lawe. *Mateus Pinho Gwenjere: A Revolutionary Priest* (Wandsbeck: Reach, 2019).
- Lawi, Yusufu Qwaray. 'Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqwland, 1974–1976', *Journal of African History*, 48 (2007), 69–93.
- Laurent, Frederic, and Nina Sutton. *L'Orchestre noir* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 1978).
- Levine, Katherine. 'The TANU Ten-House Cell System', in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul (eds.), *Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader. Vol 1.: Politics* (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1972), 329–37.
- Lewis, Su Lin. *Cities in Motion: Urban Life and Cosmopolitanism in Southeast Asia, 1920–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Lewis, Su Lin, and Carolien Stolte. 'Other Bandungs: Afro-Asian Internationalisms in the Early Cold War', *Journal of World History*, 30 (2019), 1–19.
- Lodge, Tom. *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (London: Longman, 1983).
- Lofchie, Michael F. *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).
- Lopes, Rui. *West Germany and the Portuguese Dictatorship, 1968–1974: Between Cold War and Colonialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Lorenzini, Sara. 'Globalising Ostpolitik', *Cold War History*, 9 (2009), 223–42.
- Lüthi, Lorenz M. 'Non-Alignment, 1946–1965: Its Establishment and Struggle Against Afro-Asianism', *Humanity*, 7 (2016), 201–23.
- Lüthi, Lorenz M. 'The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961–1973', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 18 (2016), 98–147.
- MacQueen, Norrie. 'Portugal's First Domino: "Pluricontinentalism" and Colonial War in Guiné-Bissau, 1963–1974', *Contemporary European History*, 8 (1999), 209–30.
- Malecela, J. S. 'Some Issues of Development Planning', in Anthony H. Rweyemamu and Bismarck U. Mwansasu (eds.), *Planning in*

- Tanzania: Background to Decentralisation* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), 13–21.
- Maluwa, Tiyanjana. ‘Some Aspects of the Boundary Dispute Between Malawi and Tanzania over Lake Malawi’, *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 37 (2016), 351–420.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Manghezi, Nadja. *O meu coração está nas mãos de um negro: uma história da vida de Janet Mondlane*, trans. Machado da Graça (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2nd ed., 2001).
- Manghezi, Nadja. *The Maputo Connection: The ANC in the World of FRELIMO* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2009).
- Marchesi, Aldo. *Latin America’s Radical Left: Rebellion and Cold War in the Global 1960s*, trans. Laura Pérez Carrara (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Marcum, John A. *Conceiving Mozambique* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Mark, James, Péter Apor, Radina Vučetić, and Piotr Osęka. ‘“We are with you Vietnam”: Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50 (2015), 439–64.
- Markle, Seth M. *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power, and the Uncertain Future of Pan-Africanism, 1964–1974* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017).
- Martin, David. *General Amin* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974).
- Martín Luque, Alba. ‘International Shaping of a Nationalist Imagery? Robert van Lierop, Eduardo Mondlane and *A luta continua*’, *Afriche e Orienti*, 19 (2017), 115–38.
- Martins, Helder. *Porquê Sakrani? Mémoires dum medico duma guerrilha esquecida* (Maputo: Editorial Terceiro Milénio, 2001).
- Masha, F. Lwanyantika. *The Story of the Arusha Declaration (1967)* (Mwanza: self-published, 2011).
- Matera, Marc. *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).
- Mateus, Dalila Cabrita. *PIDE/DGS na guerra colonial, 1961–1974* (Lisbon: Terramar, 2004).
- Matthes, Helmut. ‘Zur Entwicklung außenpolitischer Grundlagen der Beziehungen zwischen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und der Vereinigten Republik Tansania bis Mitte der siebziger Jahre’, in Ulrich van der Heyden and Franziska Benger (eds.), *Kalter Krieg in Ostafrika: Die Beziehungen der DDR zu Sansibar und Tansania* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 55–97.

- Maundi, Mohammed Omar. 'The Role of the Organisation of African Unity in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa', in A. J. Temu and Joel das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1964–1994*, vol. 9 (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014), 381–430.
- Mayall, James. 'The Malawi-Tanzania Boundary Dispute', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11 (1973), 611–28.
- Mazov, Sergey. *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956–1964* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010).
- Mazrui, Ali A. 'Tanzaphilia', *Transition*, 31 (1967), 20–26.
- 'Mazungumzo kati ya Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru na Issa Shivji', *Chemchemi*, 2 (2009), 64–77.
- Mbembe, Achille. 'The Power of the Archive and Its Limits', in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Michèle Pickover, Graeme Reid, Razia Saleh, and Jane Taylor (eds.), *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2002), 19–27.
- McCann, Gerard. 'Where was the Afro in Afro-Asian Solidarity? Africa's "Bandung Moment" in 1950s Asia', *Journal of World History*, 30 (2019), 89–123.
- McKeon, Nora. 'The African States and the OAU', *International Affairs*, 42 (1966), 390–409.
- McMaster, Carolyn. *Malawi: Foreign Policy and Development* (London: Julian Friedman, 1974).
- Mëhilli, Elidor. *From Stalin to Mao: Albania and the Socialist World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).
- Melchiorre, Luke. "'Under the Thumb of the Party": The Limits of Tanzanian Socialism and the Decline of the Student Left', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46 (2020), 635–54.
- Mkapa, Benjamin William. *My Life, My Purpose: A Tanzanian President Remembers* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2019).
- Miyo, Pascal. 'The Struggle for Workers' Control in Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy*, 4 (1975), 62–84.
- Milford, Ismay. 'Federation, Partnership, and the Chronologies of Space in 1950s East and Central Africa', *Historical Journal*, 63 (2020), 1325–48.
- Miller, Jamie. *An African Volk: The Apartheid States and Its Struggle for Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Miller, Robert A. 'Elite Formation in Africa: Class, Culture, and Coherence', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 12 (1974), 521–42.
- Mills, Sean. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

- Mišković, Nataša, Harald Fischer-Tiné, and Nada Boškowska (eds.). *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War: Delhi-Bandung-Belgrade* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014).
- Mitchell, Nancy. *Jimmy Carter in Africa: Race and the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2016).
- Mohamed, Toibibou Ali. 'Les Comoriens de Zanzibar durant la "Révolution Okello" (1964–1972)', *Journal des africanistes*, 76 (2006), 137–54.
- Mohiddin, Ahmed. 'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea', *Mawazo* (December 1967), 24–38.
- Mokhtefi, Elaine. *Algiers, Third World Capital: Freedom Fighters, Revolutionaries, Black Panthers* (London: Verso, 2018).
- Molony, Thomas. *Nyerere: The Early Years* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2014).
- Mondlane, Eduardo. *The Struggle for Mozambique* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1969).
- Monson, Jamie. *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
- Moorman, Marissa J. *Powerful Frequencies: Radio, State Power, and the Cold War in Angola, 1931–2002* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).
- Morier-Genoud, Éric. *Catholicism and the Making of Politics in Central Mozambique, 1940–1986* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019).
- Moskowitz, Kara. *Seeing Like a Citizen: Decolonization, Development, and the Making of Kenya, 1945–1980* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).
- Mtei, Edwin. *From Goatherd to Governor: The Autobiography of Edwin Mtei* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2009).
- Müller-Enbergs, Helmut, Jan Wielgoths, and Dieter Hoffmann (eds.). *Wer war wer in der DDR? Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2000).
- Musiba, A. E. *Kufa na Kupona* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2018 [1974]).
- Mwakawago, Daudi. 'Dar es Salaam: Two Urban Campaigns', in Lionel Cliffe (ed.), *One-Party Democracy: The 1965 Tanzania General Elections* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967).
- Mwakikagile, Godfrey. *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: Product of the Cold War?* (Pretoria: New Africa Press, 2008).
- Mwapachu, Juma Volter. 'Industrial Labour Protest in Tanzania: An Analysis of Influential Variables', *African Review*, 3 (1973), 383–401.
- Mytton, Graham. *Mass Communication in Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).

- Namikas, Lise. *Battleground Africa: Cold War in the Congo, 1961–1965* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013).
- National Union of Mozambican Students. ‘The Mozambican Revolution Betrayed’, *African Historical Studies*, 3 (1970), 169–80.
- Ncomo, Barnabé Lucas. *Uria Simango: um homem, uma causa* (Maputo: Edições Novafrica, 2004).
- Ndelana, Lopes Tembe. *From UDENAMO to FRELIMO and Mozambican Diplomacy* (Terra Alta, WV: Headline Books, 2016).
- Ndlovu, Sifiso Mxolisi. ‘The ANC’s Diplomacy and International Relations’, in SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, vol. 2 (1970–1980)* (Cape Town: UNISA Press, 2006), 615–67.
- Ngombale-Mwiru, Kingunge. ‘Utangulizi: Ujio na Uzito wa Miongozo Miwili’, in Bashiru Ally, Saida Yahya-Othman, and Issa Shivji (eds.), *Miongozo Miwili na Kutunguliwa kwa Azimio la Arusha* (Dar es Salaam: Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam, 2013), 12–26.
- Ng’wanakilala, Nkwabi. *Mass Communication and Development of Socialism in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1981).
- Nicholas, Claire. ‘Des corps connectés: les Ghana Young Pioneers, tête de proue de la mondialisation de Nkrumahisme (1960–1966)’, *Politique africaine*, 147 (2017), 87–107.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. *The African Journalist* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishers, n.d. [1965–66]).
- Nkulunguila, Josefina Daniel. ‘Frente de Cabo Delgado’, in Joel das Neves Tembe (ed.), *História da luta de libertação nacional* (Maputo: Ministerio dos Combatentes – Direcção Nacional de Historia, 2014), 211–448.
- Niedhart, Gottfried. ‘Ostpolitik: Transformation Through Communication and the Quest for Peaceful Change’, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 18 (2016), 14–59.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis B. *Africa’s Media: Democracy and the Politics of Belonging* (London: Zed, 2005).
- Nyerere, Julius K. *Freedom and Unity: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952–65* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- Nyerere, Julius K. *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–1967* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968).
- Nyerere, Julius K. *Argue Don’t Shout: An Official Guide to Foreign Policy by the President* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969).
- Nyerere, Julius K. *Freedom and Development: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1968–1973* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Nyerere, Julius K. *The Arusha Declaration: Ten Years After* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1977).

- Obote, Milton A. *Myths and Realities: Letter to a London Friend* (Kampala: Consolidated Printers, 1968).
- Ochieng, Philip. *I Accuse the Press: An Insider's View of Media and Politics in Africa* (Nairobi: Initiatives, 1992).
- Ochonu, Moses E. 'Elusive History: Fractured Archives, Politicized Orality, and Sensing the Postcolonial Past', *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 287–98.
- Onah, Emmanuel, Chinwe Okoyeuzu, and Chibuike Uche. 'The Nationalisation of British Banks in Post-Colonial Tanzania', *Business History* (forthcoming).
- Opello Jr, Walter C. 'Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: FRELIMO in the 1960s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2 (1975), 66–82.
- Oreh, Onuma O. "'Developmental Journalism" and Press Freedom: An African View Point', *Gazette*, 24 (1978), 36–40.
- Osei-Opare, Nana. 'Uneasy Comrades: Postcolonial Statecraft, Race, and Citizenship. Ghana-Soviet Relations, 1957–1966', *Journal of West African History*, 5 (2019), 85–111.
- Othman, Haroub (ed.). *Babu: I Saw the Future and It Works. Essays Celebrating the Life of Comrade Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu* (Dar es Salaam: E&D, 2001).
- Pallotti, Arrigo. 'Post-Colonial Nation-Building and Southern African Liberation: Tanzania and the Break of Diplomatic Relations with the United Kingdom, 1965–1968', *African Historical Review*, 41 (2009), 60–84.
- Panzer, Michael G. 'The Pedagogy of Revolution: Youth, Generational Conflict, and Education in the Development of Mozambican Nationalism and the State, 1962–1970', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35 (2009), 803–20.
- Parsons, Timothy H. *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
- Pearce, Justin. 'Global Ideologies, Local Politics: The Cold War as Seen from Central Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 13–27.
- Peterson, Derek R., Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (eds.). *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).
- Piccini, Jon. *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s: Global Radicals* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Pratt, Cranford. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

- Pratt, Cranford. 'Democracy and Socialism in Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 12 (1978), 407–28.
- Putnam, Lara. 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast', *American Historical Review*, 121 (2016), 377–402.
- Roberts, George. 'The Uganda-Tanzania War, the Fall of Idi Amin, and the Failure of African Diplomacy, 1978–1979', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8 (2014), 692–709.
- Roberts, George. 'Press, Propaganda and the German Democratic Republic's Search for Recognition in Tanzania, 1964–72', in Philip Muehlenbeck and Natalia Telepneva (eds.), *Warsaw Pact Intervention in the Third World: Aid and Influence in the Cold War* (London: IB Tauris, 2018), 148–72.
- Roberts, Priscilla, and John M. Carroll (eds.). *Hong Kong in the Cold War* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).
- Rweyemamu, Justinian. *Underdevelopment and Industrialization in Tanzania: A Study of Perverse Capitalist Industrial Development* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Sackeyfio-Lenoch, Naarborko. 'The Ghana Trades Union Congress and the Politics of International Labor Alliances, 1957–1971', *International Review of Social History*, 62 (2017), 191–213.
- Said, Mohammed. *The Life and Time of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924–1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle Against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (London: Minerva Press, 1998).
- Sanders, Ethan R. 'Conceiving the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union in the Midst of the Cold War', *African Review*, 41 (2014), 35–70.
- Saul, John S. *The State and Revolution in East Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1979).
- Saunders, Chris. 'SWAPO, Namibia's Liberation Struggle and the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee', *South African Historical Journal*, 70 (2018), 152–67.
- Schilling, Britta. *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Schler, Lynn. 'Dilemmas of Postcolonial Diplomacy: Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, and the Middle East Crisis', *Journal of African History*, 59 (2018), 97–119.
- Schmidt, Elizabeth. *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946–1958* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).
- Schmidt, Heide-Irene. 'Pushed to the Front: The Foreign Assistance Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1958–1971', *Contemporary European History*, 12 (2003), 473–507.

- Schneider, Leander. *Government of Development: Peasants and Politicians in Postcolonial Tanzania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).
- Schneidman, Witney W. *Engaging Africa: Washington and the Fall of Portugal's Colonial Empire* (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 2004).
- Schrafstetter, Susanna. 'A Nazi Diplomat Turned Apologist for Apartheid: Gustav Sonnenhol, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and West German Foreign Policy Towards South Africa', *German History*, 28 (2010), 44–66.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
- Shamuyarira, N. M. 'The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa', *African Review*, 1 (1971), 67–78.
- Shipanga, Andreas, with Sue Armstrong. *In Search of Freedom* (Gibraltar: Ashanti, 1989).
- Shityuwete, Helao. *Never Follow the Wolf: The Autobiography of a Namibian Freedom Fighter* (London: Kliptown, 1990).
- Shivji, Issa G. *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (London: Heinemann, 1976).
- Shivji, Issa G. 'The Democracy Debate in Africa: Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy*, 18 (1991), 79–91.
- Shivji, Issa G. 'The Rule of Law and *Ujamaa* in the Ideological Formation of Tanzania', *Social and Legal Studies*, 4 (1995), 147–74.
- Shivji, Issa G. *Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism? Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2008).
- Shivji, Issa G., Saida-Yahya Othman, and Ng'wanza Kamata. *Development as Rebellion – Julius Nyerere: A Biography* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2020).
- Short, Philip. *Banda* (London: Routledge, 1974).
- Skinner, Kate. 'West Africa's First Coup: Neo-Colonial and Pan-African Projects in Togo's "Shadow Archives"', *African Studies Review*, 63 (2020), 375–98.
- Slobodian, Quinn. *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
- Slonecker, Blake. *A New Dawn for the New Left: Liberation News Service, Montague Farm, and the Long Sixties* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Smith, William Edgett. *Nyerere of Tanzania* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1973).
- Souto, Amélia Neves de. 'Memory and Identity in the History of Frelimo: Some Research Themes', *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 280–96.

- Spacek, Peter. 'Die Anfänge in Sansibar und Dar es Salaam', in Ulrich van der Heyden and Franziska Bengler (eds.), *Kalter Krieg in Ostafrika: Die Beziehungen der DDR zu Sansibar und Tansania* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 169–83.
- Speich, Daniel. 'The Kenyan Style of "African Socialism": Developmental Knowledge Claims and the Explanatory Limits of the Cold War', *Diplomatic History*, 33 (2009), 449–66.
- Speller, Ian. 'An African Cuba? Britain and the Zanzibar Revolution, 1964', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 35 (2007), 283–302.
- Stiff, Peter. *The Silent War: South African Recce Operations, 1969–1994* (Alberton: Galago, 1999).
- Straker, Jay. *Youth, Nationalism, and the Guinean Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
- Stur, Heather Marie. *Saigon at War: South Vietnam and the Global Sixties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- Sturmer, Martin. *The Media History of Tanzania* (Mtwara: Ndanda Mission Press, 1998).
- Sun, Jodie Yuzhou. "'Now the Cry Was Communism": The Cold War and Kenya's Relations with China, 1964–70', *Cold War History*, 20 (2020), 39–58.
- Suri, Jeremi. 'The Promises and Failure of "Developed Socialism": The Soviet "Thaw" and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964–1972', *Contemporary European History*, 15 (2006), 133–58.
- Suriano, Maria. 'Transnational Music Collaborations, Affective Networks and Everyday Practices of Convivial Solidarity in *Ujamaa* Dar es Salaam', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46 (2020), 985–1008.
- Svendsen, K. E. 'Development Administration and Socialist Strategy: Tanzania After Mwongozo', in Anthony H. Rweyemamu and Bismarck U. Mwansasu (eds.), *Planning in Tanzania: Background to Decentralisation* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974) 23–44.
- Swift, Charles R. *Dar Days: The Early Years in Tanzania* (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 2002).
- Tague, Joanna T. *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development* (London: Routledge 2018).
- Tanganyika African National Union. *Tanzania: Party Guidelines. Mwongozo wa TANU* (Richmond, BC: LSM Information Center, 1973).
- 'Tanzania: Soviet Views on the Arusha Programme', *Mizan*, 9 (1967), 197–201.
- Tarimo, Elias C. J., and Neville Z. Reuben. 'Tanzania's Solidarity with South Africa's Liberation', in SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South*

- Africa, vol. 5: African Solidarity, Part 1* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2013), 201–46.
- Telepneva, Natalia. ‘Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for FRELIMO, 1958–1965’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 67–81.
- Terretta, Meredith. ‘Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global: From Forest *Maquis* to a Pan-African Accra’, *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 189–212.
- Thoden van Velzen, H. U. E. , and J. J. Sterkenburg. ‘The Party Supreme’, *Kroniek van Afrika*, 1 (1969), 65–88.
- Thomson, J. B. *Words of Passage: A Journalist Looks Back* (n.p.: Xlibris, 2012).
- Tordoff, William. *Government and Politics in Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967).
- Tordoff, William, and Ali A. Mazrui. ‘The Left and the Super-Left in Tanzania’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10 (1972), 427–45.
- Triplett, George W. ‘Zanzibar: The Politics of Revolutionary Inequality’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9 (1971), 612–17.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- Turok, Ben. *Nothing but the Truth: Behind the ANC’s Struggle Politics* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003).
- United Republic of Tanzania. *Arusha Declaration: Answers to Questions* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).
- Vaughan, Chris. ‘The Politics of Regionalism and Federation in East Africa, 1958–1964’, *Historical Journal*, 62 (2019), 519–40.
- Vieira, Sérgio. *Participei, por isso testemunho* (Maputo: Editorial Ndijira, 2010).
- Vitalis, Robert. ‘The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung (Ban-Doong)’, *Humanity*, 4 (2013), 261–88.
- Vu, Tuong. *Vietnam’s Communist Revolution: The Power and Limits of Ideology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Wakati, David. ‘Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam’, in George Wedell (ed.), *Making Broadcasting Useful: The African Experience. The Development of Radio and Television in Africa in the 1980s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 212–30.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. ‘Left and Right in Africa’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9 (1971), 1–10.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

- White, Luise. *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
- White, Luise. *The Assassination of Herbert Chitepo: Texts and Politics in Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- White, Luise. 'Hodgepodge Historiography: Documents, Itineraries, and the Absence of Archives', *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 309–18.
- White, Luise, and Miles Larmer. 'Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014), 1271–74.
- Wilcox, Dennis L. *Mass Media in Black Africa: Philosophy and Control* (New York: Praeger, 1975).
- Wilder, Gary. *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
- Williams, Christian. *National Liberation in Post-Colonial Southern Africa: An Ethnographic History of SWAPO's Exile Camps* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Wilson, Amrit. *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania* (London: Pluto, 1989).
- Wilson, Amrit. *The Threat of Liberation: Imperialism and Revolution in Zanzibar* (London: Pluto, 2013).
- Wolfers, Michael. *Politics in the Organization of African Unity* (London: Methuen, 1976).
- Yihun, Belete Belachew. 'Ethiopian Foreign Policy and the Ogaden War: The Shift from "Containment" to "Destabilization", 1977–1991', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8 (2014), 677–91.
- Yihun, Belete Belachew. 'Ethiopia's Troubled Relations with the Sudan, 1956–1983', *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 10 (2016), 67–88.
- Yordanov, Radoslav A. *The Soviet Union and the Horn of Africa During the Cold War* (Lexington, MD: Lexington, 2016).
- Young, Alden. *Transforming Sudan: Decolonization, Economic Development, and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Young, Crawford. *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012).
- Zolov, Eric. *The Last Good Neighbor: Mexico in the Global Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).

Unpublished Theses and Papers

- Altorfer-Ong, Alicia N. 'Old Comrades and New Brothers: A Historical Re-Examination of the Sino-Zanzibari and Sino-Tanzania Bilateral Relationships', PhD diss. (London School of Economics, 2014).

- Bodie, George. 'Global GDR? Sovereignty, Legitimacy and Decolonization in the German Democratic Republic, 1960–1989', PhD diss. (University College London, 2019).
- Brennan, James R. 'Intelligence and Security: Revolution, Espionage, and the Cold War in Tanzania', unpublished paper in author's possession.
- Brennan, James R. 'Debating the Guidelines: Literacy, Text, and Socratic Socialism in 1970s Tanzania', unpublished paper presented at the African Studies Workshop, University of Chicago (2014).
- Chachage, Chambi. 'A Capitalizing City: Dar es Salaam and the Emergence of an Entrepreneurial Elite (c.1862–2015)', PhD diss. (Harvard University, 2018).
- Hartmann, Jeannette. 'Development Policy-Making in Tanzania: A Critique of Sociological Interpretations', PhD diss. (University of Hull, 1983).
- Hunter, Emma. 'British Tanzaphilia, 1961–1972', MA diss. (University of Cambridge, 2004).
- LeBlanc, Zoe. 'Circulating Anti-Colonial Cairo: Decolonizing News Media and the Making of the Third World in Egypt, 1952–78', PhD diss. (Vanderbilt University, 2019).
- Lissoni, Arianna. 'The South African Liberation Movements in Exile, c.1945–1970', PhD diss. (School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2008).
- Mytton, Graham. 'The Role of the Mass Media in Nation-Building in Tanzania', PhD diss. (University of Manchester, 1971).
- Niblock, Timothy. 'Aid and Foreign Policy in Tanzania, 1961–68', PhD diss. (University of Sussex, 1971).
- Rajab, Ahmed. 'Maisha na nyakati za Abdulla Kassim Hanga', unpublished paper presented at the Zanzibar Institute for Research and Public Policy (2016).
- Roberts, George. 'Politics, Decolonization, and the Cold War in Dar es Salaam, c.1965–72', PhD diss. (University of Warwick, 2016).
- Swagler, Matthew. 'Youth Radicalism in Senegal and Congo-Brazzaville, 1958–1974', PhD diss. (Columbia University, 2017).
- Telepneva, Natalia. 'Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961–1975', PhD diss. (London School of Economics, 2015).