STEPHEN ELLIS BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jos Damen
Stephen Ellis during his work for the West Africa Commission on Drugs convened by the Kofi Annan Foundation (Ghana, 2014).
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two countries and a continent</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles &amp; book chapters</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book reviews</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press articles</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsigned and unpublished</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stephen Ellis had roots in two European countries, but he was fascinated by a much larger continent, Africa. The fascination started as early as 1971, when he was a teacher in Cameroon. The two countries were the United Kingdom and the Netherlands: born and raised in Britain, Stephen worked much of his professional life in the Netherlands where he lived with his Dutch partner Gerrie ter Haar.

Information

I first met Stephen in the 1990s, when I was working at Leiden University Library, and more intensively from 2006 at the African Studies Centre in Leiden. Stephen always longed for fresh information, and he absorbed books, journal articles and newspapers about Africa. He was curious and attentive. He always actively engaged with the ASC’s visiting fellows and young researchers from Africa, and he was genuinely interested in their experiences, observations and findings. Stephen knew that good researchers cannot rely on the internet, conversations and newspaper clippings alone, so he often travelled to many different African countries and visited archives all over the world. He never seemed happier than when I was telling him that a special archive from the British Foreign Office had opened up or that ASC Library staff had made an acquisition trip to Africa and had purchased some rare gems. Stephen always understood the mutuality of relations: he generously donated many books and grey literature publications to the ASC Library. During the first meeting of ELIAS, the conference of European Librarians in African Studies, on 10 July 2007, Stephen spoke, together with Holger Bernt Hansen on Colonial Legacies and European Libraries and Archives. (In fact, Stephen mainly spoke about maintenance and accessibility of archives in Africa, the importance of which was clear to him.)

England & Africa

Stephen was an Oxonian: BA in Modern History (first-class honours) at St Catherine’s College in 1975 and DPhil in African History at St Antony’s College (7 March 1981). Prior to his studies he had worked as a teacher through VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) at Collège Libermann in Douala, Cameroon, and during his PhD studies (1979-1980) as a lecturer at the University of Madagascar. From 1982-1986 he was a researcher at the Africa Department of the International Secretariat of Amnesty International in London. During this work he also met his future partner Gerrie ter Haar. His editorship of Africa Confidential (1986-1991), a small, London-based journal that became one of the best-informed publications on Africa, helped to establish his reputation as a leading commentator on Africa.

The Netherlands & Beyond

From mid 1991 Stephen began working in the Netherlands as the director of the African Studies Centre in Leiden. One of the key
activities during his directorship was to stimulate cooperation between African studies centres. Cooperation meaning of course: with centres and universities in Africa, but also within Europe. Leiden, SOAS and Bordeaux were active members during what can be considered as the founding meeting of the Africa-Europe Group of International Studies (AEGIS), in Bordeaux, 21-23 June 1991. Stephen was also representing the African Studies Centre at subsequent meetings in London (July 1992), Barcelona (January 1993) and Lisbon (January 1994). After three years as director, he focused his energies on his research, also taking up other activities, including his work for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa (1997-1998), acting as Chair of the South Africa-Netherlands Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) (1995-2001), director of the Africa Programme of the International Crisis Group (2003-2004), and as scientific advisor to the West African Commission on Drugs (2012-2014). In 2008 he was appointed Desmond Tutu professor in the Faculty of Social Sciences at VU University Amsterdam. During his time in the Netherlands he also worked with his partner Gerrie ter Haar, professor at the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Publications

Stephen Ellis was an extremely productive and prolific author: he published some 20 books and more than 160 scholarly articles, many of them in top journals in his field. The topics of research he tackled were often ground breaking, and his writing style was eloquent. It comes as no surprise that his favourite journal was African Affairs, the journal of the Royal African Society, of which he was a joint editor from 1998 to 2006. One indication of the quality of his work and its impact can be found in the number of citations of his publications by other researchers: at the time of writing more than 6,400 citations and many cited well over 100 times (one even 1,440 times).

Stephen loved engaging in debate, whether it be with fellow academics, through op-eds in Financial Times or the major Dutch daily newspapers, letters to the editor of the New York Times, with a politician in the Netherlands, or in the numerous interviews he gave.

A quick look at the following list of Stephen Ellis’ publications shows the breadth of his research: from South Africa to West Africa, from the history of Madagascar to the role of religion in Africa, and from aspects of Nelson Mandela’s past to crime in Nigeria, to name just a few. I thank Gerrie ter Haar, Benjamin Soares, Elvire Eijkman and Monique Kromhout for their major contributions to this bibliography.

Stephen Ellis was a fascinating man and a first-class researcher. I hope that this bibliography makes all his works even more accessible to readers.

Jos Damen

Leiden, November 2018


Books


*South Africa and the Decolonization of the Mind.* Inaugural lecture, Desmond Tutu chair in the Faculty of Social Sciences, VU University Amsterdam, 2009. No ISBN. Online version: [http://hdl.handle.net/1871/15351](http://hdl.handle.net/1871/15351)


English version: ‘Reform and stasis: Transformation in South African prisons’, website of the Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation


www.ascleiden.nl/pdf/conference24042003-ellis.pdf


Articles & book chapters


‘A visit to the National Archives of Liberia,’ African Research and Documentation, 99 (2005), p. 49.


Online: http://hdl.handle.net/1887/18530


(with Camino Kavanagh), ‘Comment: On the Global Initiative paper “Illicit Trafficking and Instability in Mali”’, April 2014. Published on the website of the Center for International Crime


BOOK REVIEWS


BLOGS

www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-institutions_government/article_1950.jsp

'Liberia verkiezingen', *Kijken naar de pers*, Weblog.leidenuniv.nl,  
http://kijkennaardepers.weblog.leidenuniv.nl/category/76061afrika/

'Elections in Liberia', *Kijken naar de pers*, Weblog.leidenuniv.nl,  
http://kijkennaardepers.weblog.leidenuniv.nl/category/76061afrika/

'Indicting a head of state is a political act', [on Omar al-Bashir],  
http://africanarguments.org/2008/07/10/indicting-a-head-of-state-is-a-political-act/

www.opendemocracy.net/article/madagascar-roots-of-turmoil

'West Africa’s international drug trade', *CSIS Notes*, 6 November 2009.  
http://csis.org/blog/west-africa%E2%80%99s-international-drug-trade

'The Sahara’s new cargo: drugs and radicalism', 14 April 2010.  
*Open Democracy*.  
www.opendemocracy.net/stephen-ellis/saharas-new-cargo-drugs-and-radicalism


www.opendemocracy.net/stephen-ellis/africa-progress-and-risk


www.opendemocracy.net/stephen-ellis/mandela-communism-and-south-africa

www.opendemocracy.net/stephen-ellis/south-africa%E2%80%99s-future-malema-factor
http://jurist.org/hotline/2012/03/stephen-ellis-africa-crime.php

‘Rethinking Africa: 13 ways the continent is changing’, Huffington Post, 3 May 2012.
www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-ellis/africa-change_b_1471185.html

‘Introduction’ to ANC webdossier (The ANC at 100), ASC Library, August 2012.
www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/african-national-congress-100

https://africanarguments.org/2012/10/22/africa-and-the-war-on-drugs-a-review-by-stephen-ellis/

https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/people/stephen-ellis

www.opendemocracy.net/stephen-ellis/mali-effect

www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/new-light-on-nelson-mandelas-autobiography


PRESS ARTICLES


(with Richard Dowden), ‘Islands Britain thought it could buy for £ 18,000 a year’, *The Independent*, 11 November 1987.


(with Robert Block), ‘Saddam’s wife is seen but not found’, *The Independent*, 28 January 1991.


‘De lange arm van het Wereld Natuur Fonds’, *de Volkskrant*, 24 August 1991 [Het Vervolg, pp. 6-7].


‘Wer zähmt die Macht der Masken?’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4 August 1995.

‘Verval van Afrika is zorg voor Europa’, *NRC Handelsblad*, 11 January 1996.


Guest-column in *NRC Handelsblad*, 20 July 1996.


‘Heldenverering voor de nieuwe Afrikaanse leiders is misplaatst’, *NRC Handelsblad*, 10 July 1997, p. 7.


‘Relatie rijke landen en Afrika in impasse’, NRC Handelsblad, 14 September 1999.


Artikel in Rodnaiia gazeta, 24 (59), 25 June 2004 [in Cyrillic script].

‘Stop another genocide’, South China Morning Post, 6 July 2004.


‘When the ANC refuses to listen’, Weekly Mail & Guardian, 6 November 2009, p. 28.
www.mg.co.za/article/2009-11-06-when-the-anc-refuses-to-listen#comments


Signatory to open letter, ‘Ivory Coast: the war against civilians’, Foreign Policy, 31 January 2011.

‘Na Gbagbo komt het gezonde verstand’, NRC Next, 11 April 2011.


Reader’s letter [on Mandela and communism], New York Review of Books, 60, 13 (15 August 2013).
www.nybooks.com/articles/2013/08/15/mandela-and-communism/

www.nytimes.com/2013/12/10/opinion/cia-and-mandelas-arrest.html

‘ANC suppresses real history to boost its claim to legitimacy’, Mail and Guardian, 3 January 2014.


‘Een nieuwe zeepbel?’, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 13 March 2014, pp. 36-37.


This section is incomplete, especially before 1991. Radio and television interviews are mostly not included.

- Interview *IMWOO bulletin* 19 (3) 1991, pp. 3-5.
- Interview *The Star* [Johannesburg], 8 April 1992.
- Interview *HP/DeTijd* (on South Africa), 30 March 1993.
- Interview *Tam Tam* (on Benin), 4 March 1994.
- Interview *Mare*, 14 April 1994.
- Interview *Eindhovens Dagblad* (on South Africa), 5 May 1994.
- Interview *Trouw*, 6 April 1996.
- Interview *de Volkskrant* (on Liberia), 10 April 1996.
- Interview *De Standaard* [Belgium] (on Liberia), 11 April 1996.
- Interview *Reformatorisch Dagblad* (on Liberia), 18 April 1996.
- Interview *Algemeen Dagblad* (on the OAU), 12 July 1996.
- Interview *Reformatorisch Dagblad* (on Burundi), 26 July 1996.
- Interview *Nederlands Dagblad* (on Burundi), 1 August 1996.
- Interview *De Standaard* [Belgium], 17 July 1997.
- Interview Trends, 21 August 1997, p. 3.
Interview Internationale Samenwerking (on Sierra Leone), July-August 1998, pp. 28-29.
Interview De Standaard [Belgium] (on Sierra Leone), 13 January 1999, p. 9.
Interview Information [Denmark], 17 January 2000.
Interview VPRO Gids, 5, 29 January 2000, pp. 4-5.
Interview Information [Denmark], 24 January 2000, p. 4.
Interview Information [Denmark], 23 February 2000, p. 6.
Interview Mare, 24, 23 March 2000.
Interview Skript, 22, 3 (2000), pp. 5-16.
Interview with Rik Delhaas, Trouw, 17 February 2001.
Interview Zuidelijk Afrika, 5 (3) 2001, pp. 8-12.
Interview Trouw, 16 August 2001.
Interview Trouw, 17 February 2002.
Interview IRIN [South Africa] (on Madagascar) 21 May 2002.
Interview Religioscope (on religion in Africa), 5 June 2002.
www.religioscope.com/dossiers/geo/africa.htm
Interview Pound Magazine (on the war in Liberia), 2002.
Interview Süddeutsche Zeitung (‘Der ansteckende Krieg’), 30 July 2002.
Interview Information [Denmark], 20 September 2002, p. 5.
Interview Mare, 25, 30 March 2003, p. 7.
Interview La Libre Belgique (‘La contagion de la guerre libérienne’), 11-12 January 2003, p. 11.
Interview Basler Zeitung (on Liberia), 31 July 2003.
Interview deVolkskrant (on Liberia), 20 August 2003.
Interview with Sybilla Claus, Trouw, 27 September 2003.
Interview Scotland on Sunday, 7 March 2004.
Interview Le Temps, 10 April 2004.
Interview with Sibylla Claus, Trouw (on Liberia), 4 April 2006.
Interview with Dick Wittenberg, NRC Handelsblad, 8-9 April 2006.
Interview with Hans Buddingh, NRC Handelsblad (on Liberia), 21 April 2006.
Interview deVolkskrant (on Liberia), 24 April 2006.
Interview El Watan [Algeria], 13 June 2007.
Interview De Morgen [Antwerp], 26 January 2008.
• Interview *Lloyd's List*, 4 July 2008.
• Interview *de Volkskrant*, 5 July 2008.
• Interview *de Volkskrant*, 22 August 2008.
• Interview with *IRIN* [South Africa] (on Madagascar), 17 and 19 February 2009.
• Interview with CNN (on Madagascar), 18 March 2009.
  Exrr.: www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZK1NahdXcbM
• Interview *De Standaard* [Belgium] (on Gabon), 3 September 2009.
• Interview *The Observer* [London] (on the drug trade), 29 November 2009.
• Interview *La Croix* [Paris], 20-21 February 2010.
• Interview *De Pers*, 1 March 2010.
• Interview *Helsingin Sanomat* [Helsinki] 29 June 2010.
• Interview with *AFP* (on Madagascar), 29 August 2010.
• Interview *Vice Versa*, 27 June 2011.
• Interview *de Volkskrant*, 16 July 2011.
• Interview *Libération*, 11 November 2011.

• Interview with *Reuters*, 8 January 2012.
  www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/08/us-safrica-anc-centenary-idUSTRE80709A20120108
• ‘Analysis: Nigeria: will it fall apart or can it hold?’ Quoted: Stephen Ellis, *Reuters*, 15 January 2012.
  www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/15/us-nigeria-fra-ctures-idUSTRE80E0FJ20120115
• Interview with *Radio Nederland Wereldomroep* (‘Les “y-en-a-marre” touareg’), 18 October 2012.
  www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jan/17/mokhtar-bel-mokhtar-algeria-hostage-crisis
  www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-21061480
• Interview *Sanlian Lifeweek* [China], 22 January 2013.
• Interview with *Classic FM South Africa* (on ANC in Exile), 14 January 2014.
• Film interview, ‘*Camp 72*’, documentary on Liberia, 25 February 2014.
• Interview with *BNR Nieuwsradio* (on Nigeria), 9 May 2014.
• Interview with *Radio 1 OVT* (on the history of Nigeria), 11 May 2014.
Interviews

- Interview with National Public Radio (on Liberia), 22 May 2014.
- Interview de Volkskrant (on Liberia), 22 August 2014.
- Interview with France Culture (on ebola), 11 September 2014.
- Interview with BNR Nieuwsradio (on Nigeria), 12 September 2014.
- Interview with Belgian radio (on ebola), 17 September 2014.
- Interview Jeune Afrique (on Liberia), 17 September 2014.
- Interview with Radio1 OVT (on ‘Ebola, Liberia & Amerika’), 21 September 2014.
- Interview Jeune Afrique, (on ebola), 23 September 2014.
- Interview with Radio Vatican (on Liberia), 24 September 2014.
- Interview at the Africa Works Conference [Leiden], 16 October 2014.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=tVSUurWica8

- Interview with Met het Oog op Morgen [Dutch radio], 18 October 2014.
- Interview with BNR Nieuwsradio, 20 October 2014.
- Interview with Deutsche Welle, 10 December 2014.
- Interview with Deutsche Welle (on terror in Africa), 19 December 2014.
- Interview with BBC French Service (on Boko Haram), 16 January 2015.
- Interview Trouw (on riots in Niger), 19 January 2015.
- Interview Algemeen Dagblad (on al-Shabab), 4 April 2015.
- Interview deVolkskrant (on removal of statues in South Africa), 8 April 2015.

Interviews
UNSIGNED & UNPUBLISHED

Unsigned (selection)


Several (anonymously) published reports by Amnesty International, e.g. on human rights issues in Ghana and Togo.

(with Solofo Randrianja), Report about trade unions in Madagascar (prepared for CNV [Dutch trade union]) (2012).

Unpublished (selection)


Draft book manuscript about The Third Force (personal archives).

Draft book manuscript on Nigerian organized crime (personal archives). [Distinct from version published in 2016]

Several (unpublished) reports prepared for court cases, including: ‘Charles Taylor and the war in Sierra Leone: Report for the Special Court for Sierra Leone’ [2006] (personal archives).

Conference and other papers (selection)

‘Madagascar’s place in the international slave trade in the 19th century’ [SOAS, 1987].

‘Africa and the environmental movement: The control of natural resources’ [1992]. [Available in the Ian Parker manuscript collection relating to East African wildlife conservation of the University of Florida].

‘The health of African states’.

‘War in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d’Ivoire, from 1989 to today’.

‘Breaking news: some African, European and American newspaper reporting of Africa’.

‘The politics of development’.

‘Religious and political notions of transformation’: Some lessons from Africa’ [with Gerrie ter Haar].

‘Young soldiers and the significance of initiation: Some notes from Liberia’ [Wits University, 2003].

‘International Migration: opportunity and challenge for South Africa’ [2006].

‘Africa in the world: A new historical period.’

‘African leadership in historical perspective’ [Fort Hare].


‘Corruption: A missing link in the story of South Africa’s transition from apartheid’.


‘The Rwandan genocide in historical context’ [2014].

‘Histories of invisible Africa’ [2013] [with Gerrie ter Haar].

‘Democratic elections in Nigeria’ [2014].

‘External mission’ [2015].

‘The life and times of Jabulani Vilakazi’ [2015, work in progress].

“In a sense unbelievable”: The life and times of Vito Palazzolo’ [2015, work in progress, draft prepared with Carlo Rossetti and Martin Welz].

[Papers available in the Stephen Ellis archives held at the Leiden University.]
Stephen Ellis was an extremely productive and prolific author: he published some 20 books and about 160 scholarly articles, many of them in top journals in his field. The topics of research he tackled were often ground breaking, and his writing style was eloquent. It comes as no surprise that his favourite journal was *African Affairs*, the journal of the Royal African Society, of which he was a joint editor from 1998 to 2006. One indication of the quality of his work and its impact can be found in the number of citations of his publications by other researchers: at the time of writing more than 6,400 citations and many cited well over 100 times (one even 1,440 times).

Stephen loved engaging in debate, whether it be with fellow academics, through op-eds in *Financial Times* or the major Dutch daily newspapers, letters to the editor of the *New York Times*, with a politician in the Netherlands, or in the numerous interviews he gave.

A quick look at this list of Stephen Ellis’ publications shows the breadth of his research: from South Africa to West Africa, from the history of Madagascar to the role of religion in Africa, and from aspects of Nelson Mandela’s past to crime in Nigeria, to name just a few. Stephen Ellis was a fascinating man and a first-class researcher. I hope that this bibliography makes all his works even more accessible to readers.

Jos Damen is Head of the Library and ICT Department at the African Studies Centre of Leiden University.