
BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Reconstruction of the fifty-year Tanzanian/African American relationship from the engagements of Pan-Africanism enhanced through black internationalism exposes the cross-cultural fertilization of Tanzanian nationalism with the US black community’s self-identity in the 1960s. By examining the interactions of black networks and the extension of hospitality between Tanzanians and African Americans in the black hubs of the late 1940s and 1950s, the formation of linkages from diasporic African anti-colonial and anti-racist solidarity comes forth. Archival records of Pan-African, human rights, labor, and civil rights organizations, as well as interviews with those who participated in the Tanzanian/African American linkages, illuminate the function, growth, and challenges of black networks that collaborated in the international quest for total black liberation from the 1950s through the 1970s. Language serves as the marker that identifies this African/African diaspora linkage as more than a casual relationship, but one that enters into nation building in Tanzania in the 1960s. Tracing the introduction of Kiswahili into the US black community to its symbolic adoption by African Americans in their black cultural nationalism through black print exposes the transfer of influence of Tanzanian nationalism in the United States from the black elite to the masses. Expanding the parameter of African history to include the continent’s Atlantic diaspora illustrates the results of Tanzania’s multifaceted practice of Pan-Africanism that included African descendants from America into its extended family through the implementation of Ujamaa.
Acknowledgments

During my long period of matriculation there have been many wonderful people who have knowingly and unknowingly enriched my pursuit of scholarship as well as my life. As a non-traditional student returning to the university in middle age, it was Professor Kairn Klieman’s African History classes and the opportunity to travel to Ghana in 1999 through her study-abroad program at the University of Houston that drew me to the critical study of Africa. Professor Klieman gave me the tools to distinguish between preconceived beliefs established in popular American black culture and the historical analysis of African history. Under the guidance of Professor Gregory Maddox, I began my exploration of Tanzania with my first study-abroad trip to the country in 2000. It was on this trip that I became acquainted with the University of Dar es Salaam and Professors Isaria N. Kimambo and Yusuf Q. Lawi in that university’s history department. The University of Dar es Salaam served as a base, and Professors Kimambo and Lawi were great support in my continued research on my return trips to Tanzania. Yet the most important aspect of this trip was spotting a dhoul with the name Marcus Garvey painted on its side on a beach in Bagamoya. Sighting this symbol of early global Pan-Africanism sparked my continued interest in Tanzania that resulted in this dissertation.

Attending The Center for African American Studies Summer Institute at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) and the Research Program in 2001, I began to explore the connection between Tanzania’s practice of Pan-Africanism and the US black community under the mentorship of East African historian Professor Edward Alpers. Time spent at UCLA was a tremendous boost to my research. Professor Alpers was in Tanzania at the height of nation building and talked with me at great length about his experiences in the country, notably his time spent with Walter Rodney. The UCLA Graduate Library is where I began to trace the threads of Kiswahili political language in US black print.

On a return trip to Tanzania in 2002, I met African American expatriates Edie Wilson, Elaine Wamba, and Pete and Charlotte O’Neal, among others still living in the
country. It was also the period I began my research in the East Africana Archives, where I explored Tanzanian newspapers for evidence of African American activity in the country. I am extremely grateful for Tanzanian and African American expatriate friendships and their sharing of their memoirs with me. From this research I wrote my thesis, which completed my Master of Arts in history at Texas Southern University. With me at the time I sighted the dhoul Marcus Garvey was Professor Gregory Maddox. “You will write about his one day,” he said at the time. His words fed my resolve to continue my research.

I began doctoral studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 2004. During my years of coursework, I benefitted greatly from the wonderful seminars taught by Don Crummey, Fanon Wilkins, Maria Todorova, Charles Stewart, Jean Allman, and David Roediger. Moreover, I can never express the depth of my gratitude to my dissertation committee members, Jean Allman, Maria Todorova, David Roediger, James Brennan, Jamie Monson, and Gregory Maddox, who generously gave of their time in reading the numerous drafts of this dissertation. Words are insufficient to express how grateful I am to Jean Allman who directed my research and patiently waited for me to complete this task.

Of course this research could not have been accomplished without the support and help from the staffs of the numerous archives I visited. I would especially like to thank Christopher Harter of the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, where I made many return visits and was the cause of their many trips to the warehouse for my exploration into Pan-African and human rights archival records. I owe gratitude, too, to all twenty-one of my classmates who entered historical doctoral studies at University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign with me in 2004.

It has been stated many times that the process of writing a dissertation is a lonely one. I have been fortunate to have friends and colleagues to assist me in this journey. I owe a great deal of gratitude to Alvia Wardlaw and Janice Stensrude who edited this work in its roughest form. Doretha Smith Henderson and Virginia Rowe Franklin, who began this journey with me, are remembered at this time. I am thankful for the hospitality
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Most of all, I would like to remember my parents, grandparents, and blended family, who did not live to see this accomplishment but whose shoulders I stood on nonetheless. I lovingly acknowledge my son Johnathan for keeping me grounded and sane. And to the many more close friends and colleagues not named who encouraged and supported me throughout this long process, I thank you.
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Defining that space that constitutes the black world is critical for understanding how Africans and the African diaspora functioned within it and how information flowed outside it. Black consciousness carved space from within the Western metropolis for the creation of black hubs and networks. Black hubs were the gathering places, outside Africa, of racially conscious Africans and African descendants.

The dispersal of large numbers of Africans to Brazil, colonial America, and the Caribbean, through the transatlantic slave trade, created the phenomena of black space.\textsuperscript{1} It was this institution of slavery that seeded the first black hubs that formed wherever black slavery had flourished. In the middle twentieth century the opportunity for a better life, usually through the pursuit of higher education or employment, served as a vehicle in the Western world to nourish the flourishing hubs. Whereas Sterling Stuckey professed that “slave ships were the first real incubators of slave unity across cultural lines” of different African ethnic groups, in this instance from the World Wars onward the subordination of colonialism, created through the institutions of Jim Crow and apartheid restructured a global African unity through black solidarity in pursuit of total black liberation.\textsuperscript{2} It is from within the black hubs that the narrative of this African/diaspora linkage initially forms and grows from the networks that connect blacks globally. This dissertation illustrates how Tanzanian nationalism emerges in the United States through engagement of racial solidarity in the pursuit of human rights.

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Racial consciousness emerges through language

Frantz Fanon—psychiatrist, philosopher, black revolutionary—wrote, “a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language.” The commemoration of Kwanzaa with a stamp issued by the US Postal Service on October 16, 1997, placed Tanzania’s official language, Kiswahili, in mainstream America as the symbolic language of the African American community. Maulana Ron Karenga, black activist and professor of Africana Studies at California State University, created Kwanzaa in 1966 as a contemporary cultural festival for the African American community. The principles of this cultural holiday are based on a conglomeration of customs from various and diverse African cultures. Kwanzaa follows the Afrocentric perspective of political theorist Molefi Kete Asante, who perceived Africa as a “composite Africa,” rather than the reality of many specific discrete ethnic cultures. This later Afrocentric perspective obscures the early Pan-Africanism engagements that set the foundation for the adoption of Kiswahili by the American black community. The choice of Kiswahili as a symbolic African language also points to the strong influence of Tanzanian nationalism on African American identity.

Paul Gilroy’s association of color “with a language of nationality and national belonging” undergirds his theory concerning the longevity of the link between the Atlantic slave diaspora and their adoptive parental cultures of West Africa. The alliance

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4 *Kiswahili* translates as “the language of the Swahili.”
5 In Kiswahili, *Kwanza* (Karenga created a unique word by adding an “a” at the end) translates as “first,” or in this case, Karenga shortened the phrase *Matunda ya kwanza*, a Swahili phrase that means “first fruit.”
of color between Tanzanians and African Americans was not connected to long-lost ancestral ties but to the kinship of black consciousness. Western racial categorization of Africa as one entity served to connect the African diasporas with the entire continent. Assimilation of the Kiswahili language into African American culture demonstrates that the practice of Pan-Africanism, generated through racial consciousness, extended African nationalism beyond the boundaries of Africa.

The answer to how the official language of Tanzania reached its status in the United States is within the lived experiences of those who constructed the Tanzanian/African American linkage. Focusing on the fifty-year Tanzanian/African American relationship, this dissertation reconstructs the transatlantic narrative of Pan-Africanism and black internationalism in order to explore the cultural cross-fertilization of Tanzanian nationalism with the US black community’s self-identity.

Racial consciousness that formed from the denigration of segregation and colonialism in the twentieth century bound Africans to the African continent, as it simultaneously maintained the connectivity of African descendants abroad. Historian Sterling Stuckey has asserted that the horrid conditions resulted in the development of black unity that crossed cultural and ethnic lines and enabled the enslaved captives, whose detainment was justified by the oppression of color, to form communities from commonly practiced traditional African customs. Pan-Africanism, in its earliest stages, was incubated on the slave ships of the middle passage.

Edward Blyden posited Pan-Africanism as a vehicle for “opposition to any form of racial prejudice and social chauvinism,” which catalyzed the start of “a constructive solidarity among all Africans.” This establishment of global unity allowed Blyden to be the first to employ the concept of “African personality” in his resistance literature. The perception of an “African personality” retained the connection and loyalty of Africans

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9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
abroad to the continent in the nineteenth century. The eventual adoption of Kiswahili in the United States reflects the continuous connection of African Americans to Africa, beyond the ancestral ties to West Africa, through the practice of Pan-Africanism.

Kiswahili is one of the most broadly spoken lingua franca in Africa. Mazrui and Mazrui surmise that the rise of race consciousness during the anticolonial movements aided promotion of Kiswahili to its status in East Africa.¹² Spoken among all groups in Tanganyika during the anticolonialism movement, Kiswahili created unity. In the 1960s, for Karenga and other black nationalists in the United States, Kiswahili represented Pan-Africanism.¹³ It is the most popular African language for African Americans and the most widely taught African language in the United States.¹⁴ When the symbolic adoption of Kiswahili by the African American community in the United States is considered in a global context, it extends the parameters of African nationalism from a singular continental perspective.

**Modern intellectualism and the rise of Pan-Africanism**

In the late 1940s and into the 1950s, black hubs that served as fertile grounds for the meeting of Tanzanians and Africans Americans were the same locations that nurtured the new black elite. The inception of the Tanzanian/African American global linkage may be visualized through Benedict Anderson’s analogy that “in world-historical terms bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis.”¹⁵ Bourgeoisies, in this case, refers to blacks from the continent of Africa and African descendants abroad who obtained an education in the West. Blacks, whether in Africa or the diaspora, knew that education was imperative in their accommodation to

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modernization and in improving the position in which they found themselves in the new social order. Thandika Mkandawire stated, “In many cases, nationalist movements used the colonial masters’ moral and liberal rhetoric to question the legitimacy not only of foreign rule but also of minority rule.”16 After World War II the universal vision that all races were equal in their natural capacities and political rights was a common consensus among intellectuals and scientists in the West.17 The founding documents of the United Nations, which dictated the Declaration of Human Rights, served as a springboard for the development of black intellectual thought.18

Ali Mazrui proclaimed, “The origins of modern intellectualism and the origins of pan-Africanism are intertwined.”19 Citing W. E. B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and others as examples of this phenomenon, Marzui claims it was “not a historical accident that the founding fathers of the pan-Africanists movement were disproportionately intellectuals.”20 These pioneering black intellectuals, who pursued knowledge in Western higher education, were key to the formation of hubs and networks where the practice of Pan-Africanism flourished. There, diverse groups of blacks gathered in “a special space for black transnational interaction, exchange and dialogue.”21

The World Wars not only connected Africans and those of African descent, but dramatized for the black intelligentsia the continued racial oppression in the shifting Western balance of the new world order.22 Among the diverse blacks who interacted

18 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
within the black hubs, bonds formed from the familiarity of the cultural practices of hospitality and kinship.\(^{23}\)

Raymond Williams argues that the European metropolis during this era offered a vibrant, cosmopolitan place for interaction that was not available in the United States nor in the colonies.\(^{24}\) For Williams, Europe was the most significant among the locations for the emergence of linkages and networks. However, his work reveals that the formation of black hubs and their longevity ranged from long-term communities with continuous Pan-African activities, such as those in Paris and New York’s Harlem, to short-term occasions such as international conferences, or black congresses. The key ingredient for such a development was the ability to gather a diverse spectrum of Africans and African descendants together in a unified mission for human rights in one location. Networks were formed, during these short-term events, through expanding the connections of existing relationships with new acquaintances from among the participants.

Du Bois’s initiation of the Pan African Conference at the turn of the twentieth century and the Congresses that followed paved the way for link ups of Tanganyikans and African Americans in the late 1940s and early 1950s. A world view emerged on the color line from these engagements that set the course for black expressive culture and political initiatives that took place in black hubs.\(^{25}\) From an examination of the international influence of the Harlem Renaissance, Nathan Higgins postulated that post-war Pan-African unity, although short-lived, “thrust Negro social thought into an international arena,” a conclusion derived from a constant thread in the works regardless of the ideological outlook of black intellectuals of this period.\(^{26}\) It is from this momentum that the Tanzanian/African American linkage comes forth.


\(^{24}\) Ibid.

\(^{25}\) Edwards, The Practice of Diaspora, 2.

Tanzania’s leadership emerges

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Tanzania’s first African head of state, was a product of the black hubs during the 1950s formation of black consciousness. Nyerere’s intellectual gifts and his Western education are pivotal to understanding Tanzania’s attraction in international circles. One among his father’s twenty-six children, Nyerere was born in 1922 to the fifth wife of Nyerere Burito, chief of the Zanaki ethnic group, in the town of Butiama in the Tanganyika Mara Region. His schooling began at age twelve at the Native Authority School in Musoma, where he completed a four-year program in three years. From there, he attended the Tanganyika Government School in Tabora and later received a scholarship to attend Makerere University in Uganda, where he earned his teaching degree in 1945. While at Makerere, Nyerere helped organize a branch of the Tanganyikan African Welfare Association, which eventually merged with the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). After returning to Tanganyika, he taught for three years at St. Mary’s Secondary School in Tabora.

In 1949 Nyerere received funding to attend the University of Edinburgh, making him the first indigenous Tanganyikan to study at a British university. It was during this period of matriculation that Nyerere encountered Fabian thinking, which triggered the development of his economic theory that combined socialism with African communal living. He completed his Master of Arts degree in economics and history in 1952 and returned to Tanganyika, where he taught history, English, and Kiswahili at St. Francis College on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. He continued his political activity and was elected president of the TAA in 1953.

In 1967, Mazrui coined the term “Tanzaphilia” to describe the effect Tanzania had on intellectuals, especially those of the West in the 1960s.\(^\text{27}\) Not a disease but a political phenomenon, Mazrui defined it as “the romantic spell that Tanzania casted on so many of those who were closely associated with her.”\(^\text{28}\) The outbreak of this phenomenon was

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\(^{28}\) Ibid.
attributed to the admiration fellow intellectuals held globally for one another. A primary explanation for Tanzania’s mystique was Nyerere, who even after entering his presidency remained known as “Mwalimu” Nyerere, “Teacher” of his country. Nyerere was considered one of the most intellectual English-speaking leaders of the African Independence era. Marzui’s distinction did not mean that Nyerere was more pro-British than other African leaders, but that he had “an intellectual turn of mind that was unmistakably a product of the western system of education.”²⁹ It was this characteristic that appealed to the moderate and the radical within African American society, generating his wide popularity in the United States from the 1960s forward.

**Finding Pan-Africanist history in personal narratives**

Western intellectuals’ fascination with African socialism in Tanzania is reflected in a wide array of narratives on Julius Nyerere and Tanzanian nationalism. Intellectuals not only wrote about the Tanzanian experiment, but also participated in the nation building of the country as well.³⁰ For the purpose of this work, literature produced by those who participated in Tanzanian nation building are the primary sources. Because intellectuals, scholars, and black nationalists were engaged in *Ujamaa*—Nyerere’s unique economic system that combined socialism and the African culture of community—their writings provide the first accounts of the partnership of Tanzania and the United States in Pan-African projects. Revealed in these texts are the extent to which these projects succeeded, areas of failure, and adjustments to cultural differences. Central to this analysis of interaction between the diaspora and the continent is the theme of homecoming, the diaspora’s return to the motherland. The return highlights a forced reconciliation of the dreams of Africa to the realities of racial identity and Pan-Africanism.

Negotiating cultural differences was a common experience for those of the Atlantic African diaspora. But Africans who had left the continent for long periods to live

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²⁹ Ibid, 163.
³⁰ Ibid, 162.
in the Western world experienced the same outsider status. Mathias Diawara, Professor of Comparative Literature and Film at New York University, reflected on his feelings of alienation when returning to his home in Guinea after a thirty-two-year absence. These feelings were common for Africans who had lived abroad, particularly for those who had lived in America. Diawara attributed these feelings to the fact that Westernized blacks are “accustomed to an equality that the civil rights movement has fostered between black and white people in America but that is lacking in Africa.” Narratives of Pan-Africanists from the United States express sentiments that cast them as the “other” during their habitation in Africa, which are strikingly similar to the feelings of alienation experienced by Africans living abroad. Diawara’s conceptualization provides context for the perceived advantages obtained from Westernization.

Pan-African literature and Pan-Africanist memoirs provide important clues to the influence negotiated through cultural challenges. The writings of African Americans and black expatriates, who documented residency or visits to Tanzania or other countries in Africa, give the clearest illustrations of the one-on-one interaction between Tanzanians and African Americans. Early pioneers who participated in the Tanzanian/African American linkage—and who were involved in African nationalism, human rights, and Pan-Africanism activities—also provide an abundance of literature that serves as a primary source for the project. Biographical and autobiographical literature by Pan-Africanists, human rights activists, and African nationalists—who were involved in the African liberation struggle with Tanzania—too, provide great insight into the lived experience of the African/diaspora linkage.

Works by Gerald Horne, Yevette Richards, Bruce Perry, William Sales Jr., Judith Listowel, and Godfrey Mwakikagile on the lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois, Maida Springer, Malcolm X, and Julius Nyerere capture slices of political and socio-cultural ties created from and within this black-world segment. Additional African American contacts

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32 Ibid.
within the Tanzanian sphere surface in writings by Gwendolyn Brooks, Bill Sutherland, Philippe Wamba, Charles Swift, Anton Nelson, Randall Robinson, James Forman, James Farmer, and Pauli Murray. Each of these works delineates examples of hospitality and kinship based on common sources of denigration, which established, developed, and maintained the African/diaspora linkage. Such an example is presented by Gerald Horne in his work on the life of Shirley Graham Du Bois. Horne shows that Du Bois’s dire need for a passport was met by Tanzania after the cancellation of her American passport.\textsuperscript{33} This act illuminates the practice of Pan-Africanism from the perspective of racial consciousness, rather than that of political or continental interest.

**Parallel struggles for human rights in Africa and the Atlantic diaspora**

The peculiar institution of American slavery left African Americans in a unique position in terms of their identity. American slavery stripped enslaved Africans of their ancestral origins, yet denied full access to American citizenry. In the Kerner Commission Report on the racial urban disorders of 1968, the commission argued that America was “two societies, separate and unequal.” At the dawn of the 1950s both Tanzanians and African Americans were on the threshold of enormous change as each gathered forces to mount an offensive in their parallel struggles for human rights. Collaboration between Tanganyika nationalists and American Pan-Africanists began with the anticolonialism movement’s first formal complaint to the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The 1952 Meru Land Case was the result of the British colonial government’s forced eviction of over 3,000 Wameru from the Engare-Nanyuki area to clear the area for a European settlement. This act of resistance stirred the masses in the Tanganyika territory into political action, setting the course for the formation of TAA and later the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).\textsuperscript{34} From the cries for Tanganyika’s

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independence to the struggle of total black liberation for the continent, African Americans united with the cause of this East African country. With Tanganyika’s successful bid for independence and progress in the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960s, both peoples together entered the task of establishing self-determination and self-identity.

By the latter 1960s not all blacks in America continued to struggle for the acceptance of whites in the country, but a large number—especially the younger generations—felt drawn to nationalism, switching their primary focus from the acceptance sought in integration to the development of the strengths within the black communities in the United States and everywhere else in the black world. Mary Berry and John Blassingame define black nationalism at this time as “not a movement, program or ideology, but a feeling that black people held, [that] because of their common descent, color, and condition, [they] should act in unison.” Emergence of nationalism from the unity of race formed the racial solidarity of this era, which was the “most basic form of black nationalism.” Pan-Africanism, which served as a tool of identity for these African Americans, was the “highest expression and form of black nationalism.” The ability of Tanzania to combine both continental and racial Pan-Africanism into its nationalism led to the successful engagement of African Americans with Tanzania. It was this act that facilitated space in Africa for African diaspora involvement in the nation building of a modern African state. As such, themes of racial solidarity, pan-Africanism and black nationalism are pivotal concepts that bind these two groups throughout their shared history.

Language is the marker that perhaps most embodies the African/African diaspora linkage that entered nation building together in the latter 1960s. Because black nationalists in this era of Africanization wrote a wealth of literature in their zeal to reach

36 Ibid, 388.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
the masses, evidence of Tanzanian influence is readily apparent. Scholarly works that focus on Tanzania’s contributions to Pan-Africanism are prominent in the areas of African, African American, black radicalism and Pan-Africanism literature. Some evidence of the interactions between the African American diaspora and Tanzanians in the United States and Tanzania appear in a small number of these narratives. The purpose of my work is to pull together these documentary fragments—spanning African, Pan-African, and African American literature—in order to situate modern African nationalism in the continuous fifty-year Pan-African bond that arose from Tanzanian nationalism.

In his study of Pan-Africanism, Ronald Walters acknowledges that, in the late 1960s, Nyerere’s charismatic persona “had resulted in the growth of a mythical following in the American black community.”39 Walters documents the earliest signs that African Americans had begun exhibiting the ideological assimilation of Tanzanian nationalism. Walters witnessed Tanzanian influence on African American radicals at the 1968 Third International Conference on Black Power in Philadelphia. It was on this occasion that Maulana Karenga, who was head of US (meaning “us black people”), and Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones), leader of the Congress of African People (CAP), engaged in a thirty-minute Kiswahili conversation before an awestruck audience. The immediate result was the inclusion of Kiswahili language training in the curricula of many newly developed African and African American studies programs.40 Walters recognized that the black American attraction to the Tanzanian experiment in African socialism went beyond admiration from a distant shore. He documents the results of this phenomenon as it materialized into a small but significant number of African Americans who were so enamored with the country that they established a community in Tanzania.41 However it is clear that this was not the beginning of the contact between Tanzanian and African Americans, but the result of a longer relationship. The objective of this project is to

41 Ibid.
clarify how and when this international connection began and expose what has maintained this transnational bond.

Komozi Woodard, Scot Brown, and Jeffrey Ogbar are among those who speak of the influence of the Arusha Declaration—Nyerere’s declaration of socialist principles—on black power, black identity, and cultural movements in the United States. The black radical literature of Robin Kelley, Anthony Bogues, Jacob Gordon, and Manning Marable all point to Julius Nyerere—longtime Tanganyikan freedom activist and first president of the newly formed republic of Tanzania—as a major contributor in the twentieth-century development of black consciousness and the continuous evolution of black nationalism. In *Freedom Dreams* Kelley reminisces about how he became enthralled in the 1970s with “black nationalism filled with idealistic dreams of a communal society free of all oppressions.”\(^42\) As a teen this historian’s imagination was seeded by portraits derived from the writings of Cheikh Anta Diop, Chancellor Williams, Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Kwame Ture, and others.\(^43\)

In his *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, Marable stressed the importance of the first president of Tanzania’s dedication to black scholarship through continued writing, publication, and black-world educational projects on black identity in education and culture. Most significant to the transference of Tanzanian nationalism, wrote Marable, was the ideological adoption by African Americans of Nyerere’s theories on curricula and community development programs.\(^44\) Only fragmented documentation exists that illustrates this important influence of Nyerere and Tanzanian nationalism’s influence on the American black community through African American diaspora engagements in Tanzania or Tanzanians’ interaction with African Americans in the United States.

\(^{43}\) Ibid.  
While the limited scope of African American and black radical literature has left gaps of silence within a comprehensive history, so has African nationalist literature. Analysis by African nationalist scholars on the effects of Pan-Africanism on the development of Tanzania as a nation-state has been ignored on the African continent. By and large, the incorporation of Pan-Africanism in Tanzanian nationalism is seen as the catalyst for the formation of non-ethnic nationalism, which has maintained relative stability in the country since independence.45

Fresh approaches by Susan Geiger and Kelley Askew have broadened our understanding of Tanzanian nationalism through the inclusion of gender and local cultural practices, which go beyond the contributions of the elite male leaders of the country. Both authors view the relationship of Swahili cultural development to nationalism in Tanzania from a wide perspective that was inclusive of the masses. Geiger was the first to illuminate the consequences of gendered silences in Tanzanian nationalism by demonstrating how women constructed, performed, and maintained Tanzanian nationalism.46 Women’s involvement in the new country’s nationalism exposed the method by which Swahili culture functioned in the formation of Tanzanian nationalism. Geiger’s work points out the appeal of Tanzanian nationalism to the country’s indigenous population, which had “already lived in multi-ethnic communities and participated in trans-tribal social and economic organization.”47 This work exposes the depth of Tanzanian nationalism and its ability to draw on African culture to successfully address the needs of a modern society’s cohesiveness while still maintaining forms of cultural practices.

Askew’s narrative illustrates the manner in which Tanzanian nationalism met the needs of nation building through culture as well. Her work examines the relationship

between musical practices, political ideology, and economic change after the country’s independence. In this research Askew captures the creation of the national culture of Tanzania from the position of the governmental elite to the working class level of the local musicians, poets, teachers, and traffic police.\textsuperscript{48} Whereas nationalism among African descendants in the diaspora and the educated elite on the continent was catalyzed by print media, Askew asserts that “print media simply cannot prove as essential in a situation where literacy is not widespread.”\textsuperscript{49} And although African Americans did embrace print media, this work points to evidence of the cultural exchange that surfaces in black advertising in the United States in the 1960s. Kiswahili served to expound the beauty of blackness in song and print during a transformative stage in American black society’s Africanization, a further indication of the strong influence of Tanzanian nationalism.

In the transformation of Tanzania, one of the primary objectives Nyerere stressed was the need to borrow when needed. Cultural exchange in Tanzania’s cultural revolution of the 1960s secured the practice of Pan-Africanism in the psyche of the country. Pan-Africanist ideology in Tanzania, according to Askew, served as a bridge of fellowship to other African nations.\textsuperscript{50} Askew links continental and racial practices by demonstrating how Tanzania “provided safe haven to virtually anyone with a cause, citing examples of the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO), African National Congress (ANC), Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and including exiled Black Panthers on the list of revolutionaries in the country as well.\textsuperscript{51} Both Geiger and Askew reveal the hidden strengths Pan-Africanism added to modern African nationalism in the twentieth century. Yet reference to certain African American engagements, such as that of Che Guevara and Malcolm X talking political shop over Tanzanian coffee, was left as a rumor.\textsuperscript{52} An analysis of Tanzanian/African American engagement provides substance to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid, 191.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
the mysteries surrounding the practice of racial Pan-Africanism in Tanzania during the liberation era of the 1960s.

James Brennan’s work on Indians and Africans in urban Tanzania demonstrates how nation and race in the colonial and postcolonial eras formed key political categories. Brennan’s focus on the Swahili translation of *taifa* underscores the slippery slope of translating. Today *taifa* means nation, but seventy years ago it translated as race. It is through the examination of Kiswahili, the official language of Tanzania and the language of identity, that Brennan exposes African and Indian negotiations of nationalism in urban locations. Placing Indians and Africans in the same sphere shows how nationalism in Tanzania connected a plural society. The capacity of nationalism in Tanzania to form a national identity from such diverse segments within the country establishes the plausibility of drawing African Americans into the same frame. Brennan’s delineation of an African racial political identity, when consideration is given to the adoption of Kiswahili in the African American community, indicates pluralism in Tanzania makes room for both racial and continental Pan-Africanism.

William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb Jr. recently tackled the untold fifty-year connections between African liberation and American activism in an edited volume. In his foreword to *No Easy Victories*, Nelson Mandela draws parallels to “the relationships between anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements in Africa and struggles for justice within the United States,” finding them identical. Battling this oppression united a worldwide movement. It is no coincidence that Tanzania served as a pivotal location in this narrative, for it was a frontline country for southern African liberation movements. *No Easy Victories* underscores the fact that Tanzanians and African Americans had one like goal: total black liberation. In this dissertation, I extend the exploration of Tanzanian nationalism through an examination of the cultural exchanges that occurred between Tanzanians and African Americans in pursuit of total black

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liberation, and I explore the small but significant set of influences of Tanzanian nationalism in the black community of the United States.

**The literature of Pan-Africanist connections**

By no means am I the first to connect African nationalism and a specific segment of the African diaspora. A new trend in diaspora studies goes beyond cultural survivals from precolonial Africa in black American documents. Since the 1980s, works have slowly emerged that illuminate Pan-Africanist connections between the African homeland and its diaspora. I. K. Sundiata’s work in the 1980s exposed the exploitation of the Kru and Grebo by the Americo-Liberian elite descendants of the American freedmen who settled Liberia in the nineteenth century. Knowledge of this occurrence was widespread throughout the continent and haunted African American expatriates in Tanzania.

James Campbell’s work on the African American return stretches from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century. From African descendants who found their way back to Africa, beginning with the first colonists to arrive in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Campbell demonstrates that what was generally thought to be a novelty in actuality was not. Known as Ethiopianism, African descendants from America brought their own version of racial superiority when returning to Africa in the early nineteenth century. Although Ethiopianism initially carried with it the cultural arrogance of Europe, Horace Campbell introduced another view, that “preachers in southern Africa, the Caribbean, and North America articulated that Ethiopianism was one of the earliest overt forms of Pan-Africanism used in an effort to tap the resentment of the African

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masses.”57 This action, posited Campbell, was entirely inadequate “to meet the ideological assault of capitalism,” which sharpened twentieth-century Pan-Africanism.58 Intersections between religion and nation building were an intricate part of the linkage between Tanzanians and African Americans.

In his astute observations of African Americans who traveled to Africa for prolonged periods, at different times as well as for different reasons, James Campbell identifies three major types. Those who cast Africa as a “Dark Continent” crying out for Christian civilization, those who considered the continent a headquarters for global anticolonial revolution, and those who found the continent ripe for opportunity for black entrepreneurs.”59 The African American community in Tanzania illustrated the validity of these broad categories. At the same time, those African Americans who chose to stay in Tanzania for sustained periods realized the need to embrace Swahili culture and understand how their Westernization created challenges to their acceptance in African societies.

Finally, Kevin Gaines’s work captures the rise in the “demands for freedom [and] self-determination throughout the black world, in 1957, when Ghana became the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence.”60 Ghana’s independence marked an increase in African American travel to their imagined homeland as never before. Gaines shows that “at the height of the civil rights movement from the late 1950s to 1966, scores of African Americans, amongst them intellectuals, technicians, teachers, artists, professionals, entrepreneurs and trade unionists, left the United States for Ghana.”61 This was a time when Ghana was a haven for African American activists working with anticolonial, civil rights, leftist, and pacifist movements. Gaines’s analysis

58 Ibid.
59 James T. Campbell, Middle Passages, xxii.
61 Ibid, 6.
identifies the shift in the destination of exiled African freedom fighters and African Americans to Tanzania in 1966 after the Ghanaian coup. From Bill Sutherland’s emigration to Ghana upon his first arrival in Africa and later move to Tanzania in the early 1960s, vital evidence surfaces in this research in the initial African American/Pan-African relationship in Tanzania.

Foundations for the African/African diaspora connection

The history of African American anticolonial activism in Ethiopia parallels that between Tanzania and African Americans. Connections between Tanzania and the African diaspora in America illuminate what Gebrekidan deems a “bond without blood,” which he concludes resulted from “a two-way transatlantic link.” Gebrekidan expands Paul Gilroy’s “black Atlantic,”—which perceived cultural exchange between Africans and the Atlantic African diaspora as the continuation of the middle passage—to a diaspora exchange that goes beyond the shores of West Africa. This revelation established that East Africa had an impact on the Atlantic African diaspora despite the distance.

This transnational narrative follows in the tradition of Benedict Anderson’s “imagined community.” “Pan” modifies Anderson’s theory. This prefix enlarges the concept of nationalism, which dictates an imagined shared experience of both Africans across the continent and African descendants from abroad, since Pan-Africanism was conceived as the belief of both Africans and those in the diaspora that they shared a history and a common destiny as well. Racial consciousness inspired the development

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62 Ibid, 244–245.
64 Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, 4–5.
65 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 6.
of a united front between Africa and its diaspora, which served as a bridge that connected Africa to Europe and America in the quest of black liberation. Black internationalism and Pan-Africanism were the bricks and mortar for the challenge globally of blacks that followed World War II.

The reference to “bridge” in this work signifies the continuing theme of a structural connection for those outside the parameters of the homeland to maintain a sense of belonging to Africa. Creation of a single analytical field allows Zine Magubane to track colonial images of blackness from South Africa to England. In the same manner as Magubane, who contributed her inspiration to Edward Said’s postmodernism theory, I follow scholars who have engaged in studies that conclude after the modern era. My research follows Tanzanian nationalism to the United States by placing Africa and the Atlantic African diaspora in the same frame. Increase in black internationalism in the second half of the twentieth century served to bring the continent and its diaspora into one single field.

The connection of black hubs globally through black internationalism, whether achieved through actual travel or the transatlantic print culture, formed a black world that allowed information to flow and permitted the transmission of ideas beyond the limits of continental boundaries. Brent Edwards argues that black periodicals were the best vehicles because they built “transnational and anti-imperialist linkages and alliances carrying facts from one colony to another from the French colonial system to the British, from Africa to the United States.” Transnational print culture contributed more to the black world than providing a global connection, for as it developed and expanded it was also the vehicle responsible for the spread of information about the struggles of racial oppression from the black elite to the black masses, particularly in the United States.

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68 Ibid, 9.
As one of the most intellectual English-speaking heads of state in Africa during the liberation movement, Nyerere’s access to print made his ideology available to intellectuals everywhere. During the liberation era, African activists, journalists and editors banded together in black American newspapers to form a dense network with journalists and publishers from London to Lagos and Johannesburg. The joining of these forces served to unify intellectuals and activists from across the black world.

Black print was the instrument that consolidated a transnational “imagined community.” This medium allowed Tanzanians and African Americans to learn of the commonality in the injustices both societies received because of race. Penny Von Eschen and James Meriwether document the importance of the black press to the understanding of the transnational history between Africa and the diaspora. I utilize the black press as a key source for providing the framework for tracking the transmission of African nationalism abroad. Black print provides evidence for three major areas for this research. First, international black print revealed the transmission of Tanzanian nationalism from the black elite to the masses in the United States and Tanzania. This medium connected African American and Tanzanian scholars and nationalists by permitting conversations to occur in print. Next, this medium allows for comparisons between mainstream American print and the black print in Tanzania. It illustrates the differences in opinions between black and white segments of American society on the topic of the development of Tanzania. It is here that the sense of fraternity held by the black community for Tanzania emerges. Most importantly, American black print shows how Tanzanian nationalism was passed from the black elite to the American black community at large.

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71 Gaines, American Africans in Ghana, 8.
73 Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 8.
The cries of “Uhuru” first traveled from Africa to the black American masses through the pages of black print.74 This slogan needed no translation for the African American community in the late 1950s when introduced by print, for these African cousins were fighting for the same human rights denied by color. Tracking this rallying call in the United States provides insight into the relevance it held for this community. For this study, black print in the United States is evidence of the path of language transmission as African Americans were included in the African racial political identity of Tanzania.

Human rights and Pan-African organizations from the United States are crucial in illustrating the creation and function of networks within the black world. It was challenging for African American leaders to address “their domestic and African concerns through the official American foreign policy apparatus” in the early black liberation struggle that emerged in the United States after World War II.75 In the 1940s and 1950s these structures were usually educational, religious, and labor organizations. Elliott Skinner felt that these organizations were largely symbolic; yet when their relationship with Tanzania is examined, some of the unofficial African American activities in Africa emerge as significant contributions to the anticolonial movements in Africa. The early formation of the Tanzanian/African American linkage “enabled African Americans to move beyond their limitations at home to deal with the realities of the global system that embraced both them and Africa.”76 Archival records of organizations that first engaged in assisting Tanganyika in its anticolonial struggle demonstrate how the networks increased their reach to connect and function as a singular unit.

Founded in 1953 to support the liberation struggle in Africa, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), an organization which grew out of the Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR), assisted Tanganyika in its anticolonial struggle from

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74 Uhuru is a Kiswahili word that translates as freedom, independence, or liberty.
76 Ibid.
the initial engagements with the United Nations in the early 1950s. This human rights organizational structure illuminates the formation of the American leg of the international liberation network. ACOA members represented organizations or institutions from the fields of civil rights, labor, education, and religion. Members were clergy, professors, publishers, pacifists, other activists, and interested parties. They represented a variety of organizations—African American Institute (AAI), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO), Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), US House of Representatives, and others. Each member brought with them an existing network, creating an extended branch that served to increase ACOA ability to aid in the needs of the liberation cause. From the approximately fifty members on this umbrella organization’s executive and national board, an American network was formed in the global support of the African struggle. Linkages between American Pan-Africanists and Tanganyikan nationalists established in post World War II black hubs—primarily with TANU and the Tanganyika Federation of Labor and Sisal and Plantation Workers Union—connected the African liberation struggles to Western Pan-African activists. It was these connections that facilitated the African liberation struggle’s access of the networks in the United States.

My work captures the formation, growth, and function in the Tanzanian/African American linkage from two initial chains forged in black hubs in the late 1940s and early 1950s to further expand the contributions of Tanzanian nationalism to black identity from the late 1960s onward. From the themes of hospitality and kinship, the linkage grew and matured. Hospitality is a custom that is associated with those individuals who maintained this act in their communal memory. As such, hospitality and kinship were common cultural practices in both Tanzanian and African Americans cultures.

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Piecing together the Tanzanian fragments

It is very easy to find fragments of Tanzanian nationalism in the United States or documentation of the influence Tanzania has had black America in Pan African, African diaspora and African American literature. Fragments of Tanzanian nationalism have appeared in black print since 1959; one of the first articles, “Freedom Now!" Tom Mboya,” in the New York Amsterdam News introduced the term uhuru spoken by an East African Nationalist. Elements of this East African language surfaced on black radio and television commercials during the transition from Negro to black to African American in the mid 1960s. In 1966 the chant was modified and adopted as the name Lieutenant Uhura for a character, played by African American actress Nichelle Nichols, in Star Trek, one of the earliest and most popular science fiction series in the United States. In her memoir, Nichols wrote that, during her reading for the part, she had with her a copy of Robert Ruark’s Beyond Uhuru. After learning that uhuru was the Swahili word for freedom, series creator Gene Roddenbery changed the name of Nichols character to Uhura.

How Tanzanian nationalism’s influence on black America began is shrouded with mystery. Though it is well known that African American engagement in Pan Africanism and the incorporation of black nationalism into this society’s culture are derived from a conglomeration of African practices from throughout the continent, it is difficult to discern a direct path for a specific influence from specific ethnic African ideology. The challenge of reconstructing this history is addressed through connecting activities from Tanzania and the United States as a transnational manifestation created through Pan Africanism.

I began this research on my first study-abroad trip to Tanzania. Language and the symbols of Pan Africanism in Tanzania raised familiarities with my own African

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American culture. I associated Kiswahili with the black cultural holiday of Kwanzaa, but spotting a dhow on the beaches of Bagamoya with the name Marcus Garvey painted on its bow signified to me that the level of exchange between Africans and African Americans had a past. The ability to interview African Americans, whether former or current emigrants, filled many of the gaps for pieces of Tanzanian nationalism that surface in the United States. At the turn of the twenty-first century there were very few emigrants from the beginning of the Tanganyikan/African American relationship. However, the Oral History Project conducted by Merline Pitre at Texas Southern University gave access to one of the earliest emigrants, Alberta Seaton, in her later years. Earle and Alberta Seaton, who emigrated in 1949, were the first couple of African descent to immigrate to the Tanganyika territory for the purpose of assisting in the anticolonial struggle. Interviews with Alberta Seaton and access to Earle Seaton’s literature yielded significant evidence to support the importance of black hubs in the formation and growth of an African linkage.

Tracing the first two links between Earle Seaton and Thomas Marealle, in the 1940s, and Horace Mann Bond, Maida Springer and Julius Nyerere, in the 1950s, led to the exploration of organizational records of ACOA, AAI, and AFL-CIO in the archival collections of Horace Mann Bond, Maida Springer, A. Philip Randolph, and George Houser at the Amistad Research Center and the W. E. B. Du Bois Library’s Special Collections and University Archives. These documents provided the framework for the initial interaction between Tanzanians and Americans. Continued research at the University of California, Los Angeles through the Humanities and Humanistic Studies Summer Institute facilitated access to the Research Library, Charles E. Young Special Collection, Ralph J. Bunche Library and Media, and the mentorship of East Africanist Ned Alpers, who afforded me his experiences in Tanzania during the peak of the Afro community and his friendship with Walter Rodney during this period. This Summer Institute allowed me to research black newspapers and journals and review the Ralph Bunche collection. It was at this time that I defined my research. My close friend Janell Agyeman was married to Akwesi Agyeman, former emigrant and co-editor of the
newsletter Warejeaji from Tanzania, who copied his personal papers and forwarded them to me. My research was greatly aided by the spirit of these former and current emigrants, who generously shared their keepsakes from the period.

Being able to interview African American emigrants—some still in Tanzania, others since returned to the United States—was crucial. On a return visit to Tanzania I was able to find more answers to the origins of the Tanzanian/African American relationship and its fifty-year continuity. To fully connect the history during this long period, findings had to be traced to and from Africa to reveal a complete picture, not one limited to one continent. Current and longtime emigrants from the United States provided a glimpse into the reality of African Americans returning to Africa. Meeting Kinship author Philip Wamba in the United States resulted in my introduction to long-term residents Edie Wilson and his mother, Elaine Wamba, who had remained in Tanzania after the Sixth Pan African Congress. Continued stays in Tanzania allowed me to interview and befriend Pete and Charlotte O’Neal, through whom I met former Panthers Bill Whitfield and Geronimo Pratt, who were visiting the O’Neal’s compound during one of my visits there. In addition to the opportunities to meet former and current emigrants—and experience the village in which this African American couple had resided for decades—the O’Neals gave me access to their collection of letters, newspaper clippings, and other mementoes from their lives in the United States and Africa. As representative of the second wave of African American emigrants that arrived after the height of the Afro community, I was fortunate to be able to interview Dave Robinson, son of baseball legend Jackie Robinson, who settled in Tanzania in 1983.

At the University of Dar es Salaam, during my 2002, 2004, and 2007 visits to the East Africana Collection Tanzanian newspapers and papers from the 1965 International Congress of African Historians in Dar es Salaam, I was able to complete narratives that had previously featured only events in the United States. The East Africana Collection and interviews and conversations with African American emigrants served as connectors for the fragments and pieces that were in black US culture.
The challenge for me was to follow the paths of the numerous fragments of Tanzania nationalism to where they emerged in the United States. This required not only visiting the collections of the original linkages and their organizations, but also extensively exploring the black media. Research in black print that began at UCLA Research Library continued with several trips to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, my source for popular black magazines, journals, and newspapers from the 1950s through the 1970s. Sources in the black popular media from this era illustrate the influence that Tanzanian nationalism had on black self-identity and how the black elite transmitted this African nationalism to the masses. Access to Jet-Google book and ProQuest Black Studies Center-Black Newspaper databases allowed advance search abilities, sometimes reducing the need to travel.

I am thankful for the online availability of archives and interview databases. The enormous volume of sources and their locations, coupled with the numbers of African Americans involved in African liberation in Tanzania, would have made it impossible if not for the convenience the online Eyes on the Prize Interviews from Washington University Film and Media Archives, interviews transcripts provided by the Aluka organization from the publication of No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, and the Komozi Woodard Amiri Baraka Collection made available online by the Digital Library of Georgia, Auburn Avenue Research Library on African-American Culture and History. Availability of the Federal Bureau of Investigation records from the online FBI vault facilitated access to the 1960s and 1970s FBI reports that observed the connection between Tanzanian nationalists and African American activists in the United States, lending insight into some of the challenges with which Tanzanians and African Americans were confronted when entering unfamiliar territory.

Assembling the puzzle pieces of the Tanzanian/African American relationship exposes themes of race solidarity, solidarity of oppressed peoples, cold war internationalisms, and Pan-African political mobilization that were encompassed in the struggle for black liberation after the World Wars. African Americans who lived in
Tanzania had rich and complex experiences of both welcome and estrangement. Diversity within the Afro community and among African Americans who visited Tanzania had mixed results, as their politics of solidarity sometimes aligned and sometimes was in friction with the political and cultural aspirations of their Tanzanian hosts. This fifty-year relationship demonstrates that black space is contested and negotiated. Networks are not only about flows in this analysis, but frictions as well. How did different African Americans find their own spaces and itineraries within the larger quest for black liberation that required mobility between East Africa and the Atlantic African diaspora?

**Objectives of the work**

This dissertation investigates in four chapters the history of the Tanzanian/African American linkage from its earliest inception to its maturity. Chapter One, “A Product of Black Hubs: The Tanzanian/African American linkage, 1947–1956,” exposes how black internationalism of the 1940s and 1950s created fertile ground within the structure of Pan-Africanism for the formation of this linkage. Two connections of Tanganyikans and African Americans that occurred in London and New York instigated the linkages between African Americans and Tanzanians. Earle and Alberta Seaton met Tom Marealle and Peter Koinange while pursuing higher education in the United Kingdom in 1949. In 1952 Quaker human rights worker Anton Nelson’s attendance at the United Nations Meru Land case in New York acquainted him with Earle Seaton, the legal representative for the Wameru, and Kirilo Japhet, the Secretary of the Tanganyika African Association’s Arusha branch. An alliance among Julius Nyerere, Horace Mann Bond, and Maida Springer began in 1956 at the United Nations. Interviews and organizational archival files of Horace Mann Bond and Maida Springer map the initial connections’ growth through human rights and Pan-Africanist networks in the United States and Tanganyika. Anton Nelson’s newsletters with the organizational files of AAI, ACOA, and AFL-CIO during the 1940s and 1950s record the inception and continuation of this international alignment.
As the linkage develops and increases networks overlap during the Tanganyikan anticolonial drive where black internationalism between Tanganyika and the United States was imperative for access to the United Nations for Tanganyikan nationalists. Travel to unfamiliar locations and cultures on limited budgets required hospitality. Fluidity created through travel between Tanzania and the United States fostered a mutual system of formal recognition and reception with Tanganyikan (and later Tanzanian) nationalists playing host in Tanzania and Pan-Africanists and human rights workers playing host in the United States. Black solidarity comes forth as a major contributor that allow this linkage and networks to maneuver within the cold war era.

Analysis of interactions between Tanzania and the United States during the 1960s is covered in two chapters. Chapter Two, “The Tanzanian/African American Linkage in the Dawn of African Independence,” explores this linkage during the decade of Africa’s liberation. The shared quest for self-identity, self-reliance, and self-determination is examined in both Africa and the diaspora. Revisiting Tanzania as a frontline country from a single analytical perspective, this chapter documents the expansion of assistance from the United States and the contributions that hospitality and black internationalism made to the global black struggle. Hospitality comes forth as not only having created a “safe haven” for the black world in Tanzania, but as also being responsible for catalyzing a global black liberation network as well. Interviews with Pan-Africanists, in addition to archival files and records of American Pan-Africanist organizations, illustrate the depth of Cold War challenges to this linkage.

With the introduction of Tanganyika’s anticolonial movement and its relatively peaceful transition to independence, Tanganyika’s rallying cry Uhuru entered the American mainstream and black press. Tracing the usage of this term in the black press brings forth the context of how this political term was accepted in the US black community. Black solidarity emerges in coverage of regional East African Pan-Africanisms in the black press. Constant US reports in the black press on African

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80 Minter et al., No Easy Victories, ix.
Americans travel to Tanganyika and Tanganyikan nationalists’ visits to the United States exposed masses of blacks to black internationalism. As the civil rights movement evolves, younger African Americans show signs of familiarity with East African nationalism.

Chapter Three, “Tanzanian Nation Building: In Africa and Abroad,” illustrates the manner in which overlapping political and educational networks drew activists in the United States to the Tanzanian mission for total African liberation. This chapter also recounts how print served as a vehicle for familiarizing African Americans with Tanzania and its nationalism, as well as in the movement of African ideology from the black elite to the masses in the United States. The first scholarly project that the International Congress of African Historians held at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1965 tackled the task of developing postcolonial history. “The African Abroad or the African Diaspora” session introduced the African diaspora concept as a mode of study. This chapter follows how the introduction of the African diaspora concept to the black intelligentsia created a momentum that generated both continuous conversations in black print and academia engagement in the topic.

Shared hospitality in this linkage increased travel from the United States to Tanzania. Seeking ways to contribute to Tanzania’s drive for black liberation, African Americans embarked on voyages to Tanzania to find opportunities to be useful. However not all African Americans who traveled to Tanzania were nationalist minded. In their romantic visions of Africa, for many African Americans Tanzania was a utopia. Yet this chapter exposes a more contentious presence stemming from the reality of cultural differences.

Chapter Four, “Lessons from the Combination of African Continental and Diaspora Pan-Africanism in Tanzania, 1974–Onward,” reconstructs the 1970s Pan-Africanists’ role in the united black struggle based in Tanzania. By the early 1970s a small but significant number of African Americans resided in Tanzania. Archival files of the Pans Skill Project and CAP provide records of African Americans who emigrated to Tanzania. This chapter examines events around the Sixth Pan African Congress that
served as the watershed that shaped the future of the Tanzanian/African American linkage. Interviews with C. L. R. James, Edie Wilson, Sylvia Hill, Pete O’Neal, and Akwesi Agyeman, along with Tanzanian newspapers and Pan-Africanist newsletters, helped me to reconstruct the events of this era. Nodes of Tanzanian nationalism in the United States in this final chapter serve as markers of African American contact with Tanzania. As such, documentation of American grassroots organizations and institutions’ adoption of Ujamaa concepts and the usage of Kiswahili in mainstream America illuminate the seeds of Tanzanian nationalism that have remained in the United States into the twenty-first century.

The US population was once described as a melting pot. Ethnic markers such as language served as identifiers for American subcultures. African Americans, unlike other cultural groups in America, have no specific nations of origin—only a continent—thus the label African American. Kiswahili serves as an identifier for black cultural nationalism, which opens the door to a profound twentieth-century relationship between Africa and its Atlantic diaspora. The aim of this narrative is the unraveling of Afrocentric ideology in the American practice of Pan-Africanism in order to reveal the shared past between Tanzanians and African Americans that led to the integration of Tanzanian nationalism into today’s black cultural nationalism in the United States.
Chapter One

The Tanzanian/African American Linkage:
A Product of Black Hubs, 1947–1960

Race defined life during the 1940s, a decade in which a Tanzanian/African American linkage materialized. Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism coalesced through the connection between Africans and members of the African Atlantic diaspora as a result of two World Wars and the black world’s outrage at the lack of support from the League of Nations for Ethiopia during the Italo-Ethiopian war. The reunion of Africans with the members of the African diaspora permitted the sharing of a recognized common destiny that Jim Crow, colonialism, and racial subordination held for the black world. At the conclusion of World War II, the arts, literature, education, sports, politics, education, religion, and labor created a newfound interconnectedness among blacks globally.¹ A number of major capital cities in Europe and the United States, where those of the black world engaged in common ventures, provided space for “exceptional liberties of expression,”² thus escalating the development of black hubs. In this chapter the Tanzanyikan/African American linkage exposes how networks maneuvered beyond the obstacles of the Cold War in the anticolonial struggle for Tanganyika.

Three primary themes illuminate the beginning of the Tanzanian/African American linkage. First, the saga began when African American Alberta Seaton and her West Indian husband, Earle Seaton, met East Africans Thomas Marealle and Peter Koinange, which resulted in their 1952 mutual involvement in what came to be known as

the Meru Land Case. Second is the examination of the early 1950s’ visits of Julius Nyerere to the United States and their relation to African American activists’ support for African liberation. Third, with the alliance between Africans and the African diaspora in place, African Americans were drawn to the newly independent Tanganyika, where their attempts to set up various supportive relationships show how the networks functioned to create an international circle of activism.

Most notably found in the inception of this Pan-African “link up” for black liberation is the necessity of black internationalism. Growth of the linkage emerged from the black elite networks to the masses with the black print’s introduction of the Kiswahili chant Uhuru! (Freedom!).

This chapter will show how from the late 1940s and into the 1950s black hubs served as nexus for the development of Pan-African link ups and served as a staging ground for the initial international battles against colonialism and racism. It was the beginning of a new age of black consciousness in the United States.

The black world also recognized the necessity of education as an equalizer in tempering the race’s denigrated position in the Western world. It was not an anomaly that education was key to the initial meetings of Tanzanians and African Americans in the black hubs of England and the United States. Education brought Earle Seaton and Alberta Jones Seaton in contact with Tom Marealle and Peter Koinange in London in 1947 and Horace Mann Bond, Maida Springer, and Julius Nyerere in New York in 1956. These relationships blossomed prior to Tanganyika Territory’s independence. The extension of hospitality between Tanzanians and African Americans was manifested in the accommodation by US Pan-Africanist activists to the needs of Tanganyika’s anti-colonial movement. This series of acts was the binding agent that developed, sustained, and matured the Tanzanian/African American linkage.

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Education in Europe unites the black world

The lives of Alberta Jones Seaton, Earle Seaton, and Tom Marealle illustrate the fluidity and function of networks of those who are involved in black internationalism in the 1940s. Alberta Jones was an African American biologist from Houston, Texas. While at Howard University in Washington, DC, she met Earle Seaton, a student from Bermuda, who also studied biology there from 1942 to 1946. Because of the limited options of African Americans for graduate study during the period, both Jones and Seaton traveled to Europe in the late 1940s to pursue advanced degrees. Jones received her doctorate in biology from the University of Brussels, while Seaton graduated from London University as a barrister in 1948. In this same year, Alberta Jones and Earle Seaton married in London.

The Seaton’s relationship with Marealle and Koinange set the course for their involvement in the anticolonial movements in Tanganyika and Kenya. Earle Seaton attended London University with Thomas Marealle, a Tanzanian from the Kilimanjaro-Meru region. Marealle was a descendent of Marealle of Marangu. During his reign as chief of the Chagga he was said to have participated in a policy of intrigue with the first Germans in the first colonial government of Tanganyika. One of the methods of German intervention was to pursue alliances with strong chiefs that acknowledged German authority. Marealle’s politics of intrigue allowed collaboration with the Germans to advance the Chagga’s own interests. Germans did not understand the intricacies of East African politics and as such were played as pawns against other Chagga rivals. It was also said that his grandfather, Chief Marealle, in 1909 had 15,000 coffee bushes in

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4 Ibid.
5 Alberta Seaton, in discussion with the author, February 26, 2002.
7 Ibid.
Marangu, although this is thought to be somewhat of an exaggeration.\textsuperscript{8} It is no surprise that Marealle is the one who solicited Earle Seaton for his assistance while attending the London School of Economics.

Seaton also met Peter Koinange from Kenya while he was doing postgraduate studies at the University of Cambridge’s St. John’s College and later delivered the Munro lectures designated for international scholars at Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{9} During this period, Koinange was living in Britain and Ghana as a result of being listed by the Kenyan government as subject to detention if he returned home.\textsuperscript{10} Marealle and Koinange were among the first East Africans to gain advanced educations. Peter Koinange’s father, Koinange wa Koinange, Chief of the Kikuyu in Kenya, was appointed government chief by the British colonial government.\textsuperscript{11}

It was Koinange’s father, with Mathew Njoroge, Josiah Njonjo, and Waruhiu Kungu, who formed the Kikuyu Association (KA) in 1919.\textsuperscript{12} The KA’s mission was to pressure the British colonial government to return the Kikuyu stolen land that resulted from the land alienation for white settlers in Kenya.\textsuperscript{13} Because of Koinange’s outspokenness, the colonial officials dubbed him “the evil genius of Kikuyuland” and retired him from government service in 1948. Losing his position as government chief, the elder Koinange was labeled by the government as a collaborator who rebelled and turned nationalist. Chief Koinange had a short-lived central role in the initiation of the oath-taking campaign in the early phase of the Mau Mau movement.\textsuperscript{14}

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\textsuperscript{9} Seaton, discussion with author, February 26, 2002.


\textsuperscript{11} John Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika} (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 501.


\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 60.
rebellion in 1952 was a Kenyan peasant uprising against the colonial state. African Americans followed closely the black press’s extensive coverage of the flare up in Kenya. In a 1955 *New York Amsterdam* editorial, Lester Granger captured how Great Britain had taken skillful advantage of the Mau Mau rebellion “by tying the killer label on all nationalists that protest against seizure of the best of Kenya’s precious land for the benefit of a few thousand whites.”

During this era Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union traveled Kenya preaching the early Pan-Africanism slogan coined in the Atlantic African diaspora in 1920 by Marcus Garvey: “Africa for Africans.” For this the British arrested Kenyatta for his alleged connection to Mau Mau. African Americans took notice, and inspired by the rebellion of their kinsmen, the Seatons and other educated black elite joined in the struggle and took up the symbolic cry of Mau Mau.

Nationalism was very much a family affair in the Koinange family. Chief Koinange’s sons played a significant role in their father’s life. Though he remained in Africa, the old chief sent advice to son Peter in London, who was assisting his friend Earle Seaton in preparing for the Meru Land Case. Alberta Seaton stated that it was the lifetime friendship formed by these “colonial” buddies that influenced Earle Seaton to move to Tanganyika. Alberta Seaton explained that her reference to the “colonials” was a term her husband and his friends called themselves as subjects of the British metropole, who dedicated their lives to anticolonialist efforts. Marealle convinced Earle Seaton that Tanganyika was in desperate need of his help, and Seaton left London immediately after graduating, arriving in East Africa in August of 1948. The Tanganyikan government required six months residency before Seaton could practice law. Seaton’s first law office was in Moshi, Tanganyika, and he later opened offices in Kenya and Uganda.

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18 Seaton, discussion with author, February 26, 2002.
Upon completion of her degree in 1949, Alberta Seaton joined her husband in East Africa. Expecting their first child at the time, she did not travel directly to Moshi upon arriving in East Africa, but remained in Nairobi with Chief Koinange’s senior wife until the birth of their daughter. It is this hospitality between people of Africa and the diaspora that made it possible for Alberta Seaton to be with her husband in the midst of his anticolonial activities in East Africa.

**The Meru Land Case and the rise of nationalism**

Tanganyika was a United Nations Trusteeship territory when the Seatons settled in East Africa. The couple settled near Marealle’s home in the Kilimanjaro-Meru region. During the period between 1938 and 1948, increased European immigration in the area caused mounting pressure from the new settlers in East Africa for more land. The negative results for Marealle’s people, the Wachagga in Tanganyika, and Koinange’s people, the Kikuyu in Kenya, was massive alienation from their own land. The 1951 eviction of residents of two Meru farms, the Engare Nanyuki and Leguruki, by colonial officials for the creation of a homogenous block of European landholdings between Meru and Kilimanjaro evoked an uproar in the region. Ironically this was the Wameru homeland that had been repurchased from Europeans between the World Wars. A Chagga alliance, which included Meru leaders, the Kilimanjaro Union, and Kenyan politicians, was formed to formally address the issue. In a petition sent to the United Nations on June 9, 1952, Meru leaders formally requested to be present at the reading of the complaint. At the filing of the petition, Marealle was the Chagga Paramount Chief. Clearly this event had been foreseen by Marealle during his period of education in London, which led him to seek Seaton’s assistance. Kirilo Japhet, Secretary of the Arusha Branch of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), and Seaton, then practicing law in

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21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
Moshi, were chosen as representatives to appear before the Trusteeship Council on June 30 and July 21, 1952.\textsuperscript{23}

There was a four-month wait between Japhet’s and Seaton’s first appearance before the United Nations Trusteeship Council and the meetings of the East African Section of the Colonial Office in London.\textsuperscript{24} The opinion rendered from the colonial officials’ meeting with Japhet and Seaton was that the displacement of the Wameru was caused by “their ill-advised refusal to accept the compensation offered by the Administering Authority.”\textsuperscript{25} Seaton returned to Tanganyika; Japhet remained in the United Kingdom, where he was interviewed by the press and Members of Parliament in an attempt to elicit support for the Wameru’s cause from Lord Fenner Brockway, a member of the Labour Party in the House of Commons and known during the 1950s as the “MP of Africa.”\textsuperscript{26}

While in London, Japhet met with Nyerere, who was on holiday from his studies at Edinburgh University.\textsuperscript{27} Japhet’s East African council was not limited to Nyerere, for he received encouragement and advice from officials of the Kenya African Union (KAU) in the United Kingdom, including Peter Koinange, Fred Kubai, and Dr. Munyu Waiyaki. This is evidence of the unity formed through regional Pan Africanism in East Africa.

Later that year, Fred Kubai was arrested in October 1952 with Jomo Kenyatta and four others; they were to become known as the six shujaas Kapenguria—the six heroes of the Kapenguria—who were tried for treason in the small town of Kapenguria in northwest Kenya. Kubai was released in 1961, becoming a member of parliament for Nkuru east at Kenya’s independence, and forever revered as a founding father of a free Kenya. Koinange went on to serve as Kiambaa Member of Parliament from 1963 to 1974, and Waiyaki would serve as Foreign Minister of Kenya from 1974 to 1979. The

\textsuperscript{23} Seaton, discussion with author, February 26, 2002; Nelson, \textit{Freemen of Men}, 53.
\textsuperscript{25} Japhet and Seaton, \textit{Meru Land Case}, 46.
\textsuperscript{26} Japhet and Seaton, \textit{Meru Land Case}, 46; Nelson, \textit{Freeman of Meru}, 66.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
Ugandan nationalist leader Semakula Mulumba was also in London as spokesman for the Bataka Federation during this time.\textsuperscript{28}

In Japhet’s meeting with Nyerere in London prior to traveling on to New York for the Meru Land Case hearings, the task at hand that awaited him upon his return to Tanganyika was made clear.\textsuperscript{29} After Japhet’s return to East Africa in 1953, he toured Tanganyika under the auspices of TAA.\textsuperscript{30} At these meetings he not only detailed the complaints of the Wameru that had taken him and Seaton to the United Nations, but he also raised the subject of independence for this territory as the solution for these and other injustices.\textsuperscript{31}

News of Tanganyika’s first venture towards liberation was not only spread throughout Tanganyika upon Japhet’s return, but as well in the United States after the Meru Land Case, and this news was not lost to the US black community. \textit{Jet}, the most widely read African American weekly news magazine, published reports of the event in their foreign news segment. The magazine reported on the case of 3,000 Africans, who had been evicted to the benefit of 13 white settlers in Tanganyika, and their formal appeal to the United Nations, noting that Ralph Bunche was the trusteeship committee’s head.\textsuperscript{32}

In 1951 \textit{Jet}’s circulation was estimated at 300,000 readers. James Meriwether found that the black press reached much farther than its circulations indicated.\textsuperscript{33} Newspapers and magazines from the black press were passed from family to family and were found and discussed in community locales such as barbershops, beauty shops, churches, and lodges.\textsuperscript{34} The black press served as a medium for black intellectuals to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Iliffe, \textit{A Modern History of Tanganyika}, 503.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Lionel R. Cliffe, “Nationalism and the Reaction to Enforced Agricultural Change in Tanganyika during the Colonial Period,” \textit{Taamuli} 1 (1972): 7.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
communicate with each other while serving as a tool for spreading ideas from the African American elite to the broader black community. This allowed the African American community at large in the 1950s and 1960s to follow all of Africa in its quest for liberation and in many ways made them a part of the struggle.

The Japhet advice received from East African nationalists in Europe prior to his appearance at the United Nations is a prelude to the practice in East Africa of Pan-Africanism that propels those in leadership positions to work together in anti-colonialism movements. Koinange, Kubai, Nyerere, Waiyaki, and Mulumba are each members of their respective country’s newly forming nationalist movements. The Meru Land Case represents an important collaborative political initiative that drew an emotional response from Africans and effectively increased feelings of nationalism among the masses within East Africa. Under British guidance the colonial governments of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda—initially known as the East African Community after World War II—reflected a British attempt to secure their position in a collective initiative to stamp this region’s identity upon the conscience of the modern world. It created a unified identity that distinguished the East African population in its new position of independence and signaled a complete and confident transition from the colonial era. Uganda’s Minister of State, Grace Ibingira, proclaimed in 1957, “rather than divide us . . . the British have united us!”

During the three days of September 16, 17, and 18 in 1958, countrymen from these three East African nations were joined by nationalists from Zanzibar and Nyasaland to formally organize the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) at its founding conference in Mwanza, Tanganyika. Although short lived,

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36 Ibid, 407.
37 Ibid.
PAFMECA functioned as a leader’s forum, which served more as a symbol than an organization for the moral and psychological support of East African nationalists.\textsuperscript{40} Japhet’s council, with members of the East African community in Europe during his visit, demonstrated the early cohesiveness for liberation established with East African regional nationalists and their practice of Pan-Africanism to achieve strength from what Koinange, then PAFMECA’s secretary, declared was “unity.”\textsuperscript{41}

East Africa’s political unity was applauded and closely watched not only throughout Africa, but by blacks in America as well. In an article titled “Pan African Freedom Movement,” the \textit{Chicago Defender} reported Nyerere’s belief that Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and possibly Nyasaland should reach independence and join the Federation at the same time.\textsuperscript{42} Nyerere even expressed in this interview his willingness to hold back Tanganyika’s advance while the others caught up.\textsuperscript{43}

Although the Wameru were not successful in regaining the two lost farms, the effort was critical in awakening the anticolonialist movement in Tanganyika. A. J. Temu stated that “if any single factor helped to stir the African masses in Tanzania [into] political action and . . . pave the way for TAA and later for Tanzania African National Union and [interaction with black leaders on the international political stage], it was the Meru Land Case.”\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{Black hands across the sea: Alberta and Earle Seaton}

\textit{Ebony}’s March 1972 article, “Black Hands across the Sea,” examined Earle Seaton’s continued influence in transatlantic black society.\textsuperscript{45} African American entrepreneur Thomas A. Woods was founder and owner of TAW, an international leasing

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{40} Nye, \textit{Pan-Africanism}, 122–124.
\bibitem{41} Nye, \textit{Pan-Africanism}, 35.
\bibitem{43} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
firm that leased heavy equipment to developing countries in Africa.46 Woods, while attending Columbia, met Earle Seaton when Seaton was at Howard.47 Seaton stayed in contact with Woods and other American friends while he was in Tanzania. Woods states that it was Seaton who influenced him to establish his international business.48 The growth of such a Tanzanian/African American linkage stemmed from the US Pan-Africanists’ recruitment of individuals within their established networks.

As the 1972 article in Ebony showed, Seaton remained well entrenched in the human rights network. After the Meru Land Case and the birth of his second child, Seaton returned his family to the United States in 1953. Driven to advance his involvement in the African freedom movements and development of newly independent African nations, Seaton began his doctoral studies in international affairs at the University of Southern California in 1956. Once Seaton completed his dissertation in 1961, he returned to Tanganyika to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1964. Seaton’s ability to relocate with ease was a great asset to the Tanganyikan cause, as his residency in the United States from 1953 until the 1961 independence of Tanganyika was beneficial in setting the course for the success of the early visits of Nyerere to the United Nations in New York. After leaving his post in the Tanganyikan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Seaton served as a judge in Arusha from 1965 to 1969 and then on Tanzania’s Legal Counsel to the United Nations from 1969 to 1971.

In the meantime, Alberta Seaton, who had attained her Ph.D. prior to her marriage, was pursuing an academic career. She periodically taught at Makerere University in Uganda and at Texas Southern University in her hometown of Houston. In addition to traveling with her husband from time to time, she managed their homes in Tanzania and Houston.49

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Alberta Seaton, fact sheet.
The Horace Mann Bond, Julius Nyerere, and Maida Springer connection

Yevette Richards, in her narrative of interviews with Maida Springer,\(^\text{50}\) mentions a spontaneous meeting of Bond, Nyerere, and Springer at the United Nations in 1956. How these three all happened to be at the United Nations on December 20, 1956, was not mentioned in either narrative. The connection seems to have stemmed from Japhet’s 1952 arrival in London and subsequently the United States four months prior to the Meru Land Case.

Although Earle Seaton was born in the West Indies, he was not a stranger to the United States. While attending Howard University, he served as president of the black fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. This position of leadership on campus enabled him to meet and work in association with individuals and organizations interested in African affairs.\(^\text{51}\)

During Seaton’s Howard University Chapter Alpha presidency, Rayford Logan, a historian at Howard since 1938, served as 15th General President of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. This national black fraternal organization was the oldest of all African American “Greek” fraternities. Significantly, Logan was also an early member of the National Advisory Board of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA). He had been an active Pan-Africanist while living in France after World War II, and he had worked with W. E. B. Du Bois in the Pan African Congress. It was from his association with Logan and the mentoring that the senior scholar provided that Seaton was able to set the stage for Japhet’s Wameru appeal to the Western world.\(^\text{52}\)

ACOA evolved from post-World War II activist groups such as the American Friends Service Committee and various student peace-activism and draft-resistance movement groups.\(^\text{53}\) Bill Sutherland, an African American draft resister, was the first

\(^{50}\) Yevette Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer: A Personal History of Labor, Race, and International Relations (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), 160.

\(^{51}\) Nelson, Freemen of Meru, 66.


sentenced to serve four years in Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary as a conscientious objector. He was followed by David Dellinger, Bayard Rustin, Steve Cary, and George Houser.\textsuperscript{54} After his release, Sutherland led and participated in global antinuclear protests. A 1950 antinuclear protest organized by cyclists from Paris to Moscow connected Sutherland with African students and Pan-Africanist leaders such as George Padmore and South African exile Jacob Mahlapo. It was at this juncture that Sutherland learned of South Africa’s “Defiance Campaign” and returned to the United States enthusiastic about the drive for liberation on the African continent. He contacted his conscientious objector colleagues Houser and Rustin, who were both executives with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an organization of which Sutherland was a member and that Houser had helped to found. The result was the 1952 formation of Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR). George Houser, Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, Roger Baldwin, and others created this committee as a response to and in support of the “Defiance Campaign” in South Africa.\textsuperscript{55} It was in AFSAR’s infancy that the Meru Land Case was presented before the United Nations.

Initially the new organization functioned as a small working committee,\textsuperscript{56} and at the end of South Africa’s Defiance Campaign, AFSAR reassessed its purpose.\textsuperscript{57} In 1953 in a discussion at the Community Church of New York, members of the committee agreed that their organization’s mission needed to broaden its support to encompass all movements of African nationalists throughout Africa. The primary objective, they determined, was to support African liberation through the aid of nationalist movements.\textsuperscript{58} They birthed a new organization that they named the American Committee on Africa

\textsuperscript{55} Historical Notes from the Houser/ACOA collection, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
(ACOA). This organization was to coordinate African needs and direct African organizations to the appropriate entities for US support.

In 1952 Quaker Anton Nelson was at a gathering of African students and other Pan-African enthusiasts in the New York home of Gladys Walser, who was a United Nations observer for the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and would later become a member of ACOA. Nelson was later to comment about those whom he met on that occasion: “not a few . . . were to become cabinet ministers of yet unnamed independent nations.”59 And among those were Japhet and Seaton.

Upon his return to Tanganyika, Japhet instigated the hiring of Nelson by the Meru Cooperative Union, which resulted in Nelson’s family moving to Tanganyika in 1954.60 The “Afro-American Notes” section of a 1954 issue of Africa Today, the ACOA newsletter,61 noted Nelson’s move and reported that he had driven a jeep 3,000 miles from Cairo to Tanganyika.62 Nelson welcomed correspondence and provided his Tanganyikan address in the newsletter. During his seven-year stay in Tanganyika, he additionally published a periodic family newsletter for the Pan-Africanist community in the United States.63

As economic adviser to the Meru Growers Cooperative Society, Nelson wrote on September 11, 1956, to George Houser, Secretary of ACOA, also addressing John George, Director of the Africa-America Institute (AAI), and Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man. The correspondence was also copied to Russell Johnson, Peace Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, and Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Nelson’s goal was to reintroduce Nyerere, then Secretary

59 Nelson, Freemen of Meru, 66.
61 Africa Today began as a mimeographed bulletin for ACOA and currently is published as a journal by Indiana University Press.
63 Nelson to George Houser, 26 September 1956, Houser/ACOA collection, sub-series 43, box 142, folder 32, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
General of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), to these influential men. Nelson inquired about the possibility of a lecture tour for Nyerere in the United States. Nyerere planned to make the purpose of this visit twofold. It was important that he establish TANU’s foundation for public relations in the United States and the world and perhaps fill a financial vacuum created from his studies and this trip through publication of Tanganyika’s African program. Nelson identified himself as a part of the activist network by presenting the request for assistance to Nyerere as a challenge stating, “If their [Tanganyikans’] encouragement comes from us, we can be in, perhaps, on the creative shaping of history here. That is, if we are wise and good enough.” Houser’s reply spoke to the financial difficulties that their organizations were having and indicated that with such a short notice it was impossible to grant his request. Yet, he affirmed that if Nyerere made it to the United States, they would help in whatever manner was deemed necessary.

**Early link-ups and networks that led to expansion**

Global activities of labor leaders created arenas for black interaction in the 1950s as well. Mobility generated through union organization leaders’ participation in international labor conferences and seminars fostered the meeting of Africans and members of the African diaspora, similar to the development of international black hubs established through shared educational experiences. A 1956 international labor seminar in Mexico facilitated the meeting of Maida Springer and Maynard Mpangala, Assistant Secretary General of the Tanganyika Federation of Labor, (AFL) the Tanganyikan referenced in Houser’s correspondence to Nelson. Springer was born in Panama and immigrated to the United States at age seven. By 1956 she was a Trade Union Committee member of the New York Branch of the NAACP’s 1954 Fight for Freedom Campaign, as well as a member and longtime leader

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64 Nelson to Houser, 26 September 1956.
65 Ibid.
of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Mpangala, a former clerk in a commercial firm in Tanganyika, was now the General Secretary of the African Commercial Employees Association (ACEA).\(^{67}\) ACEA was extremely close to TANU at this time; ACEA’s offices were located at the TANU headquarters until 1955.\(^{68}\)

Because there was no money for the New York segment of Mpangala’s trip, Springer had been asked by her US labor associates to meet with him.\(^{69}\) Springer had an old house in Brooklyn and, without hesitation, offered it to Mpangala for lodging. The assurance of a place of hospitality allowed him many opportunities to speak to African Americans about Tanganyika’s drive for independence under the leadership of Julius Nyerere. Although she was a new colleague, Mpangala also sought Springer’s help in his countrymen’s need for education.\(^{70}\)

Springer wrote Horace Mann Bond on November 25, 1956. Bond was at this time the president of Lincoln University and a founding member of the African-America Institute (AAI).\(^{71}\) The AAI was the brainchild of African American educators Bond and William Leo Hansberry, a professor of history at Howard University and the father of playwright Lorraine Hansberry. This organization was formed in 1953 as a student-aid group by a multi-racial collective of educators and others interested in Africa. Its mission was to assist African students in the United States.\(^{72}\) Springer’s correspondence to Bond indicated that she had previously sought his advice on the possibility of a scholarship for Tanganyikan students.\(^{73}\) Bond was also aware of Nyerere’s mission from the

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\(^{68}\) Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 538.


\(^{70}\) Ibid.

\(^{71}\) In 1997, the AAI changed their name to the Africa-America Institute “to clearly convey the organization’s transatlantic focus.” See The Africa-America Institute, “1950s History,” http://www/aaionline.org /About/History.aspx.

\(^{72}\) Africa-America Institute, “1950s History.”

\(^{73}\) Springer to Bond, 25 February 1956, General Correspondence, Box 12, folder 3, Horace Mann Bond Papers, University of Massachusetts Library Archives and Manuscripts.
correspondence sent by Nelson to AAI Director John George on September 17, 1956.74 Through Mpangala, Nyerere learned directly of Springer’s assistance and the progress being made in obtaining educational opportunities for Tanganyikans prior to his arrival for the 4th Trusteeship Council meeting at the United Nations in December, 1956.75 Bond’s letter of introduction for Nyerere, written on December 13, 1956, to fellow university presidents, indicated that by this date the leader had visited Bond’s alma mater, Lincoln University.76

Nyerere’s second trip to the United States was significant, for during his prior trip to appear before the United Nations Trusteeship Council in March of 1955, his access to the US public was severely limited. On that initial visit to debate the third United Nations Visiting Mission report on Tanganyika, the British administrative authorities requested that the US State Department restrict Nyerere’s movement to within an eight-block radius of the United Nations and limit his stay to within twenty-four hours of his appearance before the Trusteeship Council meeting.77 Despite Nyerere’s “peculiar visa,”78 ACOA reached out to bridge the limitations on his access.

An ACOA archival photograph of Julius Nyerere and George Shepherd documented Shepherd, then director of ACOA, greeting Nyerere in March 1955 at the United Nations.79 Nyerere stated it was Houser on this trip who introduced him to the US supporters of African anticolonialism.80 On this occasion Nyerere “learned that not all American people acquiesced in decisions of the American government, which seemed to

74 Nelson to Houser, 26 September 1956.
75 Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer, 160.
76 Bond to Friend, 13 December 1956, General Correspondence, Box 12, folder 3, Bond Papers.
80 Nyerere in Houser, No One Can Stop the Rain, xi.
Tanganyikan nationalists to [support] the Tanganyikan government.”81 In ACOA’s March-April bulletin of 1955, three articles were published following Nyerere’s March appearance at the United Nations. They all focused on political activity in Tanganyika. “Storm over Tanganyika” gave details of the recommendations to the United Nations from the four members of the Visiting Mission to Tanganyika.82 An “Editorial Comment” by Houser addressed outrage at the US representative to the Trusteeship Council, Mason Sears, having received a private reprimand from the British government Embassy Minister, Sir Robert Scott, for backing the recommendation of self-government of the Tanganyikan people within the next 20 to 25 years.83

Nyerere’s profile pointed out that his purpose in the United States and at the United Nations was to serve as spokesman for the Tanganyikan people and to express their strong agreement with the majority of the report from the United Nations Mission that felt Tanganyika was ready for self-government within a generation.84 The mission members in favor of Tanganyika’s self-government transition included Rafael Eguizabel from El Salvador, Rikhi Jaipal from India, and Mason Sears. John Stanhope from New Zealand cast the minority vote of dissent.85 Houser pointed out that the outcry against these recommendations came principally from colonial sources.86

Nyerere’s profile in the ACOA bulletin addressed the Cold War quandary of this era front and center. When discussing the choice of a social system for Tanganyika, Nyerere declared that it was simply too early to venture into anything other than a purely academic conversation.87 Nyerere stated that cattle and crops of rural Africa were the realities for Tanganyikans at this time. However, it was noted that Nyerere was a good

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81 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 ACOA, “Profile of Julius Nyerere,” 4.
historian and, although uncommitted at the time, went as far as to say that he wished for an independent Tanganyika that would remain within the British Commonwealth.

Nyerere’s affiliation with the socialist viewpoint held by Britain comes forth at this time as well. In 1951 The Fabian Colonial Bureau’s journal *Venture*, published in London and which had provided socialist commentary on colonial affairs since 1949, released the earliest articles on Tanganyika’s colonialism. Reaching a wide international public, *Venture*’s March 1955 article, “Writing on the Wall in Tanganyika,” expressed sentiments similar to the ACOA bulletin Profile stating, “What a pity it would be if the extreme recommendations of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika obscured the value of the majority of the report.”

The Roman Catholic Maryknoll Fathers, with whom Nyerere had a long relationship, arranged for his return to New York. Traveling by boat in November 1956, Nyerere’s movements were undetected by British or American authorities. Mpangala and Nelson’s early efforts in connecting Nyerere with intellectual and political leaders of the African American diaspora and US human rights activists reflect both the desire of African Americans to meet with the Tanzanian leader and the comprehension of those individuals within his circle of the importance of Nyerere connecting with the American public.

Bond’s direct involvement in responding to the Tanganyikans’ critical need for higher education introduced this cause to an extensive network of educators through AAI. By December 13, 1956, Bond had written a general introductory letter for Nyerere to utilize in his quest for scholarships for fellow Tanganyikans. The letter contained great detail on both Tanganyika’s struggle for independence and the urgent need for scholarships for its citizens. In addition, introductions provided enthusiastic recommendations for Nyerere from both AAI and the US State Department.

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91 Bond to Friend, 13 December 1956.
92 Ibid
Bond, Nyerere, and Springer met in December 1956 at the United Nations. Nyerere was there for his second meeting with the Trusteeship Council. At this session he prevailed on the United Kingdom as territory administrator to accept extremely moderate requests that would assure a peaceful and gradual development into self-government. Nyerere’s petition demanded equal representation for Africans with all non-Africans under a universal adult franchise. He sought education for Tanganyikan Africans, noting discrimination in comparison with the European and Asian children in Tanganyika and Africans in neighboring Uganda. Nyerere used this opportunity to also inform the Council that he was seeking university scholarships abroad for Tanganyikan students. And finally, Nyerere appealed for partnerships in the economic development of Tanganyika, noting the increasingly rapid and brutal takeover of land by non-Africans.

Because Bond and Springer were attending other meetings on December 20, 1956, Springer was unsure of what transpired after she introduced Bond to Nyerere. But Bond’s correspondence reveals that his introduction of this leader to African American educators was indeed fruitful. Correspondence from Tuskegee Institute President L. H. Foster to Nyerere indicates a clear commitment to an annual full scholarship to a Tanganyikan student. The Maryknollers had also arranged Nyerere’s lecture tour of US colleges and universities. At Wellesley College, Nyerere gave a lecture titled “Africa’s Place in the World.” Nyerere also appeared on a segment of 60 Minutes with Mike Wallace; Eleanor Roosevelt appeared on this segment as well. Reflections from this trip are expressed in Nyerere’s letter written to Houser upon his return to Tanganyika. Nyerere graciously thanked Houser for the support and hospitality that he

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93 Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika, 283; Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer, 160.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid
97 Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer, 160.
98 Bond to Friend, 13 December 1956.
received while in the United States, and he welcomed his newfound friend to Tanganyika.

Nyerere’s trip to the United Nations and the United States apparently was too successful for British authorities. By January 1957, the attitude of British authorities had hardened. Upon his return to Tanganyika, Nyerere was banned from public speaking from February to September 1957, following what the government thought was an unusually militant speech interpreted as an incitement against the authorities and non-African races. Springer received correspondence from Dar es Salaam informing her of the details of Nyerere’s ban. The African Weekly released detailed accounts to the United States at large on May 15, 1957, in an article titled “Mr. Julius Nyerere of TANU banned from speaking.”

The exchange of hospitality between Tanganyika and the United States

The Cold War cast a long shadow in the 1950s for African Americans, leaving limited options for their involvement in African foreign affairs. The source for the hospitality extended to Nyerere and Mpangala in 1956 was created from Pan-Africanists’ overlapping organizational affiliations in the United States. This network formed a nexus for black international solidarity work in the United States. Both Bond, as a founding member of the AAI, and Springer, an administrative member of the ILGWU, were entwined in this anticolonial network in the United States. AAI organizational objectives, for example, stressed the strong need for contact between other organizations involved in African affairs; the organization’s primary objective was published in the September 1954 issue of the African-American Bulletin. The extension of hospitality to Africans was one of AAI’s three major initiatives in assisting Africans in their liberation movements;

100 Iliffle, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 554; Smith, We Must Run While They Walk, 84.
102 Index to Periodical Articles: By and For Negroes (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1971), 3.
the organization provided accommodations for African students and leaders who visited the nation’s capital.103

In the 1950s and 1960s a small apartment building operated by AAI and known as “Africa House” was made available to African visitors in Washington, DC. Priority was given to African students with insufficient funds to stay elsewhere, but it was available to any African visitor for a short period. Aid for transportation around town was also available. A 1961 overview of AAI’s Africa House activity indicated that over twenty African leaders and government officials from throughout the continent were entertained. Both Nyerere and Mboya were received three times during the period reviewed.104 A summary of the location’s activities during the last quarter of 1961 reveals a solidly booked schedule. Organizations such as the Pan-African Students Association, American Friends of Nigeria, the Sierra Leone Club, the East African Students Association, Pan-African Student Union, and the Liberia Student Association met regularly at the Africa House, which was constantly battling financial problems.105 A public appeal for contributions to raise $7,500 was made to the New York black community through the Amsterdam News in 1959 to pay for city-mandated renovations and to pay off the mortgage by 1961.106

Because of AAI’s change in direction after receiving funding from the Carnegie Corporation in 1958, there were mixed feeling about continuing the Africa House project.107 Rumors of AAI having a CIA affiliation and financial support were

105 “Summary of Activities at Africa House for the Quarter ended December 31, 1961,” Appendix B to AAI Board Meeting Minutes, 31 December 1961, Box 27, folder 59, Bond Papers.
rampant. This is a prime example of the effect the Cold War directives placed on Pan-African endeavors such as the Africa House. The need for funds opened the door for covert government involvement through undisclosed State department affiliates, such as the Carnegie Corporation.

There was a consensus among Pan-Africanists in the United States that there was a need for coordinated contact among the various organizations and individuals who had mutual interests in African affairs; ACOA stepped in to fill those shoes. In the 1950s institutes and organizations such as AAI, the All African Students Union of the Americas, ACOA, the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, the District of Columbia Friends of African Students, the Foundation for International Economic Development and Education, the Institute of International Education, the International Development Placement Association, the International Exchange Service of the US Department of State, the Near East and African Division of the US Department of State, and the US Information Agency were active entities in this early network with which African American Pan-Africanists were affiliated.

Springer spoke of her involvement in networks in interviews relating to her involvement with Tanganyikan anticolonialism efforts. Springer’s activist spirit for social change kindled from childhood propelled her into tireless advocacy for her favorite causes. Through this work Springer gained a reputation as a skilled organizer and notice from labor and civil rights leaders. As mentor and advisor, Randolph’s and Springer’s relationship stemmed from her membership with the ILGWU in 1933, resulting in her 1942 work with Randolph for the civil rights and labor movements.

Nelson’s distribution list for Nyerere’s letter of reintroduction illuminates the nature of networks involved in African affairs in the 1950s. Of the five copies distributed, three were listed in AAI’s contacted organizations: AAI, ACOA, and the Committee on

110 Ibid.
111 Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer, 1.
112 Ibid.
Friendly Relations. ACOA’s primary function linked African movements to appropriate US organizations and activists.113 The response, for instance, by Houser to Nelson’s request for financial assistance for Nyerere on September 17, 1956, gives a glimpse into the manner in which ACOA’s network functioned. Houser’s knowledge of the arrival in the United States of Mpangala, was obtained from ACOA’s affiliation with US labor unions.114 An earlier correspondence from Houser to Randolph on May 16, 1956, proposed a project to develop trade union ties in the United States parallel with Africa.115 Houser requested assistance in bringing Tom Mboya, General Secretary for the Kenya Federation of Labor, to the United States. ACOA’s labor union linkage stemmed from its connection with Randolph.

Houser’s working relationship with Randolph is demonstrated through the coordination of Mboya, Nyerere, and Mpangala’s upcoming visits to the United States. Houser was not a stranger to A. Philip Randolph’s activism; as a young seminarian in the 1930s, Houser’s first participation in a picket line was with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which was founded by Randolph.116 It is in this manner that members and organizations overlapped, which in turn created a functioning transnational network between US Pan-Africanist human-rights workers and African liberationists, seen not just in the United States but in East Africa as well.

Randolph was a member of ACOA’s National Advisory Board and had been involved with the ACOA committee since its establishment as AFSAR, in addition to being an executive council member of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). A letter from ACOA chairman Donald Harrington to Randolph, inviting him to join the National Advisory Board, gives details of these

114 Houser to A. Philip Randolph, 6 June 1956, Microfilm Edition of the A. Philip Randolph Papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
115 Houser to Randolph, 16 May 1956, Randolph Papers.
members’ functions. Appointment to the National Advisory Board provided ACOA access to Randolph’s counsel.\textsuperscript{117} Understanding the personnel and function of ACOA’s Executive and Advisory Boards illuminates the creation of overlapping networks.

Examining a small segment of the ACOA Executive and National Advisory Boards’ affiliations in 1957 reveals significant connections. Board members’ associations with other organizations and institutions created the broad base that established ACOA working networks for assistance to African nationalists in their drive for liberation. It was this direct accessibility to other organizations that established ACOA “as a small but critical link between African movements and American activists.”\textsuperscript{118} A significant number of these board members were pacifists, a direct result of ACOA’s origins from AFSAR. All three of AFSAR’s first founding members—Bill Sutherland, Bayard Rustin, and George Houser—were pacifists. In 1957 George Houser was ACOA’s executive director, and Rustin was a member of the executive board. Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, James Farmer, Homer A. Jack, and Roger N. Baldwin were also pacifists on the executive and national boards of ACOA. Thomas had been a Socialist presidential candidate six times beginning in 1928; Farmer was a founder of CORE; Rustin was a civil rights activist, who was known as the “uncle of CORE”; Jack served as an executive director of CORE; Baldwin was Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and A. J. Muste was a leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Although there were a number of pacifists on both of ACOA’s boards, in other ways their compositions were diverse. Religious leaders, writers, scholars and educators, labor union leaders, and activists for civil, human, and women’s rights came together as a united front through this organization. From the religious sector came George Carpenter, African American Secretary of the National Council of Churches, and Clarence Picket, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. The United Nations had associates on ACOA’s boards in addition to its representative, A. C. Thompson, on ACOA’s staff. Marguerite Cartwright was a United Nations correspondent who wrote

\textsuperscript{117} Harrington to Randolph, 1 March 1954, Randolph Papers.
\textsuperscript{118} Houser, \textit{No One Can Stop the Rain}, 16.
syndicated articles for the black press. Gladys Walser, who belonged to the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, served as a United Nations observer and consultant.

Board members from the legal field included Peter Weiss, a lawyer and Director of the International Development Placement Association; Conrad Lynn, a black civil rights attorney and member of the African Forum for Socialist Education; Max Delsen, a socialist, and labor union attorney; and Jane Bolin, who in 1939 became the first black woman to serve as a judge in the New York courts. Adam Clayton Powell also served on the ACOA board while in the US House of Representatives for New York’s 19th District.

Educators, intellectuals, and scholars involved with ACOA’s boards at this time were numerous. Rayford Logan and Stringfellow Barr were both historians and professors. Logan taught at Howard University and was advisor to the NAACP on International Affairs; Barr served as president of St. John’s College in Annapolis and was an author; George W. Shepherd was a professor and author; Ira De Reid was a sociologist, author, and professor as well. While this is only a partial listing detailing ACOA Board members’ affiliations and joint connections and does not fully explore other connections, such as the NAACP, the Urban League, or labor unions, it does sufficiently demonstrate the wide-reaching span of ACOA’s base of operation. ACOA’s creation of this extensive working network was the key to its successful coordination of transnational assistance in early African anticolonial movements, which simultaneously exposed the African American general public to the reality of global racism. The urgent need of the future Tanganyika to educate and train those in the territory qualified for positions in the upcoming new government as soon as possible exposes individual Pan-African activists within these networks through their efforts to assist nationalists in Tanganyika in preparations for independence.
The consolidation of an African/diaspora linkage

Nyerere and Mpangala stressed the urgent need for higher education for qualified citizens of Tanganyika during their 1956 visit to the United States. Steven Mhando, TANU’s Organizing Secretary General in 1957, reiterated the seriousness of this request in an introductory letter that thanked Houser for his “ambassadorship” to Nyerere while in the United States. Bond and Springer immediately addressed this need for advanced education through their respective organizations of the AAI and AFL-CIO. As Springer’s colleague, Randolph laid the groundwork for Springer’s first trip to East Africa. Springer stated that Randolph, as a Vice President of the AFL-CIO, championed actions of programs that rapidly helped trade unionists become a social force for good in the transition towards African independence.

In the 1940s Randolph emphasized anticolonial issues at the March-on-Washington movement’s proposal for a “Western Hemisphere Policy Conference for Free Negroes whereby people of color meet to discuss the problems of Africa and the darker races and develop plans to submit to the world peace conference.” Although he did not attend, Randolph’s firm commitment to Pan-Africanism’s endeavors surfaced in his fraternal greeting sent to the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. A few of the early mimeographed 1950s ACOA bulletins were addressed not only to ACOA members, but to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as well. Randolph arranged for Mboya to speak on the platform with Martin Luther King Jr. and Roy

119 Mhando to Houser, 23 April 1957, Box 142, file 32, George Houser’s ACOA files, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
Wilkins at the Second Youth March for Integrated Schools on April 18, 1958. These speakers drew parallels for this black mass audience of 22,500 that illustrates the link between the US black struggle for equality and the African fight against colonialism.\textsuperscript{123} James Meriweather believed that it was Randolph’s influence as a member of the ACOA National Advisory Board that convinced ACOA leaders of the benefits that an increased African American participation had in influencing US policy towards Africa.\textsuperscript{124}

Randolph’s involvement with labor movements from an international perspective rose towards the end of the postwar era. He began advising and assisting newly formed African labor movements in the mid 1950s.\textsuperscript{125} Randolph’s effort in assisting East African labor is evident in his correspondence of September 13, 1955, to George McCray, chairman of the Pan-Africa Labor Council. In his message Randolph expressed concerns regarding duplication of efforts by their programs, as both were established as a catalyst for African labor through the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice.\textsuperscript{126} At that time Randolph was working on a project that provided assistance to East Africa’s newly formed labor unions in Kenya and Tanganyika. He suggested that the two movements could discuss merging at perhaps a later date or at the upcoming conference in New York in November 1955.\textsuperscript{127}

A greater focus was placed on East Africa for two reasons. First, Randolph, Springer, and others felt that East, Central, and West Africa represented the center of the battle for liberation.\textsuperscript{128} Second, primary consideration was given to a program in East Africa because it brought greater opportunity to a people not afforded the same educational advantages and exposure as those in West Africa. A common link that made possible the assistance that was extended from Randolph to Mboya’s Kenya Federation

\textsuperscript{124} Meriwether, \textit{Proudly We Can Be Africans}, 204.
\textsuperscript{125} Randolph to George F. McCrary, 13 September 1955, microfilm frame 527, Randolph Papers.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{128} Richards, \textit{Conversations with Maida Springer}, 179.
of Labor (KFL) organization was their active affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). In the January 1958 issue of *The World Today*, Springer is quoted as saying, “The founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in December 1949 was a by-product of the cold war.” Communist domination of the World Federation of Trade Unions, alleged at the start of the cold war by the AFL-CIO of the US, the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, the Worker’s Force of France, the Italian General Confederation of Labor and the General Union of Workers of Spain, resulted in these organizations seceding and creating the ICFTU. As a part of ICFTU, AFL-CIO was a member of a body of fifty-seven unions worldwide whose main purpose was to support the development of free labor movements. Its main mission was to provide assistance to the newly formed unions of developing nations. Randolph recognized that the colonial connection of newly formed trade unions in African countries to their metropolises in Europe made them automatic members of the ICFTU. ICFTU demonstrated international solidarity for the development of working-class movements for free unions for people under police state rule in territories of Africa and Asia. Yet it was political differences within this organization that plagued its international forum and caused a short existence for Springer’s East African project in Tanganyika.

Houser wrote Randolph on May 16, 1956, informing him of Mboya’s possible upcoming trip to the United States sponsored by ACOA. In this correspondence, Houser pointed out the significance of Mboya’s connections with trade union development in Africa to that of African Americans in the United States, while requesting financial assistance for this venture as well. Although Randolph could not comply with Houser’s request for financial assistance for Mboya’s sponsored trip, the visit did materialize.

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130 Richards, *Conversations with Maida Springer*, 174.
131 Ibid, 38–43.
133 Houser to Randolph, 16 May 1956.
Mboya arrived in New York City in August 1956 under the auspices of ACOA, whose objective was to introduce this young Kenyan labor leader to America’s labor leaders. Randolph had left the United States for Africa the month before, and he and Mboya had managed a brief meeting in Kenya prior to Mboya’s leaving for London and the United States.

While Mboya was traveling to the United States to meet labor leaders, Randolph was traveling to Kenya to present the KFL with $35,000 from the William Green Memorial Foundation to build a trade union educational center, which was later named Solidarity House. Randolph also visited Dar es Salaam on this trip for the specific purpose of meeting Rashidi M. Kawawa, General Secretary for the Tanganyika Federation of Labor. In Dar es Salaam, Randolph met with the General Council for the Tanganyika Federation of Labor, who at this time had embarked on a campaign to organize sisal plantation workers. In both the General Council meetings of the KFL and Tanganyika Federation of Labor (TFL), the question of education for young African trade union leaders was raised.

The question asked most often of Randolph during his travels to East Africa was how African labor union workers could obtain funds for education and transportation to the United States to attend labor union schools, as well as gain practical experience in the operation of labor unions. When reporting on his East African trip to the AFL-CIO, Randolph recommended that serious consideration be given to granting scholarships for twelve to fourteen African trade union workers. The report laid the foundation for Springer to travel to Africa for further fact-gathering about the newly formed East African trade unions.

Springer’s stint in Africa began in January of 1957, less than two months after meeting Nyerere. From January 14 through 18, Springer attended the International
Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Accra, Ghana, as an observer. ICFTU was formed in 1949, as an alternative because of the alleged domination of communism in the World Federation Trade Union. After the conclusion of this seminar, at the invitation of the KFL and TFL, she traveled to East Africa. Based in Dar es Salaam, Springer acquainted herself with East African unions in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. Already connected with Mpangala of the ACEA from his 1956 trip to Mexico and the United States, Springer strengthened contacts with P. Patrick Mandawa from the Eastern Province Building and Construction Workers Union (EPBCWU), Kawawa, and Tom Mboya, who at the time was the General Secretary of the KFL. The renewal of a connection with Mboya was significant, as the leader had previously been a guest at her home in 1956 during his visit to the United States. Springer remained in East Africa until time to return to Ghana for its Independence celebration.

A new phase in Pan-Africanism

Ghana’s independence on March 6, 1957, brought African leaders together in Africa with members of the African diaspora leadership. African American leaders from the fields of religion, civil rights, labor, politics, and education made the journey to join in this historic African occasion. The large number of notable African Americans who attended the Ghanaian independence celebration sheds light on the importance each placed on Africa as a symbolic homeland. Norfolk Journal and Guide’s front page article, “Rev. King Invited to Visit Africa, Asia,” on February 6, 1957, announced King’s acceptance of the invitation to Virginia’s local black community. The black press

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138 Richards, *Conversations with Maida Springer*, 332.
139 Ibid.
140 Mandawa to Springer, 18 February 1957, Box 2, folder 85, Maida Springer Papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University; Mboya to Springer 4 February 1957, Box 2, folder 85, Maida Springer Papers.
141 Meriwether, *Proudly We Can be Africans*, 159.
coverage of this event informed, challenged, and inspired African Americans. Moreover, it exposed connections between African struggles for independence and the African American struggle for equality. The substantial and impressive list of African American attendees included Martin Luther King Jr., Lester Granger, A. Philip Randolph, Ralph Bunche, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Charles Diggs, John Johnson, C. B. Powell, John Sengstacke, Horace Mann Bond, James H. Robinson, and numerous other dignitaries. Shirley Graham Du Bois represented W. E. B. Du Bois, whose passport had been revoked at this time.

The ability for the black world to interact globally was a great boost to the practice of Pan-Africanism on the continent. Bill Sutherland, the African American pacifist who was a cofounder of ASFAR and other human rights organizations, lived in Accra during Ghana’s era of independence. Sutherland was working with Nkrumah and the Convention People’s Party (CPP) at this time as Komla Agbeli Gbedemah’s private secretary. Sutherland personally suggested to Gbedemah that Martin Luther King Jr. be invited to the independence celebration. During the festivities, Sutherland and another African American expatriate, Robert Lee, a dentist who had moved his practice to Ghana, organized a dinner for King to meet Julius Nyerere. Sutherland reflected during an interview years later that through the act of bringing King and Nyerere together he “got the African liberation movements to sign on to the march on Washington.”

This was an important time during which new and critical black world bonds were being rapidly established and old connections were strengthened. Springer’s memories of Ghana’s independence celebrations reflect the significant bonds that were formed connecting the black world in a myriad of ways. At the night of the independence ceremony, Springer, filled with emotion, stood between her mentor and labor leader Randolph and Ras Makonnen, a devoted Pan-Africanist. Born George Thomas Nathaniel

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143 Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans*, 160.
145 Ibid.
146 Sutherland with Nesbitt and Edmunds, 19 July 2003.
Griffith in British Guyana, Makonnen claimed Ethiopian descent. Each was a product of the transatlantic slave trade. A. Philip Randolph was born in the United States; Springer emigrated from Panama to the United States as a child; and Makonnen emigrated from Guyana to the United States as a young adult to gain an education and later moved to England and subsequently Ghana and Kenya. The three, who had connected through Pan-Africanist activities, stood together that night in awe of Ghana’s achievement. Black world bonds were recognized in the joint invitation issued by the Independence Celebration Committee to Springer and Nyerere to attend an Independence Barbecue and Dance.\footnote{Invitation, Box 1, folder 1, Maida Springer Papers, 6; Richards, \textit{Conversations with Maida Springer}, 212–213.} This ability for leaders of the black world to come mingle at one time, place, and location was a tremendous asset. Nyerere later stated in a letter to Houser how much he had learned at Ghana’s Independence Celebration.\footnote{Nyerere to Houser, 11 April 1957, Box 142, file 33, Houser and ACOA Papers.} The celebration, and support of Nkrumah’s leadership as Ghana regained independence, marked a new era of exchange in the black world.

**Consolidation of a bond: Randolph and Springer**

The swift action of Randolph in assisting East Africa’s newly formed unions illustrated the manner in which Randolph “championed actions which . . . rapidly move programs to help the trade unionists be a social force for good, [for they] recognized and saw the transition in Africa towards independence.”\footnote{Springer in discussion with Balanoff, 4 January 1977.} Springer returned to the United States in April 1957 to further, with Randolph, the implementation of the American Trade Union Scholarship Program for Africa. The program mission was “to bring African trade unionists to the United States for leadership training in responsible democratic trade unionism.”\footnote{Memorandum from Springer to Executive Board of ICFTU, 23 October 1957, Box 1, Maida Springer Papers.} US union leader Meany concurred with Randolph’s opinion on colonialism, but the quest for independence among African countries under British rule
caused irritation with a number of European trade unions. This resulted in the short life of the African Trade Union scholarship.\textsuperscript{151} Despite the program’s limited existence, there were noticeable accomplishments, and a small number of future leaders in East Africa did benefit from Randolph’s and Springer’s efforts.

Springer’s visit to Africa in January and February of 1957 served as a continuation of Randolph’s earlier fact-finding mission. Springer submitted a proposal to Randolph for the American Trade Union Scholarship Program for Africa on October 23, 1957.\textsuperscript{152} Randolph passed it on to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, with the support of George Meany and Walter Reuther.\textsuperscript{153} The council resolved to support the program and returned Springer to Tanganyika to base her project in Dar es Salaam. Randolph and Springer believed, as did many others, that this location was where “the heat and fire was going to be.”\textsuperscript{154} They recognized that East Africans had not been given the educational advantages and exposure that West Africans had and sought to bring a greater international focus to the area.\textsuperscript{155} The program was designed to work with trade unions in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.\textsuperscript{156} Its primary function was to coordinate the selection of scholarship candidates with trade union movements.\textsuperscript{157}

The Harvard University Labor Management School had no African participants before the development of Springer’s program.\textsuperscript{158} Springer argued that, until the Africans learned to negotiate as equals with full knowledge of contracts and agreements, African trade unions would be handicapped. It was extremely important, she said, that the trade unionists negotiate international agreements at a level of knowledge that afforded a proper exchange of views between employer and labor force.\textsuperscript{159} If the African trade

\textsuperscript{151} Springer in discussion with Balanoff, 4 January 1977, 103.
\textsuperscript{152} Memorandum from Springer to Executive Board, 23 October 1957.
\textsuperscript{153} Richards, \textit{Conversations with Maida Springer}, 179.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Memorandum from Springer to Executive Board, 23 October 1957.
\textsuperscript{157} Springer in discussion with Balanoff, 4 January 1977, 104.
\textsuperscript{158} Richards, \textit{Conversations with Maida Springer}, 177.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
unionist was trained for six to nine months and returned to his home with instruments of labor law, he could serve his country as well as the labor movement. *Jet* announced Springer’s trip in its “National Headliners” section, reporting that Springer had been appointed by the AFL-CIO to the leadership of the project for recruitment of African labor leaders for the Harvard University Labor Management School.160

Springer provided hospitality in the United States to Mboya and Nyerere between her 1956 and 1957 stints in East Africa. Nyerere returned to the United States to continue his meeting with the Trusteeship Committee, and Mboya’s first trip was to establish contact with US trade union leaders. Nyerere used Springer’s residence as his American point of contact on this trip to the United States.161 While Mboya and Nyerere were both engaging with human rights workers in the United States, they were also establishing bonds with each other, often extending hospitality and counsel to one another in East Africa during this period. This interaction surfaces when Mboya is preparing for a critical visit to the United States in April 1959. On March 6, 1959, the colonial police raided Mboya’s home in Kenya to find Nyerere was a guest.162

Before returning to East Africa in April 1957, Springer was required to meet with ICFTU affiliate officials in London for interviews.163 While there, she also met with her longtime colleague George Padmore.164 The African Scholarship Program had caused an uproar in British governmental circles.165 Padmore counseled Springer on protocol and made it a point to take her to the Ghanaian embassy in London during her visit. The interaction between Padmore and Springer prepared her for what was to come when she arrived in Tanganyika.166

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161 TANU’s Organizing Secretary-General to Springer, 15 July 1957, Box 1, Maida Springer Papers.
162 Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain*, 86.
163 Richards, *Conversations with Maida Springer*, 178.
164 Ibid. Springer did not provide the ICFTU officials name that she met with in London but said he was an equivalent of a CIA official.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
A large crowd of approximately 200 trade unionists and friends, including Julius Nyerere, welcomed Springer at the Dar es Salaam airport on October 18, 1957. However, the local colonial government was not thrilled with her arrival. Springer was subject to a rigorous customs search for forbidden literature and other goods upon her arrival in Dar es Salaam. Police rimmed the airport with sandbags, as if expecting a riot. On November 15, 1957, the Weekly News in East Africa published an article titled “Wind in the Sisal . . . A Busy Time for the Law.” The article referenced Springer in condescending and scathing terms: “That busy little American Negress who has done so much, both in cash and in kind for Kenya’s Federation of Labour, Mrs. Maida Springer, is active now in Tanganyika on a new ‘goodwill’ mission.” Clearly, such activism among Pan-Africanists did not appeal to the colonialists or the British administration in East Africa.

In Dar es Salaam Springer rented a space at 22 Wanyamwezi Street, where she based the work that took her to Nairobi and Uganda. Maynard Mpangala became like a son, and she became a part of his extended family. Mpangala assisted Springer without pay, and she counted on his daily contact when he was not out of town on business. Mpangala’s support in interpreting Kiswahili and East African culture for Springer was essential for accomplishing her labor union’s directives. The screening of potential candidates for the scholarships to attend the Harvard trade program was Springer’s primary objective.

This second stay for Springer in Tanganyika was a little over three months, and her project was met with political challenges from within ICFTU from the outset.

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167 Ibid, 180.
168 Ibid.
169 Mandawa to Springer, 23 November 1957, Box 1, Maida Springer Papers.
170 Ibid.
171 Springer to George Brown, 24 October 1957, Box 1, Maida Springer Papers.
172 Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer, 181.
173 For further details on European challenges to Randolph’s and Springer’s Harvard Labor Scholarship Program, see Richards, Maida Springer: Pan-Africanist and Richards, Conversations with Maida Springer.
Richards stated that “In both Kenya and Tanganyika, Springer witnessed the African labor movement hamstrung by numerous restrictions . . . little recognition” and an impoverished membership. Rather than the ten to twelve African candidates hoped for, only three actually were able to take advantage of the program. Rashidi Kawawa, Secretary General of TFL appointed by Governor Edward Twining, was selected by Randolph to attend the program based on his earlier contact in 1956 with Kawawa in Tanganyika. Springer selected Arthur Aggrey Ochwarda, Assistant General of KFL and head of the EPBCWU; Percival Patrick, press and research officer and education secretary for TFL, who also served as Springer’s secretary during her second stay in Tanganyika; and Dishan William Kiwauka from the Posts and Telegraphs Union of Uganda.

Springer received a telegram on December 10, 1957, from George Brown of the AFL-CIO instructing her to recruit no one as the African program had changed. Future plans to establish a school in East Africa became the alternative for training African leaders. Prior to this wire, Nyerere wrote Randolph about the importance of this AFL-CIO program in the training of Tanganyika’s future leaders and reiterated how colonialism had exploited the Tanganyikan by the lack of a provision for education. Springer’s accomplishments in guiding East African labor movements were stressed as well. Nyerere gave Springer credit for working a miracle in Uganda by reuniting the fragmented movement. In response, Randolph thanked Nyerere for his immeasurable comments that provided “realistic idealism” to meet the problems of Africa effectively, recognizing that Nyerere was closer to the problems in Africa.

Although Springer did not totally fulfill her goal of recruiting ten to twelve candidates for the Harvard program, engagement in this endeavor did broaden

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174 Randolph to Springer, 8 August 1957, Randolph Papers; Kawawa to Jonas Gilbert, 4 June 1957, ACOA/Houser Papers; Kawawa to Springer, 7 March 1958, Box 1, Springer Papers.
176 Brown to Springer, 10 December 1957, Box 1, Springer Papers.
177 Nyerere to Randolph, 7 December 1957, Randolph Papers.
178 Randolph to Nyerere, 17 December 1957, Randolph Papers.
Tanzanian/African American ties. Participation in the National Council of Negro
Women, Women’s Trade Union League, and the ILGWU in the United States furthered
Springer’s interest in women’s development in Africa. She befriended Bibi Titi
Mohammed, chair of the Women’s Section of TANU, on her first trip to Tanganyika. She
was present at the TANU mass rally that took place at Mwazi Moja upon Nyerere’s
return from his second trip to the United Nations. On this occasion Nyerere reported on
his United Nations visit to thousands of Tanganyikans. A photograph of the event shows
hundreds of Muslim Tanganyikan women dressed in black *bai buis*\(^\text{179}\) sitting together.
Springer was in awe, for it was understood that this kind of engagement was an unlikely
occurrence for Muslim women.\(^\text{180}\) Witnessing the event, Springer understood how TANU
developed nationalism through the activism and participation of its Women’s Section.\(^\text{181}\)
Springer felt that she and Bibi Titi shared a lot in common; they had both sacrificed a
great deal to the liberation struggle, including failed marriages.\(^\text{182}\) Throughout her life,
Springer supported African women in labor and lobbied for the inclusion of African
women in the International Labor Organization and the ICFTU. Similarly, Springer
supported projects of *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (Women’s Progress) in East Africa aimed
at advancing opportunities for women.\(^\text{183}\)

**The charge: The All African People’s Conference (AAPC)**

Just as Ghana’s independence celebration served as a new beginning for the black
world, the All African People’s Conference (AAPC) held in Accra, Ghana, December 5–13, 1958, set the stage for the drive for freedom of all Africans throughout the world. St.
Claire Drake, who at the time of this conference was the Administrator-in-Charge at the
University of Ghana’s Department of Sociology, described the attendees of this event as

\(^{179}\) A *bai buis* is a black garment worn by Muslim women over other clothing.
\(^{180}\) Richards, *Conversations with Maida Springer*, 191.
\(^{182}\) Richards, *Conversations with Maida Springer*, 123, 137.
“representatives of ... progressive political, nationalist, trade union, co-operative, youth, women’s and other organizations” from the continent, who had come together for the specific purpose of formulating and proclaiming an organic “African Personality.”184 In retrospect, Mboya felt that African unity received its greatest impetus from the AAPC.185 Three hundred delegates from sixty organizations and parties convened in Accra.186 Bill Sutherland served as hospitality officer, and his responsibilities were similar to the duties that he had held for Ghana’s independence celebration in 1957.187 Many African American leaders who had attended the Ghana independence celebration returned for the AAPC. Bond, Springer, Houser, and others among the individuals involved early in establishing Tanganyikan affairs in America were there.

Tanganyikan nationalists attended the AAPC as a strong and united organization. PAFMECA, of which TANU was a part, also kept a united front at the AAPC.188 There were many differences of opinion expressed, and it became clear that Pan-Africanism had shifted focus from a racial to a continental African entity. However, Nkrumah’s opening remarks acknowledged the presence of African descendants from abroad.189 Delighted to see so many members of the African diaspora, Nkrumah stated, “We take their presence here as a manifestation of their keen interest in our struggle for a free Africa. We must never forget that they are part of us.”190 Despite the differences, many gains were made through the interaction of black world leaders in one location. The opportunity to share information regarding problems that African nationalists faced throughout the continent benefitted all involved. Moreover, it allowed the further establishment of black world networks for future endeavors in liberation.

185 Nye, Pan-Africanism, 31.
186 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 34.
187 Ibid, 150.
188 Houser, No One Can Stop The Rain, 74.
190 Ibid.
Robert Williams, a founding board member of the AAI, suggested in 1953 that it would be beneficial if Bond attended gatherings of this nature in Africa, for it provided an advantageous moment to interact with a cross section of Africans from around the continent, as opposed to the expense of attempting to travel to numerous locations to meet with African leaders.\footnote{Williams to Bond, 17 July 1953, Box 18, folder 4, Bond Papers.}

**Horace Mann Bond and the Africa-America Institute (AAI)**

Throughout the 1950s, Horace Mann Bond promoted the scholarship of Africa. Bond presented the causes of new African countries to African Americans in an effort to foster a connection as well as an identity with this continent as the homeland of their ancestors.\footnote{Urban, *Black Scholar*, 149.} AAI began its planning for implementing its Teacher Placement Service in early 1959.\footnote{Africa-America Institute, Statement on Teacher Placement Service, 1 January 1959, Box 25, folder 52, Bond Papers.} A Scholarship Chart was presented at the trustee meeting at the first of the year. Since its founding in 1953 until December 31, 1958, AAI awarded 145 scholarships to students from fifteen African countries.\footnote{Africa-America Institute, Some Generalizations Extracted from the Scholarship Chart, Prepared for the Board Meeting on January 12, 1958, Box 51, folder 51, Bond Papers.} No breakdown was provided for this period, but 1958 statistics reveal that three out of sixty-six scholarships were given to Tanganyikans.\footnote{Ibid.}

In July of 1958 the AAI’s board began to explore appropriate hospitality for the upcoming visits of Nyerere and Guinean labor leader Sékou Touré.\footnote{Minutes for Africa-America Institute Board of Trustees Meeting-59-VIII, July 1, 1959, Bond Papers (hereafter cited as Minutes, Africa-America Institute); Sékou Touré became the first president of Guinea when it became an independent nation in October 1958.} In AAI’s board meeting of January 8, 1960, plans were made to include invitations to the wives of African leaders from the Women’s African Committee of AAI, although Marie Nyerere
would not take advantage of this opportunity.\textsuperscript{197} Nyerere was coming to the United States under a State Department grant. Plans were in the process for an evening talk on February 10, 1960, by Nyerere at the Biltmore Hotel in New York to be sponsored by AAI as a benefit for raising scholarship funds specifically for Tanganyikan students. Of the one hundred individuals invited, seventy-five had accepted by the first of February, which was deemed a gratifying rate of acceptance for this event.\textsuperscript{198}

*Jet* took great notice of Tanganyika during Nyerere’s spring 1960 tour, publishing a number of articles and tidbits on the country and its prominent citizens, who were now in the United States. Details of the black sorority Delta Sigma Theta’s sponsorship of TANU activist Lucy Lameck’s coast-to-coast tour of “negro” communities were featured prominently in an early February edition of *Jet*.\textsuperscript{199} Lameck was unique among TANU women activists, as she was young, Christian, and well educated, having attended Ruskin College in Oxford, England, and Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan.\textsuperscript{200} Her election as a member of the Moshi District committee of TANU in 1956\textsuperscript{201} demonstrated a harmonious plural society in Tanganyika.

Black media played close attention to the details of Nyerere’s stay in the US capital. The publication of Nyerere’s Washington, DC schedule of activities revealed that all his functions were sponsored by whites.\textsuperscript{202} *Jet*’s “Ticker Tape USA” posed a troubling question: “who was responsible for Nyerere not meeting Negro leaders?”\textsuperscript{203} The black community at large apparently did not see that AAI and ACOA were acting in their behalf to connect African and African American leaders. Significantly, the question reveals a community yearning for further connection with Nyerere.

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\textsuperscript{197} Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustees Annual Meeting 60-I, January 8, 1960.  
\textsuperscript{198} Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting 60-II, February 1, 1960.  
\textsuperscript{200} Geiger, *TANU Women*, 129–134.  
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{202} “Ticker Tape USA” *Jet*, February 18, 1960, 11.  
\textsuperscript{203} Ibid.
Another February issue of *Jet* featured a photo of Nyerere explaining the Tanganyikan voting box to Harry Heintzen of AAI and African affairs expert William Steen. Through such visual coverage, the magazine exposed Tanganyika’s political system and its culture to the general African American public. AAI and ACOA took great care in providing Nyerere extensive hospitality on this trip, resulting in a further commitment and involvement of these organizations in Tanganyika. John H. Johnson, owner of Johnson Publishing Company, publisher of *Negro Digest, Jet,* and *Ebony,* became further involved in the African affairs network through his election as a trustee to AAI’s Board in 1963.\(^{204}\)

### AAI’s focus on Tanganyika

At the October 17, 1960, AAI board meeting following the East Africa Airlift Program in Kenya, known as “The Kennedy Airlift,” L. Gray Cowan stated that he had the opportunity to observe the other end of the airlift program, which was the student-screening process.\(^{205}\) It is from this experience that Cowan recommended that an East African office needed to be established as soon as was feasible.\(^{206}\) Cowan noted that representation in this area of Africa would widen relations with the Central African Federation. Gordon P. Hagberg, director of AAI’s Washington office and former East African Public Affairs Officer stationed in Nairobi, Kenya, felt it was imperative to open an East Africa Office. Nyerere had expressed interest in the Teacher Placement Program. Arrangements were made to pay British teachers on the Tanganyikan scale and for the United Kingdom to supplement their salaries to induce British teachers to go to Tanganyika.

On January 15, 1961, the AAI open their office in Dar es Salaam,\(^{207}\) and E. Jefferson Murphy, former director of the Accra office, was appointed as its first director.

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\(^{204}\) Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting 63-I, February 4, 1964.

\(^{205}\) Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting 60-XI, October 17, 1960.

\(^{206}\) Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting 60-IX, October 17, 1960.

\(^{207}\) Africa-America Institute, Dar es Salaam Office Progress Report, June 1, 1961.
Proposals for four programs to be administered by the Dar office were presented to the board: an East African Regional Refugee Program, an African Wildlife Leadership Program, a Secretarial School for Tanganyika, and an Africa Forum Series. Murphy, collaborating with Harry Heintzen, Deputy Director of the Washington office, explored ideas for a Peace Corps project in Tanganyika known as “Operation Cooperative Schools.” Peter Goldmark, director of “Project Tanganyika,” approached AAI directly in its capacity as a liaison of education in Africa for support in implementing its summer program, which was stated to be similar to an existing program, Crossroads Africa. Each of these proposed projects were discussed at the May 1, 1961, board meeting, including implementation of the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), which was administered from the Ghana AAI office.

African specialists, such as Murphy, recognized a substantial flow of refugees from non-governing territories into Tanganyika prior to independence in 1961, and this proposal correctly predicted that the number of refugees would increase sharply in the future. The program primarily offered educational opportunities to refugees. By the spring of 1962, Murphy noted that Dar es Salaam was becoming a major gathering point for political refugees, and as a result he was beset with requests from refugee leaders for support and assistance in a wide range of areas. Kurasini International Education Center was opened in Dar es Salaam in 1962 specifically for this project. From 1962 to 1971, AAI administered the East African Refugee Program (EARP), providing

209 Murphy to Lloyd Steere, 5 April 1961, Bond Papers; Steere to Murphy, 12 April 1961, Bond Papers; Steere to Heintze, 13 April 1961, Bond Papers.
210 Ministry of Education, Tanganyika (J. B. Hooper) to Goldman, 4 April 1961; Goldman to Ministry of Education, Tanganyika, 21 April 1961; Goldman to Murphy, 21 April 1961; Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board Meeting, May 1, 1961.
211 Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board Meeting, May 1, 1961.
212 Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting, April 30, 1962.
education and training for southern African refugees to meet the needs of the newly forming nations.213

Tanganyika’s Ministers of Education, Commerce, and Industry approached AAI directly for assistance in the establishment of a secretarial school in Dar es Salaam for a designated group of women. An urgent need for trained women in diplomatic assignments necessitated the intensive training of personnel in English, clerical skills, and social norms. After four months, Murphy reported that, despite the rushed nature of the program, the scholarship secretaries system worked fairly well.214 Secretaries were initially trained on the job in Salisbury, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, and Kampala in East Africa. By April 1962, in answer to the strong appeal of several Tanganyikan leaders, AAI had taken steps for the creation of a school in Tanganyika to train fully qualified secretaries.215 In a correspondence to Bond on April 16, 1962, Waldemar Nielson, the AAI director, stated that he would allocate $40,000 to $50,000 towards this project.216

AAI and the African Leadership Wildlife Foundation, headed by federal Judge Russell Train, reached a verbal agreement on a joint project in May 1961.217 The program’s mission was to promote wildlife conservation in Africa through the development of wildlife management training programs for Africans. It was decided that the African Leadership Wildlife Foundation would provide funds for university expenses in addition to AAI’s reimbursement of administrative expenses. AAI screened, selected, placed, and monitored African students. At the May 1961 board of trustees meeting, Gordon Hagsberg presented this project, and after a brief discussion the proposal was unanimously approved.218 By July 31, 1962, ten students had been selected from

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214 Murphy to Lloyd Steere, 1 April 1961, Bond Papers.
215 Waldemar Nielson to Horace Mann Bond, 16 April 1962, Bond Papers.
216 Ibid.
217 Africa-America Institute, African Wildlife Leadership Project, Bond Papers.
218 Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board Meeting 61-V, May 1, 1961.
throughout Africa—seven from West Africa and three from East Africa.\textsuperscript{219} The three East African students were from Tanganyika, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Although the program was not administrated from the Dar office because of concern regarding readiness at the time,\textsuperscript{220} Tanganyika pledged, upon independence in 1961, to safeguard its abundant wildlife and natural environment, resulting in more than twenty-five percent of Tanzania’s land being protected through conservation—well above the world average.\textsuperscript{221}

In early 1962, the African Forum Series initiated a series of thirty-minute programs broadcast to 30 to 50 independent educational and commercial radio stations through the collaborating agency Broadcasting Foundation of America (BFA). These broadcasts were seen as a medium to supplement AAI’s \textit{Africa Report} in disseminating AAI’s service information and educational activities. The goal was to expose the US public to an authentic African perspective “without the . . . distorting prism of American journalism.”\textsuperscript{222} AAI’s Dar office drew upon refugee groups and exiled leaders as speakers, which furnished an excellent pool of individuals to offer to the US public insight into Africa’s crisis. An AAI representative from the Dar office initiated and supervised a number of programs aired from local East African radio stations.\textsuperscript{223} Correspondence to Bond from Nielsen on the progress of AAI’s ongoing projects indicated that the radio programs had limited support in the project’s first year, resulting in implementation on a minimal and experimental basis.\textsuperscript{224}

Once stationed in Tanganyika, Murphy saw firsthand the urgency of Tanganyikan nationalists’ requests for assistance in providing higher education for its citizens. The fact was, there were not enough sufficiently trained high school graduates to fill existing

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[219]{Memorandum from Robert L. Sherman to Lloyd Steere, 1961, Box 27, folder 56, Bond Papers.}
\footnotetext[220]{Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board Meeting 61-V, May 1, 1961.}
\footnotetext[221]{“AAI’s 23rd Annual Awards Gala,” \textit{The Africa-America Institute News and Events Archives}, http://www.aaionline.org/NewsAndEvent/168.aspx.}
\footnotetext[222]{Proposals to AAI Board for East African Refugee Program.}
\footnotetext[223]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[224]{Nielsen to Bond, 16 April 1962, Bond Papers.}
\end{footnotes}
vacancies in Tanganyika’s civil services and schools. Even though there were numerous programs administered by AAI and organizations from other countries assisting in the effort, the years of colonial restriction on indigenous education had resulted in an extreme disadvantage to this newly forming African nation. Murphy proposed “Operation Cooperation School” as an immediate remedy to the need.

Murphy and board members were aware of the hazards in projects that involved the Peace Corps, which had been attacked at the third All African People’s Conference in Cairo in March 1958. Thus, Murphy’s introductory letter, dated a month after the attack, suggested “soft pedaling” Peace Corps participation. African leaders’ suspicion of neocolonial activities initiated by the Western world was a frequent topic of discussion at that conference. The pros and cons of this venture stimulated extensive debate. The “Cooperative Schools” final discussion spanned two board meetings, May 1 and October 2, 1961.

In the argument for the project, it was clear that the African Americans structuring the program were aware of the developing ideology of Ujamaa (collective economics in this context) in Tanganyika’s nationalism, as evidenced by arguments presented by Bond, Hansberry, and Murphy. The proposed cooperative schools planned to tap Tanganyika’s rural population as a source of support for the schools. To be successful, the project would require well-rounded people, for the project extended outside the classroom. A farm was conceived not only to support the school, but also to work as a

225 Murphy to Loyd Steere, 5 April 1961, Bond Papers.
227 Murphy to Loyd Steere, 5 April 1961, Bond Papers.
229 Ujamaa literally translates as family ties or relationship. The concept in Tanzanian nationalism represented collective economic, which was commonly known as African socialism.
vehicle for educating and benefitting the local community. In May’s board meeting, Bond expressed his feelings that this idea had considerable merit and the cost was not out of line. He emphasized that the people of East Africa, more so than those of West Africa, were more oriented to community undertakings. Hansberry felt that such a community project was not uncommon throughout Africa.

Murphy wrote Loyd Steere, AAI’s Executive Vice President, inquiring whether he had spoken to Nyerere, as he was unclear on whether this project would fit into Tanganyika’s three-year development plan. Murphy had also spoken to Oscar Kambona in the Education Ministry, who agreed that priority should be given to building a school. The AAI board’s deliberation on the “Cooperative Schools” resulted in its rejection during the October 1961 board meeting. There was no indication of Nyerere’s feelings towards the project.

During this same time period, Nyerere received a letter from W. E. B. Du Bois, who was seeking Nyerere’s cooperation in his Encyclopedia Africana Project, and took the opportunity of the correspondence to congratulate Nyerere on his career. The correspondence closed with a sharp warning. Aware that the Peace Corps was coming to Tanganyika, Du Bois warned Nyerere to watch these persons carefully, stating, “Most of them [Peace Corps] will be well trained ‘nigger’ haters and filled with ideas of white superiority. Of course, there may be some exceptions.” The Peace Corps did enter Tanganyika in 1962, initially sending engineers in crop extension, then English teachers in 1963. Suspicions in 1969 of United States involvement in Vietnam and Tanzania’s philosophy of African socialism led to a phasing out of the Peace Corps for ten years. Likewise, suspicion of large nonprofit foundation programs was almost just as great, for

231 Minutes, Africa-America Institute Board of Trustee Meeting-6-1V, May 1, 1961.
232 Murphy to Steere, 27 July 1961, Bond Papers.
233 Du Bois to Nyerere, 28 April 1961, W. E. B. Du Bois’s archival microfilm, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
some in government assumed most Americans were CIA agents until proven to be otherwise.\textsuperscript{235}

Bond’s support for the Peace Corps project provides a glimpse of how extremely pro-American and anticommunist he was. This was not the norm for black nationalists, nor did it necessarily endear him to African leaders.\textsuperscript{236} Government directives of the Cold War made it extremely difficult for African American activists to provide support for African causes free of strings from the Cold War. In March of 1961 Du Bois was unable to attend the International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris because the US State Department was holding his passport, but he sent a message saying, in part, “any American Negro traveling abroad today must either not care about Negroes or say what the State Department wishes him to say.”\textsuperscript{237} Liberal Pan-Africanists, with an anticommunist approach to African affairs, as opposed to the earlier leftist engagement of Du Bois, were now required.\textsuperscript{238} Bond understood that the reason America was not winning the Cold War in Africa was because this segment of the West had more to gain from the raw resources of Africa than any other part of the world.\textsuperscript{239} But Bond’s sole focus was on the educational needs of the continent. As such, he functioned as a middleman between American capital and the newly developing nations, which required him to behave in a pro-American manner.\textsuperscript{240}

As a founding member of the Institute for African-American Relations (IAAR), later known as AAI, Bond faced the question of whether the black and white races could work together in the United States. While corresponding with Robert Williams, Bond reached a conclusion that blacks would follow an avowedly pro-African nationalist

\textsuperscript{235} Charles R. Swift, \textit{Dar Days: The Early Years in Tanzania} (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002), 83.
\textsuperscript{236} Urban, \textit{Black Scholar}, 158.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid, 205.
\textsuperscript{239} Urban, \textit{Black Scholar}, 165.
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid, 154.
ideology, while whites explored ideas that were possibly not anticolonial. This was considered a necessity to obtain funding from foundations and governmental agencies. When the organization changed its name in 1958 to AAI, the purpose statement was redrawn by the stipulation of Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation, the funding entity.

AAI took a noticeable change in direction at this point. William Steen, an African Area Specialist, who was a founding member of IAAR and then worked for the US Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, wrote Bond in detail regarding these changes before the April 30, 1962, board meeting. He warned Bond to pay close attention to the “winds of change” that were occurring in the organization. Steen called Bond’s attention to “the people behind the scenes in DC” concerned about the “lily-white” look of the new expansion. Steen described the office atmosphere since the change of administration as one with little respect for people of color and pointed to the fact that he should look beyond the façade that is presented when African American board members visit the office, for “you would think ‘Uncle Tom’ had changed his race.” This information was not a secret to African American society. A number of black publications diligently followed African affairs, whether on the continent or in US foreign policy towards Africa. Jet’s “DC hotline,” following the appointment for the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in 1969, reported that a leading contender for the post was Waldemar Nielsen, president of the AAI, “a conduit for CIA money abroad.” The news article brought attention to the fact that this agency was founded by African Americans and pointed to the fact that, although the late Hansberry and other blacks were the founders, representatives in business and industry had not just taken over AAI, but had chased away a number of black board members.

Two of the organizations in which Bond was a founding member, AAI and American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) were exposed as entities that the CIA

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241 Ibid.
243 Ibid.
244 “DC—Hotline” Jet, April 17, 1969, 13.
secretly financed in the first half of 1967. As noted earlier in the chapter, the black press had observed the changing position of AAI, for in 1959 one of the oldest black newspapers, the *New York Age*, published an article dubbing AAI’s approach in its assistance as a “Gentle Imperialism for Africa.” By 1962, following the directional change by AAI, Bond remained only as inactive board member for a short period. AMSAC denied any knowledge of secret government funding, and no trace of Bond’s reactions to allegations of AAI or AMSAC ties to the CIA have been found. Bond’s biographer, Wayne Urban, suggests, “The real question . . . is not whether or not Horace Bond knew of the ties between AMSAC and the CIA [but] instead how to interpret most fairly his actions as a representative of African Americans in Africa.” Higher education was provided to Africans at this critical time, and America’s knowledge of Africa and the approach to the study of Africa was broadened during Bond’s active stint on AAI’s board. Bond had managed to maneuver within the rigid constraints of the Cold War to assist in providing a crucial tool of nation building for Tanganyika.

Bond represented a liberal, anticommunist approach to African affairs, whereas the previous leading black nationalists, such as Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois, had been described as intellectuals of leftist engagement. The Cold War rendered previous leftist approaches null and void, for at this time both Robeson and Du Bois were on the nation’s watch list. The interests and approaches of African Americans involved in the Tanzanian/African American linkage were very diverse, necessitated by the need to operate within the limits set by this undeclared war. Because of the challenges of the Cold War, the Tanzanian/African American linkages utilized all vehicles necessary to gain the necessary tools to assist Tanganyika’s thrust into independence.

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247 Bond’s papers indicate his non-attendance in 1962. All AAI correspondence ends after 1963.
250 Ibid.
Conclusion

By the dawn of Tanganyika’s independence, the African American and Tanganyikan linkage had solidified. Black internationalism facilitated Tanganyikan nationalists’ anticolonial movement. An introduction to the international forefront was met by enthusiastic African American Pan-Africanists and human rights workers in the United States. Marealle, Mpangala, and Nyerere’s limited connection began with the Seatons, Randolph, Springer, and Bond, whose diligent efforts to assist East African nationalists in readying the country for independence through their affiliations increased the linkage and received the attention of the black press in the United States and Tanganyika. This was in no way a one-way street, for African Americans looked to Tanganyika’s independence as a motivator for their own struggle against racial injustice in the United States. Black internationalism permitted the interaction of black nationalists within the black hub and served to construct a bridge between a segment of the African Atlantic diaspora and East Africa. Solidification of this relationship began a long-term connection and the development of a viable working partnership to address total black liberation in the beginning stages of Tanganyika’s sovereignty.
Chapter Two
An African/Diaspora Linkage at the Dawn of African Independence

A generation of African Americans grew up concomitantly with the civil rights movement and the African liberation struggles.¹ The Kiswahili rallying cry *Uhuru!* stretched far beyond the African shores thanks to the black press, black internationalism, and a newfound racial consciousness in the African diaspora. Kiswahili served as a political language in East Africa and was a key factor in the formation of unity for Tanganyika’s anticolonial movements.² Equally significant was the adoption of Kiswahili by black America to establish an African identity within the formation of black cultural nationalism. The impact of Tanzania’s implementation of African socialism on the black community in the evolution of the civil rights movement had major international ramifications. African Americans began to look to Africa for identity and answers to overcoming the long racial struggles in the United States. A decade of interaction between Tanganyikan nationalists and US Pan-Africanists created a strong bond that allowed African Americans a space in Africa through Tanganyika to contribute to the building of a nation and the mission of total African liberation in Sub-Saharan Africa. This chapter traces the entry of Kiswahili into the United States from the rise in African American/Tanganyikan linkage’s black internationalism which triggered the extension of the interest in Tanganyikan nationalism from the black elite to the masses in the early years of Tanganyika’s independence.

The United States and the recognition of an independent Tanganyika

African Americans’ close connections with Tanganyikans was recognized by the US State Department at the dawn of its independence. In preparation for the celebration

of Tanganyika’s independence the United States Information Agency (USIA) focused on African American Pan-Africanists who had provided assistance to Tanganyika during its anticolonialism struggle. The USIA sought to highlight past US associations with Tanganyika during its anticolonial movements. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse, received a letter from Stella E. Davis, a cultural affairs officer, who was posted in Dar es Salaam as a specialist in public affairs. Davis was requesting information from Mays regarding the results of a study focusing on African students in the United States, some of whom had attended Morehouse. The USIA was planning an exhibit for the independence celebration in Tanganyika and Davis felt that the study of African students in the United States would yield interesting information and demonstrate the “long-time connections between Tanganyika and the United States.” In her letter, Davis recalled meeting Mays briefly at Atlanta University, and the inside address of the correspondence was listed as Atlanta University. Mays politely suggested that Davis surely meant Horace Mann Bond, President of Atlanta University, to whom he had forwarded a copy of her letter. Mays also stated that he himself had not studied African students in the United States and that Bond would have the most extensive information on this topic.

Although this information was forwarded on to Bond, Bond took no action, yet AAI trustees did address the topic. At the October 2, 1961, AAI Board of Trustees meeting at which Bond was present, the topic of Tanganyika’s independence celebration was on the agenda. A letter from John W. Davis, President Emeritus of West Virginia State College and a trustee on the AAI Board, was presented, suggesting the institute be officially represented at the celebration scheduled in December of that year. A decision

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4 Davis to Mays, 27 September 1961.
5 Ibid.
6 Davis to Mays, 27 September 1961. Davis has mistakenly confused Horace Mann Bond, the president of Atlanta University, with Benjamin Mays, the president of Morehouse University.
7 Mays to Davis, 4 October 1961.
8 Minutes of Africa-America Institute Board of Trustees Meeting 61-IX, October 2, 1961, Bond Papers (hereafter cited as Minutes, Africa-America Institute).
on this matter was deferred and no further action was taken by AAI. Despite lack of action by AAI, diverse Pan-African celebrations of Tanganyika’s independence across the United States displayed the great esteem the black community held for Tanganyika. There were also three celebrations by three African student organizations: the East African Student Association in Washington, DC, the African Student Union of Atlanta, and the East African Students Union in the Americas in New York.

AAI’s Africa House hosted students from East Africa and thus facilitated the formation of the East African Student Association (EASA) in 1960 with approximately twenty members. EASA began plans in October 1961 for a celebration in Washington, DC. A private ball was held at the Roosevelt Hotel for forty East African students and their guests to celebrate Tanganyika’s independence. This was a celebration by East African students who had benefitted from the programs that AAI administered to assist African students who studied in the United States.

The East African Students Union in the Americas in New York held a dance on December 8 at the Manhattan Center. Guest of honor and chief speaker was Dr. Vedasto Kyaruzi, Ambassador Designate of Tanganyika. The New York Amsterdam News captured a picture of the dignitary in a “pensive mood” for his introduction to the local African American community. In Atlanta, the African Student Union commemoration covered the entire week from December 4 to 10. Andrew Makhene spoke at Spelman College on December 4, James Bush spoke at Clark College on December 5, and Festo Mella spoke at Morris Brown College on December 8. On the eve of Tanganyika’s independence, there was a dance held in Roosevelt Hall. The celebration ended with

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9 Appendix B, Summary of Activities at Africa House for the Quarter ended December 31, 1961, Bond Papers.
dinner where Father Scott of the Canterbury Association in Atlanta honored the African students.

Tanganyika’s independence celebrations in the United States were not limited to East African students. The House of Knowledge in Chicago held a two-day event.\textsuperscript{12} The first night featured African dance performances, talks on the history of Africans and African Americans, and African food. Among those who spoke that evening were Carter G. Woodson, who in 1926 launched Negro History Week; Todd Matshikiza, a South African writer, jazz musician and composer; and Abioseh Nichol, a Sierra Leonean academic, diplomat, writer, and poet. The second night featured movies on Kenya, Rhodesia, West Africa, and Tanganyika.

The House of Knowledge—also known as the World Wide Friends of Africa—was founded in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{13} Its founder and director, Frederick H. Hammurabi, had taken his African last name in the 1930s, professing “a race without knowledge of its history is like a tree without roots.”\textsuperscript{14} Hammurabi extended Woodson’s observance of Negro History Week to the present African American History Month.\textsuperscript{15} He was an early advisor to African Americans interested in traveling to Africa, offering them the information they would need to successfully navigate the vagaries of international travel and particularly the cultural differences they were sure to encounter. By the end of December 1961 festivities were evolving from a political to a cultural format. A \textit{New York Amsterdam News} article, “‘Pombe Party’ Tanganyikans’ Gay Custom,” gave an alternative to the usual cocktail party.\textsuperscript{16} George A. Johnson, a civil engineer and Peace Corps volunteer, suggested a genuine East African pombe party. Pombe is an East African home-brewed beer that Johnson said the Peace Corps men enjoyed while working in Tanganyika.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
Johnson also recommended getting some “good Tanganyikan musicians to liven up things.”

Nyerere’s letter thanking Houser for his cable of good wishes acknowledged the Uhuru celebrations for Tanganyika in the United States. The new Prime Minister sent his hopes that Houser’s celebration went off as successfully as theirs had. Celebrations of Tanganyika’s independence simultaneously in Tanganyika and the US black community signaled the completion of a transnational bridge that began with the 1940s/1950s linkages between Tanganyikans and US human rights workers and African American networks.

**Tanganyika’s independence celebration noted in the United States**

From Tanganyikan nationalists’ announcement of their request for UN authority to end the trusteeship in 1960 to its independence on December 9, 1961, and its status as a republic exactly a year later in 1962, the black press and *New York Times* reported extensively on the events in this country. This coverage documented American attendance at Tanganyikan independence celebrations and African American sentiments toward Tanganyika’s independence. In its December 14, 1961 issue, *Jet*’s feature column, “From the Notebook,” announced the scheduled attendance of Ralph Bunche and Maida Springer at Tanganyika’s independence celebration. Details on President John F. Kennedy’s official delegation were covered in the *New York Amsterdam News, Chicago Daily Defender,* and *The Cleveland Call and Post.* Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Undersecretary of Commerce in the Kennedy administration, headed the five-man US delegation. The delegation was comprised of Senator Clayborne Pell of Rhode Island;

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17 Nyerere to Houser, 21 December 1961, American Committee on Africa papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
Representative Barrett O’Hara of Illinois, Chairman of the African Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Morris Abram, former counsel for the Peace Corps; and Thomas W. Young, African American publisher of the weekly *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. Mary Joe Kasindi, a Tanganyikan student studying at St. Mary’s College, Notre Dame returned to Tanganyika for the celebration aboard the military air transport with the US delegation. In 1958, Kasindi, brought to the United States on a four-year scholarship, was the youngest member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council.

“On the Town with Thomasina Norford,” published in *New York Amsterdam News*, spotlighted two New Yorkers invited to Tanganyika’s independence celebration. Norford described the attendees as the “loveable and brilliant Lester Granger and Maida Springer.” Granger occasionally wrote for the *New York Amsterdam News* editorial column “Manhattan and Beyond.” Springer’s acquaintance with Granger stemmed from her childhood attendance at the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth, a boarding school in Bordentown, New Jersey. Granger had been an extension worker at the school during Springer’s attendance from 1923 to 1926. At the time of his attendance at Tanganyika’s independence celebration, Granger was ending a twenty-year stint as Director of the National Urban League and entering his term as President of the International Conference of Social Work. Prior to his arrival in Tanganyika for the celebration, he had been engaged in a series of conferences in Africa with Welfare Ministers in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Senegal. Maida Springer and her mother, Adina Carrington, were invited to the Tanganyikan celebration as personal guests of the Prime Minister. Their trip to Africa served more than one purpose; prior to

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the independence celebration, they were scheduled to attend Tom Mboya’s wedding. However, Springer was ill upon arrival in Tanganyika and was taken directly to Aga Khan Hospital, where she underwent surgery and remained for most of her extended stay in Africa.25

When the New York Times reported Tanganyika’s new status as a republic, included was a mention that Quaker human rights worker Anton Nelson was one of three who climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro to unfurl the green, gold, and black Tanganyikan flag on the summit of Africa’s highest peak, simultaneously with the flag that was exchanged at the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam in 1962.26 This was a fitting privilege, as Nelson was among the earliest of US activists who moved themselves and their families to Tanganyika to assist the Meru Coffee Cooperative and TANU during the anticolonial movement.

In the Washington Afro-American News the “Report from Europe” column described the delight felt by African Americans in Tanganyika’s independence. These sentiments were held beyond the circles of Pan-Africanists and human rights workers who had directly assisted in Tanganyika’s anticolonial struggles. In the spring of 1961, for instance, Mahalia Jackson, the internationally renowned African American gospel singer, was performing a series of concerts in the United Kingdom and Paris. Ollie Stewart from the Afro-American News interviewed Jackson in Paris during her tour.27 The iconic singer found “great delight” in Tanganyika’s upcoming self-government on May 1 and full independence in December of 1961. Jackson told Stewart that she had personal reasons for being pleased at Tanganyika’s accomplishment. In March 1960 Pope John XXIII elected Laurean Rugambwa from Tanganyika as the first African cardinal. Jackson met Cardinal Rugambwa in an arranged meeting in Rome the year of his appointment.

At the time of Jackson’s interview in Europe, *Jet* featured a photograph of Cardinal Rugambwa in Chicago with Anglo-American pastor Father Joseph G. Richard, pastor of Holy Angels Catholic Church, paying tribute to Rugambwa by kneeling and kissing his hand. In Mahalia Jackson’s interview, she spoke not only of the favorable impression that Nyerere made on Americans, but also acknowledged Tanganyika’s challenges as a nation. Jackson had to admit that before meeting with the cardinal she had no idea where Tanganyika was; she had to look it up on a map before her arranged meeting with him. But now, she stated, “not only do I have a mental picture of its location but know something about its importance.” Jackson spoke of Tanganyika’s production of sisal, informing Stewart of its usage in rope making and that Tanganyika was the largest producer of sisal in the world. Yet she pondered whether Africa’s production would go up as it emerged from the old era to the new. She surmised that “nobody can say . . . it should be interesting to watch in the next decade.” This final comment reflected the strength of racial consciousness obtained from the commonly experienced injustices of racism suffered throughout the black world.

Jackson indicated that much of her information on Tanganyika was from previous conversations with Dick Campbell, a black theatrical producer. Campbell was serving as a field consultant in Africa for the State Department’s International Cultural Exchange Program. In an interview with Campbell almost a year prior to Jackson’s, Steward spotlighted his fourteen-week tour of Africa with musician Herbie Mann, where Campbell also spoke of his acquaintance with Cardinal Rugambwa. For their African American audience, the black press maintained constant documentation of African Americans involved with the African struggles for independence.

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
Documenting the US observation of Tanganyika’s independence celebration

Mark Starr, an ACOA national committee member and longtime ILGWU educational department colleague of Maida Springer, recapped the 1961 Tanganyikan celebration in a letter to George Houser. Starr was in Tanganyika from 1960 to 1961 as an expert from the International Labor Office (ILO). His role was to advise the Tanganyika Federation of Labor (TFL) on organization and strategies for the workers’ education activities.\(^\text{32}\) Much of Starr’s time when giving technical assistance to labor unions was spent with Springer’s contacts in nationalist and labor movements established from her 1950s trips.\(^\text{33}\) Starr prefaced his recap of the ceremonial events by stating that Houser should ask Ralph Bunche, Lester Granger, or Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. for their impressions, because as the VIPs they had access to more formal ceremonies and festivities than he did.\(^\text{34}\) Bunche and Granger were well-known figures in the black community. Both were Pan-Africanists who advised various sectors of the US government on African affairs.

Ralph Bunche was the first African American to receive a doctorate in political science from Harvard University. A Rosenwald Fellowship at Harvard enabled him to conduct research in Africa for his dissertation that compared French rule in Togoland and Dahomey.\(^\text{35}\) From the 1940s to the 1960s Bunche was a leading expert on African affairs and colonialism. As such, during World War II, Bunche advised the US Department of State and the US military on Africa’s colonial areas of strategic military importance.\(^\text{36}\) In 1946, UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie appropriated Bunche from the US Department of State to head the Trusteeship Division. This Trusteeship Division, under which the Tanganyikan territory was ruled from the end of World War II to its independence, was

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\(^{34}\) Starr to Houser, 11 December 1961, American Committee on Africa Papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.


\(^{36}\) Ibid.
designed to oversee the administration of and the transition to self-government of occupied areas around the world. Bunche represented the Third Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, at Tanganyika’s independence celebration. Immediately after attending the ceremonies in Tanganyika, Bunche made a return visit to the troubled Congo before returning to the United States.38

The Norfolk Journal and Guide published two articles detailing Franklin Roosevelt Jr.’s involvement in this great occasion. On December 9, 1961, the Journal and Guide announced Roosevelt as head of the US party attending the official Tanganyikan independence celebration.39 Roosevelt delivered a message to Nyerere as Kennedy’s personal representative on December 9, 1961.40 In this message, President Kennedy expressed his gratitude for Tanganyika’s “example in the exercise of human rights in which . . . different racial origins band as one to the task of economic and social progress.”41 Freedom Rides in May of 1961 indicated the United States had much to learn from Tanganyika’s example of racial equality. Despite the continuous racial oppression of blacks in the United States at this time, Ralph Bunche, the first black Nobel Prize winner,42 arrived at this ceremony with the distinguished guests and members of the Tanganyikan government as a UN representative.43 “Roosevelt, Jr. led the US delegation and a ‘charming’ Tanganyikan girl into the independence celebrations.”44 He carried as

41 Ibid.
42 African American Ralph Bunche was recipient of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize. The first black African to receive the prize was Albert John Luthuli of South Africa, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.
gifts a plastic world globe on a mahogany base and an autographed photograph of President Kennedy from the White House, which were presented to Nyerere during the ceremony. A pledge of financial assistance was delivered by Roosevelt on behalf of President Kennedy.\textsuperscript{45}

Accounts of Tanganyika’s independence celebration from Lester Granger and Morris Abrams appeared in the \textit{New York Amsterdam News} and the \textit{Atlanta Daily News}. Granger’s commentary was written from the perspective of his personal involvement with Julius Nyerere. Recalling his meeting three years prior with Nyerere, “the slender whiplash of a leader of Tanganyika National Union,” Granger reports he had made a promise on that occasion “that when [Nyerere’s] organization should win its fight for independence, I would come from wherever it should be physically possible to ‘jubilate’ at the occasion. So there I was.”\textsuperscript{46}

Commenting on American writers’ remarks that consistently insisted Tanganyika’s independence was a “victory for ‘moderation,’ ” Granger asserted, “There has been nothing moderate about Nyerere’s drive for self-government by Africans. It is a victory of patriotic intelligence against greed and exploitation.”\textsuperscript{48} Granger’s personal pride comes forth from the common kinship of racial consciousness in his correction of Nyerere’s “moderate” characterization. Vincent B. Thompson argued that, from the early 1800s, there had been a Pan-African tradition in the Americas, when he stated, “there was always a group constituting a kind of leadership that always thought about Africa and felt some kinship.”\textsuperscript{49} Granger’s defense of Nyerere’s achievements in Tanganyika’s striving

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} Vincent B. Thompson, \textit{Africans of the Diaspora: The Evolution of African Consciousness and Leadership in the Americas (From Slavery to the 1920s)} (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2000), 5.
for liberation was not a new phenomenon but rather a common practice for Atlantic African diaspora leaders in their alignment with Africa.

An article that appeared in the *Atlanta Daily World* detailed Atlanta Jewish attorney Morris Abram’s attendance at the independence celebration. Abram represented the Peace Corps, as its former chief legal counsel, in the US delegation. An idea from President Kennedy’s 1960 presidential campaign, the Peace Corps was authorized by the US Congress only three months prior to the independence celebration. Tanganyika and Ghana were the initial countries first visited by groups of Peace Corps volunteers. The *Atlanta Daily World*’s reporter pointed out the high praise Abrams brought back for the newly independent nation, quoting Abrams as stating, “Independence has released enormous energy and Julius Nyerere [would] make an excellent head of government.” He witnessed “thousands . . . on the brink of poverty” but “enormous friendship radiate[d] from the people toward the Europeans and West.” Tanganyikans’ friendliness towards the West was perceived by Abrams as a major achievement. Sentiments expressed by Abram were that of an American government bureaucrat hopeful for a successful relationship that would maintain an alliance of a developing country to the Western hemisphere during the Cold War.

These two articles recognized Nyerere’s capability to successfully lead Tanganyika into sovereign nationhood. Although both were published in the black press, there were marked differences in the tones of each newspaper’s tribute. Beyond the fact that one of these articles was written by an African American and the other was not, the depths of the personal connection between Granger and Nyerere appears. Granger’s relationship was apparent from his acknowledgment of the promise made to Nyerere during the 1950s, a promise that the writer fulfilled. Camaraderie generated the personal pride which Granger took in delineating the brilliance in Nyerere’s victory, rather than simply giving praise for his accomplishments. Despite time and distance global racial subjugation matured the connection of Africa to its diaspora. Race consciousness bonded

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Africa and its distant cousins in the Western world, so that any liberation from racial oppression’s denigration was regarded as a victory for the black world.

**Tanganyika entering the global arena**

In his correspondence to George Houser, Mark Starr mentioned that the US offer of $10 million for loans was front page news in Tanganyika. US official foreign policies in Tanganyika, such as the financial loans for development or the maize previously sent for famine relief mentioned in Starr’s letter to Houser, did not go unnoticed by the black press in the United States or the *New York Times*. After the announcement of Tanganyika’s forthcoming independence, articles on the country’s development program, its needs, and wariness of foreign assistance were published in the black press. Such analysis kept the American black community informed of the direction the new nation was taking. Details of Tanganyika’s three-year development program concentrated on three fields: education, agriculture, and communications. The economy of the country was based mainly on the production of sisal, cotton, coffee, and diamonds. And although some of the money for development was raised in the country, Tanganyika looked to Britain and the United States for help. An interview with Nyerere in the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported the prime minister’s caution in receiving funds from the United States. Nyerere reminded the reporter that in the past the United States had “sabotaged and frustrated” African independence movements. When asked for an example of sabotage, the prime minister pointed to the US voting record at the United

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53. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
Nations. Nyerere’s example exposed the 1955 US opposition at the UN Trusteeship meeting to Tanganyika’s efforts to set an independence date.

Tanganyikan leaders worried that the amount of time taken in the United States examining their projects would be too long, as they remembered a $2-million loan granted for a highway construction project took two years to negotiate due to red tape in Washington.56 Tanganyika’s needs were apparent when the Ingalls article in The New York Times compared Tanganika’s reserves at independence to Ghana’s. Four years prior, Ghana had at its independence $700 million in reserves, whereas Tanganyika only had $11 million left in reserve at the start of its independence. The New York Amsterdam News published an article on Tanganyika’s economic status at independence that gave the black community a slightly different point of view. “Rough Sledding Ahead: Tanganyika Facing 1 Million Deficit” gave the reality of the $11 million in reserves.57 It left a budget deficit of $1 billion in the country’s first year as a nation, a factor The New York Times ignored. Ingalls’s article did point out Tanganyika’s need for foreign aid; however, Tanganyikans understood that they needed funds on reasonable terms. This factor was imperative in enabling their country to get things done quickly and at the lowest possible cost.58 Tanganyikans were frightened that the United States would insist the money be used exclusively to buy American goods and that any contracts for future services would have to be made from American companies.59 These prices were much higher than they could afford. Yet by Tanganyika’s independence, Nyerere did note a shift in the Kennedy administration policy.60

As Tanganyika laid out its future agenda, its position on an independent foreign policy became apparent. The New York Times reported that Nyerere had stated that

56 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
“Tanganyika would not align herself with any world bloc, but he ardently disapproved of the word ‘nonalignment.’” 61 The New York Times published the Tanganyikan prime minister’s warning to the newly independent Tanganyika that its future could not be assured until all Africa was free. 62 This was the same affirmation that Nkrumah gave at Ghana’s independence celebration four years prior. Gaining independence was a stepping stone for this country’s mission in obtaining human rights for Africans on the continent and beyond.

The Ingalls articles written at the dawn of Tanganyikan and Kenyan independence highlighted East Africa’s determination to run its own affairs. 63 Two events in Tanganyika and Kenya at the beginning of December 1961 contributed to Ingalls’s conclusion. In Kenya, Tom Mboya led a campaign that culminated in the Kenya Legislative Council adopting a resolution calling for a solution to the problem of the British military bases. Kenyan nationalists sought a plan that was “compatible with the true interests of a sovereign Kenya.” 64 In the same week, the Tanganyikan government’s decision to not take over existing British foreign agreements established under the territory’s administrative authority affected this new country’s relationship with other nations. Belgium lost its port facilities at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika, which were built by Belgium at a cost of $14 million under treaties signed with the British in 1921 and 1951. These treaties, which granted to Belgium a lease in perpetuity, were not to be honored by the new government. 65 The Kenyan and Tanganyikan governmental positions towards the European presence in their countries at the dawn of their sovereignty were a significant indicator of East Africa’s united quest for

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62 Ingalls, “U.S. Offers Tanganyika $10,000,000.”
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
self-determination. East African leaders’ united desire for “true” independence from their prior colonial yoke revealed the existence of an active multifaceted Pan-Africanism.

Mboya and Nyerere’s positions on British troops in Kenya and Belgium’s perpetual access to the Tanganyikan ports illuminated the ongoing struggle for Uhuru. Nyerere’s rationale given in the Tanganyika National Assembly for terminating Belgium’s lease declared that “A lease in perpetuity of land in the territory of Tanganyika is not something which is compatible with the sovereignty of Tanganyika when made by an authority [whose] own rights in Tanganyika were for a limited duration.” During this same period, Mboya contended British bases in Kenya after independence placed his country in an embarrassing position in the Pan-African and international scene. The Kenyan nationalist explained that if British troops were allowed to remain in his country, “there would be doubts about the country’s true independence and people might think Kenya was a tool in the hands of British neo-colonialism.”

In 1962 Nyerere published “The Second Scramble,” a pamphlet based on a speech he delivered in 1961 at the World Assembly of Youth Conference in Dar es Salaam. In his pamphlet and speech, Nyerere pointed out that previous events in the Congo “demonstrated it was possible for a colonial owner to leave by the front door, and the same or different external forces . . . come in by the back.” The Second Scramble for Africa and Asia was believed only a scramble between the capitalist powers. This analogy illustrated too often the weaker nations of the globe were regarded as no more than pawns in the Cold War conflict. Although there is no documentation that Mboya’s and Nyerere’s actions were coordinated, the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) conferences held from 1958 to 1962 were forums for

67 Ingalls, “Africans Display A Desire to Rule.”
68 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
discussions for African leaders. It is highly likely, because of the longstanding relationship between black nationalists in this region, that these matters were discussed. As Mboya stated, the embarrassment for Kenya would come from Pan-African and international circles if British troops remained on its soil. The importance Mboya placed on Pan-African opinions in this matter indicated the reverence East African leaders placed in this form of African unity. The self-determination displayed by Mboya and Nyerere in confronting the West is a result of the interaction between East African nationalists’ engagement in regional Pan-Africanism at the dawn of African independence. The appearance and incorporation of the chant Uhuru! in black America serves as an example of racial Pan-Africanism that rises from black solidarity between African Americans and Tanzanians and the power of the black press.

A liberation language surfaces in the United States

Between 1959 and 1961 the Kiswahili term uhuru was referenced in numerous New York Times articles. Uhuru was quoted in these Times articles as the chant from public anticolonial rallies in Tanganyika, Kenya, and the Congo. In the article “Self-Rule is Set for Tanganyika,” Leonard Ingalls defined uhuru as a word for freedom and the rallying cry of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). But in the publishing of “Africans Display a Desire to Rule,” it is evident that The New York Times correspondent could not perceive the reality of Pan-Africanism from his coverage of events at and prior to the independence of Kenya and Tanganyika. No mention was made of PAFMECA or the possibility of any connection between Kenya and Tanganyika in the 1961 articles. Only one short paragraph from UPI in the Times in 1958 announced the formation of PAFMECA. In two sentences it reported that political leaders from five British territories—“native leaders of Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Kenya and Zanzibar”—joined together to combat imperialism and “coordinate non-violent

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nationalist efforts.” By 1959 PAFMECA also represented the Belgian Congo. A common concept of liberation emerges in three *New York Times* articles referencing member countries of PAFMECA and the usage of the slogan *Uhuru*. Ingalls had not recognized the common political language of Kiswahili that linked these three countries or the formalization of PAFMECA through which they practiced Pan-Africanism.

In 1959 the *New York Amsterdam News* printed the translation for *Uhuru* on the front page in an article highlighting an appearance by Tom Mboya in New York. “‘Freedom Now!’ – Tom Mboya,” provided coverage of an Africa Freedom Day commemoration. Mboya spoke to a filled Carnegie Hall audience of 3,000, “made up of 30% whites.” *Uhuru! Uhuru! Uhuru!* roared through Carnegie Hall, a symbolic gesture of empathy with the “cause of 150,000,000 Africans still under European rule.” Granger’s commentary in the *New York Amsterdam News* on Tanganyika’s independence described Nyerere raising his hand for the *Uhuru* greeting, indicating a signal of action with which this Pan-Africanist personally connected. Whereas the mainstream *New York Times* literally translated this term as “freedom,” the US black press understood that *Uhuru* went beyond the simplified definition of this singular translation. As with any term in a given society’s language, there exists more than one meaning for a word. As such, *Uhuru* when translated from Kiswahili to English, could mean independence, freedom, or liberty. In this instance liberty is the more appropriate usage. African nationalism’s terminology deemed liberation an indicator that initiatives were taken by African nationalists.* Freedom or independence* for African countries in the 1950s and 1960s were terms that were considered passive. G. C. K. Gwassa’s reflection on *Uhuru* through the epic Maji Maji war, East Africa’s first rebellion between 1905 and 1907,

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76 Ibid.
expanded the meaning of this term. The Maji Maji war, Gwassa explained, was part of the initial “process towards Uhuru.” In this case, usage of Uhuru by Gwassa was not visualized as a single action but a process of transition from colonial oppression to self-rule. Uhuru for East African nationalists extended well beyond the declarations of independence in their countries. Pan-Africanist writers for the black press understood this process, for African Americans were in the same battle, seeking human and civil rights seized from racial oppression in the United States.

Africa Today, the journal begun by ACOA, published Nyerere’s article, “It’s Up to Us: Uhuru na Kazi,” in December, the month of Tanganyika’s independence. The literal translation of Uhuru na Kazi is “freedom and work.” Independence for Tanganyika, Nyerere declared in this article, brought “with it only one thing—an opportunity to build.” The nation’s new arrival in the global arena comes forth which Nyerere readily admitted would not change at Tanganyika’s independence. Education was paramount, as it was extremely important that the future citizens be educated as quickly as possible. The creation of an infrastructure was equally as imperative. It was in this publication that Nyerere chose to announce to the United States that Tanganyika was to become an African Socialist country. To achieve this end Nyerere’s goal was “to build on past African tradition in which every family was responsible for all its members and every member responsible for the family.” His hope was the development of an attitude which looked to the needs of the country rather than to the desires of the individual. In this instance, Uhuru na Kazi, literally meant “liberation is work.”

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79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
Entering a heightened Pan-Africanism

Lengthy articles in *The New York Times* demonstrated great interest in Nyerere’s unique implementation for internal and external development, which differed greatly from its skimpy coverage of the Pan-African developments in East Africa. Yet the black press coverage of this leader’s multifaceted Pan-Africanist practices was of a more intimate nature. The *Chicago Defender*, for example, published two detailed articles on the evolving Pan-Africanism in East Africa.

The first article, published approximately three months after *The New York Times* article, was in the *Chicago Defender* editorial commentary “Our Opinions.” An in-depth article on the PAFMECA titled “The African Unification Movement” glorified the uniting of African nationalists in their fight for liberation. In the editorial’s introduction, the writer projected this accomplishment as “a new Africa . . . rising, rising steadily toward the sunlight of independence.” The commentator’s closing was a personal note to the African American community, for the writer tied the African American fate to Africa when saying, “A free and self-ruled Africa will advance the cause of the Negro people everywhere.” A black solidarity is evident in the closing prose: “We pray for the success of the Pan-African movement.”

“Pan-African Freedom Movement” wrote of Nyerere’s belief “that Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and possibly Nysasaland should reach independence at the same moment;” and most significantly, Nyerere expressed at that time his “willingness to hold back Tanganyika’s constitutional advances while the others catch up.” This was a demonstration not only to the African American community but to the black world of Nyerere’s commitment to liberation through Pan-Africanism.

The *Atlanta Daily World* ran a front-page article on Nyerere’s first appearance at the United Nations upon the induction of Tanganyika as the United Nations’ 104th member. The article titled “Cannot Compromise on Race Prejudice, Nyerere Tells UN”

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illuminated why there was a growing endearment between Nyerere and the black community in American.\textsuperscript{83} It reported on a festive ceremony at the United Nations where Tanganyika’s prime minister pledged his country’s support to the world body.\textsuperscript{84} Yet he made it clear that on the issue of racial discrimination he could not compromise. Tanganyikans believed it was “evil for any people to ill-treat others on the grounds of race.”\textsuperscript{85} In the press conference that followed Tanganyika’s UN induction, when asked by a reporter about racial discrimination in the United States, Nyerere said he hoped his country served as an example “with its respect for all races.” He proclaimed that “there is a natural bond between Africans and American Negroes.”\textsuperscript{86} Nyerere was indeed instrumental in including the African American struggle with the human rights causes of Africa on an international forum.

\textbf{An establishment of a frontline country}

\textit{We Must Run While They Walk} was the title for a 1971 biography of Julius Nyerere. Just as fittingly, this phrase characterizes Tanganyika’s rapid formation as a frontline country in the battle for African liberation.\textsuperscript{87} Within four years of Tanganyika’s independence, the country functioned as a hub for the liberation movement. Events between 1962 and 1964 ensured Tanzania status as a major African location that attracted Africans from within and outside the continent. On December 9, 1962, one year after Tanganyika’s independence, the country became a republic. Within the following two years, Tanganyika rapidly transformed into the sovereign nation of Tanzania. Major


\textsuperscript{85} Selz, “Cannot Compromise on Race Prejudice.”

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.

events during this period established Tanzania as a crossroads for the black world. In February 1963 Tanganyika held an Afro-Solidarity Conference in Moshi. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) designated Tanganyika as headquarters for the Liberation Committee in May of 1963. Most significant was the uniting of both Zanzibar and Tanganyika for the formation of the Republic of Tanzania on April 26, 1964.

Tanzania’s efforts in African unity and liberation at the dawn of its independence made it a major entity in the fight against global racial oppression. The fact that Nyerere had not aligned his country with any major bloc made Tanzania’s development as a global crossroads possible. Simultaneously, as the country opened doors for the participation of the African diaspora, it further exposed the African American diaspora to a wide spectrum of philosophies.

As a sovereign state Tanganyika welcomed the opportunity to host the third Afro-Asian conference. The first Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) conference held in Bandung, India, April 18–24, 1955, was known as the first meeting of leaders that was inclusive of all people of color.\textsuperscript{88} The long relationship between Tanzania and China stemmed from the meeting of Julius Nyerere, Mao Tse-Tung, and Zhou Enlai at the first conference. Establishment of this connection is apparent from the fact that the new Republic of Tanganyika hosted an Afro-Asian conference quite early in the timetable of its international agenda.

For African countries and African minorities in the diaspora, the first Bandung conference simultaneously served as a proxy and a guide for the articulation of a broad prescriptive future agenda.\textsuperscript{89} African American involvement with AAPSO and the Bandung conference stimulated the transformation of leftist philosophy in the black community.\textsuperscript{90} Ron Walters postulated that the formation of AAPSO, which organized the


\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
first international forum for people of color, allowed Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. to set “the problem of Black people in America within an international context.” In his speeches Malcolm X placed great emphasis on the Bandung conference as a model for forming black united fronts in breaking Western hegemony over people of color. Komozi Woodard stressed that this perspective, when passed to the younger militant black generation, “manifested itself in the significance they placed on the Third World Revolution.” While, the Bandung conference focused on the elimination of colonialism and racism, the Moshi conference in February of 1963 focused on the in-depth analysis of neo-colonialism as a new form of imperialism.

The Atlanta Daily World published Nyerere’s remarks to AAPSO following the Moshi conference for the local black community. Nyerere warned leaders at this conference that “Communist countries are employing the same tactics in their thirst for ‘power and prestige’ as . . . capitalist nations in the past.” He pointed to the fact that there always was an interest in Africa despite the fact that these major foreign powers would not fight each other to attain their goals in Asia and Africa. Pointedly, Nyerere remarked that “they will incite the African to fight the African and the Asian to fight the Asian, but always in their interest.” Such positions illustrated the consequences of divisiveness as Nyerere solidified the need for unity.

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93 Woodard, A Nation within a Nation,” 61.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
Although African Americans were not directly involved with the Moshi conference, they continued affiliation with AAPSO. At the time of the 1963 conference African Americans were simultaneously engaged with AAPSO ventures in the United States. It was no easy venture for a number of prominent black nationalists, such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson, to attend the initial conference or establish a relationship with AAPSO in 1955, as their passports were revoked during the hysteria of McCarthyism. Representative Adam Clayton Powell proposed in a 1955 letter to the White House that the United States send an official team of both black and white representatives to the first Afro-Asian conference.\textsuperscript{97} The \textit{Los Angeles Sentinel}’s article, "Rep. Powell Rips U.S. Snub of Afro-Asians," reported the response to Powell’s proposal.\textsuperscript{98} Not only was Powell’s suggestion rejected, but he was discouraged from attending the conference because his presence would imply US involvement.\textsuperscript{99} Since Powell was told there was no need for US representation, the congressman traveled to Bandung as a journalist representing the \textit{New York Age Defender}.\textsuperscript{100}

Powell’s involvement resulted in his spearheading the New Nations Exposition and Development Corporation in the 1960s, as a support organization to aid Afro-Asian countries in participating in the Seattle, Washington, 1962 Century “21” Exposition and the 1965 New York World’s Fair.\textsuperscript{101} Tanzanians and African American nationalists both maintained their strong ties with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization. James Forman wrote in his memoirs of his first 1967 visit to Tanzania.\textsuperscript{102} He noted stopping at a Chinese bookstore in Dar es Salaam to buy books for himself and friends in the United States. There the SNCC activists purchased several works of Vladimir Lenin. Now Forman was

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{99} Fraser, “An American Dilemma,” 133.
\end{thebibliography}
already aware of Lenin’s philosophies, but he stated that while in Tanzania he “began to make a systematic study of Lenin’s ideas.”

It was at this time that Forman became acutely aware of the crippling effect of mis-education in the United States. Fred Ho, Bill Mullen, and Gerald Horne suggest the Bandung era of 1955 to 1973 countered and corrected racism that manipulated the black world’s understanding of Asia and the Asian understanding of blacks.

**OAU recognizes Tanganyika**

On May 25, 1963, the first-generation leaders of independent African countries met at the Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States hosted by Emperor Haille Selassie of Ethiopia. The Charter of the OAU was adopted on this occasion. It was at the Addis Ababa summit that resolutions on decolonization, apartheid, and racial discrimination were passed. From the Resolution on Decolonization, a nine-member coordinating committee, known as the Liberation Committee, was established. Committee members were Algeria, Congo-Leopoldville, Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Egypt. The headquarters for the committee were based in Dar es Salaam. Tanganyika’s strategic location had already made it a perfect location in assisting rebel forces from central and southern Africa. Moreover, Tanganyika was selected for its self-sacrifices for total liberation on behalf of Pan-African causes.

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103 Ibid.
104 Fred Ho and Bill Mullen, eds., *Afro Asia: Revolutionary Political and Cultural Connections between African Americans and Asian Americans* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 5.
In the spring of 1963, at the time of the OAU’s founding meeting, US news coverage focused its attention on the racial brutality seen in Birmingham, Alabama. Pictures of fire hoses turned on non-violent protestors and police dogs attacking them, under the direct orders of Police Chief Bull Connor, attracted both national and global attention. Such was the case at discussions in Addis Ababa; African leaders engaged in lengthy discussions of the most effective way to express concerns over the disturbing incidents in Birmingham.109 A resolution was sent to the United States from the OAU that expressed “the deep concern aroused in all African peoples and governments by the measures of racial discrimination taken against communities of African origin outside the continent and particularly in the United States of America.”110 The resolution expressed appreciation for the effort the US government was making in putting an end to such intolerable practices, which were likely to seriously deteriorate relations between the African peoples and governments on one hand and the US government on the other.111 OAU members continued giving attention to the Birmingham incident after the Addis Ababa conference. Further support for the American African diaspora was reinforced by correspondence from individual African leaders directly to President Kennedy. A specific example is correspondence from President Nyerere to President Kennedy, in which Nyerere wrote he appreciated Kennedy’s efforts in the reinvigorated demand by the “Negro Citizens of America for full equal rights.”112 Nyerere expressed his confidence that a solution was forthcoming on the global perspective of non-racialism which contributed to the universal human rights cause. Actions such as these taken by African

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111 Ibid.

leaders allowed St. Clair Drake to justly write, after the founding of the OAU, that “obviously feelings of racial Pan Africanism are not dead.”

Although the OAU’s founding meeting was geared to political affairs on the African continent, the Atlantic African diaspora had not been forgotten.

The Daily Defender and Chicago Defender followed this development of formal unity on the continent of Africa closely. Prior to the conference in Addis Ababa, the Daily Defender published an article titled, “United States of Africa Needed, Nyerere Insists.” Excerpts from this article were taken for the first issue of Journal of Modern Africa Studies. Nyerere pointed out that the need for a United Africa was to ensure that Africa really governs Africa. The Chicago Defender recapped the OAU summit and hailed it as a victory for Haile Selassie. The article reported the organization was the result of the combination of the Casablanca and Monrovia blocks which split Africa during the rush to independence in the early 1960s. Formation of a single African organization did seem unlikely, despite the blunt stance that they could not leave “without creating a single African organization.” This position indicated that without such an initiative, leaders would be regarded as having “shirked responsibility to Africa and the people that they lead.” Such a strong stance expressed in equally strong language resulted in the charter for the OAU. As these conversations developed on the continent, African Americans were well aware of the difficulties in unifying Africa. Extensive coverage of the formalization of Pan Africanism by the black press was reinforced by visits of Tanganyikan nationalists to the United States to promote the cause of total black liberation on the continent of Africa.

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116 Ibid.
Tanganyikan leaders bring the liberation cause to the United States

On July 14, 1963, Julius Nyerere and his party—including Oscar Kambona, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense; Herbert Chitepo, Director of Public Prosecution; and Bhone Munanka, Parliamentary Secretary—arrived in the United States for a week’s visit at the invitation of President John F. Kennedy. Nyerere and Kennedy discussed subjects of mutual interest: Africa was aware of racial discrimination in the United States, which had great consequences internationally for US Cold War alignments with African and Asian nations. Thomas Borstelmann writes that “Southern Africa and the American South were the two places . . . [where] the global problem of racial conflict were intensifying mostly dangerously in the early 1960s.” This caused great concern for Kennedy’s administration in its Cold War competition with the Soviet Union. And as African leaders charged forth in their quest for total liberation, they watched carefully the US responses to both “Souths” in determining the true intentions of the US government.

Nyerere’s address to the National Press Club on July 16, 1963, served as a platform to explain Africa’s attitudes and policies on colonialism, unity, and equality. Tanganyika’s liberation support was placed in the same context as US support of resistant movements in occupied Europe during World War II. Nyerere stated, “In the same way that freed countries immediately became part of the general war effort for freedom in Europe, so we in Tanganyika, Ghana, Uganda, Congo, and so on, must carry the fight forward until the whole of Africa is free.” It was at this time that Nyerere brought South African racial policies and colonialism to the forefront for the American public.

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118 Ibid.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
During this 1963 trip Nyerere received the highest citizen award, the Medal of Honor, from New York Mayor Robert Wagner. He also met with UN Secretary General U. Thant and taped a video for the ABC-TV program *Issues and Answers*.\(^\text{126}\) It was on this trip that Nyerere recommended that a ban be placed on South Africa.\(^\text{127}\) In a series of meetings between Nyerere and Kennedy, South Africa and Portuguese Africa were the subject of intense deliberations. However, no US position was determined before a UN Security Council deliberation on the issue. The Tanganyikan delegation trip to the West utilized the press to bring Africa’s issues much needed coverage.

**African Americans on the liberation front**

Kenyan Political Scientist James Karioki states there were two major reasons that “by 1962, Tanganyika had become the bastion of anti-southern African activities.”\(^\text{128}\) First was the commonly known advantage of its geographical proximity to southern and central regions of Africa. However Karioki felt that just as important was the fact that Tanganyika was the first country to gain independence in British East and Central Africa. American human rights activity and African American assistance provided to a number of refugee and liberation organizations in Tanganyika began in 1960. ACOA correspondence and the organizational records of AAI indicate requests from and assistance to various groups from neighboring countries that were now taking refugees to Tanganyika.

A letter from Jeremiah Bakampenja, PAFMECA’s acting secretary, to George Houser detailed Tanganyika’s commitment to refugees prior to its independence.\(^\text{129}\) By 1960 there were forty-one refugees in Tanganyika.\(^\text{130}\) Twenty-eight were from South


\(^{129}\) Bakampenja to Houser, 20 February 1960, ACOA/Houser Collection, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.

\(^{130}\) Ibid.
Africa, eight from South West Africa, eight from Rhodesia, and the number was steadily increasing. It had been decided at the last PAFMECA conference that this Pan-African organization would take over the responsibilities from TANU of handling care for the refugees. Bakampenja announced that the South African United Front office was opening in Dar es Salaam in January 1960 to handle political work and arrange for scholarships for those who qualified.

Jefferson Murphy, the AAI field director in Dar es Salaam, submitted a proposal to the AAI board of directors in February 1961 for the East African Regional Refugee Program (EARP). The proposal stated that there were a substantial number of refugees from various non-self-governing African territories, and it was anticipated that the number would sharply increase in 1962 and 1963. Murphy suggested in the proposal that supplemental education opportunities be offered to these refugees. A three-year program was proposed for training secondary vocational technical students, as well as an English-training program as preparatory training for African students. As a consequence of the Murphy proposal, the Kurasini International Education Center opened in Dar es Salaam in 1962. It was active through 1971, six years longer than the suggested three years.

ACOA received correspondence in June of 1960 from the Tanganyika Mozambique Makonde Union (TMMU) and the Mozambique African National Union (MANU), both based in Dar es Salaam. The letter from TMMU President Felix Joaquim was written ten days before the Mueda massacre in Mozambique. Joaquim gave the details of the injustices occurring as a result of the Portuguese government policies in the Mueda district. Particularly noted was the arrest of seven people prior to the peaceful demonstration for more indigenous rights. This incident served as a prelude to the Mueda

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133 Joaquim to George Houser, 6 June 1960, ACOA/Houser Papers, Amistad Research Center.
massacre of approximately 600 protestors. Other forms of harassment were also
delineated in the correspondence. As a result of the action taken by the Portuguese
colonial government, anticolonial activists fled Mozambique for Tanganyika and Malawi
to form resistance organizations in exile. Edward Alpers summed it up in saying, “By
the time of Tanganyika’s independence in 1961 there were well established Mozambique
communities in several different parts of Tanganyika.”

Three organizations were formed by Mozambique exiles: União Nacional Democrática de Moçambique (UDENAMO), MANU and União Africana de Moçambique Independente (UNAMI). These anticolonial movements established headquarters in Dar es Salaam and on June 25, 1962, merged to form the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). TMMU and MANU were both examining strategies by which to address their cause to the United Nations and gain financial assistance from ACOA. Continuous correspondence was exchanged between both organizations on the status of Mozambique at the United Nations. On June 5, 1961, Houser wrote Oscar Kambona, Tanganyika’s Minister of Education, asking advice on the two different organizations from Mozambique. The ACOA wanted to assist in this crisis but needed to know what the groups’ relationships were to each other, and if there would be any problems.

ACOA sent African American unionist Joe Ridgeway to East African with relief supplies and to investigate the function of each organization. Ridgeway arrived in Dar es Salaam on September 30, 1960. Visits were made to Mmole’s MANU office and Jaime Sigauke at the headquarters of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique.

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137 Houser to Kambona, 5 June 1961, Houser/ACOA Papers.
138 Ridgeway to Houser, 2 October 1961, Houser/ACOA papers.
139 Ibid.
Ridgeway found no relationship between the two offices. Mmole was born in Tanganyika and never lived in Mozambique but was Makonde, and this was a clear reason for Ridgeway as to why the two parties were not connected. Joshua Nkomo advised Adelino Gwambe and Siguake to form a party in Tanganyika. Ridgeway saw that all but the Makonde recognized the National Democratic Union of Mozambique. Tanganyika swiftly became a haven for black nationalists and refugees, as the majority of liberation movements based their headquarters in this location. And most importantly for the African diaspora, as William Minter points out, was the fact that Tanzania was a “crossroads where US activists met Africans” and connected with the liberation movements across South Africa. A pioneering Pan-Africanist from the 1950s long-term residency in Tanganyika bridged the connection of African Americans with African nationalists. Bill Sutherland’s home was the first destination for most African Americans entering the country and a gathering place for liberation leaders in exile throughout the region.

**Bill Sutherland: From Ghana to Tanzania**

A 1951 bike ride through Europe connected Bill Sutherland to the African liberation causes across the continent. Sutherland moved to Ghana in 1953. After working as a founding member of AFSAR for a year and a half, an opportunity arose for Sutherland to go to Nigeria and work with Nnamdi Azikewe. In August of 1953, Sutherland met Azikewe in London. The first Nigerian Conference for Independence held at this time in London provided Sutherland the opportunity to work with other Nigerian leaders. Despite the fact that Nigerian leaders had invited Sutherland to Nigeria, it was difficult for him to get a visa. Giving up hope for work in Nigeria, Sutherland did not return to the United States, but chose to visit Ghana, a country “that was a little more

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politically advanced.” Sutherland received a meager stipend from ACOA for travel and work on projects while living in Ghana. He also taught from 1954 to 1957 at the New Year School. From 1957 to 1960 Sutherland worked as personal secretary to Komla A. Gbedemah, Ghana Minister of Finance. After a six-week trip to India for participation in the “Resistance against French Explosion of Nuclear Devices in the Sahara,” Sutherland was unable to find new employment upon his return to Ghana. Ghana was becoming tense during this period, and Sutherland did not know whether his difficulties in acquiring gainful employment were from a “certain undercurrent of sentiment against Gbedemah.” Sutherland eventually moved to Tanganyika in 1961, where he resided until the end of the twentieth century. Whether in Ghana or Tanganyika (later Tanzania), Sutherland’s house was “always a point of call for African American visitors making contact with struggles on the African continent.”

Sutherland’s relocation to Tanganyika was prompted by his acceptance of an invitation from Israel to advise an African program that was sponsored by the Histradrut. It was from the Non-Violent League, with which Sutherland was affiliated, that the World Peace Brigade (WPB) was created. The primary objective of WPB was to explore the possibilities of the same “direct action” that was used in the United States on an international level. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of Zambia’s United National Independence Party (UNIP), and Nyerere were both patrons of the WPB and were very interested in its approach. Both leaders were also PAFMECA members as well. Michael Scott, Bayard Rustin, and Sutherland were invited to a PAFMECA meeting on February 21, 1962, in Addis Ababa. At the conclusion of Nelson Mandela’s 1961 treason trial, he

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142 Ibid.
143 Bill Sutherland and Matt Meyer, Guns and Gandhi in Africa: Pan African Insights on Nonviolence, Armed Struggle and Liberation in Africa (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000), 22; Primary source the proposal for the Africa Fund Project. ACOA
144 Sutherland interview by Dunbar, 94.
145 Refer to details in Chapter 1.
146 Sutherland interview by Dunbar, 94.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid, 95.
secretly left South Africa without a passport on January 11, 1962, to attend the conference as well. PAFMECA expanded at this meeting to include southern Africa’s African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and became known as the Pan African Movement for East, Central, and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA).

PAFMECSA’s constitution was initially committed to nonviolence prior to 1962. This explains Kaunda and Nyerere’s interest in WPB’s nonviolent strategies. Kaunda was elected as the first non-East African Chairman at this conference. And it was Kaunda who “was especially interested in nonviolence and the use of direct action tactics [that] invited the WPB to become an international support apparatus for the freedom movement in Zambia.” TANU offered Dar es Salaam as a location for the headquarters of the WPB in Africa. WPB proposed a march from Tanganyika into Northern Rhodesia, which involved an act of disobedience when crossing the border for the first initiative. Despite the establishment of the African Project, PAFMECSA’s leaders had accepted the conclusion from Southern African nationalists that violence was the only viable means to challenge the colonial infrastructures in their collective countries. Sutherland ran the efforts of the WPA from the base office in Dar es Salaam. When the project failed to come to fruition, Sutherland remained in Dar as assistant

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150 Karioki, Tanzania and the Resurrection of Pan-Africanism, 6.


152 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 62.

153 Ibid.


secretary in the Ministry of Information and Tourism. In this position he was assigned special duties.156

Sutherland’s move to Tanganyika was significant, as it was the first indication of a shift of interest by African Americans from Ghana to Tanzania.157 Ron Walters and Kevin Gaines set forth the impact of the Ghanaian coup in 1966 in contrast to the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania in 1967 as a reason for the shift.158 Yet the Daily Defender article “Tanganyika Vies for Leadership of New Africa” chronicled this occurrence in 1963. The reporter compared Dar es Salaam in Africa to Geneva in Europe.159 A parallel was drawn between the Underground Railroad during US slavery and the recognition of Dar es Salaam as the “so-called ‘freedom railroad’ extending northward from Cape Town.”160 In addition to the numerous liberation organizations from other countries, especially South African organizations, based in Tanganyika, the United Nations and the International Labor Organization also maintained offices in Dar es Salaam. France, England, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, West Germany, Poland, Australia, India, and most African states were all represented by embassies in Tanganyika at this time. After the establishment of the OAU, the US black community perceived that Tanganyika was in place to vie “with Ghana for the vanguard position in African nationalism and its capital.”161 Through the constant black media coverage of political Pan-Africanism in Tanzania and East African nationalists’ continuous visits to the United States, African Americans were exposed to and grew familiar with the strongly charged Swahili political vocabulary.

156 Sutherland interview by Dunbar.
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid; Gaines, American Africans in Ghana, 244.
**Uhuru spreads through the black internationalism of East African nationalists**

As Tanganyika pushed forward as a frontline country in Africa, black college and high school students in the United States began their proactive actions with the sit-in. The first sit-in occurred at the Woolworth store in Greensboro, North Carolina, where students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College simply sat at the lunch counter reserved for whites on February 1, 1960. This civil rights non-violent practice rapidly spread to other students across the state.  

The idea spread to campuses throughout North Carolina and in less than two weeks had begun outside the state to Hampton, Virginia. By the end of April, the practice of this direct action had reached every Southern state, attracting approximately 50,000 students. At a conference held at Shaw University in Raleigh in April 1960, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed.

In *No Easy Victories*, Charles Cobb Jr. recounts the era, which for him began in 1961 as a Howard University student and continued as an expatriate in Tanzania in 1970. From Cobb’s reflections, the spontaneous nature of black nationalism in the United States emerges.  

It was not atypical that Cobb became caught up in the SNCC movement on a college campus. By 1962 Cobb left Howard to work as a SNCC field secretary in the Mississippi Delta. Interest in Africa heightened among his comrades in SNCC, and in 1963, Cobb and a “whole bunch” of others who worked within SNCC decided to visit Oginga Odinga, Kenyan Minister of Home Affairs while he was in Atlanta, Georgia. Cobb stated there was nothing political in nature about their visit; it was simply because of what Odinga represented as an African leader, a political power that they had never seen. Odinga did talk with Cobb and his SNCC friends. Cobb recalled that Odinga shook their hands, which “was a big thing” for them.

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163 Minter et al., *No Easy Victories*, 100–101.
165 Minter et al., *No Easy Victories*, 101.
After the brief meeting, Cobb and his friends decided to have coffee at the restaurant next door to the hotel in which they had seen Odinga. They were refused service. On a mental high from the prior meeting with Odinga, Cobb and friends refused to leave the restaurant, which resulted in their arrest. The *Atlanta Daily World* front page headline read “21 Students Bound Over by State Court.” The actions of these SNCC members resulted in charges of violating the state’s anti-trespass law. Judge R. E. Jones pointed out to their attorney Howard Moore that there were “two members of the group who refused to give their right names.” “To the laughter of the 40 members of SNCC that filled the room and many others in the courtroom, the judge stated that the two gave their names as “Freedom Now” and “Feeda Now,” no doubt influenced by the translation of *Uhuru* as “freedom now.” Songs were written about the incident, and as a tribute to Odinga, the SNCC Freedom Singers sang this song at rallies.

**Oginga Odinga**

I went down to the Peach Tree Manor  
To see Oginga Odinga  
The police said “Well, what’s the matter?”  
To see Oginga Odinga.  
Oginga Odinga, Oginga Odinga  
Oginga Odinga of Kenya.  

*Uhuru, Uhuru*  
Freedom now, freedom now  
The folks in Mississippi  
Will knock you on your rump  
And if you holler FREEDOM  
They’ll throw you in the swamp.

Patricia Hill Collins proposed that “despite the fact . . . the majority of African Americans mostly can define neither Black Nationalism nor its major ideological

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167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
strands,” this incident demonstrates “the ideas themselves [did] circulate in everyday life as a template for African American ethnicity.” Although Uhuru is an East African nationalist term, African Americans instinctively understood that its meaning inferred black liberation. In less than a year, a group of SNCC leaders would travel to Africa to take a hiatus from the trials and defeat from the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project.

After the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which had been developed with the assistance of SNCC for disenfranchised blacks in Mississippi, failed to seat its delegates at the National Democratic Convention, Harry Belafonte recognized SNCC leaders’ burnout. Mentored by Paul Robeson as a young actor, Belafonte was a longtime Pan-African activist. In 1960, having earlier worked with human rights issues with Eleanor Roosevelt, Belafonte was asked by the Kennedy administration to act as cultural advisor to the Peace Corps. Belafonte saw the Peace Corps as a tool for the education of Americans to learn about African cultures through the experience of working on the continent for two years. Through his association with Roosevelt, Belafonte had formed a friendship with Sékou Touré in the late 1950s. As a personal request, Touré invited Belafonte to work on a cultural program for Guinea in 1959. Belafonte’s friendship with Touré and engagement in the 1960s with the dance troupe Les Ballets Africains (presently named the Djoliba National Ballet) facilitated Belafonte’s frequent travel to Guinea. Belafonte called James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, upon hearing the news that Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman,

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171 Carson, *In Struggle*, 134.
172 Minter et al., *No Easy Victories*, 98–99.
173 Ibid, 98.
174 Ibid.
and James Chaney were missing and presumed murdered at the end of the summer of 1964.\textsuperscript{177} Coupled with the MFDP’s loss at the National Democratic Convention, as well as the loss of all student volunteers as they were returning to campus, it appeared that for all practical purposes they had given up. Belafonte’s solution was to raise funds for students who wished to volunteer past that semester to continue the mobilization of the voter registration drive and the securing of additional funds for a group of SNCC leaders to go to Africa for “two weeks or three weeks and just cool out.”\textsuperscript{178}

Belafonte and his family left the United States for four weeks in Guinea on August 21, 1964. He would be in the country a few weeks later when the SNCC group arrived on September 11.\textsuperscript{179} ACOA’s executive director, George Houser, extended the invitation funded by Belafonte through the ACOA for the SNCC officers’ visit to Guinea.\textsuperscript{180} The Pan-Africanist network from the 1950s had grown in the 1960s through the older established organization’s involvement with the changing younger black movements of the era. SNCC general conferences were attended by representatives from CORE, NAACP, SCLC, SCEF, SDS, American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council, and additional civil and human rights organizations.

The trip to Guinea in 1964 was pivotal, as it exposed the SNCC leaders to the global perspective of racism and delineated their position in the black liberation struggle. Eleven SNCC officers, James Forman, John Lewis, Robert Moses, Dona Richards, Prathia Hall, Julian Bond, Ruby Doris Robinson, William Hansen, Donald Harris, Matthew Jones, and Fannie Lou Hamer stayed three weeks in Guinea at Belafonte’s expense. The trip for Forman was a culmination of a life dream to build an organization for oppressed blacks in the United States to gain human rights that related to African countries in common revolutionary purposes. Most of the group returned to the United States on October 7, 1964, with the exception of John Lewis and Donald Harris; they

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179} Forman, \textit{The Making of Black Revolutionaries}, 408.
\textsuperscript{180} Harry Belafonte Interview by Blackside, Inc., May 15, 1989, \textit{Eyes on the Prize II Interviews}. 
remained in Africa for more than a month traveling to Liberia, Ghana, Zambia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Egypt.\textsuperscript{181}

**SNCC activists’ introduction to the African liberation struggle**

John Lewis’s report documenting his trip was submitted with a proposal to the SNCC administration on December 14, 1964.\textsuperscript{182} In each country visited by Lewis and Donald Harris, the main objective was to seek out African Americans and liberation-movement organizations. Learning revolutionary strategies and organizational structures was most valued in each country. Lewis treasured the contacts made and the interest expressed by many in their cause. The extended African travels of these two SNCC leaders facilitated the broadening of concepts for the younger generation of African Americans’ future actions that incorporated Africa liberation as a part of the US racial struggle.

Lewis and Harris arrived in Ghana on October 7, 1964. Robert Lee had been the African American host at the dinner where Martin Luther King and Julius Nyerere met during Ghana’s independence celebration in 1957. This had been the first contact made by the two SNCC members. Through Lee, Lewis and Harris were acquainted with the Afro-American Information Bureau. Lewis and Harris met a number of expatriate African Americans. Shirley Graham Du Bois spent hours with the SNCC members discussing the “possibilities of a strong link between the [Civil] Rights Movement in the States and a direct contact with the African countries.”\textsuperscript{183} Visits were made to the Pan African Congress and the Bureau of African Affairs. These two SNCC members met a number of African Americans while in Ghana. Julian Mayfield strongly urged Lewis and Harris to route their trip so that Cairo was not missed.

Lewis and Harris had limited contacts with African Americans or revolutionary organizations while traveling in Kenya and Ethiopia. They arrived in Zambia just in time

\textsuperscript{181} The Trip, SNCC archival microfilm. Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid.
to attend the independence celebrations. Here they reestablished contacts with the United National Independence Party (UNIP) by meeting Abed Muleunge, the organization’s regional secretary, who served as their guide while in the country. Members of UNIP were very receptive to African Americans who were active in the American “Freedom Movement” and “not part of the US diplomatic corps or representing the State Department.”

Full details of the independence ceremony were provided in Lewis’s report on his African trip to SNCC administration. He noted Julius Nyerere’s entrance to this momentous event prior to the arrival of Kenneth Kaunda.

In Cairo David Du Bois, Shirley Graham Du Bois’s son, gave vital assistance. As Lewis noted, without him they would have never made the contacts that were established in such limited time. The difficulty in communicating, Lewis observed, would have made it impossible to negotiate the bustling metropolis of Cairo. Du Bois had been an editor and reporter for the *Arab Observer*, *Egyptian Gazette*, and *Middle East News* and was at the time serving as a public relations consultant for the Ghana Embassy in Egypt. Du Bois knew through experience the type of contacts Lewis and Harris needed to make while in Cairo. A visit to the PAC office in Cairo established the third contact with that organization, as Lewis and Harris had visited the PAC offices in Ghana and Zambia. This extended trip to Africa provided a unique educational experience for these SNCC leaders who were able to examine firsthand both the different nationalist ideologies and the sentiments of Africans towards their cause. One major factor that Lewis and Harris had to cope with was the fact that they were traveling on the heels of Malcolm X. In Ghana, Ethiopia, and Egypt they heard the fantastic impression that Malcolm had made in each country. They did not expect the skepticism and distrust they first received when meeting people who had met Malcolm X. In Accra, Harris quoted a recent acquaintance stating, “Look, you guys might [really be] doing something—I don’t know, but if you are to the right of Malcolm, you might as well start packing right now ’cause

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184 Ibid.  
185 Ibid.  
186 Ibid.
no one [will] listen to you.”

This did not occur just in Ghana, but repeated itself in every country visited. They were asked, “What’s your organization’s relationship with Malcolm?”

While in Ethiopia, the SNCC leaders were informed that USIS affiliates’ only interest in their visit stemmed purely from their desire to counter the impression that Malcolm had made the week before. Lewis commented afterwards in an interview in the Militant while in Africa, Malcolm, “more than any other single personality,” was “able to articulate the aspirations, bitterness, and frustrations of the Negro people,” thus forming “a living link between Africa and the civil rights movement” in the United States.

Alignment of African nations was critical for US Cold War strategy in the establishment of a unified “free world.” Intensifying US racial conflicts threatened a crucial tenet of President Kennedy’s foreign policy of fostering nations across the North-South separation of race and wealth. The Kennedy administration needed the support of African Americans in this effort, as African nations watched for signs of the government’s true intentions by its actions towards the racial conflicts in the American South. As a radical nationalist, who dared criticize the nonviolence tactics of Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X’s position was not what the United States wanted to project in Africa.

Although Kenya was listed in SNCC’s report as a country where limited contacts were made, in hindsight the one connection made there was the most significant in Harris’s and Lewis’s African journey. Attempts made to connect with Odinga were to no avail, as parliament had just opened and he was not in Nairobi at the time. However, a chance meeting of another African American touring Africa was the catalyst for black America’s Africanization. Malcolm X was the first person Lewis and Harris met on

187 Ibid.
188 Ibid.
190 Borstelmann, The Cold War, 136–137.
191 Ibid.
arrival at their Nairobi Hotel. The primary objective of Malcolm X’s second trip to Africa was attendance at the second OAU meeting in Cairo. On June 28, 1964, less than two months after Malcolm X’s first African trek, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) held its founding meeting. OAAU intentionally patterned itself on the OAU model. This organization served as a platform to legitimize the African American struggle for human rights through international law on a global platform at the United Nations. An invitation to the OAU Cairo conference for a non-governmental head was not a common occurrence, and Malcolm X understood the privilege that he had been extended. Malcolm X indicated there were delicate negotiations behind the scenes that barred him from addressing the Assembly, but he was permitted to distribute a lengthy memorandum.

When the SNCC activists met Malcolm X in Kenya immediately after his arrival from Tanzania, they found him tired but galvanized from his establishment of fruitful connections in Africa. At the Dar es Salaam airport, Nyerere wished Malcolm X a safe safari. Boarding the Kenyan flight on October 17, 1964, Malcolm X was approached by the Ugandan Foreign Minister who asked him to sit beside Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda. Malcolm ended up riding between Jomo Kenyatta and Obote to Mombasa. Later speaking about his flight in such lofty company, Malcolm X told a Nationalist’s reporter that “Providence put us together.”

Between Malcolm X’s enthusiasm and the SNCC activists’ pursuit of black liberation ideology, the three talked and drank coffee in the Hotel Café for the rest of the day and evening, and resumed their conversation for most of the next day. It was in these discussions that Malcolm X emphasized “critical aspects of the human rights struggle”

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192 Ibid.
196 Ibid.
which “American civil rights groups had too long neglected” in their battle for equality. Most importantly this was the beginning of a connection that would continue upon their return to the United States. Although only eleven members from SNCC journeyed to Africa, this trip took Africa from an abstract realm and made it real for the entire organization. Through Pan-African internationalism, Malcolm X also understood the necessity for a bridge between radical and moderate African American activists. Experiencing African nationalism in East Africa and meeting SNCC activists while on the same trip brought home for Malcolm X not just the need for unity with Africa, but also the need to unite diverse African American forces in the United States. Malcolm X had already made great strides towards uniting with other civil rights organizations since his departure from the Nation of Islam (NOI) on March 8, 1964. A week after his split with NOI, Malcolm was invited to speak with a group that was described by Jet and Fulton Lewis Jr. of the FBI’s Washington Report as militant leaders. Differing only in how the term was used, Jet used the somewhat heroic “firebrand militants,” whereas the Washington Report categorized them as “militant Negro leaders.” The meeting was held in Chester, Pennsylvania, and included Gloria Richardson, a leader from the Cambridge movement; Lawrence Landry, a Chicago school-boycott leader; and comedian Dick Gregory. From this the ad hoc committee formed the organization Act. A second meeting, this time in New York, was sponsored by Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Members of ACT denounced the current arguments for the components in the civil rights bill, calling them “weak and inherently ineffective especially for Northern Negroes.” The organization “criticized national Negro leaders for allegedly ‘paralyzing’ the black revolution to save the bill.” Malcolm X’s visit to East Africa intensified his drive to modify his previous black nationalist stance to a view that connected more with the mainstream and grassroots civil rights position.

197 Ibid.
198 Fulton Lewis Jr., Washington Report, March 26, 1964, FBI files 100-399321 67C.
200 Ibid.
Malcolm X in Dar es Salaam

At the Cairo OAU conference in July 1964, Malcolm X met Abdulrahman Muhammad Babu, Tanzania’s Minister of Economic Planning. Born in Zanzibar in 1924, Babu had studied philosophy and English literature in London at a time when London’s black hub served as the “centre for anti-colonial movements.” In London, Babu had been exposed to Marxism and Pan-Africanism, and he had held a crucial position as Secretary for the East and Central Africa Committee. Babu had returned to Zanzibar in 1957, and at the negotiation of Zanzibar independence in 1962, in which the British still retained control, Babu had formed the mass revolutionary Umma Party (People’s Party), which served as the catalyst that transformed Zanzibar uprisings into a socialist revolution.

In later years, Babu stated that he met Malcolm at “a very interesting moment.” He recalled a casual meeting in his hotel room at the conference where Malcolm was in an ambivalent mood—torn between remaining in Africa or returning to the United States “because at that very moment Harlem was burning.” As a prominent African American leader who resided in New York, Malcolm was continuously getting telephone calls to return home. In 1964 riots were sparked in Harlem by the shooting death of a fifteen-year-old African American, James Powell, on the Upper West Side of New York by New York Police Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan. Jet reached out for Malcolm’s opinion in Cairo and reported his outrage nationally to the African American community. In the Jet interview, Malcolm called the police brutality in Harlem a denial of African American civil rights. This article gave one of Malcolm’s most defiant quotes of self-determination to the black community at large when he stated:

202 Ibid, 11.
204 Ibid.
Negroes should stand on their rights even if it costs their lives. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. That’s the only way this thing can be brought to a head.\textsuperscript{206} 

When contacted for comments on Malcolm’s remark, conservative and moderate African American leaders begrudgingly acknowledged that if any one man could have stopped the Harlem Riots it would have been Malcolm. At this crucial point in time, Babu and others did manage to encourage Malcolm “to remain there in the conference . . . to give us the feeling of [the US] struggle and to convey to all the Third World leaders what America, the real America, was going through.”\textsuperscript{207} 

Malcolm’s attendance at the OAU conference was instrumental in presenting the African American cause to Africa and establishing influential contacts in East Africa. During his stay in Cairo, Tom Mboya of Kenya and Babu of Zanzibar extended hospitality to him. At the time of Malcolm X’s visit to East Africa, the formation of the Republic of Tanganyika from a union of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Pemba was fresh news. Malcolm X’s notebook shows Zanzibar was his point of entry to Tanganyika on October 9. Babu arranged for his introduction to high-ranking black revolutionaries and nationalists in Tanganyika. 

Marika Sherwood states that Malcolm X’s notebook entries were cryptic, suggesting he “might well have feared that the CIA . . . would try to procure his notebook.” There were reasons why Malcolm X was weary of US espionage agencies, whether in the United States or abroad. Foremost, he “had grown accustomed to the constant surveillance back home.”\textsuperscript{208} Even upon his return to the states from Cairo the FBI would pay him a visit at his home.\textsuperscript{209} At the Cairo OAU conference Malcolm was befriended by a number of black nationalists who briefed him on current affairs in Africa. 

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid. 
\textsuperscript{207} Alkalimat, Perspectives on Black Liberation, 123–124. 
\textsuperscript{208} Bruce Perry, Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1991), 324. 
\textsuperscript{209} On May 29, 1964, Malcolm X was expecting a visit from the FBI. He set up the tape recorder, under a couch, before they arrived. “A Visit from the FBI,” in Malcolm X: The Man and His Times, ed. John Henrik Clarke (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1969, 1990), 182.
Oginga Odinga from Kenya, who was also in attendance at the conference, later met
Malcolm in Kenya. It was Odinga’s opinion that the recent revolution in Zanzibar had
begun the Cold War scare in East Africa. The presence of both Soviet Union and China
missions in Zanzibar prior to this island’s independence placed this location high on the
radar for the United States. Malcolm X had sufficient reason for his evasiveness in his
correspondence and notes.

Malcolm X’s notebook revealed that Babu brought “two other Brothers” to visit
him on October 12. The following day Babu invited him to his home for dinner where he
met “four other brothers.” Malcolm knew that he was being “weighed” but was elated
when Babu informed him at dinner that he had arranged a meeting with President
Nyerere. Babu took Malcolm X to meet Nyerere on what he described as an “historic
date.” The three had a three-hour meeting on the same day that China exploded its first
nuclear bomb. Nyerere informed Malcolm on this occasion that “for the first time . . .
in recorded history, a former colonial country has been able to develop weapons at par
with any colonial power. This is the end of colonialism through and through.” It is
from discussions with Nyerere that Malcolm X visualized “what American policy meant
and what it could mean in the event that the Third World population inside America
could be politicized and mobilized.”

On October 14 Malcolm X recorded in his notebook that he visited the Cuban
embassy and was taken to dinner that evening by Oscar Kambona, the Tanganyikan
Minister for External Affairs. Accounts from Bill Sutherland and Margaret Snyder
provide additional depth to Malcolm’s engagements in Dar es Salaam. Sutherland met

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210 Sherwood, Malcolm X Visits Abroad, 99–100.
211 Ibid, 64.
214 Ibid.
215 Sherwood, Malcolm X Visits Abroad, 106.
Malcolm at a party given by the Algerian Embassy in Tanganyika.\textsuperscript{216} This meeting resulted in Sutherland serving as Malcolm’s chauffeur for the next week. While driving throughout Dar the two engaged in long conversations. They discussed Malcolm’s agenda for the newly founded OAAU, the impact of his trip to Mecca, and the attempts on his life. The most recent of these attempts was during his stay in Cairo. Yet Malcolm did not suspect the NOI of the attempts, but rather felt that it was the US government trying to assassinate him. Sutherland’s impression of Malcolm was of one who was constantly exploring. He also recognized that Malcolm had no fear of speaking to anyone. While in Dar es Salaam, Sutherland observed that Malcolm talked to everyone in his quest for answers. At a TANU meeting at Bibi Titi’s home Malcolm spent time with members of the African American community and Harvard volunteers who were teaching at a refugees’ school near Dar. Sutherland thought the engagement with these volunteers was most noteworthy. His interaction with them contributed to a long, lively discussion at a time when many of Malcolm’s followers wanted nothing to do with white people.

Margaret Snyder, founding director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, was in Dar es Salaam in 1964 working as adviser on organizational and educational projects for the Women’s African Commission in Tanzania. A friend of Snyder, Sutherland informed her of Malcolm X’s presence in Dar and encouraged her to meet him.\textsuperscript{217} Snyder had encountered Malcolm X at the United Nations the previous year and felt that he was unyielding in his stance towards involving whites in the black struggle against racial injustice; she saw no point in a meeting with him. Sutherland was not deterred and insisted that she would find him transformed from his recent trip to Mecca. Later that day Snyder ran into Malcolm X on the veranda of the New Africa Hotel; the two talked for four hours. He talked not only about how his \textit{hadj} had transformed him but also how his conversations with Julius Nyerere and Jomo Kenyatta

\textsuperscript{216} Sutherland and Meyer, \textit{Guns and Gandhi}, 201.
Had enriched him as well. Malcolm marveled that both presidents were free from racial animosity. He appreciated Nyerere’s perspective that his country’s argument was with the British government and not the British people. Inclusive political concepts as these served as a great example for Malcolm in developing new approaches to the African American struggle in the United States.

Two Dar es Salaam publications, the Nationalist and the Tanzania Standard had keen interest in Malcolm X’s reasons for being in Africa. Their interest in a radical black American opinion stemmed from their country’s disapproval of the controversial American actions in the Congo which had recently sparked large TANU anti-American demonstration. The Nationalist reported Malcolm’s sentiment towards Africa’s relationship to America in “Malcolm X Raps USA.” In this exclusive interview Malcolm expounded “that Africa should take a more definite line and not allow itself to be bullied, America needs Africa more than Africa needs America.” As a frontline country for the liberation movement, Tanganyika was a haven for the black world. The title of the article in the Tanzania Standard illustrated the acceptance of the leader in Tanganyika. “We’re one with you says ‘exile’ Malcolm X,” indicates that he was a part of the black liberation movements that found Tanganyika to be a sanctuary. In this article Malcolm provides an answer to Manning Marable’s suggestion in his autobiography of Malcolm that he “may have factored the election into his plans to remain abroad until November.” The unnamed Tanganyika Standard author quoted Malcolm stating that he was “staying away from America until after the election—if anything happens they will blame me.”

Malcolm also drew parallels between the Cold War and racism in pointing out that he thought “American leaders are more afraid of Africanism than they

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218 Ibid.
219 Sherwood, Malcolm X Visits Abroad, 64.
221 Ibid.
223 “We’re one with you, says ‘exile’ Malcolm X” Tanganyika Standard, October 13, 1964, 1.
are of Communism.”

He justified this statement in saying that “A communist can go to America and live where he likes, but an African can’t.”

As these articles introduced Tanzania’s citizens to Malcolm X, they also antagonized Peace Corps workers in the country.

Wesley Lynch, a coordinating overseas representative for West Virginia University Extension Services and the Peace Corps, had been in Tanganyika less than six weeks when the October 13 Tanzania Standard ran its first article on Malcolm X. Malcolm was quoted as saying, “The right type of Negro can make a great contribution in Africa, but the type that is being sent here now by the American Government is not designed to make a contribution to things in Africa.”

As an African American working with the Peace Corps, Lynch felt Malcolm X’s statement was unfairly directed toward African Americans such as himself. Lynch was in Tanganyika providing agricultural and technical assistance and supervising 31 Peace Corps volunteers who were in Tanzania. In his reply to Malcolm X’s assertion, Lynch stated that “[my] training and experience in agriculture and administration compelled me to accept the challenge to come to Tanganyika not as a ‘tool’ of the American government to brainwash people of the intelligence of Africans, but to share my knowledge as a professional in my field . . . to help people from other nations to develop, expand and progress.”

The exchange between two strikingly diverse philosophies of African Americans in Tanzania was not limited to this occasion. African Americans who traveled to Tanzania, whether to live or visit, came from different segments of black society, and not all were black nationalists.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{224}} \text{Ibid.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{225}} \text{Ibid.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{226}} \text{Ibid.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{227}} \text{“Peace Corps Letter Replies to Malcolm X,” Tanzania Standard, November 2, 1964, 2.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{228}} \text{Ibid.} \]
US counter to Malcolm X’s visit

Malcolm X’s warm reception by African nationalists in Africa definitely drew the attention of the US government. American officials were faced with a dilemma of countering Malcolm X’s charismatic presence, which threatened the US image in Africa. The American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLCA) received a grant from the American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) to fund a trip to Africa in late 1964. The source of AMSAC funds endeared this organization to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as a tool in the Cold War. Hugh Wilford stated that James Farmer, a founder of CORE, was the obvious choice of the US government to counter Africa’s impression of Malcolm X. Farmer was a pioneer in the application of Mahatma Gandhi’s protest techniques during the early civil rights struggle, sharing civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.’s belief in integration and nonviolence. When Farmer was asked to represent ANLCA he was given less than twenty-four hours to reply. On January 7, 1965, less than two months after Malcolm X’s departure from Africa and Europe, Farmer began his nine-country tour of Africa, beginning in Tanzania.

Farmer’s four-day stay in Tanzania was announced in the Nationalist prior to his arrival in Dar es Salaam. News coverage about Farmer was limited to the Nationalist announcement accompanied by a picture of Farmer having breakfast with Eduardo Mondlane and family. Sutherland reflected that when Farmer came to Dar es Salaam, although he did not represent the US government, “American officialdom met him at the airport.” The US government arranged for him to have close contact with the American Ambassador. Sutherland thought that Farmer’s meetings and constant contact with

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232 Ibid, 216.
234 Ibid; Farmer, *Freedom*, 133.
235 “Core Leader Due Here,” *Nationalist*, January 5, 1964, 2; photo in *Nationalist*, January 13, 1964, 2.
Ambassador William Lenhardt “gave [Farmer] the kiss of death.” Wilford suggests that the display of such a “heavy hand” by US diplomats in Tanzania at Farmer’s engagement raised suspicions that his tour was officially sponsored. Although the CIA controlled AMSAC, it could not control contact between African Americans and Africans, or what African Americans said while they were in Africa. George Schuyler, the writer for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, announced Farmer’s Africa tour in his column and quoted him as stating that he would “not act as a US apologist.” To this statement Schuyler posed an open question, “What does the US have to apologize for?”

Farmer did not bite his tongue in criticizing American foreign policy. Much to US officials’ chagrin was Farmer’s Cold War analysis of Africa. Farmer wrote in his notes that the Cold War was an academic issue as far as African countries were concerned. He understood from engaging with African leaders and nationalists that no African country wanted “to become tools of any new imperialism from China or Russia or the United States.” The US government made transport available to Farmer on his African tour. Most embarrassing for the United States was that Farmer did not hide knowledge obtained while traveling on US Air Corps transport in Africa of US unofficial involvement on the continent from the African and African American community.

Before the end of 1965 Farmer published *Freedom—When*. In it Farmer described what it was like traveling on a US Air Corps transport. He stated that he was the only one sitting in the cockpit without a gun. In the back of the cargo plane every one of the “sleazzy bunch” had a pistol on his hip. He had quick flashbacks of being home in the South, for he knew this crew was on a “nigger-killing” expedition. When arriving in Stanleyville he learned that the Congolese wore white handkerchiefs to signify that they

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237 Ibid.
238 Ibid, 218.
241 Ibid.
242 Farmer, *Freedom*, 140.
243 Ibid.
244 Ibid, 159.
were friendly to American mercenaries. Well-meaning Congolese even advised him to wear one. But Farmer declined stating that he “had enough of handkerchief-heads.”

Despite their debates that pitted a black nationalist against an integrationist, Farmer and Malcolm did have a good working relationship. They met shortly before the Freedom Rides, just as Farmer assumed the directorship of CORE. Although they never hid their differences, there was mutual respect between the two. In fact, upon Malcolm’s return from Africa, a New York radio announcement informed him of Farmer’s upcoming trip to the continent. Malcolm paid a visit to Farmer at his New York apartment before his African tour. Malcolm was concerned that Farmer might damage his reputation in Egypt, a country from which he received his major funding. Farmer remembers saying that he was not going to Egypt. It was clear that affiliates from Pan-African organizations such as AMSAC and ANLCA, tended to accept funds from US governmental agencies on one set of terms, but used these funds instead for the limited advantages and opportunities for their race. While the US State Department provided the opportunity for African Americans to engage with Africans in their homeland, they could not control who they contacted while on the continent or what they said, whether in Africa or the United States, about US policies.

The legacy of Malcolm X’s visit to Africa

What Malcolm achieved from his first 1964 journey from Africa and the Middle East until the tragic end of his life on February 21, 1965, served as a guide in the establishment of a black identity for the younger African Americans at this pivotal point in the civil rights movement in America. Malcolm X placed the African American cause on the international front of human rights during his personal transition from a black nationalist to an international Pan-Africanist. In sharing his quest with diverse African

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245 In the US South, “Uncle Toms” were referred to as handkerchief-heads.
246 Farmer, Freedom, 94.
247 Ibid.
249 Ibid.
American grassroots organizations through public appearances and the press, Malcolm pointed black Americans to a newfound African kinship. The tours of both Malcolm X and SNCC workers in Africa in 1964 brought the continent from the abstract for the African American community to a figurative reality in which the psychological relationship of the community to Africa extended beyond racial ties and shared racial oppression. The warm reception for Malcolm from African nationalists in numerous African countries reveals the African thirst for a real connection with grassroots African Americans rather than a US-scripted visit by an African American representative of the government.

The lobbying in which Malcolm X engaged with African nationalist leaders during his two tours of Africa reaped major dividends that African Americans realized at the end of Malcolm X’s life. African leaders who related to the linkage between Africa’s problems of racism and the African American plight of Jim Crow made this known at a UN debate on the Congo on December 10, 1964. Malcolm felt that the strategy of drawing parallels between America’s racism and racism in Africa gave African Americans in the United States more leverage. M. S. Handler reported in the *New York Times* on January 2, 1965, that leaders of African nations had acted precisely within the framework that Malcolm X had recommended. African leaders “accused the United States of being indifferent to the fate of blacks . . . [citing] as evidence the attitude of the US towards the Civil Rights struggle in Mississippi.” Louis Lansana Beavogui, Guinea’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the first to refer to this linkage at the December 10 UN debate. Ousmane Ba, Mali’s Foreign Minister, argued that “America’s racist attitude was responsible for the premeditated cold blooded act of

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251 Sherwood, *Malcolm X Visits Abroad*, 104.
252 Ibid, 181.
253 Ibid.
254 Ibid.
256 Ibid.
assassinating Patrice Lumumba.” Handler reported this incident “profoundly disturbed the American authorities, who claimed they had been caught off guard” when the comparison with racism in United States and America’s Foreign Policy in Africa was made at the United Nations.257

In turn, Malcolm X, as a loyal Pan-Africanist, immediately upon his return to the United States began to blast the American Congo policy.258 In his interviews and speeches, Malcolm spoke of his interaction with African leaders as well as his encounters with American diplomats in Africa. At a Harlem rally, Malcolm X commented on the fact that the US government paid the salaries of the white troops in the Congo. Taking it one step further, he suggested the organization of a drive in Harlem to raise black mercenaries, beginning with those in the audience who were veterans and unemployed. The audience roared approval to this idea. Establishing alliances in Africa was imperative for President Kennedy in winning the Cold War.259 Addressing matters such as the civil rights struggle in the southern United States in Africa was an extremely delicate matter for US state officials. Malcolm X exposed just how complex the situation was when interviewed by The Philadelphia Independence. While in Kenya, Malcolm was approached by US Ambassador William Attwood.260 Attwood asked Malcolm “not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt [America’s] image among Africans.” To this Malcolm replied “instead of attempting to quiet me . . . tell the US government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and there.”261

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257 Ibid.
260 “Malcolm Home, Blasts US Congo Policy.” It is interesting to note that FBI is underlined here and there in this clipping.
261 Ibid.
Upon Malcolm X’s return to the United States, he immediately began weekly meetings in Harlem with OAAU followers and engaged in numerous other speaking engagements at universities and other forums across the country. The focus of Malcolm X for these gatherings was the reshaping and reorientation of American black society’s perception of its racial struggle. For black militants and activists, such as Amiri Baraka, Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael), and James Forman, Malcolm X’s major themes of self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense “embodied the black ethos and the new man produced by revolutionary black consciousness.” Malcolm firmly believed that the militancy displayed on the African continent could not be separated from the militancy displayed among American blacks during this era. It was his theory that “the positive image . . . developing of Africans is developing in the minds of Black Americans consequently creating a more positive image of themselves.”

At a Harvard University group in late 1964 Malcolm X argued that African Americans were “just as much African today as four hundred years ago, only a modern counterpart of it.” This quote validates the argument of E. U. Essien-Udom that by the time of Malcolm X’s untimely death he had completely identified the American black struggle with the revolution which was begun, according to psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, by the “wretched of the earth.” Fanon was a Pan-Africanist from Martinique. After

265 Ibid.
completion of studies in France, he had been conscripted for work in an Algerian hospital where his allegiance turned to the Algerian Nationalist Movement. His writings were widely read by African American activists and intellectuals in the late 1950s and 1960s.\footnote{Robert O. Self, “The Black Panther Party and the Long Civil Rights Era” in In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement, ed. Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 28.} Fanon’s theoretical analysis on race and nationalism based on his personal life experiences, combined with his research and observation from working in Algerian hospitals during the revolution, served as a model for Malcolm X.\footnote{Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 360.} William Sales Jr. felt that Malcolm X’s perception of black violence in his “Message to the Grassroots” speech mirrored the theory in Frantz Fanon’s published works.\footnote{Sales, From Civil Rights to Black Liberation, 77.} Malcolm X was clearly leading African American society to look towards Africa for its solutions when stating that the connection between Africa and its diaspora had never ceased because of distance or time.

Malcolm made quite a point of the private audiences in Africa he had been granted by the chief executives of several of the countries he visited when speaking to African American gatherings on his return to the US.\footnote{Bruce Perry, Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1992), 323.} One thousand people attended Malcolm’s Homecoming Rally held by OAAU on November 20, 1964. From this rally onward Malcolm talked about the necessity of working together with Africans to solve mutual problems, stating that oppressed people must support each other’s struggle.\footnote{Sherwood, Malcolm X Abroad, 149.} Malcolm also made a point of noting that most African and Asian countries were turning away from capitalism and were instead adapting some form of socialism. He used this opportunity to explain how the economics of Western countries relied on the exploitation of developing countries, thus purposely keeping Africa and Asia as cheap sources of raw resources.
In a speech titled “Definition of a Revolution” given to the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference on November 10, 1963 at the King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit, Michigan, Malcolm X demonstrated that he understood and related to the Kiswahili term *Uhuru* just as the elite Pan-Africanists had, listening to Mboya at Carnegie Hall only a few years earlier. One must note that Malcolm had spent years visiting the Schomberg Collection at the New York Public Library on 135th Street and often visited with African nationalists who were at the United Nations. He was consequently quite knowledgeable on the history and cultures of Africa.\(^{273}\) In linking the black revolution of Africa to the Negro revolution in the United States, Malcolm also spoke of the Mau Mau’s, who brought forth the term *Uhuru* to the international front.\(^{274}\) At a rally at Williams Institutional Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in Harlem where SNCC members attended, Malcolm X stated that African Americans needed a Mau Mau movement rather than just continue to sit around singing “We Shall Overcome.”\(^{275}\)

The formulations of Malcolm X for African Americans’ engagement as set forth in the OAAU’s platform were never fully implemented during his life, yet his vision and strategies served as a guide in the development of the program of cultural activism that transformed African American isolation in the United States. Key to OAAU’s formula for mental liberation was its advocacy for education in African languages and other languages of the world. On January 24, 1964, in his famous “Afro-American History” speech at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, Malcolm spoke of the need for African Americans to become multilingual.\(^{276}\) Here the leader shared his feelings that left him “very much at a loss” because of his inability to communicate on his first trip in 1959 to Africa.\(^{277}\) Malcolm announced that Arabic classes would begin the following Monday


\(^{277}\) Ibid; Sherwood, *Malcolm X Visits Abroad*, 15.
and that Kiswahili classes were being organized, with Hausa classes to follow soon thereafter. For Malcolm, the implementation of African language courses served two purposes: these studies gave African Americans direct access to the ideas and history of African heritage, while also serving to kick start a cultural and educational revolution for the Africanization of black America.278

This transition in the civil rights movement and a new outreach to grassroots organizations did not go unnoticed by the FBI. A prime example of what caught their attention was an all-day meeting that Malcolm X held with Clarence Jones, Whitney Young, Ruby Dee, Sidney Poitier, as well as representatives for A. Philip Randolph and CORE. At the meeting the group discussed future strategies for the civil rights movement.279 The consensus of this powerful group was that the best idea for the future of the movement was an international approach that would facilitate the consideration of African American grievances by the United Nations.280 Of great concern to US espionage agencies was the claim by Malcolm X that African nations supported the introduction of the US civil rights problem to the international forum of the United Nations.281 At another meeting held in early 1965 and organized by Juanita Poitier, wife of Sidney Poitier, Malcolm X met with A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Height, and Ossie Davis. Davis recalled that the group spent that day discussing Malcolm’s philosophy, his mistakes, and his goals for the future. In his transition to black internationalism, Malcolm understood the necessity of forming an “umbrella for the collaboration between integrationists and nationalists,” which was the goal in the founding of OAAU.282

The primary function of the OAAU was the unification of the people’s struggle to satisfy the first step towards transforming the civil rights struggle into a larger quest for

279 FBI Coded Teletype from New York to Director, 67D, June 13, 1964, 100399321.
280 Ibid.
human rights.\textsuperscript{283} While in Africa, Malcolm wrote to a friend of Ossie Davis about the support among African nations for the African American human struggle.\textsuperscript{284} In the letter he spoke of his broadened scope of awareness as a result of his stay in Africa. Malcolm realized that the most important factor for African Americans at that time in the struggle was to maintain a united front; he understood the consequences of wasting valuable time and energy fighting each other.

Abdul Rahman Babu, the Tanzanian Minister of Commerce and Cooperatives, had developed a close friendship with Malcolm X that was instrumental in the development of a Pan-Africanist relationship between the United States and Tanzania. Babu was a delegate at the United Nations when Malcolm X returned to the United States from his second 1964 African tour. Malcolm’s first task upon returning to the states was the introduction of the concepts of international revolutionaries in socialism and Marxism to the OAAU’s upcoming rallies. On December 13 Babu accompanied Malcolm to an OAAU rally in Harlem. Che Guevara was scheduled to speak at the rally but cancelled for unknown reasons.\textsuperscript{285} Malcolm read a message of solidarity from Guevara, and Babu spoke in his place. Babu returned to another rally on the next night, where Malcolm introduced Babu as a leading African revolutionary. He stated in his introduction, “Our people need an education on what a revolution really is. . . . We have to know what it costs. Here is a brother who can tell us.”\textsuperscript{286} In his opening remarks, Babu drew a connection between the plight of Africans and Americans. He pointed out that the history of Tanzania was the history of slavery, which was no different than early African American history. He exposed an international link to this enthusiastic crowd when he proclaimed that “American policies creating havoc and bloodshed in South Vietnam and

\textsuperscript{284} Toure, \textit{John Henrik Clarke}, xii.
\textsuperscript{285} Sherwood, \textit{Malcolm X Visits Abroad}, 176.
\textsuperscript{286} Evanzz, \textit{Judas Factor}, 269.
in the Congo were the [same] that were responsible for racial oppression in America.”\textsuperscript{287} In the same speech, Babu informed African Americans how very important were Malcolm’s tours of Africa. Babu saw Malcolm X as the first African American leader of the 1960s to “take Africa seriously enough to go there and speak directly about conditions in the United States.”\textsuperscript{288} He wanted the audience to know that Africans recognized this fact and truly appreciated Malcolm for this gesture. Amrit Wilson, a scholar of women’s and South Asian studies viewed the relationship that formed between Babu and Malcolm as a bridge that created the Africanization of American black society.\textsuperscript{289} Babu, the Zanzibar revolutionary, linked “through his own experiences, the Pan Africanism of anti-colonialism with that of . . . the struggle of a united Africa [and] that of the African-American struggle.”\textsuperscript{290}

The new camaraderie forming between African Americans and Tanzanians, and its profound influence on these times, was reflected in Amiri Baraka’s poem, “War Class,” which recounts a meeting between Malcolm, Babu, and Baraka in 1965:

\begin{quote}
Years ago, we both swore oaths, with one another, of revolution.
You, Malcolm and I, one night in a room at the Waldorf.
Where you had come as ambassador from New Afrika,
when the fumes of revolution first opened our nose . . .
We still had not made the motion towards science,
had not yet tracked the long distance to reality.\textsuperscript{291}
\end{quote}

Amrit Wilson states that she had “no doubt that Babu had been a powerful influence leading Malcolm towards a more explicitly anti-imperialist world view.”\textsuperscript{292} It was the transition of Malcolm X to Pan-Africanism that gave wings to the Africanization of American blacks.

\textsuperscript{287} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{288} Sales, \textit{From Civil Rights to Black Liberation}, 101.
\textsuperscript{289} Wilson, “Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu,” 21.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{292} Wilson, “Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu,” 21.
This great leader visited thirteen African nations and later spoke of meetings with seven sitting African presidents. His belief that the establishment of African American self-determination could not be found in Western culture, but could be found instead through a natural alliance with Africa was acknowledged in East Africa in the Dar es Salaam *Nationalist* while on his second 1964 African tour. It was this premise that gave African Americans a new focus for their solution to US racial oppression. This single insight, gained while on tour, created urgency in Malcolm’s message to American blacks that there was a dire need to develop “their own revolutionary ideology and organization [by searching] for philosophical and political approaches rooted in the African Personality.” It was this message that reminded African Americans of their kinship to Africa and soon led many of them to Tanzania, especially after the implementation of African socialism by Tanzania’s leadership.

Baraka recalls clearly that Malcolm X’s assassination caused a critical turning point in his life. After the death of Malcolm X, Baraka, then known by his given name LeRoi Jones, changed his name. This was done to symbolize Jones’s transformation to his African kinship. Hajj Heesham Jaaber, the Islamic priest who officiated at Malcolm X’s burial services, renamed Jones *Ameer Barakat*, “Blessed Prince” in Arabic. Under the influence of Maulana Karenga and subsequent association with Karenga’s newly formed organization, US, Jones continued his Africanization by “Bantu-izing or Swahilizing” his first and last name to Amiri Baraka. All of Baraka’s second family with wife Amina had Swahili names, which for him signified identification with a black global revolution.

The OAAU did not survive the death of its leader, as it was one of the first black nationalist organizations targeted by the FBI for destruction. But the OAAU tenets

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provided a clear path for the expansion of the black struggle in America. Its existence catalyzed formation of a newfound black cultural nationalism in the United States that connected Africa to its diaspora in the United States. The profound affect of the messages of Malcolm X comes forth in the transition of African American activism to Pan-Africanism and black radicalism. These alternative doctrines and ideologies adopted by new groups came from Malcolm’s treasured publications, speeches, and interviews. It was these directives from Malcolm that guided many African Americans to look towards Tanzania.

Conclusion

After the independence of Tanganyika, black internationalism increased between Tanganyika nationalists and African Americans. Through media coverage and public appearances of East African nationalists in their drive for total black liberation, the African American community was introduced to Swahili political vocabulary and gained a familiarity with Tanzanian nationalism. The principles of Pan-Africanism, which were embedded in Tanganyikan nationalism, opened a new space for African American involvement in Africa. Inspired by East Africa’s self-determination, African Americans looked to this new developing country, recognizing the necessity of internationalizing the civil rights struggle. Racial consciousness and the common practice of kinship in Tanganyika and America’s black societies catalyzed the friendship of Malcolm X and Abdul Babu. Their relationship was instrumental in the evolution of the civil rights struggles. The demand for Uhuru had now crossed the Atlantic Ocean and a new generation of African Americans heard the cry for which the initial Pan-Africanists’ networks of the 1940s and 1950s laid the foundation.

Just as Amiri Baraka’s newfound awakening of blackness was catalyzed by the death of Malcolm X, reflected in both the writing of Baraka at the time and in the formation of the Newark Congress of African People, the same experiences occurred.

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296 Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*, 59.
297 Ibid, 61.
with many other blacks throughout America who attempted to follow the path that Malcolm X had outlined. The revolutionary doctrine of Malcolm radicalized a number of segments in black America. Such a change is clearly seen in SNCC in 1967 in its transition from a civil rights to a human rights organization. After the death of Malcolm X and Ruby Robinson, executive secretary of SNCC, George Forman gained a new sense of urgency. Forman steeled himself through a careful reading of *Malcolm X Speaks*, and its revolutionary thoughts sustained him in not only pushing SNCC to adopt an international approach for the African American struggle but also in the development of an African American Skills program also known as the Pan Skill program. The emergence of “Black Power” as a mass slogan introduced by SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael in 1966 was a turning point that began a new international phrase in the American black struggle.

As the civil rights movement evolved through black internationalism, Tanzania stepped to the forefront of Africa’s liberation movement. Tanzania’s planning and implementation of the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 was of great appeal in the United States. New cultural, political, and economic programs—developed as a result of the black arts movements begun by Baraka, as well as from the national affiliation of black grassroots groups with SNCC—looked towards Africa for inspiration. From Black Power emerged such organizations as the Black Panther Party, the US Organization, the Black Women’s United Front, the Republic of New Afrika, and the Revolutionary Action Movement. The National Welfare Rights Organization, Nation of Islam, African Liberation Support Committee, the Young Lords Party, and the League of Revolutionary

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300 In this instance “US” is not an abbreviation for the United States, but rather stands for black people. Karenga defines the pronoun “US” as versus “them,” the white oppressors.
Black Workers also joined with these organizations at the end of the 1960s to form a black united front.

Each of the newly formed groups claimed to be the true heir of Malcolm X. As such, these organizations looked towards the model which Malcolm X provided in the formation of OAAU. John Henrik Clarke stressed the firm belief of Malcolm that if black America’s physical revolution was to be successful, a cultural and educational revolution was essential. African Americans’ familiarity with the rallying cries of Uhuru in the evolution of its struggle emerged through language. It is in the adoption of Kiswahili as a symbolic language in African American cultural nationalism and the establishment of self-identity in education that the continuation of the relationship between Tanzania and African Americans came forth in the United States. Concepts introduced upon the implementation by Tanzania of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 were appearing in the American black community. Swahili training became a must in newly developing African and African American studies programs on American campuses, as well as in black community centers. Moreover, African Americans joined Tanzanians in numerous educational, human rights, and cultural Pan-African projects in Tanzania and the United States.

302 Ibid.
Chapter Three

Tanzanian Nation Building in Africa and Abroad, 1967–1974

“Watu wazuri use Afro Sheen.” The Kiswahili term *watu wazuri*, which translates as beautiful people, was seen in black advertising in magazine and newspaper ads, heard in songs on black radio stations, and eventually in black television commercials from the late 1960s through the 1970s. These snippets of Kiswahili in African American advertisements indicated this language was a key element in the newfound racial consciousness of black America.

Charlotte O’Neal, wife of exiled Panther Pete O’Neal, who has resided with her husband in Tanzania since 1972, reflected on her first encounter with Kiswahili in the United States prior to moving to Tanzania. She recalled singing the lyrics: “We [didn’t] know then that it was Kiswahili we were singing, but we *did* know that the word came from *somewhere* in Africa.”¹ In this era, African descendants in the United States derived great pride in the liberation that African nations were steadily achieving, and they craved any connection to the continent. Travel begins to increase to Africa, particularly Tanzania, by African Americans. Some came to Tanzania to work on various nation-building projects, others were in need of refuge, while some were just curious. This chapter will illustrate how African Americans’ engagement with Tanzania at the dawn of its independence allowed Tanzanian nationalism to flow from Africa to the United States during the formative era of the 1960s’ Africanization in black America.

Ali Mazrui suggests that perhaps it was the assimilative tendency of Swahili that led Julius Nyerere “to use the term ‘Swahili’ to refer to any person of African origin.”² The African diaspora in the United States recognized this gesture and was very receptive

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to this inclusion. After 1965 black nationalists viewed members of the liberation movements in the developing world “not only as allies, but as brothers and sisters in the struggle.”

Ron Walter wrote that “the attraction of the Tanzanian experiment [in the 1960s and 1970s] in African socialism was irresistible to many African Americans.”

Although cultural practices that survived the middle passage were never the same in either the Americas or in Africa, basic concepts remained. The literal translation of the Kiswahili word *ujamaa* is “extended family.” Nyerere deemed this concept to be the foundation for African socialism in Tanzania. The enslaved African society in the United States was built through the practice of extended kinship, for it was a necessity for survival in the middle passage and onward in the Americas. It is this familiarity with cultural practices that enabled the invitation from Tanzania and the participation of African Americans in the development of Tanzania—which in turn triggered the passage of Tanzanian nationalism into black America.

As the lingua franca for East Africa, Kiswahili served as a cohesive tool for TANU in uniting the indigenous Tanganyikans across ethnic lines during its anticolonial drive for independence. Swahili cultural influences from the East African coast provided a common culture for elements in urban centers that formed hubs for political interaction and a common indigenous language through which leaders could communicate with the rural masses. Mazrui understood the ramifications of Nyerere’s inclusive act of

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3 Komozi Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 8.
incorporating all those of African descent regardless of ethnicity into the Swahili cultural mold. The assimilation of Tanzanian nationalism into African American society in the 1960s and 1970s validated Mazrui’s conceptualization that inclusive actions taken by Nyerere did make “the collective consciousness of the Tanzanian people a local equivalent of a transcontinental, Pan-African identity.”

Transformation or total abandonment of the British colonial structure in Tanzania was TANU’s primary task after independence. Because of the lack of skilled and educated citizens, Nyerere acknowledged that it was necessary for his country to borrow from other cultures when it was deemed appropriate. Tanzania was known for its exceptional hospitality extended to African nationalists, refugees from within Africa, and African descendants off the continent. Hospitality extended in cultural exchange placed those who were involved in direct contact with African socialism in Tanzania. African Americans entered Tanzania through both doors of hospitality. Increased travel between Tanzania and the United States for engagement in black liberation efforts—through education, health care, religious, and human rights causes, in addition to providing a location that served as a haven for African American political exiles—enabled the influence of African socialism from Tanzania to penetrate black American society. This chapter examines how joint Tanzanian/African American projects in cultural exchange shaped not only Tanzanian identity and self-determination but the African diaspora in America as well.

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12 Ibid.
Intellectuals engage in the task of nation building

Jan Blommaert analyzed class formation through the role of Tanzanian intellectuals in nation building after the introduction of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* in 1967. It is widely recognized that the term intellectual is a very slippery and controversial one. In this case it is not a socio-economic profile but “rather a specific way of performing semantic practices.” Simply put, this group of intellectuals was distinguished in two ways. First, this small segment of society had received their higher education in Western-style educational institutions and therefore possessed skills obtained from training that was a part of the colonial legacy. Secondly, this group of intellectuals came into being by occupying a specific domain. Tanzanian intelligentsia crystallized around the social institutions of the country; most prominently noted for the events that fostered “the Dar es Salaam School” which emerged at the University of Dar es Salaam. Mlimani, which references the location of the University of Dar es Salaam, was an international gathering place for intellectuals from around the world who engaged in academic endeavors. The African diaspora was intricately involved in cultural exchange with Tanzanian intellectuals in the early development of the country. Formation of African diaspora academics and new innovative approaches to black scholarship are evidence of the Pan-Africanist collaborations that stemmed from Tanzania.

Considered by many as the most intellectual of African leaders, Julius Nyerere is sometimes credited with being integral to the “Tanzaphilia” that gripped so many African

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15 Ibid.
17 Blommaert, “Intellectuals and Ideological Leadership,” 129.
19 *Mlimani* translates as “on the hill.” Most students and scholars simply refer to the University of Dar es Salaam as “the hill.”
American intellectuals. Nyerere was a product of the Western system of education. He attended Mwisenge School and Tabora Secondary School, both of which were Catholic Mission schools in Tanzania. While continuing his studies at Makerere University in Uganda, Nyerere developed an interest in philosophical subjects. After his Makerere graduation in 1945, he returned to Tanzania. He taught biology and history in Tabora at St. Mary’s in the four years preceding his advanced studies in history and economics at the University of Edinburgh, where he earned his Master of Arts degree in 1952. Being in the United Kingdom from 1949 to 1952 placed Nyerere in a European black hub during an era of heightened anticolonialism activism. In London he joined the Fabian Colonial Bureau, where he was influenced by their variety of gradualist socialism. In addition, John Iliffe suggests, Nyerere “apparently had sat at the feet of George Padmore, the West Indian Pan-Africanist who had been Nkrumah’s mentor.” This gave Nyerere the opportunity to vastly widen his conception of African affairs. He once stated that his ideas of politics were completely formed within these three years. After returning to Tanganyika in 1952, Nyerere taught history at the St. Francis College in Pugu outside of Dar es Salaam prior to his total involvement in politics. Although Nyerere was forced to choose between a career in politics or a career in education in 1955, he was affectionately known to the citizens of Tanzania as Mwalimu, Swahili for “teacher,” after assuming the presidency. Although Nyerere did leave the classroom, he remained deeply involved in education. While president, he served as chancellor of the University of East Africa from 1963 to 1970 and held the same position at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1970 to 1985 and Sokoine University from 1984 to 1985.

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23 Ibid.
24 Smith, *We Must Run While They Walk*, 59.
25 Until 2005 all Tanzanian presidents served as Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam.
A groundbreaking conference

The International Congress of African Historians was held September 26 through October 2, 1965, in the infancy of African historical studies and the relocation of the University of Dar es Salaam.26 The conference grew out of an initiative promoted by the Society of African Culture.27 It was organized by the University of Dar es Salaam in conjunction with the government of Tanzania and financed partially by a generous contribution from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).28 Hosting this conference set the tone for the university to incorporate the wider Pan-African mission of the country.29 One hundred forty-seven delegates came from Africa, the Americas, and Europe. With the exception of the Maghreb countries, all parts of Africa were represented at this gathering.

Mwalimu Nyerere laid the foundation for this event in his opening speech to the congress. It was clear that there was a cross section of scholars from around the world with “different specialties and methods of approach to the subject of African history.”30 For Nyerere, the mission of this conference was to coordinate the different academic specialists and effectively use their contributions for historical purposes. A specific directive asked that those who were led by the Marxist philosophy of history and those who adhered to the Western philosophies examine closely the applications of their approaches to problems that had proved valid and useful in contextualizing African history. There was particular interest in combining written and oral approaches to provide

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26 T. O. Ranger, ed., Emerging Themes of African History (Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Publishing House, 1968), ix. The University of Dar es Salaam Faculty of Law program first opened on October 25, 1961. The campus relocated to its current location in June of 1964, and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences were opened at the new location.
29 Rupert Charles Lewis, Walter Rodney’s Intellectual and Political Thought (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 129.
30 Nyerere, “Speech by the President of Tanzania,” 2.
concrete evidence of a past. Scholars noted that, without contributions from oral traditions, accounts of the past were “only conjecture from half-knowledge.”\textsuperscript{31} The conference emphasized the fact that the interpretation of historical facts required a viewpoint based on a thorough understanding of the nature of African society. The historians present at the conference covered the primary concern of the problems of research and teaching in African history. Four main points were covered: African historiography, methods, emerging themes, and the teaching of African history.\textsuperscript{32} From these procedures, Terence Ranger, the first history professor at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1963 through 1969, popularized the slogan “putting the African back into African history.”\textsuperscript{33}

The African diaspora gained momentum as a subject of study during the panel discussion titled “The African Abroad or the African Diaspora.”\textsuperscript{34} Joseph E. Harris, an African American professor of history who lectured on African history at Howard University, was the chairman and commentator. In his opening panel remarks, Harris traced the relationship of African descendants outside Africa to their African heritage and defined this relationship as a connection that began with several nineteenth-century Negro Americans.\textsuperscript{35} Harris cited Alexander Crummell, an African American clergyman and missionary who stated in 1860 that “the Diaspora had not and could not break the bonds linking persons of African descent to Africans,”\textsuperscript{36} Harris concluded his timeline with the major role the Negro American played in the founding of the International Society of African Culture organized in France in 1956. International chapters of the Society of African Culture, whose efforts linked African descendants from around the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Andrew Coulson, \textit{Tanzania: A Political Economy} (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1982), 226.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Joseph E. Harris, ed., \textit{Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora} (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), 4.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 148.
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world in “understanding, expressing, and perpetuating their African heritage,” also validated the premise of the pioneer nineteenth-century Pan-Africanists who demonstrated that the bonds between Africa and its descendants abroad could be sustained despite time and distance.

George Shepperson, a professor of history at Edinburgh University and a colleague and friend from Nyerere’s days at the university, presented the keynote paper, “The African Abroad or the African Diaspora.” Shepperson’s opening words were Deuteronomy, chapter 28, verse 25: [and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth,] “and from then onwards, the Jewish Dispersal or Diaspora swept over the world”—a fitting introduction to a discussion of the parallels that may be drawn between the Jewish and African dispersals.37 It was here that Shepperson set the course for the concept of the diaspora to be “considerably extended both in time and space . . . [for] the maximum value for [a] new African historiography.”38 Seeds planted at the congress sparked a turning point in the art of writing and interpreting African history. It was only the beginning of academic collaborative projects that would stem from Tanzania to the Atlantic African diaspora.

Just as important as the development of new approaches in scholarship was to Nyerere, so also was the dissemination of the new knowledge acquired at this conference. A six-member editorial committee was appointed to publish the proceedings in English and French under the aegis of UNESCO.39 Within three years of this initiative, Terence Ranger and Fr. P. E. Mveng edited a collection of papers from the conference that was published both in French and English under the title, Emerging Themes of African History. After the presentation at the International Congress of African History, Harris presented his thoughts on the importance of the African diaspora in UNESCO’s multivolume General History of Africa.40 At Howard University in 1979 Harris convened

38 Ibid.
40 Harris, Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora, 4.
the first African Diaspora Studies Institute. This empirically expensive and challenging project invited participants “to consider the meanings, relevance, and location of boundaries as diasporas impinge on the economies, politics, and social relations of both homeland, the host country [and] area.”

The Second African Diaspora Studies Institute was held in 1981 at the University of Nairobi in Kenya where over a hundred delegates attended. Joseph Harris was the chairman and commentator for the panel. *The African Abroad or the African Diaspora* at the International Congress of African Historians held in Tanzania in 1965 continued the research and development of the study of the African diaspora. Harris was the organizer of these two conferences. The primary objective of these initial conferences, Harris stated, “was to identify and organize an international network of scholars and others and to promote teaching and research in the field of African Diaspora studies.” Selected papers from both conferences were compiled and edited by Harris for publication in 1982 as *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, with a revised edition in 1993. The pioneering work in this volume set the course for the reevaluation of the global dispersion of the people of Africa. This anthology is comprehensive, for it covered diaspora theory and specific case studies. Evidence of continued scholarly interaction as a result of the International Historians Congress in Tanzania comes forth in the theoretical chapter, “The Diaspora as Concept and Method.” George Shepperson, whose groundbreaking paper in Tanzania, “The African Abroad or the African Diaspora,” catalyzed the study of the African diaspora, was among the scholars who provided theoretical contributions in the first chapter, “African Diaspora: Concept and Context.” Elliott P. Skinner in “The Dialectic Between Diasporas and Homelands” provided his theory of how blacks in the

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42 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
Western hemisphere dealt with the dual identities of being both citizens of the Americas while also being descendants of African ancestry. St. Clair Drake analyzed the parameters of the diaspora and Pan-Africanism’s place within this space. However the majority of the essays focused on specific case studies; for example, Lawrence Levine in “African Culture and Slavery in the United States” and Ibrahima B. Kake in “The Impact of Afro-Americans on French-Speaking Africans, 1919–45.” Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora by the close of the twentieth century had become a standard reference for those who were interested in studying the movement of Africans in the Americas and beyond.

**The Dar es Salaam School of Historiography**

By 1970, a substantial corpus of Tanzanian and East African history had been produced by scholars who either were once or currently associated with the University of Dar es Salaam’s history department. Donald Denoon and Adam Kuper surmised that the work from “the Dar es Salaam School” was “characterized by a sufficient number of common concerns and approaches that made it legitimate to refer to it” as a school of historiography. Denoon and Kuper found the common denominator for the Dar es Salaam school was that its “written history was described as nationalist.” These authors attributed the nationalist theme in Tanzanian history to the fact that the new history department of the University of Dar es Salaam was founded by “a predominantly expatriate group in a newly independent country for which up to that time very little history had been written.”

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47 Ibid.
48 Ibid, 331.
49 Ibid, 329.
Following his doctoral work at Oxford, Terence Ranger went on to teach British and European history at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1957. In January 1963, Ranger was deported from Rhodesia and went to the University of Dar es Salaam to establish a history department at the newly opened University of Dar es Salaam. Ranger remained until 1969, gathering around him historians such as Walter Rodney. In retrospect many years later, Ranger felt that the Dar es Salaam school of African nationalist history was defined by commitment to African agency in historical analysis and to the production of useable history for the newly independent African nations. Since the model that Denoon and Kuper built for the interpretation of Dar es Salaam historians was derived from the citation of Ranger’s work, he felt compelled to answer the debate that began in 1970. In his 1971 response, Ranger argues that he does not believe that historians should concentrate on African activity within national boundaries. The Pan-Africanism incorporated into Tanzanian nationalism dictates capturing the history of Tanzania from within and outside the boundaries of the country.

Mlimani

Just as the momentum from the Tanzanian historians congress catalyzed the collaboration between international intellectuals at the African Diaspora Studies Institute, other endeavors revealed the influence of the continuous group efforts where international and Tanzanian scholars joined together at the University of Dar es Salaam. The role of the first university in Tanzania was unique, for Tanzania was a frontline country for liberation movements in South Africa, with an activist intellectual leader. Nyerere’s intellectual commitment and steadfast involvement in turn gave the faculty “a sense of the wider Pan-African mission.” The university was an integral part of the TANU plan that envisioned “university education to inculcate a socialist attitude,

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51 Ibid.
53 Lewis, Rodney’s Intellectual and Political Thought, 129.
meaning a spirit of cooperative solidarity, sharing, social responsibility, and solving problems together.”

From its beginnings in 1964, Mlimani (the Hill) in Dar es Salaam attracted radical expatriate scholars who were intrigued by the implementation of an African socialism. In May 1965, St. Clair Drake, Professor of Sociology at Roosevelt University in Chicago, spoke at the University of Dar es Salaam on African socialism. Drake gave the history of African socialism and the Pan-African movement, beginning in the 1930s with the meeting of people such as Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and George Padmore. In this lecture Drake pointed out that, since World War II, it was clear that many ways to socialism had been evolving. As such, with the achievement of independence in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, different forms of socialism had developed in Africa.

Walter Rodney, a historian from the Caribbean island nation of Guyana, was one of the most well-known international scholars to hold a post at the university. Rodney began as a lecturer in history at the university in the academic year 1966–1967. After lecturing for a year at the University of Jamaica in 1968, Rodney returned to the University of Dar es Salaam as a Senior Lecturer in 1969, and in 1973 he became Associate Professor of History. Rupert Lewis suggested that “Rodney belonged to the generation of postcolonial historians of Africa and the Caribbean who embarked on the project of rewriting the history of the regions affected by the Atlantic slave trade from the standpoint of those whose voices had been muted in the historical records.” During his tenure at the University of Dar es Salaam, Rodney wrote his groundbreaking book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, which was published in 1972. From a Marxist-influenced

57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
60 Rupert Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s Intellectual and Political Thought* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 47.
analysis, this narrative shows how Africa was deliberately impoverished by Europe and the United States. Rodney said, “It is no accident that the text as a whole was written within Tanzania, where expressions of concern for development have been accompanied by considerably more positive action than in several parts of the continent.”

Recognition was given by the author to A.M. Babu, then the former Minister of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, for tackling the question of development strategy in the final section of the text. Babu befriended Malcolm X in Cairo on his second Africa trip in 1965 and was instrumental in introducing the revolutionary methods to the OAAU members.

*Education and Black Struggle: Notes from the Colonized World,* edited by the Institute of the Black World for publication in 1974, was an important collaborative effort of scholars from this period. The project reflected international black scholars’ identification with colonized people as set forth in the theory of Franz Fanon in his *Wretched of the Earth* and the global colonial concepts expressed by the Bandung Conference. Papers for this anthology were from authors who had lived under various forms of colonialism or segregation. Articles by Julius Nyerere, Walter Rodney, Nhan Dan, and Grace Lee Boggs were in the “Building the New Education Out of the Old” segment. Other scholars who contributed to this work were Vincent Harding, C. L. R. James, St. Clair Drake, Robert Hill, and William Strickland. The Institute of the Black World (IBW) emerged from a 1967 conversation between Professor Vincent Harding and Stephen Anderson in Atlanta, Georgia. The IBW mission was the analysis of consciousness and its relationship to black cultural production for the establishment of a larger vision for social change. The institute was committed to the national struggle over control of the definition of the black experience in the United States. Joseph Peniel described the mission as the formation of a dynamic black think tank responsible for the

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63 Ibid.
black community taking the reins in defining itself and the nature of its own past and present. Without black internationalism and the practice of Pan Africanism initiated by the principles of Ujamaa from African socialism, a project such as this could not have accessed the intellectual knowledge of the international community. In turn, by providing a platform for lectures, discussion, and debates between the years 1967 and 1977, the University of Dar es Salaam was a “cooking pot of ideas.” Haroub Othman, a colleague of Rodney’s during this era, stated, “No African scholar, statesman or freedom fighter could ignore its environs.” The university was a magnet for African Americans that drew numbers of nationalists, intellectuals, and publishers, all wanting to share in this great undertaking occurring on “the hill.”

At the same time, Mlimani attracted students who came through study-abroad programs or were individually seeking an understanding of Africa’s liberation. It was not uncommon that the US black press announced study-abroad ventures in which American students had some contact with the University of Dar es Salaam. An American university study-abroad group returning from Dar es Salaam in 1968 had the opportunity to engage with Communist Chinese technicians in Nairobi, Kenya, who were returning home from a project in Tanzania. African American students in the group greatly impressed the Chinese, and the technicians urged them to organize a student tour of the People’s Republic of China. They gave the students an address in Peking to write, promising to make a full report of the unexpected Sino-American meeting to their government officials. Such an opportunity would not have availed itself for African Americans in other global locations.

Study-abroad itineraries often allowed students extended travel throughout Africa, where the University of Dar es Salaam would be a prominent highlight. Chicago City College in 1969 coordinated a project named “Operation Higher Education.” Students

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64 Haroub Othman, quoted in Lewis, Rodney’s Intellectual and Political Thought, 129.
toured East African campuses, of which the University of Dar es Salaam was the first on the list. Clarence Turner stated that the purpose of this project was to give the students an opportunity to see how “black men run their governments, how Africans live and how they educate themselves.”\textsuperscript{67} In 1972 the University of Michigan Center for Afro-American and African Studies offered the program “Study in the Black World and Exchange Program” to its students and faculty.\textsuperscript{68} This program demonstrated the continuous growth of such programs through the years, as each participant now spent a year at participating institutions in Africa or the Caribbean, which included the University of Dar es Salaam.

Many African American students also traveled individually to study at the university. One such student was Prexy Nesbitt. In 1962 Nesbitt enrolled at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, specifically for “the opportunity to have a year overseas.”\textsuperscript{69} In 1961, the year prior to admission to Antioch, Nesbitt was a part of the Experiment in International Living in Sweden. While in Sweden, he was continuously running into people his age who were interested in Africa. Participating in the Antioch program gave Nesbitt the opportunity to study at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1965 to 1966.\textsuperscript{70} While there, Nesbitt had the opportunity to assist in the archeological expeditions of John Sutton. As a result, he traveled in to Iringa in southern Tanzania and Dodoma, which is in central Tanzania, as well as to Olduvai Gorge in the north. As a history student, Nesbitt was the only student representative to attend the International Congress of African History in 1965. From his privileged vantage point, Nesbitt recalled

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} “University of Michigan offers exchange program,” \textit{Chicago Daily Defender}, April 4, 1972, 25.
\textsuperscript{70} Prexy Nesbitt interview by Minter, 1998.
that he recognized this “was an emerging field at that very time, and [he] felt that [he] was very much living a kind of living history.”

Returning to the United States, Nesbitt completed his last year at Antioch before entering graduate school at Columbia University in New York. Nesbitt was brought up in a race-conscious extended family in Chicago. On his first trip to Tanzania he immediately immersed himself in the African National Congress refugee community in Dar es Salaam. After losing his fellowship at Columbia as a result of a protest in which he was arrested, Nesbitt left the country in 1967 with intentions of going to Tanzania to work for Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) at the Mozambique Institute. Eduardo Mondlane had arranged employment with the Church World Service for Nesbitt in conjunction with the World Council of Churches, providing funds for him to teach. Unable to teach when arriving in Tanzania, Nesbitt worked with the Mozambique Institute with Jorge Rebelo editing the *Mozambique Revolution*, returning to the United States in early 1970. While in New York, Nesbitt made contact with Shafrudin Khan who was the FRELIMO representative at the United Nation from 1968 to 1975. Initially Nesbitt had intended to join FRELIMO as a militant before Khan and Mondlane talked him into becoming part of the Mozambique Institute.

Although Nesbitt spoke on the telephone with Mondlane during the recruitment process in 1968, he never saw him. When Nesbitt and Mondlane met later for dinner, he realized that he knew him. In the 1950s, education brought Mondlane to Chicago, Nesbitt’s hometown, to attend graduate school at Northwestern University. Although it had not occurred to Nesbitt how he knew Mondlane, Mondlane immediately knew the connection was through one of Nesbitt’s uncles in Chicago. Nesbitt, as it turns out, had met the older man as a young boy, for Mondlane was a good friend of his uncle Lendor.

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71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
Nesbitt. Black internationalism and Pan-Africanism once again made the world a smaller place for Africa and its diaspora.

**And they came: A door to Africa opens**

The University of Dar es Salaam was only one of the institutions that drew African Americans to Tanzania. Ron Walter wrote that “the attraction of the Tanzanian experiment in African socialism was irresistible to many African Americans, and in a short time, a small but significant number of them had established a community in Tanzania.” This community was comparable to the experiences of African Americans in Ghana before the 1966 coup that deposed Ghana’s president, Kwame Nkrumah. The group became known to Tanzanians simply as the “Afros.” Not all African Americans who visited Tanzania during the years 1967 through 1977 were intellectuals or black nationalists. Those who came were as diverse as the African American population in the United States. Walters characterized some of the black expatriates in Tanzania as pioneering intellectuals, but he also saw former SNCC activists and just the curious, while “others were assorted ideologues and voyeurists.” And among these were a few African Americans who were not actually what they projected themselves to be, but were strategically placed CIA agents.

In 1965 United States intelligence reports took special notice of the developing relationship between Tanzania and China. From the Cold War perspective of the US government, “Tanzania [was] taking the left turn.” On the question of African liberation, the reports depicted Nyerere as a fanatic. Great details were given on the communist arms influx into Dar es Salaam. The report alleged Tanzania had received over 2,500 tons of arms from China and the USSR during the year 1965. Although “tight

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77 Ibid.

security precautions made it difficult to determine the precise disposition of [the] arms,” it was surmised that “many of the guns were transited from Tanzania to eastern Congo and liberation training camps in Tanzania, particularly the Kigoma camp on Lake Tanganyika where they reported some 3,000 to 4,000 Congolese in training.” These speculations could only be obtained from insider knowledge. As the era of white rule was ending, the Cold War was heightening on the continent of Africa. President Kennedy’s strategy of preserving a free world alliance by containing Soviet and communist influence focused US attention on developing countries. As a nonaligned frontline country for support of the Southern and Central African freedom fighters and refugees, Tanzania caught the CIA’s unprecedented attention, for the United States saw “no room for nonalignment in this dispute.”

An Article in the August 1969 issue of Sepia magazine focused on three families who were living at the time in Tanzania. Paul and Rita Heinegg, a biracial couple with their daughter, Ayo Patrice, and Gil and Wilhelmena Banks and their two sons, Abubadika and Quabla, boarded a plane bound for Tanzania on February 1, 1969. Both couples had been active members of the Brooklyn chapter of CORE. They met while participating in the Desegregate Route 40 Project in 1961. US-1 and US-40 were the major highways used for travel to and from Washington DC. Because the Freedom Riders forced the issue of segregation in interstate travel to national and international attention, the federal government pressured restaurants and gas stations along the route to serve and allow African diplomats to use the white-only restrooms. Yet in order to be recognized, foreign dignitaries had to wear traditional African ethnic attire. This was the catalyst for the Route 40 Project that bonded these two families. Disgusted by what the

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couples saw as a lack of progress in the civil rights movement, the Heinegg and Banks families left the country for Tanzania. Their inspiration to relocate to Tanzania was an unnamed black family from Brooklyn who had moved to the country the previous year.

Calvin Cobb, with his wife and three children, was the third family that the Sepia article reported as living in Tanzania. Cobb had been a successful lawyer in Long Island and an outspoken civil rights leader. In 1966 Cobb received $25,700 in cash from the Second Baptist Church in Rockville Centre, Long Island to hold in his law office. The Sepia article disclosed that, during a lunch break, Cobb’s law office caught fire and the money mysteriously disappeared. The Suffolk County District Attorney convicted Cobb for defrauding the Second Baptist Church. He was disbarred and was sentenced to a year and a half to three years in prison. This sentence was suspended in lieu of paying back the church $25 a week over time. He had paid only $150 before leaving the country.

Fleeing from the United States, Cobb wrote a $2,774 insufficient check to British Overseas Airways Corporation to cover the flight for his family from London to Kenya. The discovery of the fraudulent check revealed to US officials that he had left the country and thus began an international pursuit. Cobb and his family remained in Tanzania with the permission of Vice President Rashid Kawawa, who refused to extradite him to the United States on the grounds that he was being sought for political reasons. Cobb stayed in Tanzania seven years before returning to the United States in 1974, “claiming

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84 “Back to Africa,” Sepia, 48.
he wanted to face the music.”91 When Cobb was taken back to court in Suffolk County, Rev. Charles W. Durden, the pastor of Second Baptist Church, and other church officials pleaded leniency.92 In February 1975 Cobb was sentenced to three years and remained out on bail. Before an appeal could occur, Cobb fled yet again to Tanzania in May 1975. The second time Cobb left the country with only the clothes on his back, while his wife stayed in the United States to comply with the courts. But this time Cobb was immediately ordered to leave Tanzania. Two New York counties sought his extradition from Tanzania.93 In 1967 when Cobb first fled to Tanzania, there was no extradition treaty with the United States; in 1975 there was.94 A prohibited immigrant status for Cobb in Tanzania gave him no choice in the matter; he could stay and go to jail for violations of the country’s immigration laws or leave the country. Because he did not leave, he was placed in a Tanzanian jail. In October 1975, he was released and traveled to Kenya, where he asked the American consul for assistance in getting home. When Cobb returned to court in the United States, the judge ordered psychiatric tests.95 It was not unusual for Tanzania to offer haven to political refugees, even to African American citizens that fit this status. Although some African Americans who sought refuge in Tanzania claimed to be dedicated nationalists, they were less than trustworthy and were not dedicated to the cause of nation building in Africa but only taking advantage of the open door in Tanzania.

In 1983 the United Nations recognized the commitment of Tanzania to this gesture of good will and awarded the Nansen Medal to Julius Nyerere for “exceptional hospitality.”96 The award was given to Tanzania for the relief provided to the Burundian, Congolese, Rwandan, and southern African refugees. Yet the black solidarity instilled in

95 Ibid.
Tanzanian nationalism through the incorporation of multifaceted practice of Pan-Africanism made room for African Americans in this country. Cobb was not the only African American political exile from the United States to seek and receive asylum. The purpose of COINTELPRO, the code name for the FBI’s domestic counterintelligence program, in the words of Director J. Edgar Hoover, was to “expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize subversives.”97 In the late 1960s and early 1970s black revolutionary nationalists and black nationalist groups were primary targets of the covert operations in fulfillment of this vague FBI directive. By the 1970s a number of African Americans involved in black nationalist activities were either jailed, dead, or exiled. A number of the exiled made their way to Tanzania—for short periods of time, extended stays, or permanently.

Pete O’Neal was the founder and leader of the Kansas City chapter of the Black Panther Party. A victim of COINTELPRO, in 1969 O’Neal was sentenced on charges that he illegally transported a gun across state lines.98 At his four-year sentencing trial on October 29, 1970, a deputy covertly let him know that once in jail he was never coming out.99 O’Neal subsequently failed to appear for the next hearing on November 9, 1970. Rather than go to jail and become a statistic, O’Neal jumped bail, fleeing the country with his wife Charlotte Hill O’Neal. In 1972 the couple surfaced in Algeria, where several black radical revolutionaries from the Panthers, including Eldridge Cleaver and Sekou Odinga, had been since 1970.100 In that year President Houari Boumedienne had allowed Cleaver to open a Black Panther office known as Headquarters of the

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97 Brian Glick, War at Home: Covert Action Against US Activists and What We can Do About It (Boston: South End Press, 1989), http://books.google.com/books?id=M4uvwy_C3egC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.
100 “Algeria Tolerates Skyjackers,” unidentified source, n.d., newspaper clipping, O’Neal Collection.
International Section of the Black Panther Party. Internal conflicts among the Panthers, coupled with problems with the Algerian government, resulted in the O’Neals leaving the country in late 1972. A *New York Times* article shed some light on the extension of the COINTELPRO program to Africa. Seymour Hersh reported that one CIA agent had managed to gain access to the overseas living quarters of Eldridge Cleaver. The infiltration of COINTELPRO into the fractious relationships among differing segments of black nationalists made the black liberation movement in the United States “a plaything in the hand of the police.” Some specific information concerning these clandestine activities was provided in the 1975 Rockefeller Commission report and in later Senate Select Intelligence Committee inquiries into illegal CIA activities. As the FBI tactics used by COINTELPRO expanded the division between black nationalists coast to coast in the United States, the planned aggravation resulted in the destruction of the black power movement. Similarly, so did this same US espionage tactic used overseas prevail in the failure of the International Section of the Black Panther Party.

It was William Whitfield, O’Neal’s close friend and comrade from the Kansas City Panther Party, who influenced the O’Neals to move to Tanzania. Whitfield and his wife had left the United States voluntarily the prior year, sensing the writing on the wall for black revolutionary activism. Whitfield and a number of African Americans listened to Nyerere speak at the University of Kansas, which was O’Neal’s inspiration to settle with his wife in Tanzania. After moving from the United States, Pete and Charlotte O’Neal never left Tanzania, making the little village of Imabaseni, 13 miles south of Arusha, their home. Arriving with nothing, the O’Neals established a farm. Mzee O’Neal, as he is referred to by locals, never lost his belief in self-reliance, a major component of

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101 Ibid.
103 Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*, 267.
104 Hersh, “CIA Allegedly Enlisted Blacks.”
105 Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*, 267.
Tanzanian nationalism. As such and in the spirit of Malcolm X, in 1991 he built the United African American Community Center near his home as an institution that sponsors training programs and enlists foreign students to build schools and clinics. The O’Neals’ self-determination in Tanzania’s experiment has endeared them to the local community.

**African Americans seeking a place in Ujamaa**

The implementation of Ujamaa was the foundation on which Tanzania built African socialism. Ujamaa’s main purpose was to undo the damage of colonial rule by a return to African pre-colonial practices in the familial relationship that created extended kinship.107 This concept and the sacrifices made through nonalignment policies on behalf of Pan-African principles caught the attention of the younger African American generation that followed the Martin Luther King non-violent movement and pointed them towards Tanzania for a fresh look at Africa in gaining inspiration and spiritual identity.108 From the mid 1960s forward, African Americans continued to make their way to Tanzania.

In 1971 the Tanzanian government passed a resolution to “establish fraternal revolutionary relations with those (black) American citizens fighting for justice and human equality.”109 Tanzania’s government officials made it a formal directive that “Afro Americans were welcome, who wanted to help the country in the struggle for self-determination, self-reliance and a better life for Africans the world over.”110 Imamu Baraka (Le Roi Jones), program director of the Congress of African People (CAP),

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brought the news of the official Tanzanian welcome policy to the African American community.\textsuperscript{111} In 1972 an official invitation appeared in \textit{Jet}, the most widely read black magazine of the era.\textsuperscript{112}

Baraka had recently attended Tanzania’s tenth independence anniversary celebration as a guest of President Nyerere. This message from Tanzania was directed to African Americans who possessed skills and talents but had been denied the opportunity to find employment as a result of US racism. Baraka stressed that the struggles and development of Africa ultimately benefit the struggle and strength of the African American community. He visualized the participation of African Americans in Ujamaa as a benefit, for when these Pan-Africans returned to their own communities in the United States, the knowledge gained in Africa would direct their paths. The article announced that CAP was setting up a recruiting office to handle the information for those who desired to participate.\textsuperscript{113}

Conceptualization of a skills-sharing project was not a new idea, for SNCC activists first envisioned this program in 1967. The Pan Skills project was a program designed to place skilled and committed African Americans in the nations of Somalia, Tanzania, and Zambia.\textsuperscript{114} The main objective of this program was to assist in nation building in these independent African countries.\textsuperscript{115} Howard Moore, a SNCC attorney, and James Forman, a SNCC member, took a trip to Africa in 1967. Its purpose was twofold: to attend the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa at Lusaka, Zambia, scheduled for July 24 to August 4, 1967, and make contacts for the development of the Afro-American Skills Bank Program.\textsuperscript{116} Moore and Forman arranged for a stop in Tanzania on the way, keenly aware that they “were not just

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Irving Davis, “Message to the Youth of Today: We Should Run, While Others Walk” \textit{The Black Collegian} (October/September 1974): 22.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
two Americans visiting East Africa.” They saw themselves as “representatives of Africans living in the United States” and were determined to be seen as such. The fiasco of James Farmer in 1965 was told to them by many in Tanzania. Farmer was sent to Africa by the US State Department specifically to counter Malcolm X’s visit in 1965.\textsuperscript{117} Upon the arrival of Farmer in Dar es Salaam the US Embassy had a car waiting at the airport and took full control of all arrangements for the CORE leader.\textsuperscript{118} The story was recapped for Forman and Moore by many in Tanzania during their stay, as the US State Department’s control over Farmer’s actions was a gross insult to Tanzanians.\textsuperscript{119} Forman reflected that it was well known that “Africa [was] full of ‘Negroes’ who serve as agents for the CIA and other agencies of the United States Government.”\textsuperscript{120} And they were desperately trying to offset the negative feelings created by these American “Negroes.”\textsuperscript{121} Forman and Moore repeatedly took the position that “Africans should not assume every black American was a friend.”\textsuperscript{122}

Dar es Salaam lifted the spirits of these SNCC activists, as they had left the United States at the time of the race riots in Newark and Detroit. Forman and Moore visited Kivikoni College, which was founded prior to Tanganyika’s independence. The main function of the school was the training of men and women for leadership positions at the local level. Located across the harbor from Dar es Salaam, Forman thought it was “the closest thing to paradise on earth.”\textsuperscript{123} A discussion with Nyerere and other Tanzanian government officials on the proposed Afro-American Skills Bank was well received and extremely fruitful for the two SNCC activists. Enthusiasm for the project was also received from Zambian government officials as well. Forman and Moore portrayed this program to East African government officials as an alternative to the Peace

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\textsuperscript{117} Hugh Wilford, \textit{The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 216.
\textsuperscript{118} Forman, \textit{The Making of Black Revolutionaries}, 483
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
Corps, stating the objective of the program “was not control and co-optation but revolutionary unity.”

Interestingly, just as the Pan Skill Project began, the Peace Corps was quietly folding up in Tanzania. At the height of Peace Corps activity during this period, there were nearly 400 volunteers in Tanzania. But in 1969 a New York Times article disclosed the agency had cut back to only 11 volunteers, and these volunteers were scheduled to leave at the end of the year. The explanation given by Lawrence Fellows on behalf of President Nyerere for the agency’s exit from the country was that he felt “the Peace Corps [had] changed its character.” A few weeks earlier Nyerere had written a long discourse on primary education. In it he stated that it was useless and dangerous to prepare primary school students for secondary education when the secondary schools could only accommodate one out of eight of these students. The Ujamaa philosophy stressed that, for seven students who did not attend secondary school, their usefulness as citizens was only gained from practical skills that were used on the job or on the farm. The training for the occupations needed to be started in school, so that when the students were of age, they were immediately productive. Clarence Pegues, acting Peace Corps director in Tanzania, who was characterized as a quiet-spoken, twenty-eight-year-old African American from Birmingham, Alabama, stated that the changes made in education in Tanzania conformed with the self-reliant, socialist society Nyerere desired to achieve. Educational focuses had to extend beyond the students that qualified for secondary school, as it was important that all Tanzanians be trained in some capacity to contribute to their society.

Six months after Forman visited Africa, he wrote Abdul-Rahman Babu, the then Minister of Land Settlement and Water in the Tanzanian government and a trusted American Pan-Africanist contact for African Americans. In this correspondence, Forman

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124 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
indicated that reaction to the proposal for the Afro-American Skills Bank was quite favorable in the United States, having already lined up people across the country for participation.\textsuperscript{128} Forman then questioned the status of the implementation of the program with the Tanzanian government, expressing that nothing further could be accomplished until he heard from the motherland.\textsuperscript{129} No concrete action materialized after the return of Forman and Moore to the United States, but the idea was carried to fruition by the end of the 1960s.

SNCC was not immune to the effects of COINTELPRO.\textsuperscript{130} Internal conflict, triggered by the infiltration of FBI informants, resulted in Forman stepping down to pursue development of his Black Manifesto.\textsuperscript{131} In December 1968 Irving Davis replaced Forman as Director of the International Affair Division of SNCC. Davis had been under Forman’s tutelage since 1966.\textsuperscript{132} In early 1970 at the point of the SNCC disintegration, Davis resigned his position.\textsuperscript{133} But he did not abandon the initiative of developing a skills project for Africa. Davis continued working on the Pan-African Skills Project (PASP) in 1970 as an undertaking of the Africa Commission of the National Committee of Black Churchmen (NCBC).\textsuperscript{134} Davis presented this project to the clergymen in this organization

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
  \bibitem{128} James Forman to Abdul-Rahman Muhammad Babu, 4 January 1968, SNCC Papers on Microfilm, frame 0213 B:11:5, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University.
  \bibitem{129} Ibid.
  \bibitem{130} SAC, Atlanta to Director FBI, “Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,” 10 March 1969. Twentieth Century FBI Files: Declassified Documents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI Files SNCC.
  \bibitem{131} “Word ‘non-violent’ dropped as Rap re-elected to SNCC,” \textit{The AfroAmerican}, August 2, 1969, 11.
\end{thebibliography}
as a “new mission of the Church in Africa.” Shortly thereafter, PASP became an independent organization. Early funding was received from the African Commission of the NCBC, the United Church of Christ, and the Peoples Self-Development Fund of the United Presbyterian Church. Funding had been one of the major problems in implementation of this project, and it continued to plague the organization throughout its history.

PASP opened two offices in 1970: the headquarters in New York and its international office in Dar es Salaam. Fred Brooks was the director of the International Programme in Dar es Salaam. The organization was quite aware that Tanzania’s 1964 implementation of its first Five Year Development Plan was lagging far behind schedule, because of the quandary created by the fact that extremely small overseas public investment could be withdrawn or frozen by nations with which Tanzania had foreign policy disagreements. Such was the case with Great Britain and its lack of action against the Rhodesian rebels. PASP geared its recruitment drive towards the needs of Tanzania in its proposed second Five Year Program, which was to extend from July 1, 1969, to June 30, 1974. To achieve the type of volunteers that fit the criteria of Tanzanian nation building, Davis stressed the need for skills that built self-reliance in not only Africa but the African diaspora as well. Davis stated that in the United States far too many African American students focused on the “soft sciences,” referring in his article to the fields of social sciences, sociology, general education, and psychology. Nation-building skills, he said, were in the areas of math and science, with an emphasis on agronomy, engineering, and medicine, and all phases of architecture and surveying. While the list was quite extensive, the article acknowledged it as only a partial representation of who was needed. For further understanding of the process of nation building, Davis suggested that African Americans obtain and study Freedom and

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135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
139 Ibid.
Socialism and Socialism and Rural Development written by Julius Nyerere and Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation authored by Kenneth K. Kaunda, president of Zambia.\textsuperscript{140}

In meeting the PASP objective of supplying beneficial technical assistance, a working relationship was necessary with Tanzanian government officials. As Director of the International segment of SNCC, Davis had access to the United Nations, which had facilitated his early acquaintance with Stephen Mhando, the Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs.\textsuperscript{141} The NCBC hosted a luncheon in Mhando’s honor that gave them the opportunity to meet with Mhando and learn firsthand the progress of nation building in Tanzania.\textsuperscript{142}

Brooks arrived in Tanzania in early 1970 set with the task of the final planning and implementation of PASP from a strategic location in Africa. Davis arrived in Tanzania in mid June and stayed for a month for the completion of negotiations with Tanzanian government officials.\textsuperscript{143} Mhando paved the way for the meeting of Brooks and Davis with senior Tanzanian government officials and ministerial colleagues who were interested in PASP. After discussions with PASP representatives, Nyerere stated that it would be a “deliberate policy of [the] Government to recruit skilled personnel for service in government among black Americans.”\textsuperscript{144} Nyerere posed the argument that, since “Israel attracts into Israel men and women of Israel origins, why should Africa not recruit men and women of African origin.”\textsuperscript{145} William Sales estimated that PASP sent over 250

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141} David J. Exley, UN Office of Public Affairs, Chief, to Irving Davis, 14 July 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection; Steven Mhando to National Committee of Black Churchmen, 1 July 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
\textsuperscript{142} Steven Mhando to National Committee of Black Churchmen, 1 July 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.; Irving Davis to the NCBC’s Africa Commission, A Very Confidential and Special Report, 6 June 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
\textsuperscript{144} Mhando to National Committee of Black Churchmen, 1 July 1970.
\textsuperscript{145} Principal Secretary, S. Mhando, 5 July 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
people to Tanzania, with a smaller number to Zambia. Richard MacBeth worked as an executive engineer, whereas Arnold Dennis and Richard Maxwell were instructors at the Moshi Technical School, and Maxine Gray was placed with the Social Welfare Department. These Pan-Skill Project participants are a few of those who worked in Tanzania until the country trained its own citizens to take their places.

A spin-off

A spin-off emerged in the final development of PASP during the summer of 1970. Brooks wrote Davis from Tanzania and stated that Mhando had expressed the desire to have some of the members of NCBC visit Tanzania. Mhando felt “that there was a big gap between the Africans [here] and the Africans [there] and the gap needed to be bridged.” Brooks informed Mhando that the NCBC was in the midst of planning a conference on the African continent. The Tanzanian Foreign Minister replied that Tanzania was a very long way away, but welcomed this organization to Tanzania. When Davis met with Nyerere in Tanzania, the president expressed a desire for the Africa Commission to extend an invitation to him. Nyerere was scheduled to address the United Nations in New York City on its twenty-fifth anniversary sometime in September of 1970. A dinner was planned at the Church of the Resurrection in Harlem for October 14, but for unknown reasons Nyerere did not make any public appearances and the luncheon was cancelled. Yet Nyerere did grant a private audience with ten selected members of the NCBC ranks. It was the intention of the NCBC to present the

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147 Fred Brooks to Irving Davis, 10 July 1971; Irving Davis to LaQueth Flemings, 21 April 1972; Irving Davis to Judica Minja, 16 June 1975; Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
148 Davis, A Very Confidential and Special Report. Excerpts from the letter of Fred Brooks to Irving Davis were a part of the report Davis gave to the NCBC.
149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
151 Ibid.
Tanzanian president with a donation of $10,000 for the African Liberation Movement at this meeting.152

PASP maintained its relationships with those who had associated with the early forms of the project in the 1960s. Howard Moore and James Forman received assistance for preparation of their paper presented at the 1967 International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa from Dr. St. Clair Drake, Forman’s former professor at Roosevelt University.153 Drake continued his assistance by sending Nyerere a letter of support during his September 1970 visit to the United Nations.154 Drake’s Pan-African engagements with Tanzania stretched back to the early 1950s black-hub networks. Judge Earle Seaton from the diaspora, who moved with his wife to Tanganyika in 1949, was given as a reference by Drake to remind Nyerere of his early engagements with American Pan-Africanists of the 1950s. Mbiyu Koinange and Drake were classmates and close associates from Hampton University and London in the 1940s. Similarly, Bill Sutherland was referenced as a dear friend. Drake built on his old associates from black hubs to promote the forthcoming efforts of PASP in Tanzania. Interestingly, both Drake and Nyerere based their arguments in support of PASP on American Jewish youth participation in the Jewish practice of Kibbutz in Israel.155

The first major venture in ecumenical relations was another result of PASP collaboration with Tanzanian government officials in 1970. From August 22 through August 29, 1971, fifty African American and African religious leaders gathered in Dar es Salaam for discussions on “Black Identity and Solidarity” and “The Church as a Medium for Rapid Social Change.”156 The conference was jointly sponsored by the Consultative

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152 NCBC Executive Director J. Metz Rollins Jr. to NCBC Board President Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw and Chairman Rev. M. L. Wilson, 7 October 1970, Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
154 Drake to Nyerere, 1 September 1970, John Henrik Clarke papers, Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York City Public Library.
155 Ibid.; Principal Secretary, S. Mhando, 5 July 1970.
Committee of Tanzania and the African Commission of the NCBC. Rev. L. Maynard Catchings, Associate General Counsel of the National Council of Churches and chairman of the Africa Commission of the NCBC, and Father Robert Rweyemanu, an official of the Tanzania Council of Churches, served as co-chairmen of the conference. Notably the opening address was given by Julius Nyerere, who was a devout Roman Catholic layman.

The sessions of this conference focused on four topics: Black Theology/African Theology, Education, Economic Development and African/Afro-American Relations. Each discussion had speakers from each side, one African and one African American. Bill Sutherland, by this time an American expatriate, and Father Josaphat Msongore jointly presented on the topic “How USA Blackmen and African Blackmen See One Another.”

“The Theological Basis of Social Action (Black Theology)” was presented by Dr. J. Mbiti of Makerere University and Bishop Josiah Kibira of Bukoba. Nicholas Maro, Commissioner of Rural Development in Tanzania spoke on “Rural Development.” Ron Daniels, Director of Freedom Incorporated, Owusu Sadaki, President of Malcolm X Liberation University, and Dr. James Cone, lecturer at Union Theological Seminary, led a discussion on “Black Economic Development,” in addition to the presentations of Sadaki on “Black Education” and Cone on “Black Theology.” This venture was deemed of unusual historical significance for the African American community. C. Eric Lincoln edited the anthology, *The Black Experience in Religion*, published in 1974, which displayed the continued collaboration between African and African American clergymen from the Tanzanian conference. Articles contributed by participants John Mbiti and

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157 “Proposal for the Pan-African Skills Project.”
159 “Proposal for the Pan-African Skills Project.”
160 “50 Black Clergymen,” *New York Amsterdam News*.
161 Ibid.
162 “The Church, medium for rapid social change,” *Chicago Daily Defender*. 
James Cones on “The Sources and Norm of Black Theology” and “The Nature of God” made topics from the conference available to the US public in print. \(^{163}\)

**The conclusion: And more came**

There were many ways that African Americans experienced participation in Ujamaa in Tanzania, which in turn brought this Ujamaa practice to the United States. More projects formed through different associations and circumstances between the years 1969 and 1974. Drums and Spear Publishing and the AFCO Chicken Farm serve as perfect examples of the diverse ways African Americans joined Tanzanians in the practice of Ujamaa.

Drums and Spear Press was founded in 1968 in Washington, DC, by former SNCC activists Charlie Cobb, Judy Richardson, Courtland Cox, and Curtis Hayes (later known as Curtis Muhammed). The Pan-African mission “to act as an alternative source of communication between Africa and the African diaspora,” through publications that focused on black culture and race consciousness, motivated the founders to locate offices in both the United States and Tanzania. \(^{164}\) Pan-African intellectual C. L. R. James and Tanzanian ambassador to the United States Paul Bomani were financial supporters. \(^{165}\) The operation was a base for regular exchange between Washington, DC and Dar es Salaam in the late 1960s and first half of the 1970s. Bob Moses, a former SNCC activist who developed the idea for the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, moved to Tanzania in 1969 to lay the groundwork for Drums and Spear while he worked as a teacher. \(^{166}\) Cobb, Cox, and Richardson joined him the next year. Close ties were established with the newly formed Tanzania Publishing House. Cobb, Cox, and

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\(^{163}\) Ibid.


\(^{166}\) Ibid.
Richardson stayed for shorter periods of time, while Moses remained longer and made invaluable contributions to Tanzanian education in his work for the Ministry of Education in Tanzania, where he chaired the Same School Math Department.\textsuperscript{167}

The African Co-operative (AFCO) was started by Jerry Hunt, Shubedo Harrison, Fred Johnson, and John Manning in 1971 to aid African Americans with their adjustment to the Tanzanian way of life.\textsuperscript{168} The founders of AFCO were seasoned expatriates who took on the role of facilitators for African American immigrants.\textsuperscript{169} They understood the reality of what newly arrived African Americans faced, including hostile locals who saw African Americans as a threat in a very tight job market, with the never ending bureaucratic networks a precursor to any form of productive employment. AFCO served a vital need, as African Americans came to Tanzania just on unsubstantiated rumors of an African country that offered opportunity for African Americans. Fred Brooks complained in a report to the Pan Skill Project Board that one of the ambassadorial aides had informed African Americans “just go on to Tanzania and once you get there everything will be alright.”\textsuperscript{170} Brooks was reporting that a couple who had been given this information was returning to the United States, as they felt the pay was too low for the type of work they were doing.\textsuperscript{171}

The AFCO initiative grew from an increased understanding of \textit{kazi na umoja} (working together) in 1971. AFCO was located eight miles from the center of Dar es Salaam.\textsuperscript{172} The goal of the cooperative was self-reliance, expressed, for instance, through increasing protein intake for the group by raising chickens and eggs in a socialist manner. The individuals who participated in this project arrived in Tanzania individually and under different circumstances. A number of the founders, who were forced into exile

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{170} Fred Brooks, “Pan Skill Report,” n.d., Davis/Pan-African Skills Project collection.
\item \textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{172} Jones, “A Chicken Co-operative”; Jones to Nolte, 20 April 1972.
\end{itemize}
from the political persecution of COINTELPRO, banded together while in Tanzania.\textsuperscript{173} This was distinctly different from the four former SNCC members, who came to establish the Drums and Spears operation to publish scholarly texts at all levels of education.

Some individual African Americans, who traveled to Tanzania and sought no alliance with established African American Pan African projects, found their place in the liberation movements as well. After the completion of his degree at Harvard Law School, Randall Robinson received a Ford Foundation Middle East and Africa Field Research Fellowship. The award enabled him to travel to Tanzania in the late summer of 1970.\textsuperscript{174} Robinson “knew only that [he] wanted to apply [his] career energies to [the] empowerment and liberation of the African world”\textsuperscript{175} He thus traveled to Tanzania with his family to find his purpose in the liberation struggle. His experiences while there “broadened his common ground with Tanzanians, drew him closer to Africa’s sufferings and it to his, sufferings that he would . . . see over time as indistinguishable, one and the same.”\textsuperscript{176} It was at this point that Robinson realized that he “could best serve Africa by going home to America, for America [was] a substantial contributor” to the problems of Africa.\textsuperscript{177} In 1976, Robinson became the aide to US Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., who was serving as chairman of the House Committee on Africa. From 1977 to 1997 Robinson served as executive director of TransAfrica, in addition to president from 1995 to 2001.

TransAfrica was founded in 1976 in the home of C. Payne Lucas, the founder and then president of Africare.\textsuperscript{178} This organization received its mandate from the 1976 Black Leadership Conference convened by the Black Caucus. It was the consensus of the majority that there was a conscious absence of African Americans in high level

\textsuperscript{173} “One-Time Militant Confronts His Past,” Manning, 9A, col.1, newspaper clipping, date and newspaper unknown, O’Neal Collection.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid, 69.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid, 79.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, 80.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, 270.
international positions, which had led to the neglect of African and Caribbean priorities.\textsuperscript{179} As such, a foreign policy advocate agency was needed to fill the void. Herschelle Challenor, the Africa Sub-committee counsel and Willard Johnson, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology Political Science professor, were also present at the meeting that founded this nonprofit organization. TransAfrica’s primary mission was to influence the foreign policy of the United States where it concerned Africa, the Caribbean countries, and the African diaspora.

African American struggles in the United States were now tied to Africa, as the increased black internationalism of this period revealed how the diaspora looked to Africa for solutions. Tanzania was not only a frontline country for southern African resistance but a destination for African Americans seeking to experience and understand Africa. The increased numbers of emigrants and those African Americans who returned inspired to support the liberation movement in the United States brought back the momentum to continue what was learned from the Tanzanian experience and apply it to the black community in the United States. As African Americans joined in Tanzanian nation building, the concepts of Ujamaa were brought back to the United States.

Chapter Four
Lessons from the Combination of African Continental and Diaspora
Pan-Africanism in Tanzania, 1974–Onward

By 1974 Ujamaa had inspired many African Americans to either visit or reside in Tanzania to experience the African socialism practiced there. The population of the Afro community was at its peak at this time.\textsuperscript{180} Bill Sutherland believed the selection of Tanzania for the location of the 1974 Sixth Pan-African Congress, known as the Six PAC, was indicative of the high esteem with which African American organizers held Julius Nyerere and his country.\textsuperscript{181} But challenges that occurred in achieving the first Pan-African congress on African soil necessitated the understanding of what the common objectives of the black world were. African Americans began the painful process of reeducation in their engagement with Tanzania from their dreams in Pan-Africanism to the realities of their identity on the African continent.\textsuperscript{182} This chapter explores the Tanzanian and African American relationship through the trials of 1974 to become a vital entity in the drive for total African liberation on the continent while transferring twentieth-century African nationalism into American culture.

From dreams to reality

By 1974 African American expatriates grasped the reality that nation building in Tanzania was both very complicated and very fulfilling.\textsuperscript{183} Kalamu ya Salaam, one of many African Americans who changed their names to Kiswahili ones during this era, was

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\begin{enumerate}
\item Bill Sutherland and Matt Meyer, \textit{Guns and Gandhi in Africa} (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2000), 216.
\item Salaam, “The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika,” 28.
\end{enumerate}
editor of the *Black Collegian*. Salaam attended the Six PAC as a delegate, and dedicated a majority of the September/October 1974 issue of his magazine to the coverage of Tanzania and the congress. While in Tanzania, Salaam interviewed Julius Nyerere and African American expatriates living in the country. These interviews reveal a wide range of reasons for emigration for those within the African American community in Tanzania. Some were there only to work for a year or two, while others were there for an indefinite stay. Once in the country, many of these expatriates planned to simply play it by ear, while others had intentions of homesteading. Salaam perceived Tanzania as a magnet that attracted African Americans committed to seeking a home in a location that served as a base for the black struggle where their work could be of tangible value. Yet obtaining this goal was not easy, as seen through Salaam’s interviews of American expatriates in Tanzania.

Faraji and Thadiwe Diamond were both teachers who were a part of the Harvard teaching program for a year. Faraji knew that there were things she was taking away from Tanzania that she could not pack in her suitcase and take home. She understood “true Pan Africanism,” where large numbers of the Atlantic diaspora from North America and the Caribbean moving back to Africa would definitely be impossible. A realization by both that there were vast differences between Africa and the diaspora resulted in these teachers concluding that Africa was not ready to embrace the “return” of African descendants from outside Africa to the continent. Faraji’s revelation was not uncommon in the African American community.

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186 Ibid.
187 Ibid.
188 Ibid.
189 Ibid.
The last article written by Tom Mboya in *The New York Times* was “The American Negro Cannot Look to Africa for an Escape.”¹⁹⁰ This piece was an outgrowth of a speaking engagement at the Countee Cullen Library on March 18, 1969, where Mboya was guest speaker for a program at the New York Public Library in a series of Harlem Morningside Committee’s Modern Africa Lectures.¹⁹¹ In a one-hour speech, Mboya discussed the challenges of development and difficulties for the new African nation of Kenya in the post-independence era.¹⁹² Mboya noted that he found the audience highly receptive to his remarks on this subject.¹⁹³ Because he had been approached by people before the meeting for his comments on a proposal for an African American mass movement back to Africa, Mboya decided to address this query in his speech. The East African leader began his comments by rejecting the proposal, but before given a chance to elaborate on the subject, he was interrupted by two or three people, one of whom hurled four or five eggs in his direction. “His aim was as bad as his manners,”¹⁹⁴ Mboya commented.

In one of his last articles before his assassination on July 5, 1969, Mboya used this incident to clarify the underlining factors in the relationship between Africans and African Americans. The disrupters unwittingly provided an opportunity for Mboya to strengthen what initially was meant to be obstructed.¹⁹⁵ Mboya began the article by acknowledging African nations were in a transitional stage and could benefit greatly from the contact with their African American cousins. However, most important was Africans “need to understand and encourage the revolution of the black people in America, while the black people in America need to understand and encourage the effort of nation-

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¹⁹³ Ibid.
¹⁹⁴ Ibid.
¹⁹⁵ Ibid.
building taking place in Africa.” Mboya was not implying in his New York lecture or his article that African nations would “refuse black Americans who wished to expatriate.” Quite the contrary, Mboya particularly encouraged those who were trained and skilled to make their homes in Africa. What was unrealistic to Mboya about the proposal of a mass movement back to Africa was the “ease at which some African Americans thought they could throw off their American culture and become African.”

The Diamonds acknowledged the problems in transcending cultures, yet the couple also realized that there were still problems living in America as well. Thandiwe Diamond did not see the problems with migrating back to Africa as insurmountable, but as real. He realized that the more Kiswahili he learned, the more welcomed he was. For this couple there would be a struggle wherever they were; the choice was selecting where they wanted to struggle.

Lance Bailey was an African American with a master’s degree in architecture and city planning from Yale University. Under contract with the Tanzanian government, Bailey designed a wide array of facilities to accommodate the country’s early nation-building needs. Because of the hurdles in the field in the United States, Bailey felt it impossible to manifest his true potential in his home country. For Bailey, the future was bright for those with skills like his in Tanzania. One of the major problems Bailey identified in the United States was the structural manipulation established by old-school status quo networks that systemically excluded minorities. In Tanzania Bailey felt he was witnessing the evolution of an African environment that provided opportunities for blacks in fields that were closed to them in the West.

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196 Ibid.
197 Ibid.
198 Ibid.
200 Ibid.
201 Ibid.
202 Ibid, 66.
203 Ibid.
204 Ibid.
Babatunde Folayemi, an artist of the Black Arts Movement that was founded by Amiri Baraka (born Everett LeRoi Jones) on the American East Coast in the late 1960s, moved his family to Tanzania in 1972.\textsuperscript{205} After his return from the Army in 1963, Folayemi became a close associate of Malcolm X, who encouraged Folayemi to use his art as a political tool.\textsuperscript{206} Working for the Tanzanian Ministry of Culture at the time of the \textit{Black Collegian} interview provided him the opportunity to create propaganda for Tanzania and numerous independence movements under sanction within the country.\textsuperscript{207} In this effort, Folayemi was honored to be able to contribute his talent to the fullest in the cause of nation building in Africa. For this expatriate, Dar es Salaam was “everything you want it to be; but just like any place else, if you are not prepared to sacrifice, it is nothing.”\textsuperscript{208}

Charles\textsuperscript{209} and Joan Saunders arrived in Tanzania in 1974 without employment.\textsuperscript{210} They were under no illusion, for they had expected to be unemployed for up to six months. As a lawyer and a psychologist, the couple had no regret in moving to Tanzania. Charles Saunders had formed the opinion that the bureaucrats in the country perceived African Americans as a threat to their positions.\textsuperscript{211} His response to these feelings towards African American expatriates was that they were not a replacement for Africans, but they had come to supplement and help Africa in nation building.\textsuperscript{212} Joan Saunders thought it was mindboggling when faced with the reality that she was not wanted or welcomed there by a number of Africans.\textsuperscript{213} In a letter to friends in the United States, the Saunderses disclosed their feeling that ordinary people in Tanzania saw them as simply African, and

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{206} “Babatunde Folalyemi: 1940–2012.”
\item\textsuperscript{207} Salaam, “The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika,” 67.
\item\textsuperscript{208} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{209} Charles Saunders changed his name to Awesi Olu Agyeman while in Tanzania.
\item\textsuperscript{210} Salaam, “The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika,” 66.
\item\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{212} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{213} Ibid, 67.
\end{itemize}
not Tanzanian, because they did not speak the language or dress the same.\textsuperscript{214} The upper class in Tanzania, they wrote, either welcomed them or saw them as a threat.\textsuperscript{215} For Joan this experience was about getting to know “yourself,” which she saw as an extreme problem for those who were not secure within themselves.\textsuperscript{216}

All of the interviews taken in the midst of the Sixth PAC were extremely candid, considering what the Afro community was experiencing within the country at this time. Many in the community were feeling the stings of allegations. Because of their unemployment, the Saunders exposed more of the hardship of immigrating to Africa. Although these expatriates did not romanticize Africa, they were not pessimistic either, considering that the \textit{Black Collegian} interviews were taken in the midst of a Tanzanian Security Forces crackdown on the Afro community within the country.\textsuperscript{217}

\textbf{The Big Bust}

The front page article, “Two from US held after police find guns and bullets,” in \textit{The Daily News} on May 28, 1974, signaled a major turning point for the Afro community in Tanzania.\textsuperscript{218} This article reported that two unnamed African American men, believed to be between the ages of twenty-five and thirty and who sailed from New York, were arrested at the Dar es Salaam port the previous night with goods addressed to the Kirongwe Village in the Mara region.\textsuperscript{219} It was understood by authorities that these men had previously worked at the Kirongwe Ujamaa Village.\textsuperscript{220} The two were taking a six-ton container of goods to the Mara region for a nation-building skills project.\textsuperscript{221} The container consisted of eighteen boxes and drums, and in one of the boxes were a pistol, a

\textsuperscript{214} Saunders to the Williams family, 10 June 1974, Awesi Olu Agyeman (Charles Saunders) personal collection (hereafter cited as Agyeman collection).
\textsuperscript{215} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{216} Salaam, “The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika,” 67.
\textsuperscript{217} Godfrey Mwakikagile, \textit{Relations Between Africans and African Americans: Misconceptions, Myths and Realities} (New Africa Press, 2007), 344.
\textsuperscript{218} “Two from US held after police find gun and bullets,” \textit{The Daily News}, May 28, 1974, 1.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{221} Mwakikagile, \textit{Relations Between Africans and African Americans}, 343.
rifle, and bullets. Police also reported a telescopic fitting device, a six-channel walkie talkie, and a holster. Although the African Americans claimed the consignment goods as personal effects, they were impounded at the Port Police Post.\footnote{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft Two from US held after police find gun and bullets.\textquoteright\textquoteright} Events that occurred after the “Big Bust,” as it came to be known, drastically reduced the population of the Afro community. The cohesiveness of the Afro community in Tanzania was shown in the concern and support displayed for the victims of the fallout from \textit{The Daily News} article.

Warejeaji (Kiswahili for “the people returned”) was an organization formed by African Americans living in Tanzania. In Salaam’s introduction to “The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika,” he referred to the interviews with African American expatriates taken at the time of the congress as “brief comments from a few of the brothers and sisters in our tribe—and believe me, whether we realize it or not, \textit{we are a tribe}.”\footnote{Salaam, \textit{The Realities of Living and Working in Afrika}, 66.} Salaam ended by stating that these “comments will speak for themselves.”\footnote{Ibid.}

No mention was made, in any of the \textit{Black Collegian’s} interviews, of the Big Bust that occurred while the congress was taking place, yet interviewee Babatunde Folayemi was co-chairman of the Warejeaji organization. Prior to his interview, Folayemi had met with Joseph Butiku (personal secretary to the President of Tanzania) and Bernard Muganda (Tanzanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to address the issues of African American detainments throughout Tanzania that began after the \textit{Daily News} article was published.\footnote{The \textit{Warejeaji News} editorial notes, 5, Agyeman collection. \textit{Warejeaji News} editorial notes hereafter cited as \textit{Warejeaji} notes.}

The relationship cultivated between Tanzania and African Americans was extremely valued by African Americans inside and outside Tanzania, for this country provided an avenue that incorporated African Americans in nation building in Africa. Participation in African liberation efforts and nation building in Tanzania served as an entry way to the continent for many African Americans. In a Warejeaji meeting prior to the Six PAC opening, hoping to contain rumors that were circulating within the...
community, Folyemmi passed along information provided by Butiku concerning the condition of the detained African Americans. The fact that this was not mentioned in any of the interviews was no coincidence, for in this meeting Folyemmi emphasized to expatriates the “need to be discreet about any information dropped to delegates coming in and the possible harmful effects of proselytizing.” This was a very sensitive issue. Some members of Warejeaji had received word that some of the Tanzanian authorities thought “the organization had been too aggressive in seeking redress of the situation.” Very much aware of the cultural differences created by their Western upbringing, Warejeaji members trod carefully in their attempt to resolve the matter and, most importantly, prevent any future repeat of this occurrence.

Editorial notes compiled by Malik Chaka and Akwesi Agyeman for the Warejeaji News chronicled the actions taken by the Tanzanian Security Forces and government officials within the Afro community in Tanzania. In the opening of his editorial notes for the “Big Bust,” Chaka wrote that the photo of the African Americans that appeared in the Daily News implied a threat to the security of the country and was extremely damaging to the Afro community image. Although the Afro community reacted with concern, a Tanzanian official said this was nothing more than a case of sensational reporting that triggered negative opinions of the African American presence in Tanzania. Pete O’Neal felt the incident involving African Americans at the Dar es Salaam port planted “the seed of doubt in the minds of a few.” It was not unusual that allegations of American plots to overthrow Tanzania’s government surfaced, for the skirmishes of the Cold War were often about Super Powers exerting influence in developing nations.

226 Ibid.
227 Ibid.
228 Warejeaji notes, 1.
229 Ibid.
230 Ibid.
231 Mwakikagile, Relations Between Africans and African Americans, 343.
Information on these plots traveled back to the black community in the United States. An example appeared in the *Amsterdam News* under the heading “Connects US in Tanzania Plot?” received from the Tanzania press on August 1, 1970. This article reported the implication of the US government in a plot to overthrow the Tanzanian government and assassinate President Julius Nyerere. The editorial comments of the *Amsterdam News* expressed the support of the African American community for Tanzania. “A lot of people Give A Damn. Do you? And if not, why not?” This closing statement in the editorial gave the black community’s unconditional support for what might transpire between Tanzania and the US government.

John Manning’s home was the first African American premise searched by the Tanzanian Security Force on June 1, 1974. Manning, Ernest Danner, and two unnamed guests were taken to the Oyster Bay Police. One licensed shotgun and miscellaneous household items were confiscated in the first raid. Folayemi contacted Bernard Muganda, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the concerns of the Afro community over this incident. A meeting was arranged at the home of Bill Sutherland at the request of Nyerere’s personal secretary, Joseph Butiku. The agenda of the meeting had no connection to the concerns about the arrest of Manning, but it did point out that the newspaper article of May 28, 1974, was that of “yellow journalism since it appeared to be a clear implication of guilt of something while neither charges nor evidence of criminality was given.” Yet the report submitted by Warejeaji on behalf of the Afro community on their experiences in Tanzania, particularly on the difficulties with obtaining employment and harassment by governmental offices, were not addressed.

After the meeting at Sutherland’s home, news arrived of the detainment in Bagamoya of Tamanika Sharp and Debbie Coleman. Shortly thereafter, the Tanzanian Security Forces visited the AFCO Chicken Farm where Maarifu was arrested, which was

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234 Ibid.
235 Warejeaji notes, 1.
236 Warejeaji notes, 2.
followed by the detainment of Jerry Hunt and the remaining African American males at the farm on the next day. Warejeaji officers’ concern over these incidents brought about another visit to the home of Butiku. The Warejeaji central committee “made it clear that while [they] were not opposed to the investigation, [they] insisted that the right of freedom from abuse and humane conditions of incarceration was a prerequisite to full cooperation.”237 The arrests did not end with the chicken farm, for there were a significant number of expatriates in the Afro community throughout the country who were affected. Among those detained were Fred Umoja, a Warejeaji central committee member in Dar; Bill Whitfield and Pete O’Neal in Arusha; Vincent Lynch in Mwanza; and Ernest Mayhand in Musoma.238 Sutherland was placed in a very difficult and uncomfortable position, for Nyerere had requested only his presence for counsel in this matter.239 The elder of the Afro community was a close personal friend of the President.240 Chaka stated in his Warejeaji editorial notes that Sutherland “felt keenly the burden of offering counsel in this situation in lieu of legitimate, elected representatives of the community.241

Sutherland reported to the Warejeaji central committee that after careful consideration of the organization’s list of concerns, “Mwalimu urged the Afro-American community to be calm, [for] he was still a firm believer in the concept of Afro Americans coming to Tanzania to live and work.”242 The Black Collegian’s September/October 1974 issue that focused on Tanzania had two articles that encouraged African Americans with skills to immigrate to Tanzania. The first, “Message to the Youth of Today: We Should Run, While Others Walk,” focused on the recruitment of skilled African Americans for placement in employment in Tanzania and Zambia.243 Salaam asked Nyerere what major

237 Warejeaji notes, 2.
238 Ibid, 5.
239 Ibid.
241 Warejeaji notes, 4.
242 Ibid.
contributions African Americans who remained in our own country and those who came
to Africa could make to help Tanzania and Africa. Nyerere replied that the primary needs
of development in Africa were money and men. Currency was considered less important
to this leader than that of men with skills. “When it comes to men, you (Afro-Americans)
are trained men. You have the technical know how we need in Afrika. . . . It is just
possible that the United States needs it less than we do.”

Nyerere was in a difficult position that African Americans well understood, for
although the president still supported the Afro community, Tanzanian officials in charge
of security had to be given the opportunity to investigate as well. Sutherland
remembers that the meeting with Nyerere and his First Prime Minister, Rashidi Kawawa,
illustrated what a difficult position this was for the president. Tanzanians “in the lower
echelons of government and TANU were . . . very upset.” Clearly opposed to the Pan
Skills project, Sutherland said it was these Tanzanians who sabotaged the cultural Pan-
African endeavor. Bureaucrats either dragged their feet or lost files to prevent qualified
African Americans from getting employment. Fear of skilled African Americans with
their African ancestry working themselves into powerful positions would make them
difficult to dislodge. Sutherland felt that “often the hustlers and pimps and those who
could bribe an official [got in]—which [for him] gave a most negative picture of African
Americans.”

Two days prior to their coverage of African Americans at the port of Dar
es Salaam, The Daily News printed an article titled “Expatriates: An obstacle to radical
changes?” which provided the attitude that generated these actions. In this article, the
unnamed author looked at the place of an expatriate in Tanzania’s socialist

244 Kalamu ya Salaam, “Julius K. Nyerere: President of Tanzania,” The Black Collegian
(September/October 1974): 30.
245 Warejeaji notes, 3.
246 Sutherland and Meyer, 230.
247 Ibid, 229.
248 Ibid.
249 Ibid.
250 Ibid.
251 Ibid.
transformation. Although it was not specifically directed towards African Americans, it expressed the sentiments that “it is time Europeans or other socialists stay at home to help . . . organize his people to change things at the metropolitan centre.” Expatriates should not proclaim their radical views in a developing country “while pursuing political ambitions,” as “this may be regarded as the most insidious form of neo-colonialism of all.” African Americans in and outside the country were aware that Nyerere and the socialism that he implemented did have enemies within the country.

Agyeman stated that expatriates deemed the syndrome that created fear of the African American emigrant to be the “Liberian experience.” The history of the Americo-Liberian hegemony in Liberia, as a result of the nineteenth-century emigration of returned African slaves and their descendants, had not been forgotten by African Americans or Africans. The fate of Liberia was an important issue for many African Americans and early Pan-Africanists who campaigned against racial discrimination in Africa and abroad. African American emigration to Liberia was a test case of black capabilities. Cut off from their African cultural heritage by American slavery, the returned African slaves were entirely acculturated to contemporary Western society.

An examination of the interrelationships among settlers, returned African slaves, and the indigenous Grebo and Kru peoples indicated this experience had failed. Newly returned African Americans, who were only five percent of the population, controlled the key resources of the area. This allowed them to dominate the indigenous population, who were the majority of the country, for 133 years. This early emigration of African

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253 Ibid.
255 Warejeaji notes, 8.
256 Ibid.
258 Ibid.
Americans who settled in Liberia served as an analogy for expatriates in Tanzania to understand some Tanzanians’ perception of them.

Agyeman understood the underlying rationale behind the threat perceived by Tanzanians from African Americans settling in their country. There were parallel reactions in the American black community. Charlie Cobb voiced the typical sentiment of African Americans that “Africans don’t like Afro-Americans” when it was discovered that another African American was thinking of going to Africa.\(^{259}\) Cobb suggested that this belief in the United States created tension between the two groups of African peoples.\(^{260}\) African Americans who came to Africa were responsible for breaking down the mythology regardless of whether they wanted to or not.\(^{261}\) This expatriate in Tanzania stated that breaking down the mythology was a “political responsibility that must be recognized and assumed, for one of the most destructive elements of our condition is the separation and fragmentation that exist between [Africa and the diaspora].”\(^{262}\) Cobb recognized the importance of understanding cultural differences between the “local” and the “expatriate” two years prior to the Big Bust.\(^{263}\) Cobb’s main objectives in his article, which was published in the United States while he was living in Tanzania, was to dispel the romantic conception of Mau Mau Power and Harambee for the African American thinking about coming to Africa. African American expatriates recognized the difficulties, but Tanzania still remained the beacon of hope for African Americans. Despite the fact that the realities of living in Africa dispelled their romantic vision of the continent, the practice of Pan-Africanism in Tanzania provided the space in which to understand and work out these existing challenges.

**Ideas for a black congress surface**

\(^{260}\) Ibid.
\(^{261}\) Ibid.
\(^{262}\) Ibid.
\(^{263}\) Ibid, 35.
In 1969 Roosevelt Browne, a member of the Bermuda Parliament, invited Pan-African activists and militants from North America and the Caribbean to a Black Power Conference in Bermuda. Use of the “Black Power” slogan caused great alarm in the Caribbean, and many black militants from the United States were banned from entering Bermuda. Yet Browne, later known as Pauulu Kamarakafego, did attract activists such as Acklyn Lynch, C. L. R. James, Queen Mother Moore, Flo Kennedy, and Yosef Ben-Jochannan. The call for the Six PAC came forth from this International Black Power Conference. Browne received encouragement for the Pan-African initiative through correspondence from Kwame Nkrumah, then living in Guinea. Reading Nkrumah’s letter at the meeting, Browne informed attendees that Nkrumah “agreed with the idea for a Sixth Pan African Congress. Go ahead and begin your work and I will do what I can from this end.” From the beginning, this initiative was fraught with challenges from within and outside the black world. In addition to tensions generated by the gathering together of diverse peoples, whose ideologies and intentions varied, the US State Department was wary in the extreme of African American interaction with Pan-Africanists during the planning of the Six PAC. The Black Power conference in Bermuda demonstrated how globally controversial was the concept of “Black Power.” The term black power outside the United States gave governmental authorities great cause for alarm, most especially in the Caribbean, where there were recently elected black governments and a history of political uprisings under “the banner of Black Power.”

After the emergence of the term in 1966, the Nationalist in Tanzania published an editorial titled “Black Power in America,” which labeled this phenomenon an “open

264 Komozi Woodard, A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Black Power Politics (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 162.
266 Ronald W. Walters, Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 76.
267 Ibid.
268 Ibid.
militant shift” in the civil rights movement.\(^{269}\) This preceded the arrival in 1967 of SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture), who popularized the black power slogan in the United States. While in Tanzania, Carmichael’s criticism of African guerrilla leaders in an unsuccessful attempt to unite Africa’s freedom fighters with his black power movement did not endear him to African revolutionaries.\(^{270}\) Carmichael gained enemies when he stated that “Freedom Fighters don’t fight. Their leaders are too interested in big cars and white women.”\(^{271}\) An unnamed spokesman from the African National Congress of South Africa responded by characterizing Carmichael’s remarks as “meaningless and arrogant demagoguery.”\(^{272}\) African American Pan-Africanists had major lessons to learn in internationalism and the skill of negotiating in Africa.

Just as the name of the 1969 conference in Bermuda caused a number of participants to be barred from the country,\(^{273}\) it also resulted in the British dispatching Royal Marines to assist the Bermuda government on this occasion.\(^{274}\) There would be no further gathering under the name “Black Power” for these Pan-Africanists.\(^{275}\) At an April 1970 meeting of the Black Power On-Going Committee (BPO) in the United States, the organization renamed itself.\(^{276}\) In a follow-up meeting in May 1970, attended by Richard Traylor and Haywood Henry of the Unitarian Church, Leonard Harris from the Midwest Coalition, BPO chairman Chuck Stone, and Browne, the focus of the organization was decided. In this new mission the group declared themselves to be “an African People” following a change of “Pan Africanism,” at this time replacing “Black Power” in American student and movement circles. Accordingly, the organization changed its name

\(^{271}\) “Carmichael Ready to Come Home, But Date Uncertain.”
\(^{272}\) Ibid.
\(^{274}\) “News of the Week,” *New York Amsterdam News*.
\(^{276}\) Ibid.
to the Congress of African People (CAP).\textsuperscript{277} Nationalism, Pan Africanism, and Ujamaa were the three main components of this umbrella organization’s ideology.\textsuperscript{278} Influence from Tanzanian self-reliance was highlighted in the fact sheet distributed at CAP’s first conference in Atlanta, which was held September 3 through 7, 1970.

C. L. R. James, who was living in Washington, DC, and teaching at Howard University, was the force that pushed the effort to call a conference. At the 1969 Black World Congress of Black Writers in Montreal, Canada, James met staff members from the Center for Black Education (CBE).\textsuperscript{279} It was at this congress that James enlisted the support of the CBE and subsequently became its adviser and liaison to initiate a call for a Pan-African congress.\textsuperscript{280} Members of the first steering committee were Kamarakafego, James, Jimmy Garrett, Courtland Cox, Liz Gant, and Winston Wiltshire.\textsuperscript{281}

A decision to locate the first Pan-African congress on African soil was primarily a result of the continuous interaction between the Atlantic diaspora and Tanzania during the previous two decades. After the 1966 Ghanaian coup that resulted in Nkrumah’s overthrow, Tanzania became the major candidate to host the Atlantic African diaspora.\textsuperscript{282} Judy Claude—a Six PAC organizer and member of both SNCC and the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC)—considered Tanzania the best place to be at that time for African Americans who really wanted to be on the continent but in a progressive country.”\textsuperscript{283} Correspondence between Kamarakafego and Nkrumah revealed the former

\textsuperscript{277} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{278} “Congress of Afrikan People Social Organization Council: Conference Information Sheet,” John Henrik Clarke papers, Schomberg Center for Research on Black Culture, New York Public Library.
\textsuperscript{283} La TaSha Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC: Interviews with Sylvia Hill and Judy Claude, Organizers of the Sixth Pan-African Congress,” \textit{The Black Scholar} 37, no. 4 (2007): 42.
Ghanaian leader was pleased with the continued efforts in organizing a conference and thought locating the meetings in Tanzania was a good idea. In 1971 Browne, with the assistance of Walter Rodney, who was then teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam, commenced contact with the Tanzanian government. “Nyerere’s acquaintance with and respect for James . . . secured the [location of Tanzania] as the host site for the Pan-African congress.” It was at this point that the well-traveled United States/Tanzania transatlantic bridge saw a dramatic increase in traffic.

Cox and Augusto arrived in Tanzania in 1973 to work out the logistics. Edie Wilson, also one of the Six PAC organizers who would go to Tanzania in 1974, afterwards made this country her permanent home. Wilson’s duties included traveling throughout Africa to engage support from African leaders for the congress and the Pan Skills Project. Wilson maintained that the only way they were allowed to approach African heads of state was on behalf of James and Chancellor Williams, both of whom were quite revered by leaders throughout Africa.

Whereas the focus of the 1945 Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England, was geared towards the eagerly anticipated independence of African nations, James thought the initiatives of the Six PAC should emphasize the people’s movements. As such, participation was not only sought from Africa, Europe, the Americas, and the Caribbean, but also from Australia and the Pacific Islands. Building an independent infrastructure for cooperation and understanding within the black world was the ambitious goal of early congress planners from the Atlantic diaspora. On

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287 Edie Wilson, in conversation with author; Sylvia Hill, interview by William Minter.
288 Ibid.
289 Ibid.
290 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 217, 219.
292 Ibid.
February 5, 1972, a document titled The Call was issued. Referencing the initial rationale for the first Pan-African congress, the document set forth a political forum, suggesting the Six PAC return to its origins by “drawing a line of steel against those, Africans included, who hide behind the slogan and paraphernalia of national independence while allowing finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life.”

Yet what did the African American diaspora have to offer, even though by the numbers of those involved in the planning of this congress they were the driving force behind this project? When asked this question decades later, Claude reflected that the answer given at the time “sounds condescending, particularly for those who lived in the industrialized North as opposed to those who might live in Brazil or the Caribbean.”

As a whole, African Americans did not quite understand the meaning of “international.” This was demonstrated in their attitude of dominance taken at CAP congresses held from 1970 to 1974. American black nationalists commandeered the focus of the events, giving no consideration to matters of those outside the United States. African American technological knowledge and accompanying skills vital to the development of African countries was what this segment of the diaspora offered Africa. Six PAC organizers from the United States believed their scientific and technological skills represented their entry into Africa. To achieve this feat, CAP proposed the creation of a permanent secretariat and information center based in Africa. Establishment of an institution of this nature would facilitate the goal of funneling skilled African Americans throughout Africa. But there was a lot to be learned by African Americans on the technique of negotiation in international arenas that differed from their local, domestic, or even

293 Ibid, 6–7.
294 “The Call” in Walters, Pan Africanism, 77.
295 Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 42.
297 Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 42.
298 Plummer, In Search of Power, 322.
national arenas. The continuous rescheduling of the Six PAC is an indicator of African Americans’ lack of knowledge of international interaction in the black world. In May 1972, a Six PAC delegation of planners arrived in Tanzania. C. L. R. James, Bill Douglas, Fletcher Robinson, Courtland Cox, and James Garrett were the delegation chosen for either their political or technical influence. Bernard Muganda from the Tanzania Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the delegation’s main contact during this visit to Tanzania. The delegation’s first meeting was with Tanzanian Foreign Minister John Malecela and his assistant Muganda. In this meeting, it was confirmed that the congress would be held in Tanzania in June 1973. Garrett felt that Tanzania wanted to host the congress for historical reasons, because of its perceived isolation as a progressive state in East Africa and the international visibility that the congress would bring. Still, the Tanzanian leaders’ desire for African American participation in their nation building had long preceded the visit of these delegates to Tanzania.

In December 1971 CAP members Imamu Amiri Baraka, Program Chairman; Hayward Henry, National Chairman; Balozi Zayd, International Affairs Chairman; and Imamu Vernon Sukumu, West Coast Regional Organizer; along with Sultani Tarik, NewArk Congress Youth Director, traveled to the Miako Uhuru, the tenth celebration of Tanzania’s independence. Writing for Black World, Baraka noted that the only official delegations from the United States to attend this historic event were black: the CAP delegation and a delegation from the National Council of Black Churchmen. For Baraka, the courageous social evolution taking place in the Republic of Tanzania was inspirational. He stressed that “African Americans must support in all ways possible

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299 Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 42.
301 Ibid.
302 Ibid, 16.
303 Ibid.
305 Ibid.
306 Ibid, 66.
the rise of African nations.” Baraka was convinced that “the stronger Africans in Africa are, the stronger Africans in America will be.” This was essentially the same message delivered in an article published in Jet the previous month. Baraka’s objective in his piece for Black World was to recruit skilled African Americans for the Pan Skills Project to help with the work of nation building. In this manner, groundwork was laid to expose the black public in the United States to Tanzanian and African American participation in the Pan-African mission before the CAP delegation left the United States in May 1972.

Enthusiasm gained from Tanzania’s support of the project sparked immediate action upon the return of both delegations to the United States. CAP members began the active broadening of their base to generate global involvement in the upcoming congress. After the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), what had been known as African Freedom Day from 1958 to 1963 was renamed African Liberation Day, and its observance was moved to May 25. Attendance estimates varied from 30,000 to 55,000, when the newly named African Liberation Day held its first gathering in Washington, DC, in 1972. For American black individuals and organizations who wanted to support African liberation without access to government-level decision making, this support served as a vehicle that made their voices heard. The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) materialized after the success of the second African Liberation Day to serve as a pro-Africa lobby and a national educational and community-organizing group. This development tremendously increased the networks

307 Ibid.
311 Ibid.
for black solidarity that were established in the 1950s and 1960s, becoming a national vehicle for African American participation in the fight for global black liberation.

**African Americans maneuvering through the politics of Pan-Africanism**

The focus of Pan-African congresses before the independence of African and Caribbean nations was geared toward the agendas of people’s movements. In 1974, when many of these countries had achieved sovereignty, a rift developed in the Pan-African movement between statesmen and popular participation. Guyanese government officials were disturbed by the Caribbean Steering Committee meeting of the Pan African Congress that was held in Georgetown, Guyana, March 28 and 29, 1974. A cable from Guyana Prime Minister Kit Nascimento to the United States embassy criticized the meeting because the Guyana government believed that these militants were “using Pan Africanism as a cloak” to establish a platform for their dissidence which did not relate to Africa.

These convictions resulted in pressure being exerted by countries such as Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad against the Tanzanian government to clarify its intentions for the congress, since many of the people most interested in the congress were dissidents from their own countries. The newfound independence and black leadership of some countries did not relieve the economic woes of colonialism. Those in the Atlantic African diaspora who were disillusioned looked to Africa for the answers to progressive change. Caribbean officials saw attendance at the Pan African Congress as potential validation of these dissenting groups’ causes and demanded to know the intention of the Six PAC. Were they simply trying to pull together parties of the opposition for this

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313 Plummer, *In Search of Power*, 323.
315 Ibid.
316 Sutherland and Meyers, *Guns and Gandhi*, 218.
318 Ibid.
conference?\textsuperscript{319} Focusing on neocolonialism at the Six PAC would have automatically raised questions of certain black governments.\textsuperscript{320}

This was indeed a sensitive issue for Tanzania, a country that had experienced a failed coup attempt ten years prior to the congress: the army mutiny of January 1964 exposed the precarious position of the postcolonial state and forced Nyerere to utilize the full power of party and state to quell the organized dissent.\textsuperscript{321} The years between the initial projected date for Six PAC and the actual occurrence were most trying for the Tanzanian experiment. Tanzania was now in its second phase of development. After \textit{The Arusha Declaration} was issued in 1967, voluntary movement of the rural Tanzanian peasants to Ujamaa villages did not produce the numbers needed to establish and sustain working productive villages. This resulted in the “forced villagization that took place between 1972 and 1973 [that had] disastrous consequences for the [country’s] economy.”\textsuperscript{322} The involuntary movement of the rural peasant was known as Operation Vijiji. This operation drew negative feedback from the masses in Tanzania because of the nature of its enforcement. Using paramilitary forces, Operation Vijiji moved approximately 9 million people to villages within a period of four to five years.\textsuperscript{323} Ujamaa villages were unable to generate the production needed to sustain the country, yet they did develop an infrastructure that included better standards of health, education, and water during the period of the Arusha Declaration.\textsuperscript{324} All within the ranks of TANU were

\textsuperscript{319} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{320} Plummer, \textit{In Search of Power}, 330.
\textsuperscript{323} Issa G. Shivji, “The Village in Mwalimu’s Thought and Political Practice,” in \textit{Africa’s Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere}, ed. Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam (Kampala, Uganda: Pambazuka Press, 2010), 122.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid, 123.
not in agreement with the implementation of the Ujamaa villages, or with Tanzania’s stance in the liberation movement.

Negotiation by Tanzanian officials with other black governments was a very delicate balancing act for Nyerere and TANU, who were the official sponsors of the congress. At this time, TANU was, in actuality, the Tanzanian government—for TANU and the government were one and the same entity.  

Officials in Tanzania’s government felt they had to subvert the original ideas of the congress and invite all heads of state. It was at this point that Caribbean radicals vowed not to attend; this included C. L. R. James, one of the strongest original supporters in the launching of the event. Although James did not attend, because he felt the change in platform of the conference was a betrayal of the initial ideas projected for this event, the longtime Pan-African activist did not fault Nyerere for changes.

Involvement of the US State Department in the Pan-African issue was not atypical. Pan-African interaction between Tanzanian officials and SNCC prior to the Caribbean incident had been very closely monitored. In 1969 after SNCC’s adoption of an international agenda, which catalyzed the work on the Pan Skills Project, the FBI paid close attention to the interaction between Tanzanian Ambassador Paul Bomani and SNCC members. One intelligence official under the Nixon administration stated that the White House had a “preoccupation” with understanding the extent of foreign influence on domestic radicals and blacks. “Whenever kids went abroad,” the source said, “there were those in the White House who were convinced that they were meeting with Communists and coming back with dope.”

The CIA, however, reported in 1969 and 1970 that it could not find any substantial evidence to support the Nixon

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326 Ibid.
327 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 216.
328 Foreign Contact, FBI SNCC files, NY 100-147953.
330 Ibid.
administration’s view that foreign governments furnished undercover agents or funds to the Black Panthers or other radical black organizations in the United States.\textsuperscript{331} Unwilling to believe black uprisings in the late 1960s and early 1970s were solely a result of longstanding discrimination in the United States, the administration deployed additional FBI agents abroad. The intelligence agencies infiltrated Pan-African organizations in the United States, the Caribbean, Canada, and Africa. The FBI categorized Pan-African organizations such as the ALSC as an “Extremist Matter” in documentation that chronicled their activities.\textsuperscript{332} The Nixon administration saw aggressive Pan-Africanism as a tremendous threat. The ability of large numbers of African Americans to coordinate and orchestrate national demonstrations for African liberation changed the categorization of the activity of black activists, and observation by the FBI of SNCC members interacting with Tanzanian officials in 1970 was deemed a “Racial Matter.”\textsuperscript{333} By 1973, when the former members of SNCC were actively involved with ALSC in the development of African Liberation Day, the nature of their activity changed from a “Racial Matter” for the FBI to an “Extremist Matter.”

An attempt to sabotage the US delegation’s travel arrangements demonstrated the extent to which the FBI would go to foil the connection of African Americans with the international black world. The US delegation entered into a contract for air travel from the United States to Tanzania with the Henderson Travel Agency located in Atlanta, Georgia.\textsuperscript{334} Two days before the departure of the delegation, the airline broke the contract to avoid any problems.\textsuperscript{335} Because the FBI had requested review of the travel manifest for the delegation, the airline stated the list of travelers was questionable.\textsuperscript{336} At the very last minute India Airlines, through the sanction of the Indian government, entered into a

\textsuperscript{331} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{333} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{334} Sylvia Hill, interview by William Minter.
\textsuperscript{335} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{336} Ibid.
contract with the delegation that resulted in their timely arrival in Dar es Salaam. This action demonstrated that the Bandung spirit of the 1950s was still alive, as another sovereign country formerly under the yoke of Western colonialism was willing to come to the aid of African unity.

It was clear from ideological disagreement during meetings in the planning phase of the congress that the US delegation was not a united entity. A split between cultural nationalists and Marxists caused great problems within the American delegation and at the congress as well. Amiri Baraka, a strong cultural nationalist, and Owusu Sandaki (born Howard Fuller), a Marxist, were the two main leaders in the delegation. Disharmony within the delegation resulted in their failure to submit a position paper from a point of solidarity. This division was confusing for Tanzanian government officials, as it was difficult to understand the primary objective of the delegation.

Bill Sutherland was asked to represent the interests of the Tanzanian government in the Six PAC development of the congress. Sutherland characterized the majority of the US delegation as cultural nationalists, because they were “the people with the money and the time to take international trips.” Representing the Tanzanian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs placed Sutherland in a very difficult position. At that time, he had lived in Tanzania for a decade and in Africa since the late 1950s. Therefore, he did not know the younger generation of SNCC members well. And as a Tanzanian government employee, some Tanzanian officials in Tanzania were suspicious of Sutherland’s allegiances to the United States delegation. Here was a Pan-Africanist sandwiched between conflicting interests.

337 Ibid.
339 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 218.
340 Ibid.
341 Ibid, 217.
342 Ibid.
Tanzanian ambassador to the United States Bomani confided to his counterpart, the African American and US ambassador to Tanzania Beverly Carter, his frustration with African American attempts to dominate the congress. Some delegates were deemed unrepresentative of the American black population, as their criminal backgrounds—unassociated with political activity— not only discredited their standings, but embarrassed both Tanzanian officials and esteemed SNCC veteran Bob Moses. While a proponent of the congress who then lived in Tanzania, Moses ultimately chose not to attend, rather than associate himself with the American delegates whom he considered objectionable. Carlton Goodlett reported in *The Sun Reporter* that it was “a mistake to exclude United States Ambassador W. Beverly Carter, an African American, from the proceedings.” In this case, the diversity among the American delegates at Six PAC, coupled with the challenges from the Cold War, did not contribute to credibility or acceptance of the US delegation or their mission in Africa. Six PAC organizer Sylvia Hill stated that the source of resistance to American black radical focus was African liberation movements not wanting the conference dominated by ideological debate around race and class without the directive of bringing forces of the black world together around the primary goal of ridding the continent of Portuguese colonialism and apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Despite the challenges from within Tanzania and internationally, a proposal that emerged from the 1969 International Black Power conference in Bermuda did come to pass. Kwame Nkrumah, the elder African statesman who held the first Pan-African gathering on independent African soil, died in Guinea on April 27, 1972, before the 1974 congress. Yet for the delegates, the memories of Nkrumah were acknowledged in Nyerere’s opening address. Nkrumah’s contributions to the 1945 congress, his calling

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345 Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 44.
of the All People’s Organization meeting in Ghana in 1958, and his tireless work for African liberation throughout his life were remembered as groundbreaking events that made the Six PAC possible. After four postponements from 1972 to 1974, the Six PAC took place over nine days in 1974, from June 19 to 27.\footnote{Garrett, “A Historical Sketch,” 18.}

**Realities made clear at the Sixth Pan African Congress**

Nyerere and Sékou Touré delivered the opening address at the Sixth Pan African Congress.\footnote{Sekou Toure sent a taped message that was played at the congress.} Both leaders stressed an understanding of the broader revolutionary issues, which included class. From these leaders’ perspectives, Pan-Africanism could not be defined from the narrow parameters of cultural nationalism.\footnote{Nyerere, “Julius K. Nyerere’s Speech to the Congress.”} Nyerere “made it quite clear” that racial thinking was opposed, “but as long as black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on the grounds of color, black people everywhere will stand together in opposition to that oppression, in the future as in the past.”\footnote{Ibid, 11.} In a taped message, Touré stated Cuba’s President, Fidel Castro, “demonstrated more ‘blackness’ than many African and Afro-American leaders in his humane approach to solving problems in his country.”\footnote{Booker Griffin, “Pan African Congress Report,” *Los Angles Sentinel*, July 18, 1975, 1.} Vice President of *Frente de Liberatação de Moçambique* (Mozambique Liberation Front, or FRELIMO) Marcelino dos Santos, in his address to the delegates, illustrated the progressive ideology of Pan-Africanism through an example made simple in Mozambique’s resistance. Santos explained, “the struggle in South Africa is not Black Power versus White Power, but the power of the exploiter versus the people. We cannot Africanize exploitation.”\footnote{Griffin, “Pan African Congress Report,” 1.} Santos then pointed to the logic of “replacing white leaders with black leaders who maintain the same system of exploitation that existed before” independence.\footnote{Ibid.} This position was a painful one for a number of African Americans in
the US delegation. Yet it forced those who attended and were involved with organizing the Six PAC to grapple with their own identity in the black world.

Judy Claude, another congress organizer, felt the issues that had arisen with African Americans and the people on the continent stemmed from African Americans’ lack of understanding about the concept of class without consideration of race.³⁵⁴ Material positions afforded by the Western world economy of the African diaspora in the United States did not translate in African culture as oppression or for an easy or instant connection with Africans on the continent of Africa.³⁵⁵ It was hard for Africans to understand African Americans’ plight with the opportunities that were available from US citizenship and the higher standard of living perceived by outsiders not living in the West. Claude thought that the Pan-Africanists from the United States knew more about African material conditions than Africans knew about African Americans.”³⁵⁶ For Claude, being African American in Africa meant that, ultimately, they were Americans. “A hard pill to swallow,” Claude reflected thirty years later, but “in the final analysis the African is right!”³⁵⁷ For those who were involved with the congress, it was an education in the continuous struggle of black liberation.³⁵⁸

As a Six PAC coordinator, Geri Augusto had been traveling to and from Tanzania for over a year on behalf of the congress, sometimes living there for extended periods. This allowed time for her to become acquainted with her identity in Africa and to be schooled in methods in the ongoing revolution by Walter Rodney, who was lecturing at the University of Dar es Salaam at the time.³⁵⁹ By the time of the arrival of the US delegation in Tanzania, Augusto had “cut loose every messianic impulse [she] ever had.”³⁶⁰ When listening to her fellow African Americans’ arguments in Dar es Salaam,

³⁵⁴ Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 44.
³⁵⁵ Ibid.
³⁵⁶ Ibid.
³⁵⁷ Ibid.
³⁵⁸ Sutherland and Meyers, Guns and Gandhi, 217.
³⁵⁹ Geri Augusto, interview by Charles Cobb Jr.
³⁶⁰ Ibid.
Augusto did not participate, for she realized that her fellow Americans’ positions were based on Western hemisphere arguments that did not fit in Africa.\textsuperscript{361} A lot of African Americans at the Six PAC were captured by National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).\textsuperscript{362} The war in Angola developing at this time was as much a Cold War proxy war as it was a civil war; The People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) received support from the Soviet Union, while UNITA support was received from the United States and South Africa. Augusto was fortunate to have Walter Bgoya and Walter Rodney school her in the realities of the liberation movements on the continent. She developed the same sentiments as Akwesi Agyeman, an editor for \textit{Warejeaji News}, in his rationale that the haunting effects of Liberia produced the attitudes of Tanzanians responsible for the Big Bust. Augusto learned while planning the congress “why historically the Liberian model, no matter how it modernized itself, is not a viable model for African Americans coming to save Africa.”\textsuperscript{363}

After the congress, Augusto made the decision to stay in Africa for a while. As she perfected her Kiswahili, in an attempt to integrate as closely as possible into the culture in Tanzania, many Tanzanians began to consider her their little sister.\textsuperscript{364} The extended-family culture was not foreign to Augusto, for it was the foundation upon which African American society had been based since the first arrival of their enslaved African ancestors. African Americans were well acquainted with the concept of kinship. It is this familiarity with Ujamaa that was a major factor in the endearment of this segment of the African diaspora to Tanzania. Augusto realized the importance of embracing Swahili culture. Understanding and transcending non-Western cultures was not an easy task for some African Americans. Although the concept of \textit{ndugu}\textsuperscript{365} was familiar to African Americans, “inclusion and citizenship that was opposed to all forms of xenophobia in

\textsuperscript{361} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{362} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{363} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{364} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{365} \textit{Ndugu} is a gender neutral Swahili concept signifying brotherhood and sisterhood.
Africa” was an adjustment for some black radical nationalists from the United States.\textsuperscript{366} A list of lessons learned at the Six PAC was published in a recap by Ron Karenga in \textit{Black Scholar}. One lesson on this list was the realization that “Africans on the continent and no doubt others elsewhere, [could] not and [would] not accept the emphasis Afro Americans put on race.”\textsuperscript{367}

The US delegates represented no constituency, nor did they belong to a registered state associated with the congress, unlike other delegations at the Six PAC. Thus, few of their resolutions were incorporated into the final congress report.\textsuperscript{368} No discussion ever materialized for a permanent secretariat envisioned by the US delegation for the establishment of an information and technology center to facilitate placement of Pan-African scientists and technologists from abroad in Africa. African American delegates cited three main problems in getting this task accomplished: “a lack of sophistication and expertise in dealing with international forums, language barriers which reduced the effectiveness of lobbying and the emotional rhetoric [of] speakers [such] as Sadaukai and Baraka rather than documented position papers on African conditions.”\textsuperscript{369} Delegate Don Lee, also known as Haki R. Madhubuti, was quoted as saying, “One thing we learned here is that we [African Americans] have a national interest.”\textsuperscript{370} Lerone Bennett suggested that African Americans should feel “it was the ending of the beginning of a painful process of reeducation which may yet make the reality match the splendor of the dream.”\textsuperscript{371} What a number of Americans in the delegation brought back from the conference was a commitment to support the liberation movements in Africa.


\textsuperscript{368} Plummer, \textit{In Search of Power}, 336.


\textsuperscript{370} Bennett, “Pan Africanism at the Crossroads,” 161.

\textsuperscript{371} Ibid.
Despite warnings to expatriates living in Tanzania on the need for discretion with regards to information concerning the Big Bust, some US delegates were aware that there were a number of African Americans in detention in the country. On arrival of the plane that carried the majority of African Americans to Tanzania, a special line was created to process them through customs.\(^{372}\) Brenda Plummer suggested this was a reaction to the past arms importation issues involving American black visitors prior to the conference.\(^{373}\) Whether the delegation was aware that they were receiving special treatment is unknown, for many were inexperienced travelers and this was their first trip to Africa. But this incident did cause some discussion within the delegation.

Nyerere did meet privately with a small group of American Pan-Africanists during the congress. In a forty-five-minute meeting with Nyerere, arrangements were made for a few from the US delegation to visit the African American detainees.\(^{374}\) Expatriates who belonged to Warejeaji were informed that Bill Sutherland and Paul Bomani had accompanied Baraka to the detention center.\(^{375}\) Sutherland was able to speak to Debbie Coleman and reported her conditions as “okay.”\(^{376}\) Baraka was given permission to visit Fred Umoja, but left the country without giving members of the Warejeaji any information.\(^{377}\) Sutherland later informed the editors that Baraka had seen Umoja, and his condition was not as positive as that of Coleman. Umoja and the other detained African American males had not been asked a single question since their arrest.

Yet the events surrounding the congress did not deter African American involvement in the African liberation struggle. The American delegation as a whole believed that black unity was the key to Black Power.\(^{378}\) Although it was clear from the lack of unity in the American delegation that there were differing visions in the manner in

\(^{372}\) Plummer, *In Search of Power*, 332.
\(^{373}\) Ibid.
\(^{374}\) Ibid; *Warejeaji* notes.
\(^{375}\) Ibid.
\(^{376}\) Ibid.
\(^{377}\) Ibid.
which black unity was obtained, when faced with the realities of their identities in the black world, it strengthened the resolve of the majority to work within the existing structures. Very little was written about the Big Bust in the United States or Tanzania after the Six PAC. There were only short references within the documents of events chronicled at the Six PAC, but never was this sensationalized in the black press. African Americans involved in the liberation struggle did not focus on these events but rather they put the difficulties surrounding the Six PAC in perspective. Pan-Africanists from America knew there was some truth in the rumors that African Americans were either involved with American espionage or interested only in the personal gains that could be obtained from their status as Westerners. The latter scenario was an echo of the American black immigration to nineteenth-century Liberia. It is this phenomenon identified by both Augusto and Agyeman that explains the reference to African Americans in Africa from the Liberian perspective of a “model” or an “effect.” In retrospect, James Garrett saw the need to understand “the changes a small developing country goes through [in] trying to balance its need to survive with its desire to be progressive.”379 There is no doubt that the Tanzanian/African American linkage was durable, for at the Six PAC when the status of the American delegation was questioned, it was “the Tanzanian delegation [that] insisted on representation from the United States.”380

A meeting was held the week following the congress by the ALSCC Central Council for analysis of the findings from the Six PAC in order to establish their position within the global black struggle. These Pan-Africanists had deemed 1974 the “Year of Ideological Clarity.”381 It was in this meeting that a discussion was opened for qualitative changes in the organization’s ideological position.382 The two-line struggle that began in

380 Bennett, “Pan Africanism at the Crossroads,” 161.
382 Ibid.
the United States between the cultural nationalists and the Marxists continued in
Tanzania. The split was between those who prescribed a socialist solution to the African
American problem, which dictated that the struggle should be based on class, and those
who endorsed a race-based solution.\textsuperscript{383} The latter believed that the problem was neither
capitalism nor mercantilism, hence the problem was the color of one’s skin. For these
members, the answer for blacks in America was only found in black nationalism.\textsuperscript{384} On
the return of the American delegation to the United States, the polarizations within the
CAP organization led to a number of resignations.\textsuperscript{385} A need for ideological clarity within
the progressive group of “Pan Afrikan Revolutionaries” during this period was
paramount.\textsuperscript{386}

**Striving towards an understanding**

Charlie Cobb moved to Tanzania in 1969 as part of the Drum and Spear Press.
This was the same year that C. L. R. James influenced members from the Center for
Black Education to become actively involved in initiating the call for the Six PAC.
Drums and Spear Bookstore and Press and the Center for Black Education were
interdependent institutions collectively known as the Drums and Spear Complex.\textsuperscript{387} After
three years in Tanzania, Cobb wrote, “having a Nyerere or Toure as president of a
country is not enough.”\textsuperscript{388} Through his collaborative work in Drum and Spear with the
Tanzania Publishing House, Cobb recognized that it was the bureaucracy of the country
that was ultimately charged with implementation of ideas from progressive leaders.\textsuperscript{389}
The dilemma for Cobb was that the lifestyle and ambitions of members from this

\textsuperscript{384} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{385} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{386} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{388} Cobb, “Black American in Africa,” 32.
bureaucracy “were in total contradiction to the very principles [that] they were expected to advance.”

The fruit of Drum and Spear’s collaboration with Tanzania Publishing House was a single publication, *Watoto Wa Afrika*. Yet it is this publication that demonstrates how African nationalism was extended through Ujamaa to a nation outside Africa.

Drum and Spear Press identified with Ujamaa ideologically. It was the belief in Ujamaa and commitment to the Tanzanian policy of African socialism that led Drum and Spear to establish a Pan-African collaboration with the Tanzanian government-owned publishing company. Historian Seth Markle cites the publication of *Speaking Kiswahili* and *Watoto wa Africa* as evidence of the African American publishing company’s embrace of Ujamaa, which “simultaneously met the specific nation-building needs of the black freedom movement [in the United States] and the Tanzanian state.” Although the project was short-lived—it was a victim of solidarity on a practical level with precarious economics—it served as one of the main vehicles for the uniform transfer of African nationalism. These publications were just as instrumental to African Americans as they were to Tanzanians in propelling black identity through nationalism to the youth of both societies.

Indeed this was a period of delicate negotiations for the Tanzanian/African American linkage. African American immigrants living in Tanzania or those involved with the planning of Six PAC did not lay blame on Nyerere for the events that transpired in 1974. African Americans cherished the space they had been afforded in Tanzania, and many were able to maneuver through cultural differences. For Sylvia Hill, the congress was a fundamental political issue for the African Americans that expanded access to both the African “political forum and Tanzanian people beyond heads of organizations.”

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392 Ibid, 23.
393 Levy, “Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 43.
Nyerere still encouraged skilled African Americans to immigrate to Tanzania. The *Black Collegian* September/October 1974 edition featured articles titled “Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania” and “Message to the Youth of Today: We Should Run, While Others Walk.” These essays focused on the need for skilled African Americans in Africa. The phrase, “We should run, while others walk,” was coined by Nyerere in his early presidency. Nyerere’s experience as a student and politician led him to the conclusion that his country needed to speed up the pace of development while the world maintained its status quo. African Americans felt in many ways the same pressure as those in Nyerere’s developing country, and this phrase fascinated the younger generation, as it provided a path to the future. Beyond the continued recruitment of African Americans for nation building in Tanzania and Guinea, these articles appearing in *The Black Collegian* revealed the depth of respect the black community in the United States held for Nyerere.

Writing about Nyerere in *The Black Collegian*, Kalamu ya Salaam introduced the president of Tanzania with a title that illustrated Nyerere’s relationship to the American black community. “Ndugu Mwalimu” literally translates as kin teacher. As a former schoolteacher in colonial Tanganyika, Nyerere continued to be known as “the teacher” after becoming Prime Minister of Tanganyika. The kinship perceived by African Americans through the adoption of Ujamaa extended the same respect for this leader in the United States as he received in Tanzania. Evidence of the endearment black Americans held for Nyerere surfaced at the Six PAC. US delegates’ goals were not limited to gaining interests in their platforms at the Six PAC, but Baraka, Sadauki, and Lee hoped to make sure that, in the future when Nyerere traveled to the United States, this revered leader would spend more time in the black communities and less time with people selected by the State Department.

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397 Plummer, *In Search of Power*, 324.
Equally as important to the liberation struggle and to the development of Africa as the African Americans’ skills was the guidance Nyerere provided to sympathetic African Americans who chose not to immigrate to Africa, for the Americans in the United States had power. Those who met with Nyerere during their Six PAC attendance left the meeting with “an important matter of a sensitive nature”\textsuperscript{398} and a new sense of urgency. From their conversation with Mwalimu Nyerere, “Afrikans in America realized they were an important key in the struggle against imperialism, [as] they were right inside the belly of the beast.” African Americans returned from their journey to Africa prepared to cause their country a tremendous stomachache.

Horace Campbell, an African American political scientist who taught at the University of Dar es Salaam for six years and engaged Rodney Walter in many a political debate at the height of the liberation movement in Tanzania, continued the scholarship and activism of the Dar es Salaam School of History and Philosophy.\textsuperscript{399} His Pan-African analysis of Nyerere—balancing his duties as head of state and founding member of the OAU with following his “vision of people’s freedom as manifest in the principles of Ujamaa”—required an understanding of how the Pan-Africanist leader “navigated the terrain of people-centred and state-centred Pan Africanism.”\textsuperscript{400} Integrating the Atlantic African diaspora into the political arena of Africa in the mission of African liberation necessitated the same skill and delicacy that allowed the country to host freedom fighters from a cross section of liberation movements in Africa. The strength of the linkage between Tanzanians and African Americans comes forth from the continued practice of Pan-Africanism and the manner it met challenges learned from the “Year of Ideological Clarity.”\textsuperscript{401}

\textsuperscript{398} Chairman’s Report: Central Council Meeting—8 Julai 1974.
\textsuperscript{399} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{400} Campbell, “Julius Nyerere: Between State-Centred and People-Centred Pan Africanism,” 46–47.
\textsuperscript{401} Chairman’s Report: Central Council Meeting—8 Julai 1974.
The bigger picture

Tanzania remained the beacon of hope for African Americans after 1974. American Pan-Africanists understood the necessity of working within the parameters of Ujamaa in Tanzania to contribute their support for African liberation, whether in Africa or at home in the United States. Despite the lack of action taken on the US delegation’s proposal for a Pan-African science and technology center in Africa, some African Americans found alternatives to offer their services.

Neville Parker, a professor of civil engineering at Howard University, returned to Tanzania in 1976 as a Senior Fulbright Scholar at the University of Dar es Salaam after his participation in the Six PAC. In 1977 Parker was appointed head of the Department of Engineering and remained in Tanzania until 1988. Edie Wilson made the decision to make Tanzania her permanent home after the Six PAC. Wilson’s management skills carried over from the administration of the Six PAC into contracting as a consultant with government and non-government organizations in Tanzania. American Pan-Africanists continuously found ways to contribute to the development of Tanzania. Those who remained in the country learned the importance of assimilating into Tanzanian culture. Although many expatriates did return to the United States after the Big Bust, a substantial number remained, and more African Americans continued to settle in Tanzania.

Pete O’Neal, a victim of the Big Bust, still lives as a political exile in Tanzania. When asked why he stayed in Tanzania after 1974, O’Neal simply replied, “The world is a smaller place.”

Pete and Charlotte O’Neal founded the United African-American Community Centre (UAACC) in 1990. This organization offers art, language, and

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403 African American political exiles who did return home, such as John Manning in the 1980s, faced incarceration. Ellen Schechet, “One-Time Militant Confronts His Past,” newspaper clipping (source and date not noted), personal collection of Charlotte Hill O’Neal and Pete O’Neal.
404 Pete O’Neal, in conversation with author, August 16, 2002.
computer courses for Tanzanians in the Arusha area. The O’Neals are also involved in student exchanges where Tanzanians travel to the United States and African Americans come to their compound in Imbaseni for short educational stints. Today these expatriates are considered a longstanding, well-respected part of the northern Tanzanian community.

Bill Sutherland was the longest expatriate to reside in Tanzania. He was greatly respected and affectionately known as the Mzee of the Afro community. His home was a haven for expatriates, travelers, and exiles in Tanzania. Lisa Brock quoted Sutherland candidly stating, “My life, living it, has helped some people.” Sutherland knew that, by actually going and living in Africa, he had “very often been a bridge between the African American movements and the African movements.” On the occasion of Sutherland’s 90th birthday, Bishop Desmond said, “the people of Africa owe Bill Sutherland a big thank you for his tireless support.” Sutherland’s dedication to Pan-Africanism greatly aided the African American contribution to African liberation whether in Tanzania or the United States.

The battle from the belly of the beast

American delegates returning from the Sixth Pan African Congress were strongly committed to taking on the liberation struggle in America. Sylvia Hill, upon her return, devoted her time through “many transformations [of protest] in the Southern Africa Support Project to the Free South Africa Movement, as well as her work with TransAfrica.” After the mid 1970s, a wide, diverse spectrum of blacks in the United States—including lobbyists, government officials, missionaries, and Pan-Africanists—

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406 Sutherland and Meyer, Guns and Gandhi, 61.
408 Ibid.
410 Levy, Remembering Sixth-PAC,” 46.
were seeking means to affect American foreign policy in Africa. Growing support within the black communities was not limited to the black elites or radicals, but spanned the distance from grass-roots organizations to the middle class. One of the largest anti-apartheid demonstrations in New York on August 13, 1985, illustrates the cross-section of participation for this cause. ACOA joined with the American Jewish Congress, Asian Americans for Equality, the Urban League, Columbia and Harvard University students, the New York Labor Council, the National Congress of Puerto Rican Rights, and National Council of Churches to rally 60,000 protestors to march from Nelson and Winnie Mandela corner, which was where the South African mission was located on 42nd Street and Second Avenue, to the United Nations, chanting “Death to apartheid, free Mandela.” Although political division hampered the ALSC operations after 1974, demonstrations such as this reveal that other entities rose to fill the void. Despite the division in the cultural and radical nationalist network that developed in the black power era, many who were involved joined with the Pan-Africanists from the 1950s and 1960s in bringing the issue of freedom for southern Africa to the forefront of American politics.

By the 1960s, black representatives were entering the US House of Representatives in increasing numbers. In January 1969, Shirley Chisholm of New York, Louis Stokes of Ohio, and Charles Diggs of Michigan formed the Democratic Select Committee. By February 1971, the organization was renamed the Congressional Black Caucus. Diggs served as chair of this committee from 1969 to 1971. In the same fashion, the Nixon administration sought to dismantle black organizations that it considered radical, which included SNCC, CAP, and the Panther Party. Members of this ethnic congressional organization were also considered political opponents of the

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412 Ibid.
administration. Although Diggs, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa since 1969, did not attend the Six PAC, he did send a message to the congress stating that it was imperative that negotiations between Portugal and Portuguese colonies in Africa result in a real transfer of power to the black majority.\footnote{Griffin, “We Are Underestimating Our Own Strength,” 12.} Diggs did briefly visit Tanzania in 1975 to meet with John Malecela, the Tanzanian Foreign Minister. At this meeting, Malecela expressed the need for African American assistance.\footnote{Plummer, In Search of Power, 337.} United States Ambassador Carter stated that Malecela told Diggs that he hoped African Americans were willing to return to Africa for Africa needed their skills.\footnote{Ibid.} Plummer suggests that the groundwork was laid in this meeting for the “establishment of TransAfrica and the divestment campaigns of the 1980s.”\footnote{Ibid.} Diggs’s opening statement in a piece that he penned for the August 1976 issue of \textit{Ebony} magazine proclaimed, “The destiny of Afro-Americans in the United States and of Africans in Africa is inextricably linked.”\footnote{Charles C. Diggs, “The Black American Stake in US Policy Toward Africa,” \textit{Ebony}, August 1976, 76.} Appearing in the widely read \textit{Ebony} magazine ensured that his message was spread throughout American black communities.

With the founding of TransAfrica in 1976, the call for total black liberation was sounded to a Nixon administration that overtly supported the white South African regime. At an annual TransAfrica fundraising benefit, Tanzanian Ambassador Salim A. Salim pointed out the organization’s kindred links to Africa in his keynote address.\footnote{Jackson, \textit{From the Congo to Soweto}, 125.} TransAfrica was the driving force that mobilized governmental and black leadership to support African liberation in US foreign affairs. For Randall Robinson, a founding member of TransAfrica, the organization served as the fruition of his epiphany at the end of a six-month fellowship in Tanzania. At the close of Robinson’s stay in Tanzania in his exploration of the liberation front, he realized that he “could best serve Africa by going
home to America.”

It became clear to him while in Tanzania that America “was doing Africa a terrible disservice and African Americans, in general, were none the wiser.”

At this turning point in Randall’s life, he made it his mission “to bring the general American black public to the obscure and clubby table of US foreign-policy decision making vis-à-vis the black world.”

Unlike ALSC, TransAfrica avoided conflicts of different ideologies by working with both the radical and conservative black communities, thus building unity among all of the existing black networks in the United States.

A light at the end of the tunnel

On November 2, 1978, the TANU Executive Committee approved text for the constitution of a new party that resulted from the February 5, 1977 merging of TANU from the mainland and Afro-Shiraz from Zanzibar to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party. Indeed, this was an important day for African unity, for as of that date no other two African countries had joined to form a union. As other members of the National Executive in Lindi celebrated, Nyerere rushed back to his lodge for an update on the 1976 United States presidential elections. Nyerere felt that the American election bore great significance for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Incumbent President Gerald Ford viewed the success of the black liberation struggle in southern Africa as basically handing the continent over to the Soviet Union. Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter was an unknown. Yet Nyerere perceived Carter as understanding, from his comments on the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Carter

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421 Ibid.
422 Ibid.
425 Ibid, 1–2
426 Ibid, 2–3.
427 Ibid.
did not regard the liberation struggle as one whose objective was to hand Africa to the Soviet Union simply because Africa was a recipient of Soviet arms. Understandably, this 1976 presidential election generated a certain amount of anxiety in Nyerere.

It was an ecstatic moment for Nyerere when he heard the official announcement of Carter’s victory on Voice of America. On November 3, 1977, Nyerere arrived in Washington, DC, in response to Carter’s first official invitation to an African leader to come to the White House for talks on southern Africa. Earlier in 1977 President Omar Bongo of Gabon, chairman of the Organization of African Unity, met with Carter at the White House during a “private” visit to the US. Nyerere’s previous visit to the White House had been in response to President John F. Kennedy’s 1963 invitation, at a time when both leaders were considered unusually young. For Nyerere, the visit to meet with Carter was part of a crusade for American support for the liberation struggle in colonized southern African in his role as a Pan-Africanist leader, not the president of an African country.

On August 4, 1977, the Tanzanian president was welcomed with a twenty-one-gun salute and full military honors in a ceremony on the White House South Lawn, followed by two days of talks. For the remainder of Nyerere’s American visit, he and his party of Tanzanian officials, which included Benjamin Makapa, Foreign Minister; Paul Bomani, Ambassador to the United States; and John C. Malecela, Minister of Agriculture, traveled to Iowa, California, Tennessee, and Georgia. Nyerere chose these locations to view rural areas in America in hopes of getting new ideas for Tanzania’s agricultural policies.

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428 Ibid.
429 Ibid.
430 Ibid.
433 Ibid.
434 Ibid.
436 Ibid.
Nyerere was warmly received by all Americans, but particularly with great pride and excitement by the African American communities. The title of an article appearing in the Atlanta Daily World—“President Nyerere’s Visit, A Pleasure”—indicates the reverence held for this leader in black communities.\(^437\) Nyerere was honored by many during his tour of the United States. A letter and a silver tray were presented to Nyerere by a four-member delegation of the Congressional Black Caucus led by Maryland Representative Parren Mitchell. In part, the message read, “We, as representatives of African-Americans in the Congress of the United States, are inspired by [your] statesmanship and reaffirm our unequivocal support of your creative efforts to implement the liberation of all southern Africa from present inequalities.”\(^438\) The Tanzanian president was also presented with a letter of appreciation from the Afro-American newspaper chain on behalf of the black press.\(^439\) At Howard University, prior to his address on the “The Plea of the Poor,” the university’s President James Cheek presented Nyerere with an honorary doctorate in the humanities. Before Nyerere could speak, he received three thunderous standing ovations.\(^440\)

Initial connections from the early days of the Tanzanian/African American linkage resurfaced in Atlanta. There Nyerere met out of respect with Julia Washington Bond, widow of Horace Mann Bond, and Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King Jr.\(^441\) Bond and King were acquaintances of Nyerere, stemming back to the 1950s Tanzanian anticolonial era. Before Nyerere left the United States, black leaders hailed the call for a South Africa boycott.\(^442\) At the end of Nyerere’s visit, Diggs commented that “all agree the impact of his visit upon US foreign policy in Africa is considerable.”\(^443\) Tanzanians’

\(^438\) Ali, “Tanzanian Leader Ends US Visit.”
\(^439\) Ibid.
\(^440\) Ibid.
\(^441\) “Nyerere Meets Mrs. Bond Again,” Atlanta Daily World, August 30, 1977, 3; Nyerere, Crusade for Liberation, 33.
\(^443\) Ali, “Tanzanian Leader Ends US Visit.”
and African Americans’ commitment to black liberation in southern Africa strengthened the already-long-existing relationship that continued until the conclusion of South African apartheid. The success of this relationship stemmed from its longevity, for Tanganyikans and African Americans began their connection during the anti-colonial era of Tanganyika.

Establishment of the Tanzanian/African American linkage in the late 1940s provided space for African Americans to enter the decade of the Arusha Declaration with Tanzania as extended family. At the end of the decade, the connection that had united in the struggle for human rights had jointly established an African identity on and off the continent of Africa. The bridge that connected Tanzania and the United States in a united struggle for liberation also permitted Tanzanian nationalism to enter into African American black cultural nationalism as part of a symbolic connection to Africa.

**Conclusion: Results of a long-term African/diaspora linkage**

Increased black internationalism strengthened twentieth-century Pan-Africanism and expanded its parameters. It was the vehicle that fostered the growth of Tanzanian nationalism for the black world at large during the drive for total African liberation. Black internationalism transformed the Pan-Africanist movement from the early static entity of ideas conceived prior to World War II, characterized by Horace Campbell as reports of meetings and congresses held between the first Pan African Conference in London in 1900 to the Fifth Pan African Congress in 1945 in Manchester, to the dynamic process of the latter twentieth century, which adopted African Americans into the circumference of Tanzanian nationalism.

Campbell asserts that the concept of Ujamaa “was original and drew from a body of thought that is found in all parts of Africa,” thus it was not just familiar to Africans on

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the continent but African descendants from abroad. In this light, familyhood was not unique to Ujamaa, since it was also the foundation for the establishment of America’s black society. It is conceivable that the same phenomenon was instrumental in African Americans’ returning to Africa, regardless of whether that return was physical as in immigration or psychological as through the creation of black cultural nationalism.

Extension of African hospitality from Tanzania was conditional for all who entered the country. Rights came only with the obligation of duties as indicated in the traditional Swahili proverb *Mgeni siku mbili; siku ya tatu mpe jembe*, which translates loosely as “treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!” The obligation of Tanzanian hospitality in this case served not only the nation-state of Tanzania but African Americans as well in their quest for identity with Africa. As Tanzanians strove for autonomy, their fluid practice of Pan-Africanism with the active engagement of Ujamaa opened the door for African Americans to join Tanzania in nation building—an act that was beneficial for Africa, but on further examination reveals the benefits for American black communities during the decade of the Arusha Declaration.

Adoption of Kiswahili as a symbolic language and the practice of Ujamaa in African American communities in the United States, during the process of Africanization from the 1970s and beyond, was the result of the inclusion of African descendants from America in the Tanzanian extended family. African Americans who returned to the United States from Tanzania implemented the practice of Ujamaa in their local neighborhoods through community centers and privately owned black schools, regardless of whether their experience in Tanzania was from a short stay or long period. 

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447 There are many examples throughout the United States of African Americans returning from Tanzania and embarking on projects that incorporated the fundamental principles from Tanzanian nationalism; one is found in Houston, Texas. Founder and director Deloyd Parker traveled to Tanzania in 1974, and upon his return to Houston, opened the Self Help for Africa People Center known as SHAPE, which continues to serve the black community of Houston’s Third Ward after more than forty years.
was so much a part of African American culture that when Alice Walker’s novel, *The Color Purple*, came to the big screen in 1985, the scenes that portrayed West Africa did not speak a West African dialect, but Kiswahili.

Philippe Wamba’s novel, *Kinship*, focuses on the author’s experiences in the world created by the African/African diaspora linkage. Wamba was born in California to an African American mother, Elaine Wamba, and a Congolese professor-turned-rebel father, Ernest Wamba dia Wamba. Because Wamba’s father taught at the University of Dar es Salaam, the younger Wamba spent his life bridging the gap between two different cultures and identities received from his two parents. Wamba writes from the experiences of his transnational identity, drawing on the unique insight gained from the myths and misunderstandings between Africans of the diaspora and from the continent. More importantly, the narrative of Wamba’s life illustrates one that was conceived between two worlds as a result of parents from the continents of Africa and North America, which necessitated that he constantly maneuver culturally between the Pan-African engagements of the diaspora and the customs of the home continent. Horace Campbell aptly stated that “Pan-Africanism, therefore, as Wamba’s own journey testifies, can only be understood via its multifaceted dimensions.”

Campbell’s premise is further validated through the long history of the Tanzanian/African American relationship. The drive to end apartheid that began in the early 1970s continued for two decades; Pan-Africanism served as an effective vehicle to coordinate the victory of this battle through unification of Africa with its diaspora.

Nelson Mandela’s election on May 9, 1994 was a tremendous victory for black solidarity through the practice of Pan-Africanism. Moreover, during this drive for total black liberation, Tanzanian nationalism was embedded in the black community. On October 22, 1997, thousands gathered at the National History Museum of Los Angeles

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County for the official issuance of the first Kwanzaa commemorative postal stamp. The Kwanzaa stamp was the second issued in the United States Postal Service’s Holiday Celebration series, which recognizes America’s diverse ethnic and cultural holidays. LeGree Daniels, a member of the Postal Service Board of Governors, remarked during the dedication that “stamps mark the milestones, the fundamental principles and the extraordinary achievements that shape this country.” Kwanzaa is a black cultural festival that was instituted in 1966, by Maulena Karenga. It is a product of the Black Power-era drive for self-determination, influenced by black internationalism.

Tanzania is unique in having embraced all forms of the multifaceted phenomenon of Pan-Africanism. It is well noted that Kiswahili, as the official language of Tanzania, has prevented factionalism based on ethnicity or religious affiliation, making this country one of the most peaceful countries in Africa. Kiswahili in the United States illustrates the strength of modern African nationalism through a long-term Pan-African linkage.

Tanzania is now under its fourth president. There have been dramatic changes triggered by the 1986 economic reforms, which began the change from the parastatal sector to privatization, and the 1992 amendment of the constitution allowing multiparty politics, which has transformed the ideology of the country to social democracy. Yet President Jakaya Kikwete, the fourth president of the country, continues to emphasize President Nyerere’s efforts to call upon the international African diaspora to build Africa, as illustrated in his plenary address to the diaspora at the 2006 Sullivan Summit in Abuja. Through the Tanzanian/African American linkage, Pan-Africanism’s strength comes forth as an ever-evolving force in the black world.

450 Ibid.
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