THE HIGHEST POLITICAL EXPRESSION OF BLACK POWER: SNCC AND THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

A Syllabus by the SNCC Legacy Project

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> "I have outlined what I think have been some of the problems and some of the areas in which we must move that logically lead to Pan-Africanism. Many people have accepted the slogan of Black Power, some have tried to make it mean what they want it to mean. The highest political expression of Black Power is Pan-Africanism. Black Power means that all people who are black should come together, organize themselves and form a power base to fight for their liberation. That's Black Power."
> – Kwame Ture

> And so they had big fights and arguments in which I took absolutely no part. I would go off and be off in the streets at night in Dar es Salaam. I went with the OAU interpreters, who were Senegalese or whatever. We'd be stopping at places where you could have hot soup at midnight. That's up in some neighborhood in Dar es Salaam. I learned another point of view. I was then ready to cut loose every messianic impulse I may ever have had. – Geri Augusto

Course Description

In June 1974, hundreds of Africans convened in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania to continue the work of the Pan Africanist movement. The first congress to take place on the African continent, the Sixth Pan African Congress was also the first such meeting in almost thirty years. Its location was not the only difference. It was the first congress, in the series of meetings spearheaded by W.E.B. Du Bois, to be hosted in an independent African state. Though there had been Pan Africanist meetings of significance across the continent since the wave of African independence almost fifteen years earlier, both the continent *and* the African diaspora would be represented

in the Sixth Congress. This course examines the role that members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) played in helping to envision, plan, and coordinate the Congress. It aims to develop the sense that Black Power and other domestic political movements have always had a larger aim beyond national boundaries. It should not come as a surprise that SNCC's role in international affairs and Pan Africanist organizing was a major feature of its work. This course is designed to explore their role in the Congress as a *continuation* of the work begun in 1960. Pan Africanism, properly conceived, is one of the oldest and most consistent forms of radical organizing that Black folk have practiced informally and formally. In continuing their work, SNCC activists continued to work along the longer paths of Black radicalism, even outliving the existence of SNCC as an organization. Finally, this course explores the potentials realized and contradictions revealed in the Sixth Pan African Congress, with an eye toward re-examining the salience of Pan Africanist struggle in our own era.

Primary Sources

- www.snccclegacyproject.org - The SNCC Legacy Project's Digital Movement Platform, created in 2022.
- www.blackpowerchronicles.org - Black Power Chronicles, created by SNCC Legacy Project
- www.crmvet.org - The website of the Civil Rights Movement Archive, Inc.
- www.snccdigital.org - The SNCC Digital Gateway, produced in partnership with Duke University's Center for Documentary Studies and Duke University Libraries.

Books

- Hakim Adi, *Pan Africanism: A History* (Bloomsbury, 2018)
- Ron Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Wayne State University Press, 1993)
- Kwame Ture, *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan Africanism* (Lawrence Hill, 2007)
- Seth Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power and the Uncertain Future of Pan Africanism*, 1964-1974 (Michigan State University Press, 2017)
- *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress* (Tanzanian Publishing House, 1976)

Format

We have tailored this course to be delivered in multiple ways. Firstly, the modality can be either virtual or in-person. Secondly, and perhaps most significantly, it can be delivered in both the traditional lecture format and the seminar discussion format, as well as in non-traditional, flipped classroom formats. The teaching notes provide suggestions and recommendations tailored to the course material covered that week. In addition, we have added suggested media and other resources that can be folded into the course delivery. We believe that each course leader should use the methods that are most appropriate to the students engaged in these courses. This method should enable students to reach a clear understanding and appreciation of the "SNCC Way"—not only its approach to organizing, but its approach to pedagogy. This too is movement-building.

Notes on Our Approach

This course employs the SNCC archive as the primary pedagogical tool for understanding the history of the movement. Individual facilitators however are free to enlarge upon that foundation by bringing in more historical figures, archives, and/or secondary sources that may not be available within the SNCC collection. In addition, the facilitator should feel free to connect the historical content to stories within and beyond the movement that might be relevant to the unique regional, institutional, and political contexts for the class. If there are stories that can be fruitfully added to the discussion, the facilitator might improvise upon what we have offered here. We encourage and expect facilitators to incorporate those elements into their delivery of the course.

Kathy Flewellen, Geri Augusto, and Walter Bgoya, 1974

Schedule

Week 1 – Introduction: SNCC and Africa

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

How did members of SNCC understand the politics of Africa? In what ways was this connected to the question of cultural origins and identity? How did African anticolonial and independence movements in the late 50s and early 60s of the continent influence SNCC's early politics? How did this shift over the course of the decade? What role did visits to the African continent play in SNCC's emerging politics? How did the geopolitical context of the Cold War influence SNCC's understanding of Africa?

Readings and Resources:

- "Early African Connections," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- "African Liberation Movements," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- "SNCC Delegation Travels to Africa," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- John Lewis and Donald Harris, "The Trip," Fall of 1964, Social Action Vertical File, Wisconsin Historical Society.
- James Forman, "The Organization of African Unity," in *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (University of Washington, Press, 1997), 504-09.

Other Resources:

- Kwame Ture, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Times of Stokely Carmichael [Kwame Ture]* (Scribner, 2002), 110-35.

Teaching Notes:

- The facilitator might consider a lecture homing in on the various reasons SNCC activists considered the significance of African independence struggles, taking care to explain the Cold War context of these connections.

- A seminar might be tightly focused on the commentaries around the 1964 trip to Guinea, exploring the multiplicity of reactions that SNCC activists had upon arriving and then returning. Discussion might consider the reasons for these differences and how it contributed to the evolution of SNCC.

- Deploying a flipped classroom format, consider having students develop group presentations on those early African anticolonial activists (e.g., Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Nasser) that inspired SNCC or played a role in setting the stage for the Pan Africanist movement in the sixties and seventies.

Week 2 – Histories of Pan Africanism

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

How might we understand the origins of the Pan Africanist movement? What were the major issues, movement activities and organizations associated with the project? How did these intersect with the major historical contexts of the twentieth century? In what ways did these movements engage with questions of rights? Of self-determination and autonomy? How did they influence the student movements to emerge by mid-century?

Readings and Resources:

- "Black Power Continuum," Black Power Chronicles.
- James Turner, "Historical Perspectives," *Black World* (March 1974): 11-19.
- Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, 7-69.

Other Resources:

- C.L.R. James, *A History of Pan African Revolt* (PM Press, 2012).

Teaching Notes:

- An instructor might consider grounding the history of Pan Africanism within the larger context of Black radicalism and resistance, considering how the meetings to come were part of a continuum of struggle. The lecturer should consider both the differences and similarities between revolt and these meetings, even as they largely were composed of members of the Black intellectual class.

- A robust topic for the seminar format would be the nature of organizing in the early half of the twentieth century. The discussion should focus on the challenges, both high level and on-the-ground, of convening an international discussion of African-descended peoples during this era. The discussion should also link these challenges to questions of ideology, government and colonial surveillance and repression, as well as the overall logistical concerns that arose.

Consider thinking juxtapositionally across the diaspora and how regional differences and similarities refracted organizing strategies.

- For the flipped classroom format, consider having students develop group presentations on each of the first five Pan African Congresses. Focus the presentations on the resolutions and outcomes, exploring the assumptions around self-determination and self-rule which guided these meetings.

Week 3 – Black Power and the Road to Pan Africanism

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What are the prehistories of Black Power? How have Black Power activists understood their relationships to Africa? What were the political conditions of the 1960s that made thinking about international affairs significant to Black politics? How was Black Power theorized outside the United States? How was Black Power related to national liberation struggles? What were the concepts and definitions that shifted as a consequence?

Readings and Resources:

- "The Fundamentals of Black Power," Black Power Chronicles.
- James Forman, "1967: High Tide of Black Resistance," Civil Rights Movement Archive.
- Gloria House, "The Road to Internationalism: A SNCC Movement Worker Reflects," Against the Current (Jan-Feb 2012), Civil Rights Movement Archive.
- "Pan Africanism," Our Voices: Internationalism, SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Jennifer Lawson, "Drum and Spear Book: Publishers for the Pan African World, 1968-1972," Black Power Chronicles.
- Carmichael, "Pan-Africanism," in *Stokely Speaks*, 183-220.
- Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, 164-69.

Other Resources:

- Kwame Ture, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Times of Stokely Carmichael [Kwame Ture]* (Scribner, 2002), 520-638.

Teaching Notes:

- A lecturer might focus on the reasons that Black Power is not *usually* associated with Pan Africanism, in order to reframe the assumptions around its meaning. Those reasons insofar as they are both matters of historiography and ideology, can help structure a conversation about the logical reasons that SNCC veterans were engaged in planning the Sixth Pan African Congress.

- The discussion of how to frame Black internationalism and Pan Africanism in the sixties can ground this week's seminar session. Since the narrow focus of the sixties has become the rights-based struggle, this seminar might use the sources above to consider different grounds for orienting the meaning of the Black freedom movement.

- A flipped classroom session might use Kwame Ture's (Stokely Carmichael) "Pan-Africanism" to pull out the central themes and components of his argument. Presentations or discussion groups would focus on one element (e.g. historical example, political position, etc.) of his overall rationale for moving toward Pan Africanism and explore its analytical grounds, stakes, and implications. Returning to the large group format, the session would then piece each element back together exploring how they are connected and contribute to the salience of the speech.

Week 4 – African Liberation Struggles in the 1970s

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What were the major political struggles occurring in Africa in the 1970s? In the diaspora? How did struggles for self-determination and national liberation in these sites contribute to theoretical and ideological developments in the Black world? What was the nature of the regional and geographical consciousness that Pan Africanists brought to the fore? How did Pan Africanists see the significance of the political changes of the era? How did Pan Africanists organize around these movements? What role did activists from earlier liberation and freedom movements continue to organize during this period?

Readings and Resources:

- Sylvia Hill, "Washington's First African Liberation Day," *Black Power Chronicles.*
- "African Liberation Day: African Festival and speeches in Malcolm X (Meridian Hill) Park in Washington, D.C.," *Digital Howard.*
- Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora*, 59-76.

- Carmichael, "Message from Guinea," in *Stokely Speaks*, 175-82.

Other Resources:

- Abdul Alkalimat, *Dialectics of Liberation: The African Liberation Support Committee* (Africa World Press, 2021).
- Amilcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral* (Monthly Review Press, 1979).
- Institute for the Arts and Humanities, African Liberation Day Conference, 1974, Digital Howard.
- Film: African Liberation Day, 1972.

Teaching Notes:

- This week's lecture could re-examine the role that African liberation struggles in the 1970s played in shaping the consciousness of Black radical and progressive forces in the diaspora. By taking account of what was happening in places such as Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Zimbabwe, Grenada, Guyana, and Jamaica, the lecture might highlight this moment as a time of both great promise and peril. Its implications for Black organizing within the United States, Great Britain, and other locations where Black people were the minority should be explored.

- The week's seminar might feature a discussion on the ideological debates within the Pan Africanist community during this era. Given the significance of these questions to the Sixth Pan African Congress, a general appreciation for how activists discussed and attempted to resolve these differences matters. This seminar can help clarify how many different organizations and key figures understood the stakes.

- Utilizing video clips from African Liberation Day conferences and marches, a flipped classroom session might encourage student presentations to deliver thick descriptions of what is noticeable and unique about this moment of organizing.

Week 5 – Paaulu Kamarakafego (Roosevelt Brown) and the Idea of a Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

Who was Paaulu Kamarakafego? What are the relationships between Kamarakafego and the Black Power Movement? What was the significance of the Black Power Conference in Bermuda in 1969? How did activists discuss and justify the importance of Pan Africanism at this juncture? What were the tensions, aims and objectives, and contradictions they sought to address in the larger political movements? How did these intersect with national and nation-state concerns and interests?

Readings and Resources:

- Sylvia Hill, "Brief Overview of the Sixth Pan African Congress," in "Sixth Pan African Congress: Planning, Preparation, and Implementation, 1969-1974, Black Power Chronicles.
- Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, 169-73.
- Quito Swan, *Black Power in Bermuda: The Struggle for Decolonization* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 77-94.
- James Garrett, "Historical Sketch of the Sixth Pan African Congress," *Black World* (March 1975): 4-22.

Other Resources:

- Quito Swan, *Pauulu's Diaspora: Black Internationalism and Environmental Justice* (University Press of Florida, 2020).

Teaching Notes:

- A great idea for a lecture for this week would be a profile of the activist Pauulu Kamarakafego. Given his centrality to the development of the Sixth Pan African Congress, a lecture might explore not just his role there, but how he ever came to occupy it. This lecture would not only introduce students to someone whose name is not well-popularized, it would establish a balance between the histories that are made by prominent individuals and those made by significant figures that have escaped our notice. Though Quito Swan's work has begun to address it, how we move from the silence to historiographies that are inherently inclusive of the range of Black political lives is still unresolved. This can be a theme that undergirds the treatment of Kamarakafego.

- The seminar might discuss how Kamarakafego developed the rationale for a Sixth Pan African Congress and what went into the answer of the question, "Why now?" By using the discussion format, participants can gain a better appreciation of how history is made and how historical actors contribute to its

making. How we discuss the story of the Sixth Pan African Congress's emergence allows these processes to be seen.

- For a flipped class, the facilitator might ask students to bring in a distinct fact about Pauulu Kamarakafego—given his almost polymathic life—and present about why they were surprised or felt that this fact was unique.

Week 6 – C.L.R. James and Organizing the Sixth Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

Who was C.L.R. James? How did James influence the trajectory of the Sixth Pan African Congress? How did his previous associations with the idea of Pan Africanism influence his thinking? What was unique about James's approach to working with younger activists? How was "The Call" developed? What were its central themes? What roles did James ultimately play in the end? What lessons might this have for our understandings of Pan Africanism?

Readings and Resources:

- "Dr. C.L.R. James Talks to Geri Stark, Information Officer, Sixth Pan African Congress," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Geri Augusto, "Learning from C.L.R. James," in "Organizing 6PAC," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- "The Sixth Pan African Congress," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Anthony Bogues, "C.L.R. James, Pan-Africanism and the Black Radical Tradition," *Critical Arts* 25 (2011): 484-99.

Other Resources:

- Frank Rosengarten, *Urbane Revolutionary*: *C.L.R. James and the Struggle for a New Society* (University Press of Mississippi, 2010).

Teaching Notes:

- For this week, a lecture might consider thinking through the legacy of C.L.R. James and his influence on radical Pan Africanist thought. It would expand to include his earliest Pan Africanist efforts and thread the conversation to 1974, showing why and how James was able to influence the younger activists who had the ultimate responsibility of pulling it off.

- The seminar discussion style for this week could stimulate a conversation around James's method of mentorship and/or leadership. In addition to reproducing some of the conversations and contexts, the discussion would analyze the processes of working and coming together that James's cohorts established.

- Within the flipped classroom, students might break off into groups to home in on specific questions raised in James's interactions within the younger activists. These small group discussions might engender focused attention on the issues he suggested as critical for the Sixth Pan African Congress. At the end of class, the larger group might reconvene to share notes and conclusions that help us better or differently understand the issues under examination.

Week 7 – Courtland Cox, Geri Augusto, and the Journey to Tanzania

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What roles did SNCC's Courtland Cox play in the development of the Sixth Pan African Congress? How did Cox engage SNCC's legacy of organizing in order to effectively plan and execute his role? In what ways did Geri Augusto support this effort? What challenges did they face in this environment? What lessons do their collective approaches to organizing have for national liberation and international solidarity movements? How did they maneuver questions of state power in Africa? What lessons do *those* dilemmas have for our liberation struggles?

Readings and Resources:

- "To Tanzania," Our Voices: Internationalism, SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Sixth Pan African Congress, "The Call," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Sixth Pan African Congress, "The Pan African Imperative for Increased Emphasis on Science and Technology," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Courtland Cox, "Sixth Pan African Congress," *The Black Scholar* 5 (April 1974): 32-34.
- Geri Augusto, "Interview with William Minter," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000*, eds. William Minter, Gail Howey, and Charles Cobb (Africa World Press, 2007).
- Fletcher Robinson, "On Science and Technology," *Negro Digest* (March 1974): 26-30.
- Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run*, 141-56.

- Fanon Che Wilkins, "A Line of Steel: The Organization of the Sixth Pan-African Congress and the Struggle for International Black Power," in *The Hidden 1970s*, ed. Dan Berger (Rutgers University Press, 2010), 97-114.

Teaching Notes:

- Possibilities for this week's lecture include developing a timeline of the Sixth Pan African Congress, once it was decided that it was a go. It would consider the mechanisms and structures that Courtland Cox and Geri Augusto—and many others—had to establish in order to plan the Congress. The lecturer might highlight the processes and personalities that contributed to the success of this moment.

- A seminar style discussion might consider the working relationship between Courtland Cox and Geri Augusto. In order to fully contextualize their roles, it would explore interviews and oral histories that detail what it took to accomplish the feat of organizing the Sixth Pan African Congress. This discussion would then examine the method and process, with an eye towards thinking through the implications for how we might think about the organizing tradition.

- A flipped session could trace the origins of the ideas of science and technology by encouraging students to deliver presentations on the relationship between STEM conversations then versus now. Pan Africanist organizing and its larger engagements with STEM would then become the basis of a class discussion that takes seriously the past lessons as necessary for our current moment and its sustainability.

Week 8 – Sylvia Hill and the Organization of the North American Delegation

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

How did Sylvia Hill get involved in organizing? What was her role in the Sixth Pan African Congress? How does Hill's story bring forth questions of organizing philosophy, gender, and political ideology? In what ways did these questions shape the Pan Africanist movement during the Congress and after? Who were the members of the North American delegation and how did they contribute to the discussions of the Sixth Pan African Congress?

Readings and Resources:

- "Black Power Chronicles: Sylvia Hill."
- Sylvia Hill, "Outreach to Local USA Communities," in "Sixth Pan African Congress: Planning, Preparation, and Implementation, 1969-1974, Black Power Chronicles.
- Sylvia Hill, "Progress Report on Congress Organizing," *The Black Scholar* 5 (April 1974): 35-39.
- LaTasha Levy, "Remembering Sixth-PAC: Interviews with Sylvia Hill and Judy Claude, Organizers of the Sixth Pan-African Congress, *The Black Scholar* 37 (Winter 2008): 39-47.

Teaching Notes:

- For this week's lecture, a facilitator could recreate the historical moments that found Sylvia Hill involved in the significant role of secretary-general of the North American delegation of the Sixth Pan African Congress. Utilizing the sources, the lecturer might turn to consideration of the specific challenges she faced and what they mean for how we might understand not only the Congress, but the larger theater and environment of radical organizing.

- The seminar-style discussion this week could be generated around approaches to creating and recruiting the North American Delegation. It would consider the criteria, modes of communication, and processes for engagement that organizers identified in order to convene the delegates.

- A flipped classroom format might show Sylvia Hill's Black Power Chronicles interview and invite students to highlight portions that they found interesting. Students would then be encouraged to develop plans to learn and research more about those highlighted components to round out their understanding of Hill's life and work. At the end of the session, students would share these plans with the rest of the class.

Week 9 – The Challenge of Organizing an International Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What were the principal challenges involved in organizing the Sixth Pan African Congress? What mechanisms were put in place to ensure that the Congress met its goals? What new dimensions did former SNCC activists have to face in meeting these challenges? How did they draw on their backgrounds in the sixties phase of the

movement? How were these issues intensified with the addition of geopolitical concerns? What were those geopolitical concerns and how did they contribute or detract from the success of the Congress?

Readings and Resources:

- "The Legacy of 6PAC," Our Voices: Internationalism, SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Sixth Pan African Congress, "Working Paper on Desirable Results of the Sixth Pan-African Congress," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Sixth Pan African Congress, Caribbean Steering Committee Documents.
- Sylvia Hill, "Interview with William Minter," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000*, eds., William Minter, Gail Howey, and Charles Cobb (Africa World Press, 2007).
- Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run*, 156-71.
- Walters, *Pan Africanism and the African Diaspora*, 76-81.
- Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, 182-84.

Teaching Notes:

- A consideration of the ideological and political questions raised in the organizing of the Sixth Pan African Congress would be a necessary foundation for a lecture. Walking through the distinctions and differences in radical and leftist views about Africa and her future would give insights to students trying to come to terms with the continent's status today. How these questions impacted the Congress are critical for our understanding.

- The seminar model might usefully spark a discussion of what Ronald Walters called the two-line struggle. It would focus on how race and class-based analyses were crucial at this juncture and what it meant to "align" with one or more of these positions. Discussants might examine whether or not calls for functional unity were realistic amid the political questions and crises of the day and how that might have implications today.

- A flipped model could restage the debates around either the two-line struggle or the participation of opposition parties as representatives in the Congress. Students should utilize the documents to formulate their own opinions and participate honestly in the discussion.

Week 10 – Tanzania and the Political Landscape of Africa in the 1970s

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

Why was Tanzania chosen as the site of the Sixth Pan African Congress? What were the unique roles that Julius Nyerere and other Tanzanian political figures played in the historical struggles for national liberation and Pan Africanist movements? How did this legacy run up against the challenges and dilemmas of state power? How did activists address both the shortcomings and potentials within these alliances? How did Pan Africanists derive lessons from the Tanzanian struggle before and after the Congress?

Readings and Resources:

- "Because of Nyerere," in "To Tanzania," Our Voices: Internationalism, SNCC Digital Gateway.
- "Struggle in Mozambique," *The Movement* (July 1969): 20-21, Civil Rights Movement Archive.
- Julius Nyerere, "President Nyerere's Speech to the Pan African Congress, 19th June, 1974, Dar es Salaam," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Walter Rodney, "Towards the Sixth Pan African Congress," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 21-34.
- Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run*, 43-71.

Other Resources:

- Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection of Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967* (Oxford University Press, 1971).

Teaching Notes:

- This week's lecture could trace the evolution of Tanzania's independence struggle, demonstrating how it was read and understood by the rest of the diaspora. The lecture should include the ways that Tanzania's unique approach to cultural education, language, and socialism were critical factors in the struggle for Pan African liberation.
- For the seminar, consider the significance of East African struggles in the larger tradition of Pan Africanism. Discussions should reverberate around the unique insights and challenges that focusing on East Africa might bring into our awareness or understanding of Pan Africanism.

- Consider creating an activity that allows students to interact with the geography of Pan Africanism and its East African connections for the flipped session. Are students able to identify countries in the East? Are they able to link the region to the geopolitical happenings in the larger world? What kinds of interactive maps might be available to transform the ways we talk about East Africa and Tanzania's significance to the world and Pan African struggle?

Week 11 – Women, Gender, and the Sixth Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

How did questions of Black womanhood converge with the organizing and planning of the Sixth Pan African Congress? How did Black women activists and organizers contribute to the development of the agenda? How did women's issues figure within the larger universe of Pan Africanism? What are the principal lessons to be learned from these convergences?

Readings and Resources:

- Sylvia Hill, "Women and the Pan African Congress," in "Sixth Pan African Congress: Planning, Preparation, and Implementation, 1969-1974, Black Power Chronicles.
- "The Contribution of Women to the Development of the Pan African World," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 190-94.
- Judy Claude, "Some Personal Reflections of the Sixth Pan-African Congress," *The Black Scholar* 37 (Winter 2008): 48-49.
- Ashley D. Farmer, "Black Women Organize for the Future of Pan-Africanism: The Sixth Pan-African Congress," *Black Perspectives: AAIHS Blog*, July 3, 2016.

Other Resources:

- Ashley Farmer, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* (UNC Press, 2017)

Teaching Notes:

- This week's lecture might present the question of gender as a critical feature of the Congress. Given the historical context from the Pan African Women's Organization to the Third World Women's Alliance, it might cover how women's

issues evolved within the Pan Africanist movement and what specific issues were primary in their work.

- Framing the seminar discussion around "The Contribution of Women to the Development of the Pan African World," this week's focus would center on the intent behind this document. Given the scholarly emphases of the last few decades, it might work through what changes or shifts when we center the Pan Africanist women in our definitions of "organizer" and "activist."

- Utilizing the flipped classroom format, this week's session could generate research questions around questions of gender that might be useful for future projects. Groups would go to the documents and SNCC archives to ask new questions and develop new research opportunities that have not been taken up. This activity would require them to engage questions around gender that help us rethink how we consider the evolution of Pan Africanism and how it is already threaded through unwritten histories.

Week 12 – The Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

Who were the principal speakers shaping the agenda of the Sixth Pan African Congress? How were these speakers identified and chosen? How did those speeches contextualize and contribute to the Pan Africanist agenda? What are the enduring messages and ultimate legacies of these speeches? How might these relevant insights be updated to address contemporary issues in the Pan African world?

Readings and Resources:

- "Sixth Pan African Congress Program," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- "List of speeches and papers delivered at Sixth Pan-African Congress," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Owusu Sadaukai, "Political and Material Support for African Liberation movements," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 138-44.
- Imamu Amiru Baraka, "Self-reliance in African education and culture," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 157-70.

- Imamu Amiru Baraka, "Revolutionary Culture and Future of Pan African Culture," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 171-79.
- Abdias do Nascimento, "Cultural Revolution and Future of the Pan African Culture," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 180-89.
- Neville Parker, The Pan African Imperative for Increased Emphasis on Science and Technology," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 200-08.
- Sekou Toure, "Sekou Toure's Speech to the Congress," *The Black Scholar* 5 (July-August 1974): 23-29.

Teaching Notes:

- For this week's lecture, consider profiling the speakers involved in the Sixth Pan African Congress. This would allow students to develop a clear understanding not simply of their connection to organizing, but the reasons they were invited to speak and for the ideas that they put forth. Each speaker offers a unique opportunity to inculcate within students' consciousness the kinds of work and sacrifices that were necessary to grow and strengthen the Pan Africanist movement.

- This week's seminar discussion might revolve around the thematic material of the speeches, including a discussion of the editorial vision of the Tanzanian Publishing House, which involved Geri Augusto. It might consider the reasons for including the particular speeches that were part of the volume and what significance they might have held years later. The discussion should think through the balance between historical documentation of the event and the ideological implications of highlighting and featuring these speeches.

- You might consider assigning each student or student group a specific speech in the reading section for the flipped session. Encourage students to develop a critical analysis of the speech—what are its arguments, how are they presented, etc.—and then present them to the rest of the class. Examine together with each group if there are commonalities in these speeches. If there are major differences and disagreements, explore how they might be related to other dilemmas discussed in the course. Student groups could then explore how they might have been resolved then and might be resolved now, if they remain relevant.

Week 13 – Exploring the Resolutions of the Sixth Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What were the major issues discussed in the resolutions of the Sixth Pan African Congress? How did congress participants categorize and define the various areas that were critical? Which of these areas were relatively new to Pan Africanist organizing? How were they shaped by the times and the evolution of the struggle? Do we have evidence or indication of how well these resolutions have been implemented? How might we assess and qualify the success of these resolutions?

Readings and Resources:

- "Resolutions of the Sixth Pan African Congress," *New Directions* 1 (1974).
- David Lawrence Horne, "The Pan African Congress: A Positive Assessment," *The Black Scholar* 5 (July-August 1974): 2-11.

Teaching Notes:

- This week's lecture could present the resolutions systematically, offering an analysis of what each of them meant at the time and what they could mean today. The context generating those resolutions is another layer that the lecturer may present. In addition, how these might compare to those of Pan African Congresses in the past and those that came after 1974 might be addressed.

- A seminar discussion for this week might work through the significance of the categories of the resolutions. It should focus on how questions of economics, culture, etc. proved so vital to the understanding of the participants of the Sixth Pan African Congress. It should question whether or not these categories remain the primary ones that structure Pan Africanist organizing.

- A flipped classroom might encourage students to take individual resolutions and research their implementation. Students should be directed or encouraged to create methodologies for doing so utilizing both archival tools as well as engaging the more current iterations of these issues. As a class, consider how this research might contribute to a project that focuses on the legacies of the Sixth Pan African Congress.

Week 14 – The Sixth Pan African Congress and National Liberation

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

How did national liberation movements engage the process of the Sixth Pan African Congress? What questions were raised as to their participation and/or engagement with representatives of independent nation-states? How did these national liberation movements engage with Africans from the diaspora and other delegations from states where Black people did not hold state power? How did these ultimately resolve the challenges their unique situations faced within Pan Africanist organizing? What was left unresolved? How did that impact the next years and decades of the liberation struggle?

Readings and Resources:

- "Declaration of the Sixth Pan African Congress on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa," SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Imamu Amiri Baraka, "Some Questions About the Sixth Pan African Congress," *The Black Scholar* 6 (October 1974): 42-46.
- Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), "The Struggle in Zimbabwe in the Context of Pan Africanism." in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 112-15.
- Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), "On the Liberation of Zimbabwe," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 116-18.
- African National Congress (ANC, S.A.), "The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Movement," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 119-23.
- Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), "Call for a New Africa," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 124-27.
- Baraka Sope, "The Struggle against Anglo-French Colonialism in the New Hebrides, Western Pacific," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 128-131.
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), "The Liberation of the Palestinian People," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 132-33.
- Hashim Mbita, "Political and Material support for African liberation Movements," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches of the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 134-37.

Other Resources:

- Cedric J. Robinson, "In Search of a Pan African Commonwealth," *Social Identities* 2 (1996): 161-68.

Teaching Notes:

- Part of the urgency of the Sixth Pan African Congress was the still-unfolding struggle to end colonialism formally. In Southern and Eastern Africa, Pan Africanists called for material support from Africans around the world. In other locations, such as Oceania and Palestine, struggles continued. A lecture for this week might consider the nature of national liberation struggles as they unfolded in 1974 and how Pan Africanists at the Sixth Pan African Congress understood their urgency and their places within them.

- A seminar discussion topic here might be on the question of state power. Discussants would consider the role of struggles *for* state power versus the ways that state power was wielded both in the context of governance in general and how it impacted the Sixth Pan African Congress. The discussion would then revolve around how national liberation might be defined today.

- This week's flipped session might take each liberation movement organization and assign it to a student group. From here, the facilitator might encourage students to mine their statements for what their ultimate vision for liberation included. It would answer the question of what united national liberation struggles. From here, the class might reconsider the whole idea of functional unity.

Week 15 – Legacies and Lessons of The Sixth Pan African Congress

Discussion Questions and Dilemmas:

What were the discernible outcomes of the organizing of the Sixth Pan African Congress? Are there specific results we can point to on the African continent? What of the diaspora? How did this meeting fit into the larger context of Pan Africanist struggle in the twentieth century? How were its organizers and participants shaped by that moment? What are the lessons we might derive from the overall project—both organizing and theorizing—that went into the Sixth Pan African Congress? What about this work remains relevant for African struggles today? What lessons can we derive from this moment that would contribute to the viability of Pan Africanist organizing today?

Readings and Resources:

- "The Legacy of 6PAC," Our Voices: Internationalism, SNCC Digital Gateway.
- Courtland Cox, "Closing Remarks by the Secretary General," in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches from the Sixth Pan African Congress*, 217-218.
- Lerone Bennett, "Pan Africanism at the Crossroads," *Ebony* (September 1974): 148-60.
- Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run*, 171-76.

Other Resources:

- Earl Ofari, "A Critical Review of the Pan-African Congress," *The Black Scholar* 5 (July-August 1974), 12-15.
- Quito Swan, *Pauulu's Diaspora: Black Internationalism and Environmental Justice* (University Press of Florida, 2020), 109-15; 195-220.

Teaching Notes:

- This week's lecture might work through the many statements made as the Sixth Pan African Congress closed—both at the Congress itself and within the press. The lecture might then turn to the scholarly treatments of the Congress in order to assess how its legacy has been understood.

- The seminar model might engage critics of the Congress and juxtapose who those criticisms were addressed in real time and in future conversations and Congresses. This discussion would deploy an analysis that recognizes the range of political opinions regarding the Congress. It would then consider the salience of these positions amid the changing tides in the African world. The discussion might examine how organizers and intellectuals balanced the question of ideological positions versus addressing day-to-day realities in on-the-ground struggle.

- Deploying a flipped format, students might be encouraged to research the ways the Sixth Pan African Congress has been discussed in the decades since. Utilizing digital humanities technologies, students should present the ways these sources might shape our understanding of questions of legacy. From here, students should look to SNCC's collected sources to find points of convergence and divergence. Presentations might use these different sources as a gauge on how movement history legacy is understood in general.

Courtland Cox, Kathy Flewellen, and Geri Augusto, 1974

Queen Mother Moore, Jeff Donaldson, Obajali Baraka, and Imamu Amiri Baraka, Image, Ozier Muhammad for Ebony Magazine

Appendix: Reading List

Adi, Hakim. *Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora, 1919-1939*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2013.

--. West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Communism. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998.

Babu, A.M. *The Future that Works.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002.

Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Du Bois. W.E.B. *The World and Africa.* New York: International Publishers, 1965.

Esedebe, P. Olisanwuche. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and the Movement.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982.

Geiss, Immanuel. *The Pan African-Movement.* London: Methuen, 1974.

Higashida, Cheryl. *Black Internationalist Feminism: Black Women Writers on the Left, 1945-1995*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011.

Hogan, Wesley. *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Kelley, Robin D.G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Makalani, Minkah. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Lacy, Leslie. *The Rise and Fall of a Proper Negro: An Autobiography.* New York: Macmillan, 1970.

Padmore, George. *Pan-Africanism or Communism.* New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Plummer, Brenda Gayle. *In Search of Power: African Americans and the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1981.

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