

Malcolm X, the OAU Resolution of 1964, and Tanzania: Pan-African Connections in the Struggle Against Racial Discrimination

by

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Abstract

Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) travelled to Cairo, Egypt in July of 1964 seeking to secure support for his campaign against racial discrimination in the U.S. from the African heads of state at the 2nd OAU Summit. Malcolm succeeded in getting a resolution passed with the support of the Tanzanian delegation to the Summit. The passing of the resolution was a momentous achievement for Malcolm and for Africa. For the resolution linked up African people in Africa with African Americans and helped broaden the scope of the struggle against racism that had mostly focused on apartheid South Africa at the time. Malcolm subsequently decided to travel to east Africa wherein he spent time in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania. Malcolm's connections to Tanzania and his visit there in 1964 has not received the attention it deserves from scholars. This article seeks to show the role Tanzania played in passing the resolution and the relationship that Malcolm forged with Tanzanian leaders.

Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) made three trips to Africa, first in 1959, and two subsequent trips in 1964. The final two trips culminated in a transformation of his vision of Pan Africanism, the anti-imperialist struggle, and race relations. One of the highlights of his last trip to Africa was the passing of a resolution addressing the plight of African Americans in the U.S. This resolution was passed with the assistance of the President of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere (1922-1999). The contact between Malcolm and east African leaders contributed to the strengthening of linkages between the struggles of African people in Africa and African Americans and to Malcolm X's own growth as a revolutionary.

Writers studying Malcolm (Malcolm X, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) often focus exclusively on his pilgrimage to the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia and to his the tours in west Africa. Furthermore, most writers dismiss the resolution on African American struggle passed by the Second Summit of Organization of African Unity as insignificant.¹ The pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia was very important in opening Malcolm's views on orthodox Islam, and the second trip to west Africa helped cement his Pan-African convictions; however, the connection he made with east African Pan Africanist leaders such as Nyerere, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu (1924-1996), and Tom Mboya (1930-1969) significantly contributed to Malcolm's growth and helped strengthen the connections between African people in Africa and African Americans. Many authors writing about Malcolm's experiences in Africa overlook his trip to east Africa and do not mention the fact that it was Nyerere who helped Malcolm pass the OAU resolution in Cairo.² The passage of a resolution on the struggle of African Americans and racism in the U.S. by the Cairo OAU Summit in July 21, 1964 was an important step in connecting the struggles of African Americans and that of African people in Africa.

Historians have often overlooked the importance of this resolution and the impact African people in east Africa had on Malcolm. Reporters covering the Summit reported that Malcolm was rejected by African leaders and failed to get what he wanted. This was part of the narrative that the U.S. government encouraged to discredit Malcolm. Malcolm's biographer Alex Haley (1921-1992) also overlooked the OAU Summit in Cairo.³ Malcolm and Haley mention Nyerere and several African leaders in the biography, but they did not provide much detail. The absence of any discussion of the Summit is puzzling considering that it was the first time thirty four independent African nations spoke up in support of African Americans as a group. And more recently, some scholars have dismissed the resolution as halfhearted and inconsequential. According to Manning Marable (1950-2011), Malcolm failed to persuade the African heads of state to pass a strong resolution condemning the U.S. and asserts that the OAU only passed a "trepid resolution" applauding the U.S. for the passage of the Civil Rights Bill and critiquing the lack of racial progress.⁴

A recent biography of Malcolm by A. Assensoh and Yvette Alex-Assensoh is also dismissive of the OAU resolution; they assert "Malcolm had also failed, at the 1964 OAU meeting in Cairo, to get African leaders to condemn the United States."⁵ A. Assensoh and Yvette Alex-Assensoh argue that the Director of the U.S. Information Agency, Carl Rowan (1925-2000), was able to convince African leaders of the improvements made in the U.S., and as such, the African heads of state decided not to issue a statement condemning America at the Summit. However, they do admit later in the book that the OAU passed a "mild, nonbinding resolution" urging the U.S. to devote resources to fight racism.⁶ Russell J. Rickford who wrote a biography of Malcolm's wife, Betty Shabazz (1934-1997), also argued that Malcolm's "efforts ultimately fell short."⁷

Rickford shares the view that the resolution did not go far enough. A question must be asked about the expectations of Malcolm and scholars alike on what was eventually passed and the realities of the political situation at the Summit in 1964? Malcolm expected more and some writers appear to consider what he got as inconsequential because it was less than what he asked for. However, it is important to look at the context of the 1964 Summit before judgments are made about the significance of the resolution.

The Summit was highly politically charged with the looming Congo crisis, disagreements over the course of action for a “United States of Africa,” border disputes between Ghana and Upper Volta (now named Burkina Faso) in west Africa, and the aftershock of the army mutinies in east Africa of January 1964. The liberation movements in Portuguese colonies were intensifying their struggles in Angola and Guinea Bissau; the group FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front, from the Portuguese: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) from Mozambique was preparing in Tanzania to launch a military campaign against the Portuguese in Mozambique at the time of the OAU Summit.⁸ Liberation movements from southern Africa lobbied for recognition from the first Summit held in Ethiopia in 1963; and they continued to lobby for the passage of resolutions in support of their struggles in 1964. The 1964 Summit was filled with acrimonious debates between African leaders and there was considerable tension between some of the leaders.

Malcolm travelled to the Summit to ask African nations to accept him as an observer and give him an opportunity to present his case on the African American plight. The passage of the resolution was victory for Malcolm. He managed to link up African people in Africa and African Americans in the struggle against racial discrimination. Numerous writers have pointed out that the OAU passed a resolution in 1963 similar to the one passed in 1964 to undermine the significance of the resolution. Peter Goldman writes that the resolution on African Americans passed by the OAU “substantially identical in thought and tone” to another resolution passed in Ethiopia without Malcolm lobbying for it.⁹ Bruce Perry asserts that “innocuous resolution” was similar to the one passed by the OAU in 1963.¹⁰ The link that Goldman and Perry make of the two resolutions is misleading. The 1963 OAU resolution addressed apartheid in South Africa and racial discrimination. The resolution specifically addressed racial discrimination in South Africa and it passed after considerable lobbying by liberation groups from South Africa. Malcolm lobbied African delegates in 1964 to make the point that if they condemned racial discrimination in South Africa, then they should also do the same for the U.S. And moreover, the 1964 resolution was different in that it specifically addressed African Americans and racial discrimination in the U.S.

There are some authors who have argued about the significance of the OAU resolution on African Americans in the U.S., and one writer in a book edited by John Henrik Clarke argued convincingly that Malcolm's efforts at the Cairo OAU Summit was a success. He concludes that Malcolm exposed America's hypocritical policies, racial violence, and managed to take the African American problem out of isolation and make it an international problem.¹¹ In order to understand how and why Malcolm decided to attend the Cairo Summit and launch a successful campaign in Cairo, it is important to trace his trips to Africa prior to the Summit.

Malcolm made three trips to Africa between 1959 and 1964. He travelled to Africa for the first time from July 3 to 22, 1959. Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), the President of Egypt, extended an invitation to Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975), the leader of the Nation of Islam, to visit Egypt, an invitation that came after the meeting of Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. Malcolm was asked to travel to Africa to make arrangements for Elijah's trip to the continent. Thus, Malcolm travelled to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Ghana. The first trip was part of a mission sent by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, a trip that first started opening up Malcolm to orthodox Islam.

Malcolm left the U.S. on April 13, 1964 to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia and tour African countries for the second time. He did not return to the U.S. until May 21, 1964. The pilgrimage to Mecca was important for his spiritual transformation and outlook on race. He met people of different ethnic groups praying together in Mecca. The *Amsterdam News* of New York published an article entitled "Is Mecca Trip Changing Malcolm X. The article postulated that the trip to Mecca, Saudi Arabia and meetings with African leaders changed Malcolm and helped modify his views on whites. It was clear that Malcolm's views on race were changing. Hence, his second trip to Africa helped to strengthen his Pan African convictions. He spoke with various African leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) of Ghana and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. And in response, he stated in a letter to the *Amsterdam News* that we could learn from the strategy used by American Jews. He added "they have never migrated physically to Israel, yet their cultural, philosophical and psychological ties to Israel have enhanced their political, economic and social position right there in America." Thus, he adds that "Pan Africanism will do for people of African descent all over the world the same that Zionism has done for Jews all over the world."¹²

The second trip to Africa was important because it shows that Malcolm was attempting to forge close links between African people in Africa and African Americans, and during that trip he sought support from African leaders for his campaigns for human rights in the U.S.¹³ Hence, during his talks in Ghana and Nigeria, he argued for linkage between African people in Africa and African Americans and spoke out against the U.S. government. He linked the struggle against racism in South Africa with the struggles in the U.S. and called on African people in Africa to help African Americans and bring their case to the UN.¹⁴ While travelling in Ghana in May 1964, Malcolm wrote on his diary: "One can easily understand the attempts to keep African people in Africa from ever uniting with the African-Americans.

Unity between the African people of the West and the African people of the fatherland will well change the course of history.”¹⁵ Malcolm came to realize the importance of linking African people in Africa with people of African descent in the diaspora. The potential for a powerful movement was without bounds if such a linkage could be established. Malcolm was indeed a man on a mission when he returned to the U.S. in May 21, 1964. He had a new vision and a new approach for fighting to uphold the dignity and freedom of African Americans. And shortly after returning from Africa in May 1964, he announced that he wanted to organize his own Black nationalist movement to bring together various Civil Rights groups in order to get African support at the UN, and he also announced that he spoke to African heads of states who informed him that they would assist the U.S. Civil Rights movement if they could agreed to “form a single group, no matter how loosely.”¹⁶

Malcolm announced the establishment of the Organization of African American Unity (OAAU) on June 28, 1964; the new organization was established in anticipation of the July 1964 OAU Summit in Cairo. In the press conference announcing the new organization, Malcolm stated that his goal was to unite African Americans to fight for “human rights” and “internationalize” the American Civil Rights movement by taking their case to the UN.¹⁷ The establishment of OAAU was seen as a threat to the U.S. establishment. And as a result, J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, wrote in June of 1964 about Malcolm’s visit to Africa, the meetings he had with African heads of states, and his campaign to raise the issue of racism in the U.S. at the UN. Yeagley wrote that Malcolm’s activities were “deemed to be inimical to the best interests of our country and prejudiced to our foreign policy.”¹⁸ He requested information about Malcolm’s contacts with heads of states and wanted to see if Malcolm could be charged under the Logan Act, which forbids unauthorized U.S. citizens from negotiating with foreign governments and interfering with the U.S. relations with other nations. Violating the Logan Act was a felony punishable by up to three years in prison. And subsequently, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), J. Edgar Hoover, described the OAAU as a threat to the national security of the U.S. in a July 2, 1964 memorandum. Hoover was anticipating Malcolm’s third trip to Africa and his plans to campaign at the OAU when he drafted the memo.

Malcolm took his third and last trip to Africa between July 9 and November 24, 1964. First he wanted to attend the OAU Summit in Cairo and make a case to African heads of state Summit; he later decided on an extended tour of Africa after the Summit. Malcolm arrived in Cairo on July 12th and stayed at the Semiramis Hotel. Malcolm met with numerous leaders including Tom Mboya of Kenya and author, playwright, composer, and activist Shirley Graham Du Bois (1896-1977), the second wife of noted scholar, writer, and activist W. E. B. Du Bois (the couple became citizens of Ghana in 1961)¹⁹ He worked on getting a pass to attend the conference. Malcolm was an American citizen. People holding citizenship from a non-African country were not allowed to join and participate in the conference.

Malcolm lobbied to get the officials to agree to grant him observer status. He was eventually given a floor pass and allowed to stay onboard the yacht *Isis* that floated on the Nile River.²⁰ Members of the liberation movements from Africa were all housed onboard the *Isis*. No other person holding a passport from a country outside of Africa was given such a status. Thus, Malcolm's main goal for the Summit was to convince African leaders to pass a resolution addressing the plight of African Americans, condemn the U.S. for racism, and to propose steps to bring the U.S. accountable for bringing about desired changes.

Hence, he held discussions with many African leaders before and during the conference. He noted that some of the leaders were convinced that African Americans did not identify with Africa, that it would be "foolish" for African people in Africa to become involved in the problems of African Americans. And it was because of this lack of historical knowledge that Malcolm claimed he submitted a memorandum detailing the history of African American struggles; it was also the reason why he tried to convince African heads of state that they were the "shepherds" of African people in Africa and all people of African descent.²¹

Malcolm attributed the views of some of the African leaders to the work of U.S. officials lobbying against him. And according to Malcolm, what made most African people in Africa intervene on the behalf of African Americans was his presentation that showed how improvements came after the beginning of World War II due to world pressure.²² In his eyes, convincing African leaders that world pressure can influence changes in the U.S. government helped open the minds of African leaders to the plight of African Americans and led them to support his mission. It was to this end that Malcolm circulated a memorandum to the African delegates at the Summit.

Malcolm circulated a memorandum to OAU delegates on July 17, 1964. The contents of the memo illustrates that Malcolm felt it was important to provide the historical background of the struggle in the U.S., and link it with African struggles. The memorandum stated:

We also believe that as heads of the independent African states you are the shepherds of all African peoples everywhere, whether they are still at home here on the mother continent or have been scattered abroad.... We in America are your long-lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems.... We have lived for over three hundred years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb. Our problem is your problem... We beseech independent African states to help us bring our problem before the United Nations, on the grounds that the United States Government is morally incapable of protecting the lives and the property of 22 million African-Americans.²³

Malcolm's attempt to get the OAU to consider a resolution on the plight of African Americans faced an uphill battle during the Summit despite that fact that he denied the difficulties he encountered.²⁴ The indifference he experienced is apparent in Malcolm's memorandum when he noted "some African leaders at this conference have implied that they have enough problems here on the mother continent without adding the Afro-American problem."²⁵

The roadblock for Malcolm changed when Nyerere decided to take up his initiative and lobby other African heads of states to pass a resolution on the plight of African Americans in the U.S. There was also another leader from the Tanganyika and Zanzibar delegation who supported Malcolm X in Cairo;²⁶ Abdulrahman Babu, the Tanganyikan and Zanzibar Minister met Malcolm at the conference for the first time, and they became good friends. Malcolm described Babu in his diary as an "extremely alert man" and added that he was "dedicated to what he believed in."²⁷ Babu convinced Malcolm to continue his efforts when he was losing hope. According to Babu, "Malcolm came to my room in a very ambivalent mood" because riots had erupted in Harlem and some of the youth wanted him to go back. Malcolm was contemplating returning home to lead the struggle. The situation became serious at one point when Malcolm became very sick after eating a meal at the Nile Hotel. His friends had to take him to the hospital where the doctors pumped his stomach. Both Malcolm and later his wife Betty Shabazz believed that he had been poisoned.²⁸ It has not been proven whether Malcolm was poisoned or not. Nevertheless, Malcolm became dejected because of the resistance and the sickness. Some African leaders kept encouraging him not to give up. Babu was among those who persuaded Malcolm to remain; he asserts "we wanted him to remain in the conference so as to give us the 'feeling of the struggle' I am glad to report that we succeeded in detaining him there."²⁹ The resolution was not going to pass because of resistance from a number of African delegations. Malcolm was having a difficult time getting any resolution passed without support from a strong African head of state.

Ultimately it was Nyerere who decided to take up Malcolm's call and suggest to his colleagues a resolution on the struggle of African Americans against racism. The arguments that Malcolm had made in various African cities and in discussions with numerous African leaders clearly resonated with Nyerere. Nyerere understood that the struggle for African American rights was a struggle for human rights. As Malcolm had argued eloquently, one could not condemn racism in South Africa without condemning racism in the U.S.

Malcolm's efforts produced results with the backing of Nyerere. The two convinced African leaders to pass a resolution addressing concerns for the plight of African Americans. News of the passage of the resolution did not reach Malcolm until the early morning of July 21, 1964. Babu went to Malcolm and informed him at 2:30 am of the passage of the resolution.³⁰ As a Pan-Africanist, Nyerere understood that the struggle of African Americans was linked to that of African people in Africa, and ultimately, to all humanity.

Focus on linkages was one of the key arguments in Malcolm's memorandum and strategy to mobilize African support. The OAU passed resolution AHG/Res. 15(1), *Racial Discrimination in the United States of America*, which should be read in its entirety. The resolution stated:

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in its First Ordinary Session in Cairo, UAR, from 17 to 21 July 1964, Recalling resolution 1904 (XVIII) of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on 20 November 1963: the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination; Recalling other resolutions of the General Assembly and the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations calling for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination; Taking into account the resolution adopted at the Conference of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa in May 1963 condemning racial discrimination in all its forms in Africa and in all parts of the world; Considering that one hundred years have passed since the Emancipation Proclamation was signed in the United States of America; Noting with satisfaction the recent enactment of the Civil Rights Act designed to secure for American Negroes their basic human rights; Deeply disturbed, however, by continuing manifestations of racial bigotry and racial oppression against Negro citizens of the United States of America:

1. REAFFIRMS its belief that the existence of discriminatory practices is a matter of deep concern to Member States of the Organization of African Unity;
2. URGES the Government authorities in the United States of America to intensify their efforts to ensure the total elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, or ethnic origin.³¹

The resolution was a victory for Malcolm, African Americans and African people in Africa. The resolution is critical of the U.S. for failing to combat racism. It acknowledges the passing of the Civil Rights Act as a step forward, but ends by pointing out that little progress was accomplished since the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation. The resolution further stated that the OAU was "deeply disturbed" at the persistency of racial bigotry and racial oppression against African Americans. It reaffirmed the organization's concern about the persistent existence of discrimination in the U.S., and urged the government to take measures to intensify efforts to end racism. If the OAU felt that the passage of the Civil Rights bill was enough to end racism, it would not have urged the U.S. government to intensify efforts to end discrimination. Malcolm worked alone against the great forces of the U.S. that was lobbying to undermine his campaign at the OAU. This was the first time a leader from the African diaspora managed to get the organization to make a statement critical of the U.S. Malcolm's success in securing the passage of the resolution was a major accomplishment.

Media reports tended to dismiss the resolution as weak and not as aggressive as originally intended. There were numerous reports that Malcolm failed to get what he wanted. The dismissive reports appear to be partly based on unrealistic expectations that Malcolm should have been able to convince the majority of the OAU members to pass a strong resolution condemning the U.S. and attaching measures that would force America to change. Such expectations were unrealistic. The African leaders were not in a position to support such a strong statement, and divisions marred the conference. There were controversies over border disputes between Ghana and Upper Volta and disagreements over steps the leaders should take to achieve a "United States of Africa." Furthermore, it should be remembered that the various African liberation movements had been lobbying since the first OAU Summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1963 for grand resolutions condemning colonial powers and demanding punitive measures; they were not always successful in getting the resolution they wanted, either at the Addis Ababa or Cairo Summit. The Cairo Summit halls were filled with delegations from various liberation movements from southern Africa and countries still under colonial rule, all lobbying to get a resolution passed. Lastly, the U.S. government provided numerous African countries with grants, loans, and other forms of aid; this assistance became a source of pressure on African leaders to be weary of passing measures that were critical of the U.S. Malcolm later spoke of this in terms of "Dollarism" and how the U.S. used "aid" to influence African foreign policy. Like the liberation movement leaders, Malcolm did not get exactly what he wanted; however, he did get the first resolution passed that addressed the African American plight and called on the U.S. to take measures to end racism. Ultimately, a body made up of at least 34 independent African nations opened doors for an African American leader to present a case and they later spoke with one voice about their concerns about racial discrimination in the U.S. and urged the government to work towards its elimination.

Despite the dismissal of contemporary newspaper reports and scholars of Malcolm's accomplishments in Cairo in 1964, some analysts and Malcolm's widow did recognize the significance of the event. Rickford noted correctly that while reporters dismissed Malcolm's efforts and the passage of the resolution, Betty Shabazz and the U.S. government realized the significance of Malcolm's accomplishment.³² The U.S. government did not want the public to view the passing of the resolution as a momentous event. Yet government officials were alarmed by the passage of the resolution as revealed later by the State Department and the FBI.

Malcolm decided to take another tour of Africa to exchange views with African leaders after the Cairo Summit. This became Malcolm's third and last African tour. The last tour of Africa after the Cairo Summit was important because it helped cement Malcolm's resolve to forge stronger connections with African people in Africa and to internationalize the struggle against racism. This time, Malcolm decided to take a tour of east Africa, and one of the places he decided to visit was Tanzania. The support he received from the Tanganyika and Zanzibar delegations and his friendship with Babu contributed to this decision. Malcolm spent seven days in Tanganyika and Zanzibar in October of 1964; he arrived on October 10, 1964, and left on the 17th.

Dar es Salaam was then the headquarters of OAU's African Liberation Committee and the headquarters of most of the liberation movements from southern Africa. Among those frequenting Tanzania in 1964 were Oliver Tambo (1917-1993) from South Africa, Sam Nujoma (President of Namibia from 1990 to 2005) from Namibia, Robert Mugabe from Zimbabwe (now President of Zimbabwe), and Eduardo Mondlane (1920-1969) from Mozambique. Malcolm was one of the many revolutionaries attracted to Tanzania at the time. He stayed at the Deluxe Inn hotel in Dar es Salaam.³³

Malcolm got along well with different people he met in Dar es Salaam, both white and black, leaders and regular citizens. Malcolm visited the Cuban Embassy and held talks with the Cuban Ambassador; he met the African American Pan Africanist and pacifist, Bill Sutherland (1918-2010) who was living in Tanzania in 1964 at a party given by the Algerian Embassy in Tanzania. According to Sutherland, Malcolm "had full participation" in the party even though he did not drink or dance.³⁴ Sutherland decided to drive Malcolm while in Dar es Salaam, because he did not have transportation. He drove Malcolm to meet with various leaders from Tanzania and other African countries. Malcolm had a meeting with leaders of the main party in Tanzania, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The meeting was held at the house of a prominent woman leader of TANU, Bibi Titi Mohammed (1926-2000). The numerous people Malcolm encountered in Tanzania later wrote about how much he impressed them. Malcolm held lively discussions with Harvard volunteers teaching at a refugee school in Tanzania, he spoke to the South African leader of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Chucha Hunono at the Zahir Restaurant until 3 am.³⁵ He also spoke to the South African reporter Nathaniel Nakasa (1937-1965). Nakasa and Malcolm stayed in the same hotel, and they spoke several times during the course of the week about the struggle.³⁶ Nakasa noted how he had a very negative view of Malcolm because of the propaganda against Malcolm in South Africa. He thought Malcolm was unreasonable and destructive before they met, but later, Nakasa wrote that he found Malcolm to be a very warm person and "great fun to be with."³⁷ Malcolm's interactions with white Americans serving the Peace Corps in Tanzania did not escape Nakasa's attention, hence, he wrote that Malcolm got along well with the white Americans he met in Tanzania.

Malcolm spoke for four hours with Margaret Snyder at the New Africa hotel, she had been the dean of women for Le Moyne College in Syracuse, New York. She took a sabbatical in 1961 and travelled to Kenya and Tanganyika. Snyder met Malcolm at a United Nations reception before their 1964 encounter in Dar es Salaam. She wrote that Malcolm had been "unyielding" about the possibility of whites and blacks working together when they first met. The Malcolm she met a year later in October of 1964 in Tanzania was totally transformed, and according to Snyder, Malcolm had been transformed by his pilgrimage to Mecca and by the discussions he held with African leaders. Malcolm told Snyder that conversations he had with African leaders like Julius K. Nyerere and Jomo Kenyatta (1894-1978) "had enriched him."³⁸

In conversation with Nyerere, the President convinced Malcolm that Tanzania's quarrel was with the British government not the British people. On Kenya, Malcolm noted that Kenyatta was able to come to an understanding with white settlers and gain their respect. He observed that both Nyerere and Kenyatta were free of racial animosity. Malcolm's interactions with African heads of states from east Africa helped shape his outlook.

Malcolm was a guest of honor at a special dinner organized by Otini Kambona, the brother of Tanzania's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense, Oscar Kambona. Important Tanzania leaders, including the head of Tanganyika Broadcast Corporation attended the dinner. Some of the Tanzanian leaders wanted Malcolm to stay longer; they convinced him to postpone his departure date, and he did eventually delay his departure from Tanzania for a couple of days.³⁹

Abdulrahman Babu was one of Malcolm's hosts during his visit to Tanzania. Malcolm spent time with Babu and his family in Dar es Salaam. Babu had an impact on Malcolm during their short time together in Dar es Salaam. Malcolm later remarked that: "I met his family, I met his children - he's a family man. Most people don't think of revolutionaries as family men.... But when you see him with his children and with his wife and that atmosphere at home, you realize that revolutionaries are human beings."⁴⁰ Malcolm also learned from his discussions with Babu and Nyerere; they reframed his particular struggle in the U.S. in an international phenomenon. Babu arranged a meeting between Malcolm and Nyerere. Nyerere invited Babu to his residency and the two spent three hours talking.⁴¹ Malcolm presented Nyerere with a gift of one of his speeches, the record of 'Message to the Grassroots.' During the discussions, Nyerere spoke about China exploding a nuclear bomb. This was the first time a former colony had developed a weapon equal to that of a colonial power. Malcolm told Nyerere that he had been thinking about it.⁴² Malcolm described Nyerere in his diary as "very shrewd, intelligent, disarming."⁴³ Nyerere impressed him. Malcolm's frame of reference expanded to encompass an international struggle and he moved away from focusing on just the U.S. In this manner, Babu, Nyerere, and other African leaders helped influence Malcolm's views on the international component of the struggle of African people in Africa and people of African descent.⁴⁴

There was a lot of interest in Malcolm's visit to Tanzania in 1964. Several newspapers reported his visit and related his new views on the struggle. Malcolm gave an interview in Dar es Salaam. While he talked about the oppression of African Americans in the U.S., he also called on Africa to take a more definite line and not be bullied by America.⁴⁵ The *Tanganyika Standard* also reported him as stating that: "American Negroes are beginning to see their relationship to Africa is something which cannot be denied. They realized now that we are all the same."⁴⁶ Malcolm was making a case in Tanzania for stronger ties between African people in Africa and African Americans. The two had a common origin he argued; the struggle of African Americans was, therefore, also the struggle of all African people. Malcolm labored tirelessly to build Pan African connections across the continents on his last African tour.

Malcolm left Tanzania for Kenya on October 18, 1964. He flew on the same plane with Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Milton Obote (1925-2005) of Uganda. Kenyatta was the leader of the Mau Mau and Kenya's independence struggle. Malcolm frequently talked about Kenyatta and the Mau Mau struggle in his speeches in the U.S. Kenyatta gave instructions to have Malcolm moved to the front of the plane and he was seated between Kenyatta and Obote. Tom Mboya came to pick up Malcolm from the airport. Malcolm spent time with the Mboya family and gave a speech to the Kenya Parliament. According to Marable, it was in Kenya that Malcolm's efforts yielded the best results after the "Cairo defeat." Malcolm spoke in the Kenya Parliament and they passed a strong resolution afterwards in support of African Americans.⁴⁷ Kenyans embraced Malcolm and identified with the struggle of African Americans in the U.S. Once again, Malcolm found support in east Africa for his efforts to link up with African people in Africa and the struggle against racial discrimination in the U.S.

Malcolm left east Africa for west and north Africa, Europe, and eventually returned to the U.S. on November 24, 1964. Malcolm returned home reenergized and fully committed to building unity and connecting Africa and the diaspora in the struggle for freedom and human dignity. But his stay in the U.S. was short. He left for Europe on November 30th and returned home on December 6, 1964. Malcolm went to work immediately after returning to the U.S. to build on the contacts he made in Tanzania. He met Tanzanians at the airport and spent an hour talking to them after he cleared customs on December 6th.⁴⁸ It appears that Malcolm left the airport on one of three cars registered to Tanzanian diplomats and went to a house of a Tanzanian diplomat living in New York. Babu was in the U.S. at the time; it is probable that Malcolm went to meet Babu. Babu spoke at a couple of rallies organized by Malcolm. The success achieved at the OAU conference and the support he received in Tanzania was still fresh in Malcolm's mind. The warm hospitality he received from Tanzanian leaders resonated with him as he introduced Babu at a rally in Harlem on December 13, 1964. He introduced Babu as a "very good friend", and stated that he was honored to call him his friend. While introducing Babu at a rally in New York, Malcolm stated:

I'm proud to state that the one who was responsible for bringing that resolution forth and getting it agreed upon by the other African heads of state was probably the last one that you and I would expect to do it... But the one who came forth and suggested that the African summit conference pass a resolution thoroughly condemning the mistreatment of Afro-Americans in America and also thoroughly supporting the freedom struggle for human rights of our people in this country was President Julius K. Nyerere.⁴⁹

Malcolm pointed out that Nyerere's image had acquired a negative image in the U.S. among certain circles, it is also clear that the U.S. establishment considered Malcolm as becoming much more dangerous as he linked up with African leaders. The State Department was very concerned when Babu agreed to speak at a "radical student peace" organization and at an event in Harlem organized by Malcolm's group. One outgoing telegram reported that the U.S. mission at the UN was "examining tape recordings of his public remarks so that we might determine what action might be taken."⁵⁰ The U.S. government did not find any legal grounds to charge Malcolm for break existing laws. Attempts to intimidate Babu and prevent him from speaking at the events organized by Malcolm failed. Babu arranged a meeting with Malcolm and Amiri Baraka (1934-2014) at the Waldorf Astoria hotel in New York. The three talked from 8pm until 8am. Their main subject was African American and African politics.⁵¹ Malcolm was concerned about building a united movement in the U.S., perhaps based on the experience of the liberation movements in Africa. Babu later remarked after returning to Tanzania that he had experienced "tremendous U.S. interest in Tanzania"⁵² as he spoke at Malcolm X rallies in Harlem, Manhattan, and with African American leaders.

The growing friendship between Babu and Malcolm was not just a connection between two people, it was a linkage between Africa and the diaspora; it was reassertion of a long connection between African people in Africa and people of African descent in the struggle for freedom and human dignity outside Africa. It was the connections between Africa and the diaspora in the struggle against racial discrimination and imperialism that made Malcolm's new mission much more dangerous to the U.S. government.

Malcolm's attempt to forge stronger unity between African people in Africa and African Americans and his struggle for freedom and equality was never given a chance. It was clear by the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 that he had become a bigger threat to the U.S. establishment, and the Nation of Islam. Attempts were made to take his life. A bomb was thrown into his house while he and his family were home on February 14, 1965.⁵³ Malcolm and his family survived the attack unharmed. The attempt occurred shortly after a trip to Europe where he had sought to establish links with people of African descent living there. Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) was assassinated on February 21, 1965 as he was about to address the Organization of Afro-American Unity at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York (the assassination killed his body, but not his spirit).

Notes

¹ One example is Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, New York: Penguin Books, 2011, 361-362.

² Peter Goldman, edited books by Robert E. Terrill and John Henrik Clarke both overlook Malcolm's connections to east Africa. Manning Marable does discuss the OAU conference and Malcolm's trip to Tanzania and Kenya. While acknowledging that Malcolm met some success in Kenya, he does not mention Nyerere's role in helping the passage of the OAU resolution. See Alex Haley and Malcolm X, Robert E. Terrill eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, 2nd edition, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, (London: Penguin Books, 2011).

³ One possible explanation for this oversight is the date of the publication of the autobiography by Malcolm and Haley. The book was completed sometime in 1964 and it was ready for publication even though it was not published until 1965. The Autobiography of Malcolm X written with assistance of Alex Haley and published by Ballantine Books in New York, cites copy right 1964 by Alex Haley and Malcolm X and second copyright 1965 by Alex Haley and Betty Shabazz. The original publisher, Doubleday, refused to publish the biography in early 1965 and it was eventually published by Grove Press in the end of 1965.

⁴ Marable, 361-362.

⁵ A. Assensoh and Yvette Alex-Assensoh, *Malcolm X: A Biography*, California: Greenwood, 2013, 74.

⁶ Ibid, 95.

⁷ Russell Rickford, *Betty Shabazz, Surviving Malcolm X: A Journey of Strength from Wife to Widow to Heroine*, Sourcebooks, 20005, 312.

⁸ FRELIMO launched first military attacks against the Portuguese in September of 1964.

⁹ Goldman, 209.

¹⁰ Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, (New York: Station Hill, 1991), 315.

¹¹John Henrik Clarke ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, (New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1990), 255.

¹²NY 105-8999, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, FBI Records: The Vault, 97-98.

¹³Report of press conference held on May 21, 1964. Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ 15 of 27, FBI Records: The Vault.

¹⁴Malcolm made his case in Nigeria. See NY 105-8999, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, p. 93.

¹⁵Malcolm was invited to lecture at the University of Ghana by “Marxist Forum” a student group at the University of Ghana. Malcolm did not get a chance to speak to Nkrumah while in Ghana. Letter from Accra, Malcolm X, http://www.malcolm-x.org/docs/let_laac.htm, accessed 7-24-2014 and Airgram from the American Embassy in Accra written by Daniel A. Britz, 5-24-1964, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X), New York File 22 of 41, FBI Records: The Vault, [http://vault.fbi.gov/malcolm-little-malcolm-x/malcolm-little-malcolm-x-new-york-file-22-of-41/view, 7-24-2014](http://vault.fbi.gov/malcolm-little-malcolm-x/malcolm-little-malcolm-x-new-york-file-22-of-41/view,7-24-2014).

¹⁶NY 105-8999, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27.

¹⁷NY 105-8999, Appendix, Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, FBI Records: The Vault, 4.

¹⁸NY 105-8999, Opinion of the Department of State, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, 142.

¹⁹Marable, 361.

²⁰Rickford, 211.

²¹Breitman, 79-80.

²²Breitman, 79.

²³Malcolm X’s speech at the OAU see <http://www.oopau.org/2.html>, accessed 7-24-2014.

²⁴Malcolm claimed that he was met with open arms by African leaders and various delegations in Cairo and the he “found no doors closed to me.” See NY 105-8999, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, 51.

²⁵ Malcolm X's speech at the OAU see <http://www.oopau.org/2.html>, accessed 7-24-2014.

²⁶ The country name was changed in Tanganyika and Zanzibar after the union of the two countries in April 1964. The name was changed to Tanzania in November of 1964.

²⁷ Boyd and Al-Shabazz eds., 149.

²⁸ Malcolm told Bill Sutherland, an African American Pan Africanist and pacifist living in Tanzania in 1964 that there was an attempt to take his life in Cairo. Betty Shabazz also told Rickford that there was an attempt to kill Malcolm in Cairo. See Bill Sutherland and Matt Meyer, *Guns and Gandhi in Africa: Pan African Insights on Nonviolence, Armed Struggle and Liberation in Africa*, (New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 2000), 201 and Rickford, 213.

²⁹ Babu recalled events of the OAU Summit during a speech at the International Conference on Malcolm X in 1990 in New York. See Salma Babu and Amrit Wilson, eds., *The Future that Works: Selected Writing of A.M. Babu*, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 84.

³⁰ Herb Boyd and Ilyasah Al-Shbazz eds., *The Diary of Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz 1964*, (Chicago: Third World Press, 2013), 87.

³¹ OAU resolutions adopted by the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government Held in Cairo, UAR, From 17 to 21 July 1964, http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/ASSEMBLY_EN_17_21_JULY_1964_ASSEMBLY_HEADS_STATE_GOVERNMENT_FIRST_ORDINARY_SESSION.pdf, accessed 7-24-2014

³² Rickford, 312.

³³ Some of the details of Malcolm's visit to Tanzania, then the Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, in his diary from 1964. See Boyd and Al-Shabazz, 148.

³⁴ Sutherland and Meyer, 210.

³⁵ Sutherland and Meyer, 210.

³⁶ Parker Donham, "Nieman Fellow Recalls Experiences with Malcolm X," *Thecrimson.com*, 2-24-1965, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1965/2/24/nieman-fellow-recalls-experiences-with-malcolm/>, 8/19/14.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Margaret Snyder, "I Met Malcolm X in Dar es Salaam," *Tanzanian Affairs*, issue 45, 5-1-1993, <http://www.tzaffairs.org/1993/05/i-met-malcolm-x-in-dar-es-salaam/>, 8-19-14.

³⁹ See Boyd and Al-Shabazz eds., 151.

⁴⁰ Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, 102.

⁴¹ Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, 101 and Salma Babu and Amrit Wilson, eds., *The Future that Works: Selected Writing of A.M. Babu*, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 86.

⁴² Salma Babu and Amrit Wilson, eds., *The Future that Works: Selected Writing of A.M. Babu*, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 86.

⁴³ Boyd and Al-Shabazz eds., 150.

⁴⁴ Some writers have credited Babu as one of the people who influenced Malcolm to take a strong anti-imperialist worldview H.M. Meskri, Babu, "A Committed Zanzibari Communist?" in *Zanzibar Daima*, <http://zanzibardaima.wordpress.com/2008/10/18/babu-a-committed-zanzibari-communist/>, accessed 7-24-2014. Other authors have also suggested that discussions between Nyerere and Malcolm helped shape the latter's stance on anti-imperialist views and connection to the Third World. See Edwin Madunagu "Malcolm X and Abdul Rahman Babu," *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 6-6-2002, <http://news.biafranigeriaworld.com/archive/ngguardian/2002/jun/06/article05.html>. Babu's own recollection of Nyerere and Malcolm's discussion about China exploding the nuclear bomb also had implication on the anti-imperialist struggle.

⁴⁵ NY 105-8999, At Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, 110.

⁴⁶ The article was published on October 13, 1964 and it was quoted in report collected by the FBI. See NY 105-8999, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ File 15 of 27, 111.

⁴⁷ Marable, 373.

⁴⁸It is not clear if Babu was among the group of Tanzanians who spoke to Malcolm at the airport that day. An FBI report claimed that the people he spoke to at the airport appear to have been waiting for the arrival of a guest; they walked over to Malcolm shook hands, took pictures, and started talking to him for about an hour. The group left the airport at the same time Malcolm departed. They left in four cars: three cars had diplomatic license registered for the Government of Tanganyika at the UN and another with a license registered for the Tanganyika Embassy in Washington, DC. See United States Department of Justice, FBI, Malcolm K. Little, Internal Security, 12-8-1964, Malcolm Little (Malcolm X) HQ file 14 of 27, FBI Records: The Vault, 89.

⁴⁹ See Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, 101.

⁵⁰ Outgoing Telegram drafted by J.P. Meagher, 12-24-1964, Record Group 59, Box 2619, NARA II, College Park MD.

⁵²Amiri Baraka spoke about the meeting at the Waldorf. See “Interview with Amiri Baraka,” Eyes on the Prize II Interviews, Interview with Amiri Baraka by Judy Richardson, 3-31-1989, <http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eii/eiiweb/bar5427.0106.009amiribaraka.html>, July 22, 2014.

⁵³ Incoming Telegram from Dar es Salaam, 12-31-1964, Control 22662, Record Group 59, Box 2619, NARA II, College Park MD.

⁵⁴ “Bomb Thrown Into Malcolm X House,” *The Times*, 2-15-1965.

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