influences on the historical culture they created in their creole world. His essay builds on a number of good interdisciplinary studies that attempt to reconstruct the cultural survivals of African slaves and their role in the creation of the multi-dimensional culture of African Americans in the United States.[4]

The volume concludes with Dale T. Graden's examination of African slavery in Salvador, Bahia, in Brazil between 1848 and 1856. In focusing on the crisis faced by the Bahian elite—which resulted from slave resistance, the outbreak of a yellow fever epidemic, and the appearance of formal abolitionist expression in Salvador—Graden argues that the crisis ended only after the abolition of the international slave trade to Brazil in 1850, the reexport of slaves out of Bahia as part of an internal slave trade, and the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in 1855–56 that devastated the population of Salvador and Bahia. The institution of slavery remained an integral part of the regional economy until slave resistance and a resurgent abolitionist movement led to an emancipation decree in 1888.

The collection of essays in this volume demonstrates the range of possibilities for innovative scholarship on various aspects of the global African presence and ethnic trading minorities in Africa. I hope that it will inform readers and stimulate further research on the African diaspora and trading diasporas in Africa.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1993); A. J. G. Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone* (London: Hurst, 1989); W. A. Shack and E. P. Skinner, eds., *Strangers in African Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); and A. Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns* (London: Routledge and Kegal Paul, 1969).
2. See Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–59.
3. The Fulas are also known as Fulbe, Peul, Fulani, or Fulatta in West Africa.
4. See, for example, Joseph E. Holloway, ed., *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

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The Dynamics of the Global African Diaspora

JOSEPH E. HARRIS

The African diaspora is a triadic relationship linking a dispersed group of people to the homeland, Africa, and to their host or adopted countries. Diasporas develop and reinforce images and ideas about themselves and their original homelands, as well as affect the economies, politics, and social dynamics of both the homeland and the host country or area. Diasporas are therefore significant factors in national and international relations.

In recent years the term *diaspora* has become increasingly common in studies of African, Chinese, Indian, and other communities outside their original homelands. These communities reside in and have loyalty to their adopted country but also identify with and maintain connections to their country of origin. This relationship helps explain the depth of complexity in the dynamics between the people in these communities, their homelands, and their host countries. Thus, it is important that we understand the historical development and impact of the linkages between Africa and its diaspora communities.

Historically, the Jews and Irish have received considerable attention as diaspora communities with influence abroad. However, the study of diasporas is especially timely today because of the current fragmentation

and displacement of people throughout the world: in Eastern Europe, for example, the former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; South and Southeast Asia, especially India, Vietnam, and Cambodia; and Africa, notably Ethiopia, Somalia, and Rwanda. More recent and urgent for Americans is the mass immigration of Haitians, Cubans, Mexicans, Vietnamese, and Chinese into the United States. These diaspora groups share characteristics of ethnic identity, marginality, and homeland linkage, and one can not understand them without an examination of their original homelands and the root causes and specific contexts within which they were dispersed.

The case of Africans and their descendants abroad is especially complex, with a long history of international dispersion, stereotypes, and myths that continue to obstruct policies and practices to guarantee freedom and justice.[1] The facts in this instance are fairly well-known and are rooted in centuries of Africans being characterized as inferior, destined to be slaves, incapable of developing complex societies, lacking a meaningful cultural history, and uncivilized and thus having made no contribution to world civilization; this list could be expanded. These myths and variations of them persist in spite of evidence to the contrary. Yet recent research amply demonstrates the dynamic and rich heritage of Africa and its diaspora: abundant evidence of African achievements in continuing archaeological discoveries; the reconstruction of ancient and complex societies in Africa and their impact on other parts of the world; the commercial relations of Africans, Arabs, and Asians in the Indian Ocean since ancient times; the creative art of Benin, Dogon, and other African societies; the literary accomplishments of Africans in pre- and early Islamic Arabia; the roles Africans played in the rise and expansion of Islam and Christianity; the early relations between Mali, Kongo, and other African states with Portugal prior to the slave trade; and the many accomplishments of Africans and their descendants in Europe and the Americas.

This essay, then, will examine the global dispersion of African peoples since ancient times, making a distinction between the historical and modern diasporas, will provide evidence of the continuity of their consciousness of and identity with Africa, and will assess the gradual transformation from African to African American and the implications of that development. Although primary focus on the African diaspora has been placed on the slave trade, one should remember that Africans traveled voluntarily throughout much of the world long before the slave trade existed. In ancient times they traveled as merchants and sailors, many of whom settled in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Some came as soldiers and remained permanently. There are many examples of Africans engaged in sports and the arts in the Middle East and Europe, and some of these people became residents. Others served as missionaries for Islam and Christianity and settled in the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. Several Ethiopian monks accompanied European Crusaders to Rome, Florence, Venice, Portugal, and Spain, and a number of Ethiopian royal emissaries traveled to and remained in Europe, especially Rome, in the Middle Ages. Free Africans also participated in the exploration and development of the Americas: Canada, the Caribbean and Central America, and North and South America. Long before the Age of European Exploration, Africans, like other people, traveled abroad as free persons and often settled in their host countries.

It was, however, the slave trade that made the African presence essentially global. For at least fifteen hundred years prior to the European-conducted trade in African slaves, Arabs conducted a slave trade across the Sahara Desert, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and they took Africans to Arabia, India, and the Far East. Enslaved Africans worked in the Persian Gulf in salt mines, coconut groves, and date plantations; in Bahrain as pearl divers; in India as palace guards; in Arabia and India as domestics and field hands; and throughout much of the Muslim world as concubines and eunuchs.

Today discrete communities of African descent can be found in Iran (Bander Abbas, Jiruft, Shiraz, and Tehran), in Iraq (Baghdad and Basra), in Pakistan (Karachi, Lahore, and Baluchistan), and in India (Hyderabad, Ahmadabad, Surat, Cutch, and Gujarat). Many people of African origin reside in communities of mixed descent throughout Asia. Little evidence has appeared to identify contemporary African descendants in China and Japan dating from this period, although the historical record shows that Africans were taken to Macao, Hwangchou, and Nagasaki in the sixteenth century.

The largest number of enslaved Africans were settled in India. Known as Siddis and Habshis, Africans served as administrators, guards, sailors, and farm hands. Large numbers of enslaved and free Africans served in Muslim armies in Gujurat in the thirteenth century, and in India today there remains the Habshi Kot, an Ethiopian fort with tombs of African soldiers and nobles.[2] During the Medieval period Europeans and Arabs captured and sold Africans in the Mediterranean area. Africans were shipped from Tunis and Cyrenaica to Barcelona, Genoa, Naples, Turkey, and the Middle East. Indeed, Africans were settled along wide stretches of the northern Mediterranean coast.

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It was the European Age of Exploration in the fifteenth century, however, that led to the greatest dispersion of Africans in history. Although occurring in a shorter time-frame than that of the Arabs, the European-conducted slave trade enveloped the continent. In 1444 a company was established in Lagos, Portugal, to engage in the slave trade. That year some 240 bonded Africans were appropriated by Prince Henry, the church of Lagos, the Franciscans of Saint Cape Vincent, and some merchants. By 1448 a regular trade in goods and Africans had been established between Arguim and Portugal. Africans worked in the mines, at construction, on farms, and as guards, soldiers, domestics, couriers, stevedores, concubines, and factory workers. Slave communities were established in Lisbon, Barcelona, Cadiz, Seville, and Valencia. Africans were also taken to the Spanish possession of The Netherlands.

In spite of the fact that Queen Elizabeth I in 1556 observed that there were too many "blackamoores" in England and that they should be returned to Africa, their numbers continued to grow, so that by the nineteenth century there were some fifteen thousand in England. Slavery also emerged in France, despite a royal proclamation prohibiting it. Both enslaved and free Africans lived in the cities of Anjou, Lyon, Orleans, Nantes, Marseilles, Toulon, and Paris, where they worked as servants, menial laborers, pages, and entertainers.[3]

Other parts of Europe also became home for Africans, both enslaved and free. Some joined the small communities of Ethiopian monks in Venice, Rome, and neighboring cities along the northern Mediterranean rim; others settled along the southern Adriatic coast of what today is Yugoslavia. The city of Ulcinj in particular had a number of Africans who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries worked as seamen in the straits of Otranto. Of eastern Europe we know very little, except for the great-grandfather of Aleksandr Pushkin, who was reexported from Turkey to Russia.

When the Europeans defeated the Arabs and took control of the Indian ocean trade routes, they developed their own slave trade from Zanzibar and other regions of Africa's eastern coast to Asia. Europeans also took Africans from what today are Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Madagascar along the southern route, around the Cape of Good Hope to Buenos Aires in Argentina, Montevideo in Uruguay, and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. Africans were marched overland from Buenos Aires and Montevideo through the passes of the Andean Mountains to enslavement in Santiago and Valparaiso in Chile; from Rio de Janeiro through Paraguay and Bolivia to Lima and Callao in Peru.

The northern route from East Africa extended around the cape to northern Brazil and into the Caribbean, where some Africans were sold and others were transported to North American cities such as Mobile, Charleston, and Richmond. Cartegena in Colombia became a major port from which enslaved Africans were taken overland to the Pacific coast of Choco. Others were transported to and across Panama to the Pacific coasts of Ecuador, Peru, and Chile.

The well-known Guinea coast of West Africa was the area from which European slave dealers took most of the Africans enslaved in Europe and the Americas. As early as the 1440s Africans were taken from Arguim to Portugal and sold. Enslaved Africans became more common in Spain, France, and England during the sixteenth century. Gradually the Portuguese developed tropical plantations on the offshore African islands of Cape Verde, Sao Tome, and Principe, thereby establishing a relationship between the plantation economy and enslaved African labor, both of which they transferred to the Americas.

The other major area of intensive slave trading was around the mouth of the Congo River in Zaire and upper Angola, which supplied large numbers of captive Africans to Brazil and the Caribbean Islands, as well as North America. Again, most of the Africans who reached North America were transported via the Caribbean, where they were first "seasoned."

Although not part of the slave trade, the convict labor system used by the British to populate a number of their colonial possessions constituted another means of African dispersion abroad. Convict labor drew from the prison population, which included debtors, thieves, and other criminals. The Africans in this group were usually vagrants who could not find employment in a racially biased society. At least several hundred of the original Australian settlers were Africans.

There is no way to know the exact number of Africans who were transported and enslaved abroad, but the best estimates are those for the Americas: a total of between 12 and 25 million Africans reached the American hemisphere; many others perished during the trans-Atlantic voyage. Of the arrivals, most went to Brazil, followed by the British Caribbean, the French Caribbean, Spanish American areas, and North America.[4]

Despite the inhumane nature of the capture and enslavement of Africans, cultural continuities persisted for years in multiple ways throughout the diaspora. Africans who arrived abroad continued to speak and practice their native languages and traditions, especially during the early years and in the privacy of their quarters, homes, and social groups: they sang and danced as their cultures had taught them, referred to them-

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selves as Africans and Ethiopians, and gave their children African names. Neither the Middle Passage nor the slave system broke their awareness of their history. This is revealed in their religious practices (Candomblé and Santeria especially), songs, and oral traditions. Their culture and aspirations for freedom were expressed in different forms (songs, poetry, religion) and were sometimes employed to solidify mass followings in resistance movements, such as the ninth-century revolt in Iraq, in which Rihan Ibn Salib established an autonomous community that replicated African traditions; the sixteenth century revolt in Mexico, in which Yanga sought to replicate Guinea; the seventeenth-century revolt led by Zumbi in Brazil, in which Palmares adopted African traditions and remained autonomous for most of that century; the eighteenth-century revolt in Haiti initiated by the African-born Boukman and the Christian, diaspora-born Toussaint L'Ouverture, and which resulted in independence; and the abortive nineteenth-century revolt in Virginia, led by the African Gullah Jack and diaspora-born Nat Turner. All of these freedom movements incorporated traditional symbols and ceremonies around which Africans rallied.[5]

As important as was the struggle for freedom, it must be emphasized that Africans did much more than think about their enslavement. They were primarily occupied with daily life, which necessitated creativity and a degree of accommodation to local conditions. These Africans were concerned about family and community life, with such social organizations as churches, lodges, and mutual aid and burial groups. They learned European languages and culture; in time some converted to Christianity. In Asia they learned Arabic, Farsi, Gujurati, Urdu, and other languages, and some of them converted to Islam. Throughout Europe and Asia they distinguished themselves as artists, writers, poets, teachers, and inventors. This gradual transformation from African to African American or African European, for example, helps to explain the complexity and dialectical contradictions in the relations between the African diaspora and the homeland, the phenomenon behind W. E. B. DuBois's concept of "double consciousness."[6]

This necessarily brief discussion of the historical diaspora confirms a global dispersion and settlement of Africans, who settled abroad voluntarily and involuntarily and maintained a consciousness of their homeland and their identity while adapting to new societies. This phase of the diaspora was largely a heritage of the slave trade and enslavement, but it was also a period of abolitionism and the establishment of colonial rule in Africa itself during the nineteenth century. The convergence of these two phenomena resulted in the globalization of black economic

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and political dependence on Europeans with the consequent global entrenchment of the age-old negative images, myths, and stereotypes about Africans and their descendants.

The abolition of the slave trade reinforced African hopes to return to their homeland and increased efforts by Europeans and Americans to return them to Africa. Efforts by the former were poorly financed, encountered many obstacles, and in fact only drew from the small free community; efforts by the latter were more successful and encouraged a number of slave owners to free Africans with the stipulation that they return to Africa. Slave ships were intercepted and captive Africans were freed and initially settled at selected points outside of Africa: Florida, briefly, for the Atlantic trade, and India, Aden, and the Seychelles for the Indian Ocean trade.

These temporary stations were replaced by permanent resettlement efforts as missionary and business groups in England and the United States realized that diaspora Africans could serve as a means to rid Europe and America of unwanted blacks and at the same time establish communities that could both expand the Christian faith and commerce and also be regarded as humanitarian. Thus it was that Sierra Leone in 1787 and Liberia in 1821 became permanent resettlement communities in West Africa for ex-slaves from the Atlantic Ocean countries, and Freretown in Kenya became the resettlement point in 1873 for ex-slaves from the Indian Ocean areas. While some African descendants abroad opposed "return to Africa" movements, others saw these projects as a means to achieve freedom, launch the redemption of the African continent, and establish themselves as viable members of the world community.[7]

When Sierra Leone and Kenya became British colonies, the diaspora sentiment was muted, although not destroyed; Liberia, however, declared its independence in 1847 and became the second independent African country, after Ethiopia, until well into the twentieth century. By 1867 some twenty thousand African Americans had settled in Liberia and many of them had been free in the United States and returned voluntarily with material resources. Liberia thus became a symbol of hope for the regeneration of Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. Its Declaration of Independence took note of the plight of African peoples abroad and committed the country to "provide a home for the dispersed children of Africa." Although these returnees carried with them ideas of superiority taught in the United States, they did identify with Africa, which they hoped to redeem and lead into the modern world.

This return movement from the United States coincided with a

growing consciousness of and identification with Africa by African Americans. A number of their church and social groups had already adopted "African" as a label and engaged in activities in the Caribbean and Africa. Indeed, although they were influenced by white denominations, black churches provided the principal opportunities for the development of sustained and meaningful links with Africa and the diaspora and the outside world.

Thus a common social condition and origin, stemming largely from the centuries-old slave trade and slavery, became more deeply embedded in the black consciousness of the diaspora. Europeans and Americans regarded enslaved Africans as chattel and free blacks as inferior beings. One of the best illustrations of this situation occurs in the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in which both the concepts of freedom and inhumanity are embedded. The former portrays European settlers as victims who escaped political and economic inhumanity in Europe and who established a refuge for liberty in the American colonies, while the Constitution defines Africans as three-fifths of a white person. Other provisions of that document allowed "fugitive" (African) slaves to be tracked down like animals and treated as property. Subsequently, in 1858 the Supreme Court declared that blacks had no rights that whites had to respect.

While amendments to the Constitution have declared citizenship rights for former slaves, there never has been a constitutional recognition of the horrendous European and Euro-American inhumanity to Africans in Africa and their descendants abroad, nor has there been a strong, sustained effort by the government or the people as a whole to establish and protect African American humanity since liberation — abolition and civil rights movements notwithstanding. Stereotypes and myths about black physical and mental incapacity persist and continue to obstruct equity and justice for African Americans as a group.

A determining factor in the relations between Africans in Africa and their descendants abroad stemmed from decisions made by Europeans at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, which essentially established the boundaries of the African states.[8] This partition of Africa divided peoples and cultures into different countries, making them "citizens" by fiat. It initiated a new phase of population displacement and division, created an internal diaspora, and led to irredentist movements that plague the continent today.

The colonial-era partition and dispersion of Africans was marked by an accelerated gravitation of Africans to and settlement in major cities of the colonial powers: France for the Senegalese, Malians, Ivorians, Haitians, Martinicans, Guadeloupeans, and others from French-speaking areas; England for the Ghanaians, Nigerians, Kenyans, South Africans, Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Barbadians, and others in English-speaking areas; Portugal for the Angolans, Mozambicans, Cape Verdians, and Brazilians; the Netherlands for the Surinamese; Belgium for the Zairians; and the United States during the late colonial period and especially after World War II. The major cities of the Western powers thus became loci for the gathering of diverse ethnic and political groups of African origin, facilitating the development of an international network linking Africa to its diaspora; this network may be called a mobilized diaspora.

The critical factor about the earlier, primarily involuntary diaspora is that it occurred prior to the partition of Africa and therefore had no consciousness of the boundaries established during the era of colonial rule. Although the dispersion during the colonial era did begin to internalize a consciousness of the colonial territory, most Africans did not directly or fully confront the colonial presence. When the colonial era ended, after less than a century in most cases, the colonial identity had not fully matured. Consequently, until the 1960s most Africans in Africa retained a primary ethnic allegiance, while their descendants abroad constituted a "stateless" diaspora without a common country of origin, language, religion, or culture. The strength of the connection between Africans and the African diaspora remained essentially their common origin in Africa as a whole and a common social condition (social, economic, and political marginalization) throughout the world.

It was this combination that paved the way for the development of an effective international network by the mobilized African diaspora, namely, descendant Africans with a consciousness of the identity of their roots, occupational and communication skills, social and economic status, and access to decision-making bodies in their host country. For blacks this meant the mobilization of their communities around race or ethnicity for the exertion of political pressure on elected officials. In time they elected members of their own group to offices at virtually all levels of local, state, and national government.

From the early years of the twentieth century, African American migration from southern states resulted in the gradual emergence of large segregated communities in such northern American cities as Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, and Chicago. This pattern of migrations increased significantly after World War I. In these cities African Americans found better educational and employment opportunities, which also attracted black immigrants from Caribbean countries, not-

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ably Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Panama. New York City was the principal recipient of this emerging international community of blacks.

A somewhat similar development was occurring in England, where London's black community was expanding with immigrants primarily from Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad. London had long been a place where blacks from the West Indies, the United States, and Africa were familiar as abolitionists, businessmen, journalists, scholars, and travelers. As early as 1900 Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad and W. E. B. DuBois of the United States had convened the first Pan-African Congress to mobilize African people in a coordinated international effort against racism in the African colonies and communities of blacks in the diaspora.[9]

Although the congress demonstrated that Africans and their descendants abroad shared common interests and were prepared to seek a common means to satisfy their concerns, it was not until after World War I that the Pan-African movement would have a sustained impact. DuBois revived the movement and convened four congresses (in 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1927) with similar objectives of human rights for African peoples.

Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, arrived in the United States in 1916 after having travelled widely in the Caribbean and South America, where he protested against white exploitation of blacks. In the United States he organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), with branches throughout much of the African world. His newspaper, *The Negro World,* appeared in English, French, and Spanish and made a strong appeal for black unity, pride, and organization. His Black Star Line was organized not only to transport blacks who wanted to go to Africa but also to initiate commercial relations between Africa and its diaspora. Although his projects failed and he was deported from the United States, Garvey contributed immeasurably to the development of a consciousness of Africa in the diaspora and to racial pride and organization. Garveyites continued his tradition by maintaining branches of UNIA and participating in numerous organizations dedicated to black progress.

DuBois and Garvey were giants of their time, but there were many others who contributed significantly to the cause of Africa and its diaspora between the two World Wars: Casely Hayford and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ladipo Solanke and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Duse Mohammed of Sudan, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Candace Gratien of Guadeloupe, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Leon Damas of Guyana, Aimee Cesaire of Martinique, Jean Price-Mars and Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, Ras Makonnen of Guyana, and George Padmore and C. L. R. James of Trinidad.

A number of less well-known but important leaders and organizations either joined the better-known groups or organized their own to mobilize African peoples worldwide: William Leo Hansberry and William R. Steen organized the Ethiopian Research Council in the United States: Malaku Bayen, an Ethiopian, organized the Ethiopian World Federation in the United States; Max Yergen, W. E. B. DuBois, and Paul Robeson organized the International Committee on Africa, which became the Council for African Affairs; C. L. R. James organized the International Friends of Ethiopia in London, with branches in the United States and the Caribbean; George Padmore, a Jamaican, and Ras Makonnen, a Guyanan, organized the International African Service Bureau in London; and Alioune Diop, a Senegalese, organized the Society for African Culture in France, while John A. Davis and others organized an affiliate in the United States, the American Society for African Culture. In short, members of the mobilized diaspora pioneered the establishment of international organizations promoting African consciousness and solidarity in what essentially became a foreign relations movement. Prevented from being actors in state foreign affairs, these leaders established their own non-state mechanisms for the conduct of foreign affairs in the interests of Africans and their descendants abroad.

The Congressional Black Caucus in 1960 represented a major step toward the official participation of blacks in the foreign affairs of its country. Mobilized black voters elected three congressmen who became the founding members of the Caucus. The membership increased to forty in 1992 and gave the organization significant political influence. Caucus leaders soon realized that their impact on foreign policy centered on African world issues, and, without conceding their right to input on foreign affairs generally, they embraced Africa and the Caribbean as their special domain. Members of their staffs followed by forming the African Forum on Foreign Affairs, which soon evolved into TransAfrica, the established lobby for African and Caribbean issues in the United States. Its influence on U.S. policy regarding South Africa and Haiti in particular has legitimized it as a force in world politics for Africa and its diaspora.

The dynamics of black nationalism in the African world during the last generation has transformed the meaning of identity in Africa and the diaspora. Whereas the diaspora of the slave trade era was essentially "stateless," relying primarily on an Africa remembered, the post-independence diaspora promotes a consciousness of new nations, some-

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times with new names and ideologies that challenge the older diaspora to make choices between conflicting interests not only within the diaspora community, but also between it and particular African countries. The existence of over fifty African countries with varying social and political conditions and different international interests further complicates the relationship between Africa and its diaspora. Moreover, the legacy of colonial internal division and dispersion of ethnic groups form a kind of diaspora that African states must confront also.

In the United States, diverse interests and ideologies are evident, and they are complicated by the continuous influx of continental Africans and Americans of African descent from the Caribbean and increasingly from South American countries. Consequently, the geographical area of focus for African Americans has been expanded to include French-, Spanish-, and Portuguese-speaking areas of the Americas.

Noteworthy in this modern phase of the diaspora is that whereas prior to independence continental Africans and African Americans used non-governmental networks (churches, social groups, schools, etcetera) as the principal conduit for the promotion of their ideas and policies, independent African leaders must negotiate their interests through governments and their representatives, thereby excluding effective non-governmental agencies of the diaspora. While this approach maximizes economic dimensions for African states, it minimizes the cultural and social dimensions that continue to sustain the mutual identity between them and their diaspora, a significant political force in time of need.

If direct and effective relations are to be cultivated, Africa and its diaspora must devise other structures to achieve their goals. This could take the form of a non-political organization or foundation that reaches across national boundaries and that represents African governments and private organizations and diaspora groups for broad consultative purposes and humanitarian assistance. The African world would benefit greatly from having this kind of international structure with the financial capability to initiate and fund programs without reliance on outside financial or political support. Such autonomy would enable Africans and their descendants abroad to sustain their political presence and work with greater confidence in alliance with other groups interested in their social, political, and economic well-being.

Such a form of Pan-Africanism is better described as TransAfricanism, best demonstrated in the 1930s when Ethiopia resisted Italian aggression. Organized groups of Americans of African descent in the United States mobilized efforts and contributed money, supplies, and advisers to assist the Ethiopians during and after the war. These groups

also ventured into private diplomacy: developing a code, communicating directly through their network with Haile Sellassie, and persuading him to appoint a representative to the United States. These efforts demonstrated the strength the diaspora could display when compelled to action by African issues. In addition, the reciprocal involvement of Ethiopians with these groups heightened the political consciousness of African Americans and contributed to their greater participation in the democratic process of their country.

A particular problem that has prevented the fuller development of this trend has been the diversity of the groups involved and the scope of issues African Americans have attempted to address internally while pursuing issues under the rubric of Pan-Africanism or TransAfricanism. The independence of over fifty African countries and a dozen in the Caribbean continue to divert attention and limited material resources.

The last decade of the twentieth century is marked by countries and cultures being pulled closer together by technology, world health issues, and international trade. Moreover, the United States has emerged as the lone superpower and is thus obliged to respond to issues of world significance. As the preeminent country of mobilized diasporas, the United States can enhance its role by enlisting its diasporas as bridges to troubled lands—as teachers, scientists, technicians, and emissaries for peace and development.

Over the centuries African Americans, by their sustained struggle for justice, have contributed significantly to the positive international image of this country's potential for real democracy. They have remained in the vanguard of struggles for human rights for minorities, women, and other under-represented groups. From the abolitionist travels and egalitarian appeals of Frederick Douglass and others in the nineteenth century to Martin Luther King and Malcolm X in the twentieth and to the adoption by Africans, Asians, and Europeans in freedom struggles of the anthem "We Shall Overcome," African Americans have aligned the United States with struggles against racism and colonialism. It is no accident that two of the five black Nobel Peace Laureates—Ralph Bunche and Martin Luther King—are African Americans; the other three—Albert Luthuli, Bishop Tutu and Nelson Mandela— are South Africans, whose heritage in many ways parallels that of African Americans.

Blacks in the United States are conscious of their relationship to the global African presence; they have a long and steadfast tradition of association not only with African people, but also with other minorities, with the poor and disadvantaged, and with women. African Americans

have remained in the vanguard of the struggle for human rights and since the 1930s have increasingly asserted themselves in international affairs. The twenty-first century may well witness the convergence of this heritage and the skills of the diaspora with the political and economic development of Africa and thus the full participation of the African world in international affairs.

NOTES

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2. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971); Harris, "Scope or the African Diaspora" (Silver Spring, Md.: African Diaspora Maps, 1990).
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4. Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), although dated, remains a valuable source; Joseph Inikori, *Forced Migration* (New York: Africana 1982) is an excellent study that revises much of Curtin's work.
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