

# **African Students in the United States: Circulations, Politics and Transfers in the Global 60s**

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## Abstract

When more than thirty African countries gained independence in the early 1960s, most of them faced a shortage of qualified manpower to implement their new national projects. The colonial powers had often excluded the vast majority of Africans from higher education, allowing them only to obtain technical qualifications and rarely the skills to become managers. Higher education for Africans was therefore one of the most important issues for the continent's leaders in the aftermath of independence. This goal was also important in the United States: philanthropic foundations, academics, civil rights activists, and politicians, each for different reasons, wanted to participate in the education of the new African elites. The convergence of the interests of these African and American actors led to the creation of two scholarship programs, the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU) in 1961 and the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD) in 1963. These two programs, which continued until the 1990s, together enabled more than 4,000 young people from 45 African countries to study in the United States.

## **A Transatlantic Network for the Education of Africans**

During the 1950s, demands for more self-government on the part of African nationalist leaders grew. In particular, they expressed their desire in repeated requests for more education, which was seen as a means of enabling the political emancipation of Africans, but also the economic and social development of the continent. But the few educational opportunities offered in response by the British and French colonial governments were far from satisfying the Africans' thirst for education.<sup>1</sup> Faced with the inaction of the colonial powers, African political leaders, trade unionists, and academics sought to revive the option of higher education in the United States. Initiated in the second half of the 19th century in the context of American missionary expansion, the departure of young Africans for American universities then allowed several future nationalist leaders to attend liberal education and consolidate their pan-African political consciousness during the interwar period. Inspired by the example of some of these most charismatic US-educated figures, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah or Mbiyu Koinage, scholarship programs were set up at the end of the 1950s.<sup>2</sup>

In Kenya, trade unionist Tom Mboya felt that neither education in Africa nor that offered in Britain was now sufficient. He went to the United States in 1956 where he eventually managed to raise funds that enabled 81 young Kenyans to fly for the United States in 1959.<sup>3</sup> Around the same time, Nigeria's Minister of Education Stephen Awokoya traveled to Harvard University where he met with its admissions director, David Henry. Awokoya suggested that in view of Nigeria's impending independence, Harvard could celebrate the event by offering scholarships to Nigerian students. Henry, aware of what was at stake with the upcoming independence of many African countries, accepted the idea and managed to involve other Ivy League universities. For the administration of this Nigerian-American Scholarship Program (NASP), Henry turned to the African American Institute (AAI). It was founded in 1953 in Washington, DC for the purpose of "building friendly ties between the people of Africa and the United

States... and assisting in the education and training related to the economic and social development of Africa." <sup>4</sup> AAI included a range of personalities who advocated for greater US public and private investment in Africa. The membership of its board of trustees in 1961 sheds light on this network. It included former missionary Emory Ross, African-American academics Horace Mann Bond and William Leo Hansberry, philanthropic foundations' officials such as Dana S. Creel of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, former ambassador Lloyd V. Steere, businessman Lansdell K. Christie (president of the Liberia Mining Company), and Democrat congressman Chester Bowles.<sup>5</sup>

The NASP enabled 24 Nigerian students to begin their studies in the United States in the fall of 1960. It was considered a success and Henry decided to create an identical program for the entire African continent.<sup>6</sup> For this, however, greater economic and political support was needed. With the help of AAI, Melvin Fox and J. Wayne Fredericks of the Ford Foundation, and James Hyde of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Henry contacted Philip H. Coombs of the State Department to ask him to bring the US government into his proposed program for African students.<sup>7</sup> Concerned to see the Soviet Union launch scholarship programs in Africa, the US government, under the leadership of newly elected President John F. Kennedy, was seeking to significantly increase its cultural and educational diplomacy in Africa. The State Department was aware that David Henry's proposal could serve as an ideal tool to counter the spread of Soviet interests in the former African colonies and, for the first time, decided to invest massively in an educational project for Africa. Thus, in the spring of 1961, the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU) was created. Until its end in 1975, ASPAU offered scholarships to nearly 1,600 students from 32 African countries.<sup>8</sup>

Each member of the network who took part in the creation of ASPAU had a clearly defined role: the US government funded the trips through its development assistance agency USAID, the universities provided the tuition fees, African governments paid for the travel expenses, and AAI took care of the administrative management of the program with support from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. In 1963, a second program was created in the same

spirit, the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD). As its name suggests, it was intended for graduate students, who came in greater numbers and over a longer period of time – through 1995, more than 2,500 students - and from almost all African countries.<sup>9</sup>

## **Training an Elite for Development**

The objective of ASPAU and AFGRAD was part of the more general project of development aid to Africa, which was first set up in the interwar period by the colonial powers and became the common language of North-South relations from the 1950s onwards.<sup>10</sup> Both programs sought to select scholarship recipients "primarily in terms of the most urgent needs for manpower for the balanced and integrated economic and social development of the Cooperating Countries."<sup>11</sup> ASPAU and AFGRAD had more qualitative than quantitative ambitions in this regard; they aimed to train a relatively small number of young Africans, but destined to become Africa's technocratic elite, capable of implementing its modernization programs. This elitist objective was clearly explained to the students, since it constituted both an element of valorization of their study projects in the United States and a motivation for their success.<sup>12</sup>

The selection of candidates was therefore very rigorous, sometimes laborious, and aimed to find the best profiles among the very large number of applications.<sup>13</sup> In consultation with the AAI and the ASPAU Board of Trustees - composed of officials from participating US universities - USAID determined the number of scholarships available for each African country. Then, through the announcement of the programs in the local press and radio stations in Africa, candidates were invited to send in their academic applications. These were evaluated by local committees composed of members of the ASPAU Board of Trustees specifically sent to Africa, government and African education officials, and sometimes U.S. embassy or USAID staff. Candidates, whose applications were deemed admissible, then took an aptitude test and met with members of the evaluation committee. The latter then evaluated "the candidate's suitability for higher education, his motivation, adaptability and personal qualities as an unofficial

ambassador of his country in the United States" and recommended the final selected candidates to the US universities.<sup>14</sup>

The overwhelming majority of these candidates were men: for ASPAU, only about 7.7% of the selected students were women, and for AFGRAD, they only made up 14% of the total.<sup>15</sup> The average age of ASPAU students was between twenty and thirty years old, while AFGRAD students were generally older, with 50% of them being over 40 years old.<sup>16</sup> The first two waves of students, who left in 1961 and 1962, made the trip to the United States by boat, via France. But from 1963 onwards, charter planes flew them to New York.<sup>17</sup>

On the day of their arrival in the United States, ASPAU students were assigned to several centers to participate in a two-week orientation program. As explained in ASPAU's final report, these programs were designed to enable students to "gain confidence in their new environment, learn from other participants and from ASPAU staff about cultural and educational differences in the US, and to meet others from their own country and from other African states."<sup>18</sup> This concern of ASPAU organizers to best prepare students for their stay in the United States responded to a desire by the U.S. government to do everything possible to give a positive image of the country to any African visitor. They had to keep a positive memory of their stay in the United States and then bring back and spread these good memories in their countries.<sup>19</sup>

While they were initially hosted in universities located on the east coast of the United States, ASPAU and AFGRAD students were later spread over almost all the country. In the end, more than 230 universities and colleges welcomed ASPAU and AFGRAD students.<sup>20</sup> The courses they took covered all the fields offered. For ASPAU, the most popular courses were in engineering, sciences, liberal arts, and social sciences, while for AFGRAD, Engineering, economics, and agriculture and animal sciences dominated. Most ASPAU students arrived in the United States with a solid high school education, sometimes supplemented by one or two years of higher education, and were also highly motivated to obtain their degrees. The vast majority completed their undergraduate degrees in three years and their success rate was 91%, well above the 50% of their American peers. As

for AFGRAD students, 59% obtained a Master's degree and 31% a PhD and their success rate was 92%. Finally, the proportion of African graduates who obtained a "cum laude" or other distinctions also exceeded that of American students.<sup>21</sup>

## **Being an African Student in 1960s**

### **America: Social Life, Politicization and Discrimination**

Some African students did not just study, but also used their time in the United States to engage in local cultural, political, and athletic life. They joined student associations or university sports team or simply participated in the festive activities that punctuated the academic year. Studying away from their home countries was also an opportunity to get closer to fellow countrymen or other Africans and, for some of them, ASPAU became a "pan-African experiment." Alfred Mwamasso, from Tanganyika (Tanzania), explained, for example, "I had to come to America to meet a Nigerian."<sup>22</sup>

In Washington, DC, the Africa House, administered and financed by the AAI, offered a place of support and sociability for these students who wished to share their experiences and get involved in community life. There, they could get advice on how to organize their studies, find accommodations, or prepare for their careers. Students also met there to attend lectures, film screenings, or visit the library. They also organized parties, in particular to celebrate the anniversaries of their countries' independence or to spend Christmas or New Year's Eve together. Finally, the Africa House was the meeting place of several student associations - such as the Liberian Students Association, the Nigerian Students Association, the East African Students Association, the Association of Guinean Students, etc. - and above all the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA) headquarters.<sup>23</sup> Created in the early 1950s as the All-African Students Union of the Americas (AASUA), PASOA was renewed in 1961 to become the largest African student association in North America, with nearly 3,500 members by 1963. Its objectives were to help newly arrived students to find accommodations or

organize their study plans, to raise funds to support sick students, to propose lists of summer jobs, to contact the embassies for students in need, or the universities of students facing academic problems.<sup>24</sup>

The general political sensitivity and activity of ASPAU and AFGRAD students are difficult to quantify. One thing is certain, however: the vast majority of them bathed in a highly politicized environment. While most of them were mere spectators at demonstrations, blockades, and other protests on American campuses in the 1960s, some took an active part in them, including the creation of radical political movements. This political engagement of African students in the United States was part of both the global student protest movement of the 1960s, and the dynamics of national and regional struggles in Africa.<sup>25</sup> This was clearly the case for the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ENUSA). Three of its most important members from 1964 onwards were ASPAU students: Berhanu Abebe, Secretary-General, and Melesse Ayalew and Dessalegn Rahmato, respectively, editor and associate editor of *Challenge*, the ENUSA journal. On campus, these three students were close with members of the American student left, sharing their struggles against the Vietnam War and racism.<sup>26</sup>

Other African students chose to become involved in the American political debates of the time, particularly the issue of civil rights. As a student at Barnard College on an ASPAU scholarship, Adaeze Otue found a summer job in 1963 with the New York chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). She worked there as a secretary, performing administrative tasks, but also conducting interviews with African-Americans victims of racial discrimination and violence who were seeking help from the organization. This experience "gave her insight into the race problem" and left a deep impression on her.<sup>27</sup>

The dynamism of these students should not make us forget, however, that life in the United States for the ASPAU and AFGRAD students was also marked by painful experiences. The objective of academic excellence pursued by ASPAU and AFGRAD thus put the students of these programs in a logic of success at all costs. Difficult adaptation to the climate and new codes in social relations, the many

administrative procedures they had to deal with within their universities or with the federal immigration authorities, as well as problems with housing, money and health, were the major concerns expressed by African students to ASPAU advisors.<sup>28</sup> Racial discrimination was also a cause of discomfort, although it was experienced differently depending on the place of study. African students on the southern campuses of the United States were indeed more exposed to discrimination and were sometimes even exposed to the violence of the racial laws still in force in the first three years of the programs. Thomas Echewa of Nigeria had a painful experience while traveling to Birmingham, Alabama. Trying to catch a thief who had stolen his wallet, he was arrested by a white policeman and charged with "affray and disorderly conduct." Legal proceedings were conducted solely based on the officer's testimony, which downplayed the case in the following hate-filled terms, "Just two niggers fighting." Echewa was finally acquitted the next day and, once he returned to his university in Indiana, decided to become involved in the civil rights struggle.<sup>29</sup>

## **Returns and Transfers**

According to the contract between the US government and the AAI, which outlined the objectives of ASPAU, "students are encouraged to return to the Cooperating Countries to assume positions in the governments of the Cooperating Countries or positions for which there is the most urgent demand for such manpower utilization." This willingness to send students back to their country as soon as they graduated was also valid for AFGRAD.<sup>30</sup> Actually, only 64% of the total number of ASPAU students returned to their home countries upon completion of their studies. The first reason for this low repatriation rate was that many students wanted to continue their education in order to get advanced degrees.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, personal factors came into play; some ASPAU and AFGRAD students met their future spouses in the United States and decided to stay in the country to start a family. Others did return home at first, but were disappointed by the economic, social or political situation, and decided to return to the United States. Finally, political instability and wars in their home regions

explain the willingness of several ASPAU and AFGRAD students to stay in the United States.<sup>32</sup>

As W. Bradford Craig stated sharply, "Clearly, ASPAU was not efficient in training manpower for an early return home."<sup>33</sup> Steps were therefore taken to prevent the same phenomenon from occurring with AFGRAD students; the contracts imposed on the participating African governments included the obligation to ensure the return of their students and to offer them work contracts directly after their studies.<sup>34</sup> This measure seems to have been effective, as 88% of AFGRAD students returned to their countries once they graduated.<sup>35</sup>

## Conclusion

Although it is difficult to accurately estimate the career paths of ASPAU and AFGRAD students due to the lack of statistical data, it is possible to draw some broad outlines. Public administration and government, education, and the private sector seem to have been the main career paths for ASPAU students returning to their home countries.<sup>36</sup> For AFGRAD, it was mainly in higher education where students found work, but also in public administrations, the private sector, and international organizations.<sup>37</sup> The importance of several ASPAU and AFGRAD students on the destinies of their countries is also undeniable: three heads of state, nearly fifteen ministers, dozens of university professors, senior officials of state or of international organizations (UN, World Bank), and directors of large companies had indeed studied in the US thanks to these two programs.

However, this data does not suggest that ASPAU and AFGRAD students had been either development "heroes," or agents for spreading American ideals in Africa, as envisioned by AAI or by US government officials. On the one hand, African students' trajectories were certainly deeply marked by the context of the time - decolonization and the Cold War in particular - and by the ideological and governmental motivations that were at the origin of the organization of their educational stays in the United States. But on the other hand, and as evidenced by the diversity of experiences recounted here, ASPAU and AFGARD students

also had their own agenda. Thus, they could oppose their governments or openly criticize the government of their host country. They also acted according to personal convictions and strategies, sometimes through the encounters - good or bad – they had along the way. All of the students, however, seem to have been involved, in one way or another, in creating connections between their continent and the United States. In this sense, their journeys clearly highlighted the transnational dimensions that impacted both the creation of post-colonial African states and the political and social context of 1960s America.

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Cooper, “Modernizing bureaucrats, backward Africans, and the development concept” in Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard (eds.), *International development and the social sciences. Essays on the history and politics of knowledge*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 64-92 and N. T. Assié-Lumumba, *Higher Education in Africa. Crises, Reforms and Transformation*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2006), pp. 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> David Killingray, “The Black Atlantic Missionary Movement and Africa, 1780s-1920s,” *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 33, no 1, 2003, p. 3-31; Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey. An Autobiography*, (New York and Washington, DC: Praeger Publishers, 1970), Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana. The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, (New York: International Publishers, 1984) and St. Clair Drake, “Mbiyu Koinage and the Pan-African Movement” in Robert A. Hill (ed.), *Pan-African Biography*, (African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles and Crossroads Press/African Studies Association, 1987), pp. 161-207.

<sup>3</sup> James H. Meriwether, “‘Worth a Lot of Negro Votes’: Black Voters, Africa, and the 1960 Presidential Campaign,” *Journal of American History*, vol. 95, no 3, 2008, pp. 745-747 and Tom Mboya, *Freedom and After*, (London: André Deutsch, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> The metamorphosis of the African-American Institute between 1953 and 1958, p. 1, Africa America Institute Records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, (AAIR), Series1. Administration Files, AAI historic files, operations manual, Ford 1967-2000, Box 255: AAI 81202731.

<sup>5</sup> African American Institute, *Annual Report, 1959-60*, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Rockefeller Brothers Fund records (FA005), Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), African-American Institute, Publications, Annual Reports, 1959-1974, Box 20, Folder 157.

<sup>6</sup> The Origin of the Institute of African-American Relations. 1953 to 1959, p. 8, AAIR, Series1. Administration Files, AAI historic files; operations manual; Ford 1967-2000, Box 255: AAI 81202731.

<sup>7</sup> Melvin J. Fox to F. Champion Ward, November 14, 1960, “Inter-Foundation Subcommittee on African Student Exchange,” RAC, Ford Foundation Records (FFR), Overseas Development, International Training and Research, Office Files of John Howard (FA608), Series I: Subject Files, Box 1; Africa - Educational Exchange with Africa - M.J. Fox - Materials, 1954-1961, Melvin Fox to Philip H. Coombs, April 7, 1961, RAC, FFR, Grants A-B (FA732A), Africa-America Institute (06300189), 1963 March 20-1966 March 19, Reel

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0673 and David D. Henry to James N. Hyde, February 24, 1961, RAC, Rockefeller Brothers Fund records (FA005) (RBF), Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), Box 400, Folder 2451, Harvard University - African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1961-1962.

<sup>8</sup> The number and percentage of ASPAU students per country are as follows: Botswana: 11 (0.7%); Cameroun: 121 (7.6%); Chad: 6 (0.4%); Congo (Brazzaville): 2 (0.1%); Dahomey [Benin]: 12 (0.8%); Ethiopia: 91 (5.7%); Gabon: 1 (0.1%); Gambia: 11 (0.7%); Ghana: 72 (4.5%); Ivory Coast: 35 (2.2%); Kenya: 129 (8.1%); Lesotho: 7 (0.4%); Liberia: 13 (0.8%); Malagasy Republic: 19 (1.2%); Malawi: 66 (4.1%); Mali: 5 (0.3%); Morocco: 25 (1.6%); Niger: 5 (0.3%); Nigeria: 378 (23.7%); Rhodesia: 95 (6.0%); Senegal: 22 (1.4%); Seychelles: 16 (1%); Sierra Leone: 19 (1.2%); Somalia Republic: 15 (0.9%); Swaziland: 12 (0.8%); Tanzania: 109 (6.8%); Togo: 13 (0.8%); Tunisia: 10 (0.6%); Ghana: 112 (7.0%); Upper Volta: 4 (0.3%); Zaïre: 66 (4.1%); Zambia: 92 (5.8%). The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, Appendix IV.

<sup>9</sup> The number of AFGRAD students per country is as follows: Benin: 21; Botswana: 32; Burkina Faso: 40; Burundi: 32; Cameroon: 123; Cape Verde: 31; Central African Republic: 20; Chad: 7; Comoros Island: 8; Congo: 20; Djibouti: 10; Equatorial Guinea: 15; Ethiopia: 182; Gambia: 29; Ghana: 213; Guinea: 40; Guinea-Bissau: 35; Ivory Coast: 101; Kenya: 126; Lesotho: 37; Liberia: 79; Madagascar: 44; Malawi: 60; Mali: 81; Mauritania: 18; Mauritius: 28; Morocco: 8; Mozambique: 21; Niger: 8; Nigeria: 222; Rwanda: 29; Sao Tome: 17; Senegal: 69; Seychelles: 12; Sierra Leone: 84; Somalia: 48; Sudan: 79; Swaziland: 52; Tanzania: 63; Togo: 68; Tunisia: 26; Ghana: 106; Zaire: 79; Zambia: 72; Zimbabwe: 21. Management Systems International (MSI), *Capturing the Results of 30 Years of AFGRAD Training*, Annex 6.

<sup>10</sup> Frederick Cooper, “Modernizing Bureaucrats”, Michael Ashley Havinden and David George Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850-1960*, (London: Routledge, 1996); Joseph M. Hodge, Gerald Hodl, and Martina Kopf (eds.), *Developing Africa: Concepts and Practices in Twentieth-Century Colonialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); and Stephen J. Macekura and Erez Manela (eds.), *The Development Century : a Global History*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>11</sup> W. Bradford Craig, *A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970* (undated), p. 7, AAIR, Series 2. Programs 1961-2010, AFRICAN GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM (AFGRAD), African Scholarship Program 1976, Box 389: AAI 194912. For AFGRAD, see: “Grant No. SCC-40368 State/CU (Graduate Fellowship Program)”, AAIR, Series 1. Administration Files, Grants and contracts: State oce grant contracts<sup>[1]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>1962-1967, Box 352: AAI 170453.

<sup>12</sup> Edward C. White, “Manpower, Education and Economic Growth,” address delivered at the ASPAU students’ annual Christmas Reunion, Ohio State University, 30 December 1964 in *ASPAU: the Utilization of Training, African Scholarship Program of American Universities*, (Cambridge, MA) (undated), RBFR, Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), Box 22, Folder 176, African-American Institute, African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), 1965.

<sup>13</sup> In the early 1960s, AAI received each year about 10,000 inquiries about scholarships to study in the USA, and for its first year, ASPAU attracted 8,000 applications from 18 African countries for only 300 available scholarships. The African-American Institute, *1971 Annual Report and Program Review for the 1960*, p.6, AAIR, Series 1. Administration Files, Annual reports<sup>[1]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>1983-1989<sup>[1]</sup><sub>SEP</sub> Box 18: AAI, *Annual Report, 1971* and The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 21.

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<sup>14</sup> A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970, Appendix 12: "ASPAU policies and By-Laws" and Appendix 7: Lee Wilcox, University of Minnesota, "A Prediction Study of African Students Selected Through the African Scholarship Program of American Universities", AAIR, Series 2. Programs 1961-2010, AFRICAN GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM (AFGRAD), African Scholarship Program 1976, Box 389: AAI 194912 and The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, Appendix XI (List of students) and Management Systems International (MSI), *Capturing the Results of 30 Years of AFGRAD*, Annex 6 and 7. The figures given here for ASPAU are to be taken as an order of magnitude. Indeed, ASPAU reports do not systematically give the gender of the scholarship students. I therefore produced this statistic myself based on the list of all ASPAU students, but with doubts about the gender of some of them whose first name was not identifiable.

<sup>16</sup> Management Systems International (MSI), *op. cit.*, Annex 8, table I-2.

<sup>17</sup> W. Bradford Craig, A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970.

<sup>18</sup> The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> View President Kennedy's speech: "Remarks on the White House Lawn at a Reception for Foreign Students" May 10, 1961, *The American Presidency Project*: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-white-house-lawn-reception-for-foreign-students>.

<sup>20</sup> The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 7 and *The African Graduate Fellowship Program AFGRAD II, Final Report covering the period January 1975 to September 1988*, July 1989, Appendix B.

<sup>21</sup> W. Bradford Craig, A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970, Management Systems International (MSI), *Capturing the Results of 30 Years of AFGRAD Training*, p. 5-6 and *The origin of the Institute of African-American Relations. 1953 to 1959*, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> « African Study U.S. Basics" in *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 21, 1963, RBFR, Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), Box 22, Folder 174, African-American Institute, African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), 1963.

<sup>23</sup> E. Frederic Morrow to Members of Board - AAI, Subject: Africa House Review Committee Report, April 23, 1962, p. 6-18 and Appendix B : Summary of Activities at Africa House for the Quarter ended December 31, 1961, HMBP, Africa-America Institute , February 19, 1962. -April 23, 1962.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony J. Mensah, *American college students' activities and the rise of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas*, Milwaukee, 1965, p. 23 to 46. See also: "Requiem for Portuguese Colonialism", *Pan African Notes. Magazine of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas*, Spring-Summer 1974 and "White Mercenaries in Africa", *Pan African Notes. Magazine of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas*, April 1971.

<sup>25</sup> See on this topic: Françoise Blum, Pierre Guidi and Ophélie Rillon (eds.), *Etudiants africains en mouvement : contribution à une histoire des années 1968*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016); Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global 60s*, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013); and Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Bahru Zewde, *Documenting the Ethiopian Student Movement: an Exercise in Oral History*, (Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, 2010), p. 84: also by the same author, *The quest for socialist utopia: the Ethiopian student movement, c. 1960-1974*, (Oxford:

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James Currey, 2014), pp. 98-100 and “Repression in Ethiopia” in *Challenge. Journal of the world-wide union of Ethiopian students*, Vol. IX, no 2, August 1969, pp. 35-38.

<sup>27</sup> Roselle Kurland, “The African Scholarship program of American Universities. A talk with a participant” in *Barnard Alumnae*, Fall 1963, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> The African American Institute Board of Trustees, *Quarterly Reports on AAI Programs and Operations, January 1 – March 31, 1969*, p. 21, RBF, Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), Box 21, Folder 166, African-American Institute, Publications, Quarterly Reports, 1968-1970.

<sup>29</sup> *ASPAU Forum*, October 1963, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> W. Bradford Craig, A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970, p. 7 and “Grant No. SCC-40368 State/CU (Graduate Fellowship Program).”

<sup>31</sup> The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 43-44. See also: “The African-American Institute, The African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), AIDc 1851, Annual Report for the period of 1/765 - 30/6/66”, RBF, Record Group 3: Projects (Grants); Series 1: Projects (Grants), Box 23, Folder 177, African-American Institute, African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), 1966.

<sup>32</sup> This is notably the case of Nigerian students of Igbo origin during and just after the Biafra war (1967-1970), Southern Rhodesians after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the Ian Smith government (1965) or Ugandans of Asian origin after Idi Amin Dada’s coup in 1971. The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, p. 46.

<sup>33</sup> W. Bradford Craig, A report on the African Scholarship Program of American Universities, 1960-1970, p. 26.

<sup>34</sup> “Grant No. SCC-40368 State/CU (Graduate Fellowship Program).”

<sup>35</sup> Management Systems International (MSI), *Capturing the Results of 30 Years of AFGRAD Training* Annex 6.

<sup>36</sup> 175 ASPAU students have worked for their government, 151 in education, 100 in the private sector, 45 in agriculture and 25 for an International Organization. However, these estimates are based on a very small sample of 519 students, so only 33% of the total number of ASPAU students. The African American Institute, *Final Report ASPAU*, Appendix VIII.

<sup>37</sup> Out of a panel of 1903 AFGRAD students (about 75% of the total), 45.3% worked for higher education and research, 28% for the government, 17.2% for the private sector and 7.8% for an International Organization. Management Systems International (MSI), *Capturing the Results of 30 Years of AFGRAD Training*, Annex 7, Table 4.