



A Personal
History
of Labor,
Race, and
International
Relations

Conversations with
MAIDA SPRINGER

Yvonne K. Richardson

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Conversations with **Maida Springer**

A Personal History of Labor, Race, and International Relations

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Introduction

When I first met Maida Springer in 1989, I marveled at the wonderful array of clowns decorating her house. From many parts of the world, they were exquisite in detail and vibrant in color. Springer explained that the presence of clowns kept her humble and served as a reminder to not take herself too seriously. She also identified with the dilemma of the protagonist Canio, a theater troupe leader who plays a clown in the opera *I Pagliacci*. Although heartbroken after discovering that his wife is having an affair, Canio attempts to act in a professional manner symbolized by the saying “the show must go on.” He has to put on his makeup, hide his great pain, and give his best to the audience. As I became better acquainted with Springer, I began to appreciate why this story resonated with her. As an activist on the domestic and international stage she often sublimated her feelings of bitterness and disappointment in order to obtain minimal support for the labor programs she designed to foster improved living conditions for others. Although the diplomatic tightrope she walked as a labor activist entailed heartbreak and stress, she never sacrificed her self-respect.

Born in Panama in 1910, Springer came to the United States when she was seven years old. Her activist spirit was kindled at a young age as she listened to black leaders of Harlem pay homage to Africa, condemn colonialism, and decry their own treatment in the United States. After she joined the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU) in 1933, her work for civil rights and the labor movement became intertwined and inseparable as she forged a friendship with A. Philip Randolph, who would later become an AFL-CIO vice president. A 1945 meeting with George Padmore, the premier pan-African network builder, took her down the path of international labor activism. She formally joined the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs in 1960 and served as an expert in African labor affairs and a confidante of many African labor and political leaders. Springer also dedicated herself to women’s advancement both nationally and internationally, particularly in Turkey, Indonesia, and various African countries.

Through her work she gained a reputation as a skilled organizer and a tireless activist for social change.

Springer's status as a black woman working in the white and male-dominated field of organized labor meant that she was alternately celebrated as a pioneer, subject to use as a token, or attacked because of her representation. In the following interviews, she states, "When I was told that I was different, my blood pressure would rise, and I would become angry and illogical. It's pointless to give you examples. It was on so many levels and so trivial sometimes that it made you want to scratch." As an ILGWU officer she became adept at confronting the prejudices of both union leaders and members without jeopardizing the larger goal of labor solidarity. Without minimizing the racism present in organized labor, she tried to bridge the gap between labor and black workers and the black community. As an international labor representative, she faced paternalistic and racist treatment from officials of the British Trade Union Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), a world body composed of non-Communist national labor centers. She learned to tailor her responses to these insults in a way that was least damaging to relations between the ICFTU and its African affiliates. However, the stress Springer experienced working in international affairs was not inconsequential. It led to serious illness, including ulcers and bouts of depression.

The AFL-CIO's strong anticolonial stance and Springer's obvious empathy with African labor combined to make her anathema to colonial governments as well. Colonial officials and European labor leaders accused her and other supporters of pan-Africanism of being Communists or unwittingly aiding the Communists through their adoption of a strident anticolonial position. Some officials of U.S. consulates, particularly in the Congo and Southern Rhodesia, also showed a veiled hostility toward Springer's presence in Africa. In contrast, many African labor and independence leaders viewed her as a valuable ally because of her ability to publicize the oppression they faced outside the continent. Procolonialists took note. Springer remarked, "Nothing was secret. Maida Springer arrived somewhere. The grapevine works. Both politically and in government circles. . . . The news spread that this Maida Springer would come here trying to start trouble, also to encourage people, to talk to the Africans."

The complexities of cold war politics undermined Springer's efforts to bring about closer relations between the West and Africa. With the purpose of marshaling their countries' resources for economic development, most African governments became one-party states, forced the labor centers to disaffiliate from the ICFTU, and then incorporated the labor centers into the political parties. The AFL-CIO charged that these labor centers were no longer workers' organizations but government entities, and the organization strongly opposed moves to open relations with unions from Communist countries. Although Springer had opposed

the disaffiliation of African labor centers, she resisted efforts of U.S. labor leaders to have her speak against the new African government structures. In reference to Western labor's denunciation of the new labor structures as antidemocratic and comparable to the ones in Communist countries, Springer commented, "All the Africans had dealt with were the wrong things from the colonial powers or whoever was trying to purify them." Her empathy for the enormous tasks facing these new governments, however, was tempered by the realization that ordinary African workers would pay a high price as the governments reined in the labor movements in the name of nation building. She had directed her efforts in Africa to raising the skill levels of ordinary workers and educating workers' representatives in the skills necessary to secure the greatest benefits for workers. To her dismay the acrimonious struggle over affiliation negatively affected some of her relationships: "I thought foolishly that I had enough credit that I would not be affected by it."

By and large, however, the disagreements Springer had with her African labor colleagues over the affiliation issue did not diminish the esteem in which she was held, and many continued to view her as family. (She was widely known on the Continent as Mama Maida.) Not only did she share in some of their criticisms of the ICFTU, but her faith in the democratic West was also always ambivalent. The egregious policies of the U.S. government in Africa, the recalcitrant unions upholding formal discrimination within the AFL-CIO, and the slow pace of civil rights reform in the United States placed her in contradictory positions. She once remarked that some of her experiences with racism within the U.S. labor movement "ate her up inside." Until 1963 she considered moving permanently to Africa. With the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Springer told her ILGWU colleague Martin Morand that she had some hope that the United States might move closer to the ideal of equality.

Despite Springer's many disappointments, a marvelous sense of humor, humility, and a wellspring of hope have combined to produce a regenerative effect on her outlook. She has survived to give testimony to a singular life of a black woman's remarkable journey from an industrial worker to a leader in international labor affairs during a revolutionary period of change. Not only is she honored for her efforts on behalf of African independence and labor development, but she is also remembered by ordinary people, both domestically and internationally, as one who gave hope and encouragement and many times committed her own personal resources to improving their lives. For these reasons she affirms her life as one lived with few regrets.

After first becoming aware of Maida Springer in 1985, I was astounded by her absence from the established histories of women, labor, and African Americans. In 1989, as an American Studies graduate student at Yale University, I learned of an unpublished oral history she had done under the auspices of the Twentieth-

Century Trade Union Woman: Vehicle for Social Change, Oral History Project.¹ I was captivated by these interviews, but they left me with many unanswered questions. The interviewer's primary interest and expertise lay in the U.S. labor movement; information about Springer's international work got only cursory coverage. I then determined to find Springer in hopes that she would allow me to record a more full life history.

After weeks of effort and finally with the help of the AFL-CIO, I was able to locate Springer in Pittsburgh. She agreed to my request for a weekend visit and insisted that I stay at her house and not a hotel. At the time I was surprised that she would trust a stranger to come into her home. I would later learn that hospitality was a hallmark of her personality. During our conversation that weekend, she asked with straightforward ease what I wanted of her. I replied by telling her I wanted to do a series of oral history interviews with her and shape them into a narrative for my dissertation. Her initial response was to gently decline.

I believed there were at least three reasons informing this decision. First, as I later learned during the interview process, many aspects of her past were painful to recall. Second, she is by nature unassuming and balks at the prospect of appearing self-promoting. Finally, her explanation to me then was that she did not think she had the stamina to endure going over her life's work and that she had declined previous requests of people wanting to write about her work. She believed that they had preconceived and incorrect notions about the roles she had played. In response, I accepted that she might not want to record her story with me or at this time, but insisted that she document her story in the near future. Her subsequent comments reflected her awareness of the special role she saw herself as privileged to have played in the shaping of social movements. Then, to my surprise, she changed her mind about the collaboration offer, telling me that she thought whatever I wrote would be fair.

Maida Springer's lyricism, humorous twists of phrases, and insightful analysis of her character and those of others convinced me of the intrinsic value and appeal that her life history narrative would convey. I resolved to write the biography *Maida Springer, Pan-Africanist and International Labor Leader* as a social history and as a

1. The oral history of Maida Springer Kemp conducted by Elizabeth Balanoff was a joint project of the Twentieth-Century Trade Union Woman: Vehicle for Social Change, Oral History Project (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan; Detroit: Wayne State University, 1970s) and the Schlesinger Library's Black Women Oral History Project, Interviews, 1976–1981. It is now published as "Maida Springer Kemp Interview," in *The Black Women Oral History Project*, from the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, vol. 7, ed. Ruth Edmonds Hill (New Providence, NJ: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1991), 39–127. See <http://www.reuther.wayne.edu/use/ohistory.html#20th>.

companion book, her oral narrative. Springer's inspirational voice provides a personal view of the connections among labor, civil rights, and international relations.

The history profession has shifted toward acceptance of oral history as a legitimate tool of historical analysis. Sherna Berger Gluck attributes this change to the work of past presidents of the Oral History Association and the increased use of oral history by graduate students in their doctoral research. Oral historians are more critically scrutinizing life histories and are no longer viewing them as unmediated representations of experience. A whole host of factors, they now theorize, have an impact on the way a life is represented, including subjectivity, the power dynamics of the interview process, the construction of memory, the performative aspects of oral history, and gendered speech patterns.²

Proponents of oral history include feminists seeking to uncover the role of women in histories dominated by the experiences of prominent white men. They argue that oral histories of nonelite people who did not have the benefit of institutional resources to document their experiences are essential to the recovery of marginalized voices and may lead to new interpretations of established history. In the absence of documentary sources, oral history may represent the only resource that can be used to reconstruct the experiences of these groups.³ Although Springer's story comes out of the ranks of marginalized groups whose experiences change our conception of history, her story is not bereft of corroborating documentary evidence. Springer's story, therefore, is less vulnerable to traditional academia's criticism that oral history does not represent objective history.

In response to the objectivity argument, oral historians and feminist scholars have rejoined that objective history is itself an illusory concept; all history is mediated. Historians and the authors of documents that historians study are not free from the social, cultural, economic, and political constructs that shape their experiences, perceptions, and interpretations. Alice Hoffman notes that "Archives are replete with self-serving documents, with edited and doctored diaries and memoranda written 'for the record.'"⁴ Springer, too, has reflected on this issue: "Very few people in the world are [objective]. They are objective to what suits their purposes."

Oral history proponents have recognized that the fallibility and malleability of memory raise concerns about representations of past events. The narrators' present-

2. Sherna Berger Gluck, "Reflections on Oral History in the New Millennium: Roundtable Comments," *Oral History Review* 26 (Summer-Fall 1999): 6.

3. Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini, and Paul Thompson, eds., *International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories*, vol. 4, *Gender and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4.

4. Alice Hoffman, "Reliability and Validity in Oral History," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 2nd ed., ed. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, 87-93 (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 92.

day political, cultural, and economic contexts are reflected in how they remember the past. Over time memory undergoes new constructions as people forget, omit, add, distort, reorganize, and combine details from the past to fit their present-day orientation. Nevertheless, oral historians see value in subjective remembrances. How people remember, what they remember, and how consciousness changes over time are important points of inquiry for understanding social forces.⁵

In place of objectivity, oral historians have adopted “intersubjectivity,” a term scientist Marcia Westkott has used to describe her relationship to those she has researched. Intersubjectivity defines a process in which the interviewer compares her own experiences with her research and then shares her ideas and perceptions about the project with the narrator. The narrator may then offer suggestions that might lead to a new conceptual vision of how to proceed with the research. Thus, oral history is recognized as a collaborative project involving two subjectivities, that of the narrator and the interviewer. Alessandro Portelli notes that the interviewer and narrator come to the oral history process with their own agendas, which then undergo constant renegotiation.⁶

Maida Springer and I engaged in an interview process that represented an evolutionary endeavor. The quality of the interviews improved as I learned from my mistakes during reviews of the taped sessions. I recognized the need to ask open-ended questions, follow her leads on issues of importance to her, allow her to speak to issues and events that she associated together, and question my preconceptions. The anthropologist Lawrence Watson has remarked that although interpreters can never completely disassociate themselves from the mental constructs that sift information for them, they can attempt to suspend prejudices in order to be prepared to hear a new story.⁷ While my research gave me a familiarity with the people and events that touched Springer’s life, I often found that her evaluations and stories of personal encounters and interactions imparted a new perspective to my view of historical events.

To decrease the potential of misrepresenting or ignoring Springer’s narrative constructions and to give her the opportunity to expand upon the topics of the interview, I involved her in every phase of the project. I often gave her the questions

5. See Katherine Borland, “That’s Not What I Said”: Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narrative Research,” in *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 64; David Thelen, ed., *Memory and American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), viii–x.

6. Sondra Hale, “Feminist Method, Process, and Self-Criticism: Interviewing Sudanese Women,” in Gluck and Patai, *Women’s Words*, 125; Alessandro Portelli, “Oral History as Genre,” in *Narrative and Genre*, ed. Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (New York: Routledge, 1998), 23, 29.

7. Lawrence C. Watson, “Understanding Life History as a Subjective Document: Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives,” *Ethos* 4 (Spring 1976): 98–101, 118.

beforehand and shared with her the transcripts of our conversations. Discussing some of the topics before taping them allowed time for her to reflect on the meaning of her experiences and raise other issues that concerned her. In order to avoid interrupting the narrative flow, I learned to resist the urge to ask questions of clarification. Instead, I wrote notes on questions that her narration elicited and pursued them after she finished her thoughts. If in response to my question Springer recalled other experiences or demonstrated that she misconstrued my question, I again tried to resist the impulse to redirect. My aim in following this procedure was to hear another story that might participate in shaping a new historical context.

The dialogic process in oral history interviewing does not necessarily negate the presence of an unequal relationship of power and privilege between the interviewer and narrator. In relation to this question of power imbalance, Michael Frisch has asked how issues of race, sex, class, ethnicity, voice, and dress may produce distortions in the interview process. He has noted that the oral history approach raises “important issues of culture, communication, and politics—not only in the material they engage, but in the very processes of engagement.”⁸ The relationship that Springer and I forged based on cultural experiences emanating from our shared race, gender, and class positions served as mitigating factors in the power dynamics of the interview process. Springer later informed me that her decision to collaborate with me was based on her assessment that my experiences as a black woman imparted to me an underlying basis with which to interpret the history that the interviews would unfold. As Sherma Gluck notes, “the subtle cues to which culturally similar women can respond” not only build trust but “might mean the difference between a good and bad interview.”⁹

Fortuitously, the University of Pittsburgh recruited me for a teaching position. My subsequent move closer to Springer enabled us to forge a stronger relationship as I began the process of revising my dissertation for publication. During that period she attended my wedding, became an “aunt” to my child, and introduced me to friends and associates both in the United States and Africa. Sharing our family histories also helped to build trust and friendship. Springer admired my parents who married as teenagers without high school degrees and rose from a position of poverty and segregation in the South to lead successful lives. My father received his doctorate in mathematics as the last of their five children was born, and my mother earned her college degree as a grandmother of eight.

8. Michael Frisch, “Dialogue I,” in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, ed. Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 64–65, 68; quote in Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York, 1990), xvi.

9. Gluck, “What’s So Special about Women? Women’s Oral History,” in Dunaway and Baum, *Oral History*, 221.

My higher level of formal education did not automatically confer upon me greater power over the shaping of the story. A determined will and a sophisticated awareness of human behavior and motivation buttress Springer's compassionate nature. While she evinced respect for me as a scholar interested in working-class history, she often served as my teacher, educating me about facets of global and national movements that were not part of documented history. Springer's greater age and more complex life experiences and challenges she had faced easily overcame our imbalance in levels of education.

My power in helping to create this version of Springer's life stemmed from decisions I made concerning lines of inquiry, editing, presentation, and interpretation. My decisions on editing were made in consideration of the divergent views of oral historians concerning how to present an oral history narrative.¹⁰ I have removed many of the false starts because I judged that they did not add anything of consequence to the narrative. At times I have indicated the tone of Springer's voice, particularly to indicate soft or whimsical moods. I have italicized words that she stridently pronounces and occasionally comment on her body language. I often have indicated when she is laughing when I think it is necessary to show the mood in which she gave statements. Her laughter does not always indicate amusement; sometimes it indicates irony, incredulity, and derision, particularly when she speaks of experiences with racism. For example, she laughs on occasion while telling the story of a shop chairman who spat on her office floor after seeing that his new educational director was black. Springer also laughs in derisive bemusement at those who had wrong assumptions about her or who underestimated her ability and intelligence. Laughter is also a signature of her modesty whenever she tells stories that reflect on her high stature. Such nonverbal cues enhance the performative aspects of the narrative.

The process of refashioning the transcripts into the finished interviews made apparent Carl Wilmsen's statement that the finished product represents a "jointly produced set of meanings."¹¹ Springer and I discussed the parts of the transcripts that concerned her. Sometimes her motivation for wanting to make a change was to give tribute to the work of someone she had inadvertently left out. Other times

10. Rhonda Y. Williams, "I'm a Keeper of Information': History-Telling and Voice," *Oral History Review* 28 (Winter-Spring 2001): 41-63; Debra J. Blake, "Reading Dynamics of Power through Mexican-Origin Women's Oral Histories," *Frontiers* 19 (September-December 1998): 24-41; Carl Wilmsen, "For the Record: Editing and the Production of Meaning in Oral History," *Oral History Review* 28 (Winter-Spring 2001): 65-85; Kathryn L. Nasstrom, *Everybody's Grandmother and Nobody's Fool: Frances Freeborn Pauley and the Struggle for Social Justice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 195-204.

11. Wilmsen, "For the Record," 66.

she was concerned that her language might leave the impression that Africans she knew who were struggling economically were desperate and without dignity. I negotiated these changes with her, trying to be sensitive to her feelings. On those occasions when I spoke against a change, remarking that the meaning that she had conveyed would lose its striking appeal, she relented, saying that she would trust my judgment.

In preparing the document for publication I was guided by my research, preliminary discussions with Springer, and a desire to present her story in a roughly chronological order except when it would have harmed her construction of a story. To improve the narrative flow, I removed many of my questions concerned with clarification or identification of subjects or events and combined separate versions of stories when new information was given. I have occasionally rearranged sentences, edited out words, or added a sentence in the place of my question, particularly to help with transition. Due to Springer's gift as a storyteller, the finished interview does not represent a radical departure from her spoken word. The questions I preserve in the text are necessary to understand narrative transitions and to clarify why Springer responds in particular ways. They also serve to reinforce the nature of the interview as a dialogic discourse, by providing some clues to the relationship between the interviewer and the narrator. The removal of most of my questions hides the fact that this oral history represents one of several possible versions of Springer's life story. A different interviewer, a different approach, and a different temporal context would have resulted in a different performance and presentation.¹²

Although I conducted some of these interviews as late as 2003, the political present out of which the bulk of these interviews were conducted was the early 1990s. Many of the momentous world changes that were happening largely as a result of the cold war's demise are reflected in Springer's construction of memory and the questions I asked. In 1990 the Berlin Wall had fallen and Eastern European governments were being overturned. Just before the break-up of the Soviet Union, President Mikhail Gorbachev was pursuing his reform movement *perestroika* (economic restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). The long struggle against the vicious system of apartheid in South Africa was bearing fruit with Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Namibia finally won independence from South Africa. And the Persian Gulf War was beginning to unfold. With the cold war ending, popular movements in Africa were rising against the one-party states and military dictatorships in favor of multiparty democracy and trade union independence from government.

12. Emily Honig, "Getting to the Source: Striking Lives: Oral History and the Politics of Memory," *Journal of Women's History* 9 (Spring 1997): 140.

The changes brought about as a result of the cold war meant that corrupt dictatorships that had been on the side of the West no longer could count automatically on Western support.

Overtone of the domestic racial politics also resonate in the interviews. Springer's comments reflect a sense of the clock being turned back on racial progress in the wake of the Reagan-Bush presidential administrations. The interviews took place when George H. W. Bush, in nominating Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, made the dubious assertion that he was the most qualified person for the position. The charges that Thomas sexually harassed Anita Hill and others while heading the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the 1980s under both Reagan and Bush had not yet emerged. Springer's views were aligned with those of the majority of black leaders who asserted that the nomination of Thomas was a cynical ploy to establish a beneficiary of the civil rights movement to a position where he could rule against the very policies that had contributed to his rise. Also in the news was the debate over racial nomenclature. Jesse Jackson was leading the call for black Americans to adopt the designation "African American." Having experienced a number of such debates in her lifetime, Springer saw them as a distraction from more pertinent issues affecting the lives of blacks, such as unequal opportunity and income inequality.

Access to archival material was a tremendous boost to my work as interviewer. In addition to the documents in Springer's possession, I researched her papers at both Tulane University's Amistad Center and Radcliffe University's Schlesinger Library. I also researched documents about her work in the Jay Lovestone Papers at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, in the ILGWU Archives at Cornell University's Kheel Center, and in the AFL-CIO papers at the George Meany Memorial Archives. The letters, reports, memorandums, diaries, speeches, newspapers, photographs, labor publications, and pamphlets documenting Springer's activism demonstrate that she had played a fundamental role in building relationships between the AFL-CIO and African labor.

The documentation served as a source for formulating questions and prodding her to talk about events she would rather leave out, as an aid in learning the context of her activism, and as a tool to trigger recall and establish the chronology of events. For example, after I showed Springer a photograph of Julius Nyerere addressing a mass rally of thousands that she had attended in Tanganyika in 1957, she was mentally transported back to that time, remembering how she felt and the spirit of hope and excitement that was palpable in the crowd. Generally, I found a high correlation between the documented evidence and Springer's interpretation and memory of past events. Her voluminous letter writing over the years helped to commit experiences to memory and thus made them stable.

Occasionally, the review of documentation did not help Springer recall the event. Her “lost” memories fall into the category of “episodic memory,” a term coined by Endel Tulving to distinguish from “semantic memory.” Semantic memory involves retention of factual or conceptual knowledge about the world, whereas episodic memories involve the ability to remember and reexperience personal memories in a highly subjective manner.¹³ For example, Springer did not remember a play called *New Phase* that she had mentioned in a 1957 letter to Nyerere. She had written that the play, which was free and had capacity audiences, was disparaging toward Africans. Springer remarked, laughing, “Some of the things that you were exercised about and that you went to see and you supported, and you marched and you protested I don’t remember . . . because I was always marching and I was always protesting and I was always writing letters.”

Not only was Springer quick to point out when she thought her memory was fallible, but she also was careful to distinguish between what was told to her and what she witnessed. Occasionally, however, I found areas in which she exercised intended forgetfulness. For example, in the documentation concerning her African activism, I twice came across material in which she stated that white officials in colonial governments secretly came to the aid of her or Africans. In order to protect their identity, she did not write down their names at the time. Although she has not forgotten their deeds and speaks of them, she remarks that she has perhaps intentionally forgotten their names. Even if she did remember, she believes that they should have control over whether they want it to be known that they acted against the interests of the British Empire.

The recollections of her immigration experience to the United States demonstrate the important role of rehearsal to the retention of memory and the value of corroborative evidence to substantiate memory. Springer remembers with no hesitation the name of the ship she traveled on from Panama because her mother with pride constantly reminded her that they were able to pay for a full passage on the S.S. *Alianza*. Having the name of the ship helped me to obtain the ship’s manifest, from which I was able to glean other information about her family members and their voyage.

Many of the humorous stories about Springer’s grandmother belong to a repertoire of family stories that are well rehearsed and were passed on to her by her mother as a form of entertainment. Like the family stories of Kathryn Morgan in her book *Children of Strangers*, they also carry lessons about how strength and ability can overcome adversity. The immediate recall of these stories and Springer’s

13. Donald A. Ritchie, “Foreword,” viii; Kim Lacy Rogers, “Comment,” 85–86; and Alice M. Hoffman and Howard S. Hoffman, “Reliability and Validity in Oral History: The Case for Memory,” 120; all in Jeffrey and Edwall, *Memory and History*.