Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes

The term "Pan-Africanism" has been bandied about in recent years with disturbing inaccuracy. A striking example of this occurs in the highly publicized Twentieth Century Fund's Tropical Africa (New York, 1960, II, p. 280) which in a most inadequate section on African nationalism says, "In Garveyism the alloy of pan-Africanism was smelted into the ore of Ethiopianism." It would be difficult to find more misunderstandings of the nomenclature and processes of African politics in so few words. If misleading assertions of this sort can appear in such an elaborate and expensive study in 1960, the time has surely arrived when historians should come to the aid of synoptic students of Africa, the "pan-Africanism" of whose academic approach has become so individual that it distorts out of all recognition the Pan-African movement and the pan-African movements.

It may be found helpful, both in tracing the origins of "pan-Africanism" and in employing the term accurately in studies of contemporary African politics, to use, on some occasions, a capital "P" and, on others, a small one. If a collective term is required, "all-African" is useful.

"Pan-Africanism" with a capital letter is a clearly recognizable movement: the five Pan-African Congresses (1919, Paris; 1921, London; 1923, London and Lisbon; 1927, New York; 1945, Manchester), in all of which the American Negro scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, played a major part; it is linked with the publication of George Padmore's Pan-Africanism or Communism? (London, 1956) and with the first All-Africa People's Conference at Accra in December 1958. It is for this movement that Dr. Nkrumah claims Ghana has a special destiny.

On the other hand, "pan-Africanism" with a small letter is not a clearly recognizable movement, with a single nucleus such as the nonagenarian DuBois. (Students of the role of "chance" in history should find it interesting to speculate on what Pan-Africanism would have become without DuBois's longevity.) It is rather a group of movements, many very ephemeral. The cultural element often predominates. The complicated history of nègritude is a good example of this. Briefly, pan-Africanism with a small letter may be used for all those all-African movements and trends which have no organic relationship with the capital "P" variety.
Faced with such a dichotomy — which is, clearly, not absolute and in which there are obvious interacting elements — one is justified in asking where Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) fit into this schema. Early writers on Pan-Africanism often spoke of Garvey as if he were the leader of this movement. Ch. du Bus de Warnaffe, for example, writing of “Le mouvement pan-nègre aux Etats-Unis et ailleurs” in Congo (Brussels) for May, 1922, devoted almost the whole of his article to the Garvey movement. In the 1920’s also, R. L. Buell spoke of Garvey as the leader of the Pan-African movement. At that time, such an approach was understandable. In 1920 the U.N.I.A. convention in New York issued its great “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” and Garvey stood out as the leader of a mass movement, whereas the more remote and intellectual DuBois had a restricted following.

Yet the leit-motiv of American Negro political history at this time was the bitter personal feud between the two men. It is the very bitterness of this rivalry which makes it difficult to fit Garvey and his followers into the Pan-African movement with a capital letter, as defined above. His overt racialism would suggest that he belongs to cultural pan-Africanism. And, of course, as a movement the U.N.I.A. was in decline after 1927 when its leader was expelled from the United States. Furthermore, Garvey had none of DuBois’s longevity, dying at the age of fifty-three in 1940.

If one adopts the classification suggested above, Garveyism should be excluded from Pan-Africanism with the capital letter in the days when DuBois was in direct control of this movement. When this ceased and leadership passed into African hands between 1945 and the founding of the State of Ghana, Garveyism comes into Pan-Africanism with a capital “P.”

This Pan-African rehabilitation of Garvey probably dates from the Manchester Congress of 1945 at which, if DuBois was nominally in control, effective leadership was in the hands of a predominantly African group, of which Padmore and Nkrumah were joint political secretaries and Jomo Kenyatta was assistant secretary. An article by Garvey’s second wife appeared in the May, 1947, issue of Pan-Africa which had sprung out of the Manchester Congress. After that, the road was open for a full-scale rehabilitation of Garvey by the heirs of DuBois. The measure of the change can be seen by referring to Padmore’s assertion in 1931 that “The struggle against Garveyism represents one of the major tasks of Negro toilers in America and the African and West Indian colonies” and the statement in his 1956 book that “Despite his obvious limitations as a diplomatist and statesman, Marcus Garvey was undoubtedly one of the greatest Negroes since Emancipation, a visionary

1 International Relations (New York, 1929), p. 85.
who inspired his race in its upward struggle from the degradation of centuries of slavery."³ Additional tribute was paid the following year when Kwame Nkrumah’s autobiography ⁴ was published in which he stated that the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey influenced him more than anything else during his stay in the United States. And when the State of Ghana was established it superimposed on its new national flag a black star, recalling Garvey’s Black Star Line, after which, eventually, the Ghanaian shipping company was to be called. The seal was set on this process of rehabilitating Garvey when a preparatory paper for the 1958 All-Africa People’s Conference at Accra coupled him with DuBois as an outstanding contributor to the spread of the idea of Pan-Africanism and, as if noting that a major shift in ideology was taking place, asserted that “Though Garvey never used the word PAN-AFRICA, he planned and laboured to establish a PAN-AFRICAN nation.”⁵

In sum, it may be said that when the Pan-African movement was in predominantly American Negro hands, Garveyism was an embarrassment to it; but when Africans took over the leadership, it became almost an essential element. Of course, there are limitations to this rehabilitation. The Back-to-Africa movement which had been an integral part of Garveyism was allowed to lapse, although a close tie has been maintained in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa with Negroes from the United States and the West Indies, particularly the professional elements, the “talented tenth” in DuBois’s words. And, of course, any form of socialism was anathema to Garvey, whereas today it is an essential part of the Padmore-Nkrumah nucleus of Pan-Africanism.

The implications of this analysis of Garveyism are that before the late 1940’s, when Garvey had been dead for nearly a decade and a respectable interval had elapsed for some of the scars of his old feud with DuBois to heal, it is best classified under pan-Africanism with a small letter and that after this it becomes part of Pan-Africanism.

Whatever schema one adopts, this kind of analysis should suggest that the evolution of all-African ideology is more complicated than is commonly imagined. The historian must be prepared to trace it far beyond even the so-called Negro question in the United States and the West Indies, which form the starting-point for the only two synoptic studies which have yet been published: Padmore’s 1956 work and Philippe Dacraene’s Le Panafricanisme (Paris, 1959).

A series of historical investigations into the emergence of the concept of “Africa” are necessary.⁶ Tentatively, it might be suggested that in pre- and early European times, this was largely the invention of for-

---

³Pan-Africanism or Communism?, p. 104.
⁴P. 45.
eigners to Africa. The concept of continental unity which matters for all-Africanism, in either of the schematic forms suggested above, seems to have been the creation of New World Negroes — if not “foreigners” to Africa, certainly “outsiders.” To demarcate the stages by which the indigenous inhabitants of Africa adopted this presumably alien concept and made it their own is a formidable task; and historical research into this problem appears only just to be beginning.

Nevertheless, for both “Pan-Africanism” and “pan-Africanism,” the matrix would seem to be the emergence of the concept of Africa.

In the development of this matrix and its subsequent growth, there are at least five essential elements:

1. The slave trade from Africa to the New World and the development of Negro slavery there.

2. The various Back-to-Africa movements which came out of this. Particularly important here are their territorial consequences: the founding of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

3. European settlement in Africa, both before and after the Scramble.

4. Non-African political influences such as (a) the growth of nationalism in Europe, particularly in the nineteenth century; (b) nationalist developments in the European colonies, especially India and Ireland; (c) the federal idea, especially in the United States of America.

5. Various late nineteenth and early twentieth century organizational influences.

(Running across these five essential elements in the basic pattern there are, of course, other lines of force. Particularly worth noting are (i) the influence of the First World War on Africa — which has been unduly overshadowed by (ii) the influence of the Second World War; (iii) the appearance of multi-national states often out of European colonialism, especially the USSR, Indonesia and China; and (iv) the pan-African elements in Egyptian imperialism in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.)

To appreciate in their full complexity the emergence of the first four DuBois-inspired Pan-African congresses (1919-27) and the militant period of the U.N.I.A. from Garvey’s arrival in America to the issuing of the Declaration of Negro Rights (1915-20) — the launching-pad of modern Pan-Africanism — it is necessary to look further at these five elements.

1. and 2. It is convenient to discuss these together. The heritage of slavery is, of course, by now a perennial all-African element. It has a function similar to the “melting-pot” myth in the growth of United States national sentiment. In the spread and conceptualization of all-African ideas from this heritage, a special role has been played by New
World Negroes, particularly West Indians, of whom Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey and George Padmore are the notable names.7

Out of this heritage came the slogan, "Africa for the Africans." Its origins are worth detailed historical investigation. It certainly had much earlier beginnings than the Garvey movement which gave it such prominence in the 1920's and was largely responsible for directing it into the channels of the modern all-Africa movements. An early example of a form of the slogan occurs in 1861 in the report by the American Negro traveller to the lower Niger, Martin R. Delany: "Africa for the African race and black men to rule them." 8 It appears in an 1863 dispatch from the Governor of Lagos about the Oba: "Dosunmu's advisors are that class of Sierra Leone people whose motto is 'Africa for the Africans.'" 9 This suggests Sierra Leone origins for the slogan. It may have been picked up here by Edward Blyden who, in his writings and speeches in Africa, America and England, did so much to popularize it. That the slogan seems to have come out of the Back-to-Africa forces is suggested by its use as the title for a pamphlet of the American Colonization Society by the Reverend Otis T. Tiffany, published in Washington, D. C. in 1884. In this milieu the slogan was adopted by the radical British missionary, Joseph Booth,10 whose egalitarian activities had a marked influence on the politically conscious independent African churches in South and Central Africa from the 1890's to the first decade of the twentieth century. It became the title for his short book, _Africa for the African_, which was printed by an American Negro press in 1897. The slogan passed into the militant African movements of southern Africa, where it was associated with the Zulu Rebellion of 1906.11 When, therefore, the Garveyite Declaration of Negro Rights demanded in 1920 "Africa for the Africans," it had no need to coin a slogan. It had been in existence for over three quarters of a century — probably more. "Africa for the Africans" was as much the inheritance of the DuBois12 brand of Pan-Africanism as of Garvey's, although the DuBois movement does not seem to have used it.

Perhaps one reason why the slogan has seemed to so many writers almost the exclusive property of the U.N.I.A. is that, with Garvey's flair for publicity, his movement has often seemed the only Back-to-

---

12 DuBois was, of course, very familiar with the slogan. He knew Blyden and his writings well. Furthermore, he had met Joseph Booth and discussed Negro revolt with him; personal correspondence and conversation with Dr. DuBois; see also Shepperson and Price, _op. cit._, p. 194. The date suggested here for a DuBois-Booth meeting was 1912. But the two had been in touch in 1907: see Elliot M. Rudwick, _W. E. B. DuBois_ (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 338, reference 5. This date seems to be supported by implication in Francis L. Broderick, _W. E. B. DuBois_ (Stanford, 1959), pp. 91-92; footnote: the African Development Company listed here was not, as Dr. Broderick mistakenly supposes, DuBois's "private venture in imperialism" but is a typical Joseph Booth venture.
Africa movement worth discussing. Padmore, indeed, in his 1956 work, by stressing the importance of the founding of Sierra Leone and Liberia in the Pan-African heritage, put Garvey and his Black Star Line in a more appropriate perspective. But the Back-to-Africa dream was much more widespread and complicated than Padmore indicated, and it supplies a field for historical research which will have to be cultivated more extensively than it has been to date if the ramifications of all-African ideologies are ever to be appreciated fully.

3. Emphasis on West Africa as the distributing point for all-African ideologies and organizations is largely correct. Nevertheless, another external agency, comparable in function to the outside forces of American and West Indian Negroes in the growth of these, is European settlement in Africa. The three centuries of white settlement in South Africa before the Scramble indicate the reason why “Nkosi sikel’ i Afrika” came to be something more than a Bantu national anthem. If it was not written before the “Universal Ethiopian Anthem” which the 1920 Garveyite Declaration of Negro Rights prescribed, it comes out of roughly the same period and is still a living force in many parts of Africa, whereas the U.N.I.A. song is almost completely forgotten.

It was in South Africa that a rival to “Pan-Africa” in the nomenclature of all-African movements developed. This is “Ethiopianism,” a word which has been as misapplied as Pan-Africanism itself. Taking its starting-point not from any Abyssinian associations but from the King James Version of the Bible in which Africa and black men invariably appear as “Ethiopian,” the term was applied originally to the secessionist and independent native churches in South Africa in the 1880’s. These churches often became vehicles for African political sentiments denied expression through secular channels. Consequently, by the 1900’s, Ethiopianism had become for the whites of southern Africa a “Black Peril,” the equivalent of the “Yellow Peril” of the yellow press in Great Britain of that period. This fear was particularly marked at the time of the Zulu Rebellion of 1906 which was dubbed “Ethiopian” by most Europeans. A striking expression of the Ethiopian scare was given by a man who, at the time of the Zulu Rebellion, had been an officer in Barotseland, and who, in the following year, reported a non-existent African rising in Northern Rhodesia. He was George Heaton Nicholls, subsequently a South African senator and high commissioner in London. Nicholls’ affection for Ethiopianist fantasies was not quenched when his report of 1907 was discovered to be an exaggeration. About 1913 he wrote a novel, Bayete, (published in London in 1923) which sums up, in crude form, all the Ethiopianist fantasies of many South and Central African whites in his day: a pan-African conspiracy, stirred up by for-

---

8 A convenient place to find the Declaration and the words of this abortive anthem is Raymond L. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa (New York, 1928), II, 969-70.
een Negroes, who were providing hitherto uncorrupted South African 
natives with seditious schooling in the United States.14

Although it is mainly of relevance to South African and, to a lesser 
extent, Central African conditions at a specific time, attempts were made 
to widen the scope of Ethiopianism. It fitted naturally into the Back-to-
Africa vocabulary of American Negroes who had been reared on the 
King James Version of the Bible. For example, an American Negro 
precursor of Garvey's Black Star Line was entitled the Ethiopian Steam 
Ship Company.15 Yet the term had obvious limitations for all-African 
movements, especially when the Italian-Abyssinian struggle in the 
1930's gave it perforce a much narrower significance. But Ethiopianism 
ever has ceased to be employed in its pan-African sense, as Kenyatta's 
use of it in his Facing Mount Kenya of 1938 16 and the mystical treat-
ment of the term in the Twentieth Century Fund's Tropical Africa in 
1960 indicate. With Bengt Sundkler's attempt in his Bantu Prophets of 
1945 to apply it to only one type of African separatist church, Ethiopian-
ism remains to confuse the terminology of contemporary all-African 
movements.

If white South African fears of Ethiopianism were not dead by the 
1920's, they were beginning to be expressed in different forms. This 
was probably due to the formation in 1919 of the Industrial and Com-
mercial Workers Union of Africa by Clements Kadalie, Nyasa migrant. 
As Edward Roux has pointed out, it was for some years "the chief po-
litical party of the Bantu;" 17 and the I.C.U. became the focus for many 
European fears about "Black Peril," which had formerly been projected 
on Ethiopianism. It is worth noting that Padmore published an ac-
count of Kadalie in his 1956 Pan-Africanism. He did not, however, give 
any clear reason for this, other than the obvious importance of the I.C.U. 
and its leader for modern South African political history. It is, there-
fore, necessary to point out that Kadalie's movement has a place in 
the growth of pan-Africanism. The full title of his union has all-African 
implications. His paper, The Workers Herald, was headed by a globe of 
the world with Africa at the center, on which was printed the rallying-
cry "Vuka Afrika"; and it often carried articles with pan-African ele-
ments in them.18

14 There is the making of a school of South African writing on this theme: John Buchan's Prester 
John; Laurens Van Der Post's Flamingo Feather; Sarah Millin's The Coming of the Lord. The 
most important treatment of the Ethiopian scare by a South African novelist is Jack Cope's 
The Fair House; such passages as the following in which the author shows all-African sendi-
ments emerging among some of the adherents of the Bamhata Rebellion of 1906 are based on 
fact, not fantasy: "'No [a Zulu is speaking] men say the Black House is too big to pull down. 
They say Africa will come back to us.' 'Africa?' Tom [a European] said, astonished. Hearing it 
for the first time from a black man seemed fantastic. People who thought in terms of a day's 
journey by foot and who knew every man and child and every ox and cow by name in the 
circle where they lived were picking up the dream of a mighty black continent." (p. 156 of 
15 The "Chief Sam" movement: Sierra Leone Weekly News, January 23, 1915, p. 6, col. 3.
16 There is the making of a school of South African writing on this theme: John Buchan's Prester 
John; Laurens Van Der Post's Flamingo Feather; Sarah Millin's The Coming of the Lord. The 
most important treatment of the Ethiopian scare by a South African novelist is Jack Cope's 
The Fair House; such passages as the following in which the author shows all-African sendi-
ments emerging among some of the adherents of the Bamhata Rebellion of 1906 are based on 
fact, not fantasy: "'No [a Zulu is speaking] men say the Black House is too big to pull down. 
They say Africa will come back to us.' 'Africa?' Tom [a European] said, astonished. Hearing it 
for the first time from a black man seemed fantastic. People who thought in terms of a day's 
journey by foot and who knew every man and child and every ox and cow by name in the 
circle where they lived were picking up the dream of a mighty black continent." (p. 156 of 
(Spring, 1953), 9-18.
19 E.g., Clements Kadalie, "The Romance of African Labour," Workers Herald (Johannesburg), 
September 14, 1926.
The force of European settlement in southern Africa in stimulating all-African sentiments is noticeable, too, in the pioneering but premature Pan-African Conference which was held in Westminster Town Hall, London, from the 23rd to the 25th of July, 1900. The Conference sent a special Memorial "setting forth the... acts of injustice directed against Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa" to the Queen.

4. Among non-African political influences which deserve special mention in the evolution of all-African ideologies and organizations is what has been called "pan-nationalism" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Buell's classification of these movements was as follows: Aryan, Teutonic and Nordic supremacy; Pan-Germanism; Pan-Slavism; the Norden movement; the Pan-Angle movement; Pan-Latinism and Pan-Hispanism; the Pan-Islamic movement; the Pan-Turanian movement; the Pan-Arab movement; and the Pan-Asiatic movement.

It was into this complex that DuBois plunged when he went to the University of Berlin in 1892 for two years' postgraduate work. Out of these European experiences, in a classical period of pan-nationalism, the father of Pan-Africanism must have contributed more than nuances to not only the 1900 Pan-African Congress but also to the formative Conferences of 1919 to 1927.

Furthermore, it must never be forgotten that DuBois and his associates in the early Pan-African movement were Americans as well as Negroes. This was important in enabling them to take a continent-wide approach to African affairs. But whether they ever brought the federal experiences of the United States to bear consciously upon their thinking on all-African problems is another matter.

5. The organizational influences on Pan-Africanism are much more complex than is usually recognized. Nine seem of particular influence in providing the pioneers of Pan-Africanism with the habit and techniques of grappling with Africa's problems through the holding of big conferences:

i) The great European conferences which were concerned with the disposal of African territories: Berlin, 1884-85; Brussels, 1890; Paris, 1919.

ii) The Chicago Conference on Africa which was held at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and at which American Negroes were represented.

iii) The Congress of Africa held at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895 under the auspices of the Stewart Foundation for Africa at the Gammon Theological Seminary, a Negro institution. The published proceedings of this Congress form one of the most valuable sources of American Negro feeling on Africa.

---

20 International Relations (New York, 1929), pp. 72-95.
iv) The Pan-African Conference in London in 1900. Although this is mentioned by Padmore and Decraene, its significance for the emergence of the major formative conferences of modern Pan-Africanism (1919-27) has still to be determined. If its original secretary was a West Indian, H. Sylvester Williams, DuBois was Chairman of its Committee of Address to the Nations of the World. Although the permanent organization which it set up was allowed to fall into disuse — probably because of the introverting influence of the bitter struggle for civil rights in the United States at this time — the pan-African sentiment which it engendered was not lost.

v) This was clear from the Pan-African Conference which was planned for 1906 by T. Thomas Fortune, Negro editor of the New York Age, and Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Attention has been drawn to this projected conference in a valuable recent study of early Pan-Africanism, in which it is stated that "Fortune claimed his ideas were stolen by [H. Sylvester] Williams and ridiculed the earlier [1900] conclave." Whatever the truth of this claim, it underlines again the complexities of origin of the early Pan-African movement and shows that all-African sentiments were more widespread among American Negroes than is usually acknowledged. It is worth noting here that Fortune has often been considered by left-wing American Negroes a "Booker T." Thus, it comes as something of a surprise to find him associated with early Pan-Africanism, although it should be recalled that he contributed a paper to the 1895 Conference on Africa at Atlanta.

vi) The Universal Races Conference which was held at London University, July 26-29, 1911. DuBois was one of the secretaries of the United States section and provided a long paper. (The publicity which accrued to him from this ensured a welcome for him when he went for a short vacation to Jamaica in 1915. Garvey and the U.N.I.A., which had not yet transferred themselves to America, joined in the welcome for DuBois. This DuBois-Garvey entente suggests that there was nothing necessarily inevitable about the feud which developed later between them to the detriment of the Pan-African movement.

vii) Booker T. Washington's Conference on Africa at Tuskegee in 1912, which has sometimes been called a Pan-African conference. It was,
Certainly, in the range of its African interests and representatives pan-African.

viii) A whole range of American Negro organizations from the 1890's onwards. It should be noted that the 1919 Paris Pan-African Conference was supported officially by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

ix) White sympathizers and organizations. In the nineteenth century, Joseph Booth comes to mind immediately. In the early twentieth century, one thinks of the English reformer, Catherine B. Impey, who supported Ida B. Wells, the colored woman from Chicago who came to Europe to secure support for the anti-lynching movement in the United States. Miss Impey was present at the 1900 Pan-African Conference in London. And what of Madame Calman-Levy, "widow of the Paris publisher," whom DuBois called his greatest helper at the 1919 Conference? The list expands with the growth of Pan-Africanism later in the century.

Out of this complex background came Pan-Africanism; in this milieu, too, much of pan-Africanism with a small "p" was engendered.

If American Negro influence has been felt most in Pan-Africanism with a capital letter, it has not been negligible in that brand for which a small "p" may be employed. The influence of the colored American journalist, John Edward Bruce, on many all-African conscious Africans, such as Majola Agbebi, Ekiti pioneer of independent churches in Nigeria, demonstrates this. The effect of the ideas of the American Negro poet and critic, Alain Locke, on Jean Prince-Mars and, later, Léopold Senghor in the evolution of négritude is further evidence. Similarly, the championing of the cause of René Maran by the colored American scholar, Mercer Cook, provides another relationship which should be investigated here. It shows, moreover, that such influences were not altogether one-sided: Maran's novel, Batoula, which appeared in an American translation in 1922, had some influence on the so-called Harlem Renaissance of this period.

The emergence of Pan-Africanism and not a little of pan-Africanism has been through English-speaking agencies. Yet non-English-speaking groups have played a part, although the true significance of this awaits investigation. One would like to know more, for example, of the Liga Africana, the federation of indigenous Portuguese African associations, which made the arrangements for the session at Lisbon of the 1923 Pan-African Conference. Above all, the story of French-speaking African participation in Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism has yet to be told.

Blaise Diagne, Deputy from Senegal, and Gratien Candace, deputy from

---

Walters, op. cit., p. 262.
Dusk of Dawn, p. 262.
Guadeloupe, played important roles in the 1919 and 1921 Pan-African Conferences. But their ultimate split with the DuBois forces was to be seen in their references to themselves as "we Frenchmen," whereas the English-speaking delegation called themselves "we Negroes." By 1921, the difference between the two groups was revealed when DuBois felt that he had to stand out against the flood of anti-Garvey statements from Diagne and Candace and took the unusual step of saying in public that he agreed with the Jamaican's main principles. His opposition, presumably, was not to Garvey's all-African approach but to his promotional methods.

If French-speaking African participation in the Pan-African movement seems to have been negligible from 1921 until after the 1945 Manchester Congress, the emergence of négritude in the 1930's indicated that they were making a distinct contribution to cultural pan-Africanism. A moving spirit in this movement was from the West Indies. Aimé Césaire of Martinique. Perhaps this persistence of the West Indian element was a reason for Léopold Senghor's interesting approach to pan-Africanism at the Couton Congress of July, 1958: "Quand nous disons 'Afrique Noire,' nous n'oublions ni les Antilles, ni les îles du Pacifique, encore moins Madagascar, tous territoires auxquelles nous sommes liés par notre situation de colonisés, sinon par les liens du sang." 

Mention of the persistence of the West Indian factor may be allowed to introduce some concluding observations on Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism.

1. The West Indian factor: The persistence of this in all-African movements is remarkable. Something approaching the full story of its influence on these, however, must wait for full biographical studies of Edward Blyden and George Padmore — and for the completion of the difficult task of tracing the effects of the Garvey movement in Africa.

The persistence of this factor today is to be seen in the importance which the Jamaican government now attaches to the Ras Tafari movement, which is clearly in the traditions of Ethiopianism and Garveyism and must be considered as a pan-African element.

2. The American Negro factor: If Pan-Africanism has now passed out of the control of American Negroes, their interest in Africa today is probably greater than it has ever been. The rise of the new independent states of Africa is giving new pride to groups among American Negroes such as the American Society for the Study of African Culture. On the other hand, together with the relatively slow rate of progress in the achievement of full civil rights in the United States by colored men, it has stimulated overtly racist racial movements, such as Elijah

---

36 Rudwick, op. cit., p. 224.
37 Ibid., pp. 226–27.
38 De Craene, op. cit., pp. 53–58.
Muhammed's following, which is, by all accounts, larger than Garvey's and a potentially greater threat to law and order than the U.N.I.A.

3. The South, Central and East African factor: The emergence of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa and of the Pan-Africanist wing of African nationalism in South Africa is linked to the 1958 All-African People's Conference at Accra. But, as the brief sketch of Ethiopianism given above suggests, they spring also from local movements and traditions. The pan-Africanism of Reuben Spartas and the African Greek Orthodox Church in Uganda and of some elements in the Kikuyu independent churches from the 1920's owed something to the African Orthodox Church of the early Garvey movement, a church "of the Africans, governed by the Africans and for the Africans." Its influences reached them through a native-born South African Bishop of this Church, Daniel William Alexander.

4. Non-West African factors: The persistence of West Indian, American Negro and southern African influences in the contemporary all-African movements indicates that it is dangerous to limit them largely to West Africa. Of course, the achievement of independence by many West African countries in the last few years has given them a special place in these movements. Nevertheless, the importance of non-West African factors is obvious before the 1950's. Since the Second World War, the development of apartheid, the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the racial conflicts in East Africa have been elements in the development of contemporary all-African movements which deserve equal consideration with West African influences.

5. Balkanization: How far is the fear of this in Africa which plays an important part in contemporary all-African movements, particularly those in which Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Nyerere have leading roles, of relatively recent introduction? Its first important statement for Pan-Africanism was probably the series of resolutions on "Frontiers, Boundaries and Federations" at the All-African People's Conference at Accra in 1958. A hasty check of the most readily available documents of all-African movements before this, especially before 1945, suggests that the fear of Balkanization was of little, if any, consequence to them. Certainly, DuBois's political solution for Africa until well into the 1920's, if not later, was a kind of collectively administered international trusteeship, in which colored peoples, especially American Negroes, were represented. Even the 1945 Manchester Conference seems to have given the dangers of Balkanization little consideration.
6. All-Africanism in its international context: If it is necessary to study Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism in a wider African context than the specifically West African, it is of equal importance to look at it in its full international perspective, in time as well in space. Buell gave the lead with a few pages on “pan-nationalism” in his *International Relations* in the 1920’s. Historians have been slow to follow it. When they do, we shall learn even more about the complicated origins of all-African sentiments and organizations and will have more adequate material than exists at present for putting them into their proper perspective.

---

**By ROGER W. WESCOTT**

**Awakening**

Oh, the sun laughs when I get up,
And symphonies of awakening draw me forth.
I fling the shutters wide
And burst in gold.

Now, as the green lips part,
I leap to take the kiss of all my creatures —
To move in magic on the dreaming hill,
And drink the glory of the dew-strewn field.

At last
That pool of fire which is the flowers’ life
Devours me in the fullness of my tide,
While the lithe leaves carol in the trees.

Never a word! The ample silence sings . . .
My morning world is not for other men.