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PAN-AFRICANISM AND PAN-AFRICANISTS:
BLACK INTELLECTUALS RESPOND TO RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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" The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line-- the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." -- W.E.B.DuBois ,
Address to the Nations of the World, Pan-African Conference, 1900.

" There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumption and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in the world are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what colured men make it." -- W.E.B.DuBois,
The Negro, 1915.

" and to
THE WESTERNIZED AND TRAGIC ELITE
OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE WEST INDIES---
the lonely outsiders who exist precariously
on the clifflike margins of many cultures-- men who are
distrusted, misunderstood, maligned, critized
by Left and Right, Christian and pagan--
men who carry on their frail but indefatigable shoulders
the best of two worlds-- and who,
amidst confusion and stagnation,
seek desparately for a home for their hearts:
a home which, if found
could be a home for the hearts of all men."-- Richard Wright, White Man Listen,
1957.

At the turn of the twentieth century the scramble for Africa (or rape of Africa, according to one's point of view) was over and African attempts to resist European political and economic domination were notably unsuccessful. In the West Indies, the British were firmly entrenched and appeared to be there forever. In the United States, reconstruction had long since ended and racial repression and lynching were the order of the day. Imperialism- new or old- was the avowed policy of the United States and all the major European powers. Black intellectuals and thinkers, generally the first generation with western education , made a number of responses to their situation. These ranged from the accomodationism advocated by Booker T.Washington of the United States, James Aggrey of the Gold Coast and John Tengo Jabavu of South Africa to the militant advocacy of resistance of such as W.E.B.DuBois, John Chilembwe of Nyasaland, and Henry Sylvester-Williams of the West Indies.

The advocates of resistance, regardless of location, shared an ideology which had, in general, two major features: first, an interest in and concern for the problems of black people wherever they may be stemming from the belief that the problems facing black people were international in scope and had to be addressed at that level, and second, opposition to colonialism and imperialism coupled with a desire for national independence. In the United States, national independence was analogous to full political, civil, and social equality. Pan-Africanism, its ideas,goals and institutions, were just one manifestation of this more general ideology.

This paper will attempt to delineate, through a discussion of the six Pan-African conferences held from 1900 to 1945, the interaction between black intellectuals in West Africa, the West Indies , and the United States, as they

grappled with the common problems of racism and colonialism. W.E.B.DuBois is, of course, the major figure in the earlier conferences, but this paper will attempt to emphasize the activities of such West Indians as C.L.R. James and George Padmore, and such Africans as Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe. The education received by these men in the United States during the late 1920's and 1930's, and their experiences with radical politicians and writers in both the United States and Britain prepared them to seize the opportunities provided by the depression, the rise of Hitler and the Second World War and made the their post war drive for national independence as virtually inevitable. The Fifth Pan-African Congress held in 1945 can be viewed as a culmination of personal and social forces rooted deep in the pasts of Europe, Africa, and the New World. The story of the Pan-African conferences and of the interaction, both personal and intellectual, between the black intellectuals of Africa, the West Indies, and the United States in the United States and in Britain is one that has yet to be told in detail. This paper is merely a preface or an introduction to one of the more fascinating ,and important, historical problems of our times. A clear understanding of this aspect of the past could be of inestimable value in understanding both present difficulties and future prospects in the interaction between western and non-western peoples and cultures.

Pan-Africanism, in its modern form, had its genesis in the minds of New World blacks, its adolescence in the capitals of Europe, and its young adulthood on the African continent. The problems confronting the full maturation of Pan-Africanism are many , but the idea is not dead and will be of importance in the future history of the world.

In the late 1890's Joseph Booth, an English clergyman, championed the idea " Africa for the Africans", wrote a book by that title, formed the African Christian Union, and called a conference in Natal to which one hundred and twenty educated Africans came. At the conference, held in 1896, Booth had the support of John Chilembwe, Mavuma Tembula, Solomon Kumalo, and several others, but his plan for the unification of Africans into a United Christian Nation was rejected simply because the Africans felt that no white man could be trusted, not even Joseph Booth.[1]

The first Pan-African conference was convened in London from January 23rd through the 25th,1900. The general secretary and initiator of the conference was Henry Sylvester Williams, a West Indian barrister. Williams was born in Trinidad in 1868, taught for a while in an elementary school, and later practiced law in England and South Africa. He also acted as legal adviser to several African chiefs who came to London on missions to the Colonial Office. He found time to do extensive traveling in Africa, the United States and Canada.[2]

William's purpose in calling the conference was to oppose the aggression of European colonizers , and to appeal to the British missionary and abolitionist traditions to counsel protection for the rights of Africans. Working closely with Williams was Bishop Alexander Walters of the A.M.E.Zion Church, who was elected president of the conference. Vice-president was Henry B.Brown and chairman of the Committee on Address was W.E.B.DuBois. In all thirty

blacks attended, most of whom were intellectuals from England, the West Indies and the United States.

In reply to a memorial sent by the conference to Queen Victoria protesting the treatment of Africans in South Africa and Rhodesia, Joseph Chamberlain wrote that " Her Majesty's Governmnet will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races".[3] It is perhaps needless to say that nothing further was done by " Her Majesty's Governmnet".

Rayford Logan contends that Williams did not envision independence or self-government for Africa, but that DuBois did and incorporated these aims in the conference address. In addition to DuBois' famous dictum that " the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" the address urged that the British grant self government to their African and West Indian colinies as soon as possible, that the Congo Free State become an independent black nation, and that the integrity of such free black nations as Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti be respected.[4]

The years from 1900 to 1915 saw the death of Williams, the shifting of the bulk of DuBois' attentions to U.S. domestic problems, and the concentration of Bishop Walter's energies in the activities of the Afro-American Council and the A.M.E. Zion Church. DuBois, however, did find time to formulate concepts which would serve to build a theoretical basis for the Pan-African movement which he was to dominate until the Second World War. In 1911, he attended the first Races Congress in London to deliver an address entitled " The Negro Race in the United States". This congress consisted of representatives of many of the races and sub-races in the world who were seeking cooperation, especially among social scientists, to ensure a future free of racial prejudice and conflict.

At the close of the First World War, agitation for the rights of

black people in the United States and throughout the world was growing. In December,1918, DuBois went to Paris with the twin goals of calling a Pan-African Congress and of impressing the nations at the Paris Peace Conference of the importance of Africa to world peace. Neither DuBois nor his plans for a congress were greeted by the colonial powers with any enthusiasm and the best that he got from Col.House,advisor to Woodrow Wilson, was sympathy. It was at this point that Blaise Daigne, a Senegalese deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies and the Commissaire-General for West Africa exerted his influence. Daigne was a close friend of Georges Clemenceau and had gained his indebtedness by recruiting thousands of African troops to bolster the faltering French army in 1917. Clemenceau gave Daigne permission[5] to hold the congress and it took place from February 19-21,1919.

The United States government, fearful that the lynching of black people in the United States and the treatment of black soldiers in France would be discussed, were annoyed upon hearing that the congress would meet and refused to grant passports to delegates from the United States. DuBois secretly contacted prominent Africans, West Indians and interested Americans already in Paris, and succeeded in securing fifty-seven delegates: twenty-one from the West Indies, sixteen from the United States and twelve from nine African countries. The Paris correspondent for the New York Evening Globe wrote on February 22,1919, that this was:

> the first assembly of its kind in history, and has for its object the drafting of an appeal to the Peace Conference to give the Negro race of Africa a chance to develop unhindered by other races. Seated at long green tables in the council room today, were Negroes in the trim uniform of American Army officers, other American colored men in frock coats or business suits, polished French Negroes who held public office, Senegalese who sit in the French Chamber of Deputies.[6]

Blaise Daigne was elected president, and DuBois, secretary.

This First Pan-African Congress adopted resolutions concerning the general questions of land, capital, labor, education, hygiene, and the treatment of " civilized" blacks in Africa. The Congress sent a petition to the League of Nations requesting that the former German colonies of Togoland, Cameroons, South-West Africa, and Tanganyika be placed under international supervision and to be held in trust until the inhabitants became self-governing. This idea was later reflected in the mandates system of the League. The Congress made no demands for independence.

As in 1900, the delegates were often not in touch with the masses of Africans, West Indians, and Afro-Americans whom they claimed to speak for. This situation rendered all of the DuBois led congresses politically impotent, and gave them an air of unreality. However the ideas voiced and the rapport developed between black intellectuals throughout the world were perhaps ample justification for the congresses.

The outbreak of racial violence in the United States during 1919 and 1920, commanded DuBois' major energies. Only after this tidal wave of racism had ebbed somewhat was he able to make preparations for the next congress. Working with a few internationally oriented Afro-Americans and corresponding with like-minded blacks in other parts of the world, DuBois succeeded in arranging a congress which would take place in London, Brussels and Paris in August and September,1921.

The Second Pan-African Congress opened on August 28,1921, at Central Hall in London. There were a large number of delegates, but they came chiefly as individuals with few as anything more. Of the one hundred and thirteen delegates, forty-one came from Africa, thirty-five from the United States, twenty-four from Europe, and seven from the West Indies.

The delegates endorsed a "Declaration to the World" written by DuBois and stating in part that:

> The absolute equality of races, physical, political, and social, is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior... The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather it fulfills it.... The beginning of wisdom in interracial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth.[7]

Sessions of this congress were also held in Brussels and Paris. A permanent secretariat, the Pan-African Association, met periodically in Paris from 1921 to 1924, when it dissolved.

The Second Congress also selected Dr.DuBois to head a committee to present a petition to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Dr. Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Ambassador to France and representative at the League of Nations Assembly, introduced the committee and was instrumental in getting the petition published as an official League document. In brief, the petition requested that a qualified black person be appointed to the Mandates Commission as soon as a vacancy occurs, that civilized men be recognized as such regardless of race or colour, that the League take a stand on the absolute equality of races, and that the League encourage the formation of an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem and for the development and protection of the Negro race.

In 1922, the aerial bombing of the Bondelswarts in South-West Africa, an area under the protection of South Africa, and the approval of the act by General Smuts, one of the chief architects of the Mandates system, revealed the League's lack of concern for the welfare of the indigenous African peoples.

The Third Pan-African Congress opened in London in the summer of 1923. Attendance decreased, but the Congress was assured the support of the British labor movement by such noted British socialists as Lord Oliver, Harold Laski and H.G.Wells. The resolutions adopted reiterated the concerns and aspirations of the previous congresses.

The second session of this Congress met in Lisbon and was hosted by the Liga Africana, a federation of all the indigenous associations in the five Portuguese African provinces. The concluding paragraph of the list of resolutions contained a sentence which went to the heart of the black problem throughout the world: " In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men."[8]

DuBois's plan for a congress to be held in 1925 on various islands in the Caribbean was squelched by the excessive fees set by the French steamship line for the chartering of a boat.

In 1927, the Fourth Pan-African Congress met in New York with 208 delegates from twenty-two American states and ten foreign countries. Liberia, Nigeria, Sierre Leone, and the Gold Coast were the only African states sending delegates. The majority of American delegates were representatives of various black women's organization. The resolutions echoed those of the previous congresses.

In 1929, DuBois attempted to convene a congress in Africa itself; Tunis was the chosen site. Extensive preparations were in vain as the French government refused to allow the congress to take place , and the depression effectively ended any attempts to hold it elsewhere. DuBois once again turned his full attention on the problems of Afro-Americans during the depression, and the ideas and goals of Pan-Africanism lay dormant until the Second World War.[9]

Despite the dearth of conferences after 1929, the interaction between black intellectuals continued. A look at the aerly careers of four persons- B.Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, F.Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, and C.L.R. James and George Padmore of Trinidad reveals quite clearly this interaction, and further serves as background and frame of reference for an understanding of the Fifth Pan-African Congress. The significance of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) will be mentioned only as it relates to the four persons being discussed though justice,and a more detailed study, would demand a thorough treatment of Garvey, his ideas and influence.

Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe was born in 1904, in Zungeru in Northern Nigeria. In 1920, while in secondary school at Hope Waddell Institute at Calabar and while serving as a government clerk in Lagos, Zik came into contact with three of the most important influences on his life and ambitions: William Thayer's biography of James A, Garfield, James E.K.Aggrey, and the teachings of Marcus Garvey. The Thayer book, From Log-Cabin to White House, relates the striking parallels in the lives of Lincoln and Garfield. Zik received the book as a school prize in December 1920, shortly after hearing a lecture by Aggrey in Lagos. The rags to riches theme of the Thayer volume complemented Aggrey's preaching of harmony and cooperation between blacks and whites, and of self-respect, pride, and the pursuit of lofty goals. A schoolmate's copy of The Negro World revealed to Zik Garvey's desire for a free Africa and his inspiring motto " One God, One Aim, One Destiny".[10]

In 1925, Zik enrolled at Storer College,located at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, where he remained until 1927. In 1928, after a year of working to alleviate a very precarious financial situation, he enrolled at Howard University in Washington,D.C. where he served as part-time secretary to the

noted philosopher and author, Alain Locke. Locke's guidance and the ideas expressed in The New Negro provided Zik with the impetus which manifested itself in his "New Africa" campaign years later. Zik also studied African history under that neglected pioneer of modern African studies William L. Hansberry (after independence Zik invited Hansberry to teach at the University of Nigeria and established the Hansberry Institute for African Studies), and American and English history with Ralph Bunche.

In 1929, Zik transferred from Howard to Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Lincoln, even then, was noted for the attention it paid to African students. Zik received his B.A. cum laude in 1931. In 1932, Lincoln awarded Zik an M.A. with honors in religion and philosophy. In 1933, Zik earned an M.A. in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania. Zik, quite an active young scholar, also earned a Certificate in Law from Lasalle Extension University in Chicago, a correspondence course, and in 1932, a Certificate in Journalism from Teachers College, Columbia University for his work in three summer sessions.[11]

Zik published scholarly articles in the Journal of Negro History in each of three years.[12] He also served as a correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American and the Philadelphia Tribune from 1928 to 1934. In 1934, Zik finished a major book, Liberia in World Politics. Zik also presented aspects of his research on Liberia at the annual meetings of the Association for The Study of Negro Life and History.

When Zik returned to Africa at the end of 1934 after a brief stay in London he was adequately trained and preapared to carry on the tasks of organizing a nationalist movement. Rayford Logan noted that Zik's studies at Howard and Lincoln "contributed to the crystallization of his views on Pan-Africanism".[13] In Accra, Zik edited The African Morning Post from 1935

to 1938. In 1937, he established the West African Pilot- his chief organ for nationalist agitation. After a period of writing, editing, and youth organizing, in 1943, Zik combined his now substantial following with that of Herbert Macaulay to form the National Council of Nigeria and the Camerpons (N.C.N.C.). In 1945, the N.C.N.C. sent representatives to the Fifth Pan-African Congress, linking the Nigerian struggle for independence with those of all Africans and persons of African descent.[14]

Another West African who had an extended experience in the United States was F.Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah was born in Nkroful in the western province of the Gold Coast on September 21,1909. After a primary and secondary education in Catholic schools in Half-Assinie and Sekondi, he enrolled at Achimota College on a teachers' training course scholarship. Here he met Aggrey who made a tremendous impression on the young student. Nkrumah later said of Aggrey that: " It was through him that my nationalism was first aroused," and that " It was because of my great admiration for Aggrey, both as a man and a scholar, that I first formed the idea of furthering my studies in the United States of America."[15] Nkrumah was further bolstered both in his nationalism and his desire to study in America by Azikiwe's articles in the African Morning Post.

In 1935, Nkrumah enrolled in Lincoln University virtually penniless, and worked his way through, receiving his B.A. degree in economics and sociology in 1939. In 1942, he received a Bachelor of Theology degree from Lincoln Theological Seminary and a M.S. in education from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1943, he received an M.A. in Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. While lecturing in philosophy, Greek, and Negro History at Lincoln, Nkrumah completed the course requirements and preliminary examinations for a doctorate at the U. of Pennsylavania. He also helped set up an

African Studies section there.[16]

Rayford Logan recalls a debate with Nkrumah held at Howard University on February 10,1943, in which Logan argued in favor of an extension of the mandates system at the close of the war, while Nkrumah asserted the necessity and desirability of independence for the African countries.[17]

Nkrumah was active politically: helping to organize the African Students' Association of America and Canada,and acquainting himself with the organization and methods of the major political parties as well as of the various communist and Trotskyist groups. He made contact with such organizations as the Council on African Affaors, the Special Research Council of the N.A.A.C.P., and the Urban League. As with Azikiwe, the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey were was read with great interest.

In 1943, in Africa House in Harlem, the center set up by the African student group, Nkrumah met C.L.R.James who provided him with a letter of introduction to George Padmore in London.[18] Of greater importance, Nkrumah noted later of James that " through him I learned how an underground movement worked."[19]

In 1945, Nkrumah decided to return to the Gold Coast and like Azikiwe stopped off in London. Nkrumah stayed longer ,however, enrolling in the London School of Economics as a post-graduate student. He met George Padmore who exercized a great influence on him from then on. Nkrumah plunged right into the nationalist activities being elected vice-president of the West African Students' Union , and accepting an invitation by the executive committee of the year old Pan-African Federation to serve with T.R.Makonnen as joint organizing secretaries of the proposed Fifth Pan African Congress.

While in London, Nkrumah also made contact with such British political radicals as Harold J.Laski, R.Palme Dutt and Emil Burns.[20]

The similarity of the early careers of Azikiwe and Nkrumah is readily apparent. Both were influenced by Aggrey,the man, and Garvey, the symbol; both studied at black colleges in the United States and participated in the intellectual life of the Afro-American community; both traveled widely in the United States and came to know first hand the problems of Afro-Americans; both were influenced to some degree by radicals in Britain or the United States; and both saw West African independence as just an initial step in the eventual emancipation of all of Africa and of persons of African descent wherever they may be.

Cyril Lionel Robinson James was born in Trinidad in 1901 or 1902, and had as a childhood playmate that other noted West Indian, George Padmore (ne Malcolm Nurse). James had a brilliant mind and at the age of nine was admitted to Queen's Royal College. Upon completion of a successful academic career he took a teaching position at the Government Teacher's College and began work on a biograpfy of Andrew A. Cipriani, a French Creole nationalist. In 1932, James went to London to pursue a literary career. He helped Learie Constantine write a book on cricket, and reported on cricket matches for the Manchester Guardian. James completed Life of Cipriani and The Case for West Indian Self-Government in 1932 and 1933.

By this time James was a confirmed Trotskyist and resisted the efforts of his friend George Padmore to recruit him to the Communist International. James was a member of the Independent Labour Party which published The New Leader and included such figures as James Maxton, Fenner Brockway, and George Orwell. Brockway found the group a sympathetic publisher in the person of Frederic Warburg who published three of James' bowks: Mint Alley,

(1936) a novel; World Revolution,1917-1936 (1937) " a Bible of Trotskyism"; and The Black Jacobins (1938), the classic study of the Haitian Revolution.[21]

In 1936, in response to the Italian threat to Ethiopia, James helped establish the International African Friends of Ethiopia (IAFE) to mobilize British public opinion in support of the African nation's fight against fascism. Other prominent members of the IAFE were Dr. J.F.Danquah, Dr. Peter Milliard of British Guiana, Jomo Kenyatta, and Mrs. A.A.Garvey. The IAFE disbanded when Haile Selassie arrived in Britain in 1936 and chose to carry on his propaganda efforts through the Abyssinian Association.[22]

In 1937, James and Padmore resurrected the IAFE under the title of the International African Service Bureau (IASB). The purposes of this new group were to act as a forum for the ideas of the more progressive thniking Africans and peoples of African descent, and to support the demands of all colonial peoples for democratic rights and self-determination. The officers were George Padmore,chairman; I.T.A.Wallace-Johnson, general secretary; Chris Jones, organizing secretary; C.L.R.James, editorial director; Jomo Kenyatta, assistant secretary and T.R.Makonnen, treasuser. Active membership was restricted to Africans and persons of African descent, whites could become associate members. Black intellectuals were turning away from European radical politics toward the more racially exclusive Pan-Africanism.

In 1938, the IASB launched a journal, International African Opinion which was initially under the editorship of James.[23]

Late in 1938, James came to the United States to lecture and remained here throughout the Second World War. You recall it was in Harlem in 1943 that James met Kwame Nkrumah, James remained active in the mystical rites of Left sectarian politics and also found time to exchange ideas with such Afro-American scholars and intellectuals as Richard Wright and Horace Cayton.

James suffered an ulcer attack in 1942, was operated upon and due to his poor health,and the war, was unable to attend the Fifth Pan-African Congress.[24]

James is the only one of the persons discussed who was educated both formally and politically entirely outside the United States. His lack of the early experiences of Azikiwe, Nkrumah and Padmore perhaps accounts for the sectarian Trotskyist views which he held religiously throughout his life.

George Padmore was born Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse in the Arouca District, Tacarigua Trinidad in 1902. As mentioned earlier one of his closest childhood friends was C.L.R.James. Padmore spent one year at St.Mary's College of the Immaculate Cpnception before transferring to Pamphylian High School from which he graduated in 1918. He had passed the preliminary medical examinations in 1916 and was qualified to become a student in pharmacy. Padmore worked for a few years as a reporter for various local newspapers, among them the Weekly Guardian. In September 1924, Padmore went to Fisk University in Nashville, where he promptly swithced majors from medicine to law. He was quite active in student politics and served as a delegate of the Student Volunteer Movement in 1926.

Sometime in 1926, Padmore contacted Azikiwe,who was then at Howard, and in March 1927, asked him to help establish an African student group to promote the defense of the integrity of Liberia. Later in 1927, Padmore joined the Communist Party in New York and enrolled in Howard'd Law Smhool. It was at this time that he changed his name from Nurse to Padmore.

Padmore rose rapidly through the communist apparatus and soon awas one of the Comintern's leading experts on colonialism and the race question. He was editor of the Negro Worker and the head of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. In 1934, Padmore left the Comintern, utterly disgusted at Stalin's willingness to subordinate the national independence

struggles to the needs of Soviet foreign policy.

In 1935, Padmore moved to London permanently, and never joined a non-Negro organization again. He concentrated on his writing and anti-colonial agitation, producing How Britain Rules Africa in 1936, and Africa and World-Peace in 1937. Also in 1937, Padmore and James established and ran the IASB. Throughout this period of his life Padmore wrote numerous articles for magazines and newspapers, including the Chicago Defender.[25]

In 1944, the IASB merged into the Pan-African Federation which now consisted of thirteen African student, political and welfare organizations. The purposes of the Pan-African Federation were in accord with the resolutions adopted by the earlier Pan-African Congresses and included: the promotion of the intersets of Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world; the demanding of self-determination for African peoples; the securing of civil rights for African peoples, and the abolition of racial discimination; and the striving for cooperation between African peoples and those who share their aspirations. The Federation published a series of educational pamphlets.[26]

In 1945, the International Labor Organization met in London to discuss a world trade union assembly. Colonial delegates including Ken Hill of Jamaica and Wallace-Johnson met with Padmore and the Federation and decided to hold a fifth Pan*african conference in Paris in the Fall. In February, with the permission of DuBois, who was planning a similar conference, Padmore began work. Nkrumah arrived in London in May 1945 with his letter of introduction from C.L.R.James and he and Padmore became immediate friends and co-workers. A provisional program was approved in March and the conference was to be held in Manchester in October. Members of the special organizing secretariat were Dr. Peter Milliard, chairman; T.A.Makonnen, treasurer;

George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, joint political secretaries : Peter Abrahams,publicity secretary; and Jomo Kenyatta, assistant secretary.[27]

The Fifth Pan-African Congress met at Chorlton Town Hall in Manchester, from October 13-21,1945. DuBois was unanimously elected International President of the Congress. The tone of this Congress as opposed to the earlier ones, was set by a Mr. J.S.Annan, secretary of the Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants and Technical Worker's Union who in the session on I"Imperialism in North and West Africa" broke into the discussion to say that:

> I want you to feel that nothing we can do here is of any avail unless we are in a position to implement the resolutions that we are going to make. Then this Congress will be a power which governments will have to reckon with.[28]

DuBois was here, Nkrumah and Padmore were here, representatives from Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. were here. Only James , who was sick in New York could not participate in any way. The years of agitation and education, of travel study and interaction had paid off. The postwar thrust which culminated in the independence of the majority of African nations can be dated both spiritually and in reality from this Congress. Nkrumah wrote of the Congress years later:

> While the four previous conferences were both promoted and supported mainly by middle-class intellectuals and bourgeois Negro reformists this Fifth Pan-African Congress was attended by workers,trade unionists, farmers, co-operative societies and by African and other colored students.... Its ideology became African nationalism...
>
> But the main reason why it achieved so much was because for the first time the delegates who attended it were practical men of action and not, as was the case of the four previous conferences merely idealists contenting themselves with writing theses but unable or unwilling to take any active part in dealing with the African problem....And it was this Fifth Pan-African Congress that provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about the awakening of African political consciousness. It became, in fact, a mass movement of Africa for the Africans.[29]

Hopefully the interaction between black intellectuals from the West Indies, Africa and the United States as they confronted the problems of racism and colonialism in the twentieth century has been illiminated by this discussion of the Pan-African Congresses and of the carsers of several of the individuals involved. As had been mentioned earlier, and is now even more apparent, this paper is a mere outline of or introductionto this complex social and intellectual problem.

Footnotes

1 Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide, (New York: Frederick A.Praeger,1962),pp.22-23.

2 W.E.B.DuBois," The Pan-African Movement," in Colonial and...Coloured & Unity ... ,George Padmore (ed.),(London: Hammersmith Bookshop,Ltd., 1963),p.13.

3 Legum,p.25.

4 Rayford Logan,"The Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism,1900-1945," in Pan-Africanism Reconsidered,American Society for African Culture (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press,1962),pp.37-38.

5 W.E.B.DuBois, The World and Africa,(New York: Viking Press,1947),pp.7-10.

6 Ibid.,p.10; George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism?,(New York:Roy Publishers,1956),p.123.

7 DuBois, The World and Africa,p.238.

8 Ibid.,p.242.

9 The following sources give a good summary of the early conferences: DuBois, The World and Africa,pp.7-12; 235,240-243; DuBois,"The Pan-African Movement,"pp.13-26 ; Legum,pp.24-31; Padmore Pan-Africanism, passim.

10 B.Nnamdi Azikiwe,Zik, A Selection From the Speeches...,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1961),p.viii; K.A.B.Jones-Quartey, A Life of-Azikiwe,(Baltimore :Penguin Books,1965),pp.24-34 passim.

11 Jones-Quartey,pp.86-88,93,94.

12 Azikiwe," Fragments of Onitsha History," Journal of Negro History,XV (October,1930),pp.474-497; "Ethics of Colonial Imperialism," ibid., XVI (July,1931),287-308; "In Defense of Liberia," ibid.,XVII , (January,1932),30-50.

13 Logan,p.47.

14 Jones-Quartey,pp.118ff; Azikiwe, Zik...,pp.viii-ix; Padmore, Colonial and Coloured Unity,p.71.

15 Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana,The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah,(Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons,1956),pp.12,13.

16 Ibid.,pp.26-27; Padmore, The Gold Coast Revolution,(London:Dennis Dobson, 1953),pp.248-250.

17 Logan,p.47.

18 Nkrumah,pp.36,37,41; James R.Hooker, Black Revolutionary.(New York: Frederick A.Praeger,1967),p.82.

19 Nkrumah,p.37.

20 Ibid.,pp.42,43.

21 Hooker,pp.2,42; Ivar Oxaal, " The Intellectual Background to the Democratic Revolution in Trinidad," in The Democratic Revolution in the West Indies,Wendell Bell (ed.), (Cambridge,Mass.:Schenkman,1967), pp.26-40 passim; Frederic Warburg, An Occupation for Gentlemen, (Bostin: Houghton Mifflin,1960),pp.185,205,206,210-15.

22 Padmore, Pan-Africanism,p.149.

23 Ibid.,p.146; Hooker,pp.49-50.

24 C.L.R.James, Mariners,Renegades and Castaways, (New York: the author,1953) pp.160-62,187-88; Hooker,pp.42,49,50,82; Constance Webb,Richard-Wright,(New York:G.P.Putnam's Sons,1968),pp.211,214-15.

25 Hooker,pp.2-50 passim; Oxaal,pp.26-40 passim; James,"Notes on the Life of George Padmore," The Nation ,Trinidad,(October 2,1959)

26 Padmore,Pan-Africanism,p.149.

27 Ibid.,p.155; Legum,p.31; Hooker,pp.85-95.

28 Padmore, Colonial and...Coloured Unity,p.33.

29 Nkrumah,p.44.

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