

Michael Williams:
The Pan- African
Movement,
pp. 173-185 / A
Timeline and Major
Figures



Useful as a visual summary of the article

See *History of Pan-Africanist Intellectuals* (10 Min.)

☞ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4iZiwxI2HaM>

☞ Also embedded in Blackboard

Context for this class

- ❧ A Major point: Pan Africanism arose at different times and different places, and has manifested itself in different ways over time (paraphrased from, B. Magubane, *The Ties That Bind*, 1987).
- ❧ Warm up questions:
 - ❧ Why is Pan-Africanism important to our understanding of Africana thought and action?
 - ❧ Is Pan-African as an ideology relevant today? If so why, if not why?

Some History on Pan-Africanism Emerging From Black Thought and Action

- As Williams points out, we can trace Pan-African or “Back to Africa” movements back to the 1770s when African American began to petition government aid to emancipate and repatriate them; and in 1787, Paul Cuffe, began his efforts to take Blacks to ~~Sierra Leone~~, a British Colony.
- But, in terms of African American Pan-Africanists, scholars, point to mid-19th century intellectuals/activists like David Walker, Martin Delany, Alexander Crummel, and Edward Blyden, as proto-Pan Africanists in their uncompromising efforts to “awaken” black people to the notion that immediate abolition of slavery and connection to Africa was the only logical alternative to black people’s spiritual and existential salvation.
 - “Africa for The Africans” Delaney is credited as saying (circa 1861).
- At the end of the 19th century Bishop McNeal Turner, a leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, made many trips to Africa with the goal of liberating Africans from oppressive colonialism.
- Then, as an international convening movement, scholars point to conferences as early as 1895 and especially to Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams as the organizer of the First Pan-African Conference in 1900 in London, with its emphasis on missionary work and fighting against the stealing of lands of the colonies, and independence and equality for all peoples of African descent.

Continued . . .

- ❧ After the The First Pan-African Conference in 1900, W.E.B. Du Bois is credited as the most prominent organizer of Pan-African Conferences starting in 1919 in Paris, following up with several subsequent ones over decades. Du Bois's agenda also insisted on the independence of African colonies, as well as a comprehensive diaspora inter-twining of black history and culture.
- ❧ A major constant is that Pan-Africanism recognizes and celebrates commonalities between New World blacks and Sub-Saharan Africans.
- ❧ In talking about Pan-Africanism as a form of collective consciousness and awareness, Bernard Magubane writes that Pan-African consciousness emerged when some black folks sought to articulate the identity of their interests because of common experiences, inherited or shared (1987, p 129).

Summary—

What Does The Williams Chapter On “The Pan-African Movement” Do?



- ❧ The chapter by Michael Williams provides a historical overview of the Pan-Africanist movement writ large and the pivotal moments that influenced its development.
- ❧ What I find important about Williams’s analysis is that it offers detailed connections between African and African American efforts to develop Pan-Africanism, and underscores historical connections from leaders like Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, Kwame Nkrumah, and others.

❧ Williams begins with a concise definition of the term, part of which states:

❧ “. . . Pan-Africanism can be defined as the multifaceted movement for transnational solidarity among African people with the purpose of liberating and unifying Africa and peoples of African decent” (Williams 2005, p. 173).

Continued . . .

- ❧ Williams's perspective acknowledges the efforts of black thinkers of the African diaspora since early stages of slavery and post-slavery, and argues that the origin of Pan-Africanism as a cultural and political movement can be characterized by a mutual duality, which recognizes the struggles both in Africa and the diaspora (p. 174).
- ❧ Williams also supports the notion that Pan-Africanism had different levels of momentum and different levels of success over time.
- ❧ Pan-Africanism has also leaned toward socialism because of its objective to lift everyone up against the forces of colonialism and capitalism.


- ❧ **Pan-Africanism** has been and remains a multi-faceted, trans-national movement, which fights against imperialism, the vestiges of colonialism, and aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent. It is, thus, based upon a belief in the common fate of peoples of African descent going back to the Atlantic Slave Trade, and encompasses continental Africa and the African diaspora.
- ❧ It is also grounded in the belief that unity is vital to economic, social, and political progress and aims to "unify and uplift" people of African descent. Pan-Africanist ideology asserts that the fate of all African peoples and countries are intertwined, and that African peoples share not merely a common history, but a common destiny.



Some visual elements on Pan-Africanism

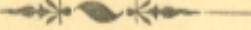
Invitation to the first major international
Pan-African Conference

PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

——
WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

ON THE

23rd, 24th and 25th JULY, 1900.

25/2 pub
——
This Conference is organised by a Committee of the African Association for the Discussion of the "Native Races" Question, and will be attended and addressed by those of African descent from all parts of the British Empire, the United States of America, Abyssinia, Liberia, Hayti, etc.

—
YOU ARE CORDIALLY AND EARNESTLY INVITED TO ATTEND.

—
CONFERENCES—Morning, 10.30 and Evening, 8.

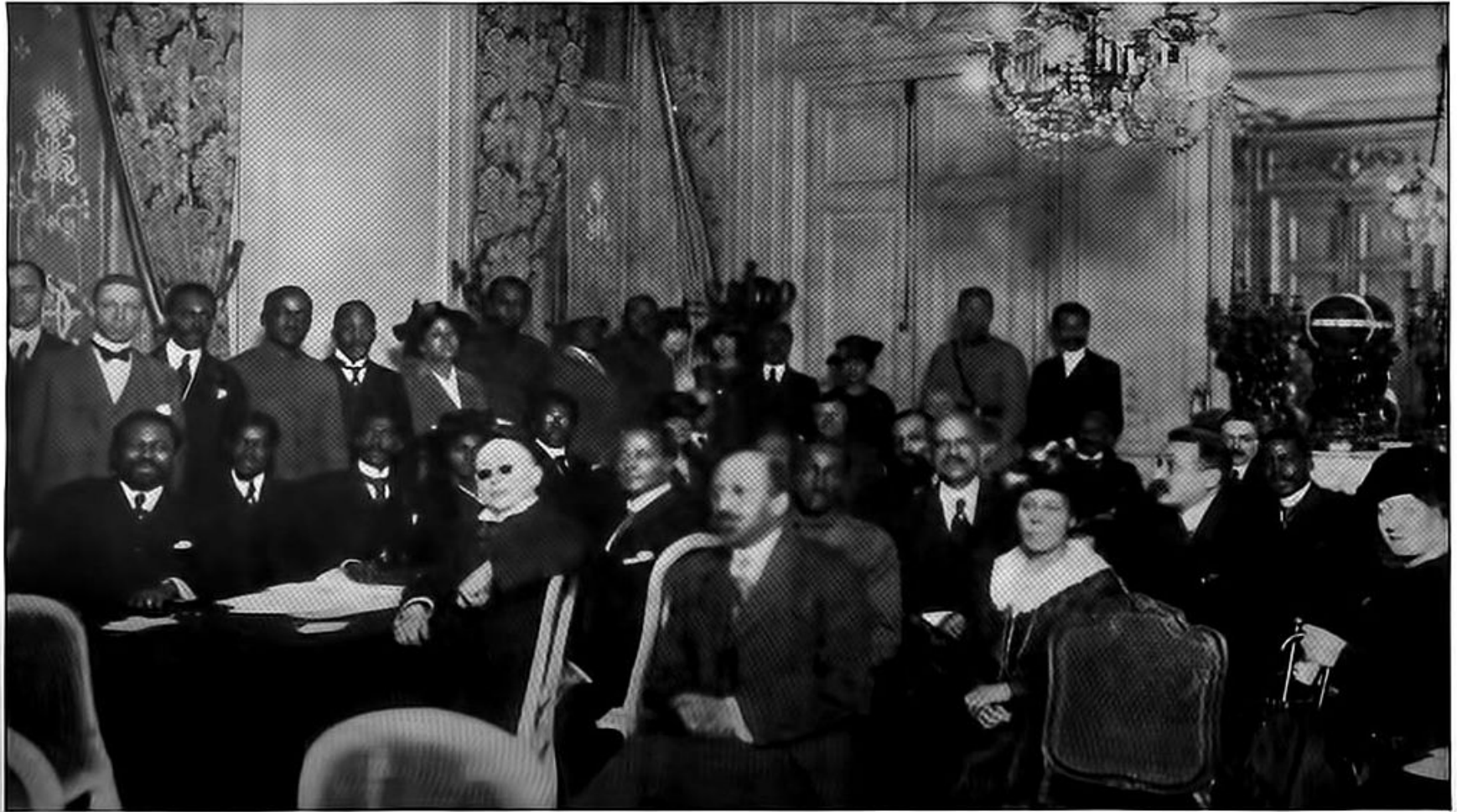
H. S. WILLIAMS, *Hon. Sec.*,

139, PALACE CHAMBERS, S.W.

Depiction of that event?



1919 Pan-African Conference in Paris organized by W.E.B Dubois



1 2 3 4 5 6 7
A SESSION OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, PARIS, FEBRUARY 19-22, 1919.
1, Candace, French Deputy from Guadeloupe; 2, Diagne, French Deputy from Senegal; 3, King, Peace Delegate from Liberia; 4, W. E. B. DuBois; 5, Ida Gibbs Hunt; 6, Grossilliere, Deputy from Martinique; 7, Boisnau, Deputy from Guadeloupe; 8, R. C. Simmons; 9, Mrs. Curtis; 10, Captain Boutté; 11, Mrs. Hunton; 12, B. F. Seldon; 13, Mme. Chapoteau; 14, John Hope.

Marcus Garvey offered a different kind of Pan-Africanism. His nationalistic and populist style offended people like W.E.B DuBois.

Pan-Africanism



- The idea that Africa constitutes a coherent cultural (and possibly political) unit was initially raised in the US during the early 20th century
- Following WWI, a number of intellectuals and community leaders began to look for a political expression of Africa's unity



**Universal Negro Improvement Association
African Communities League (UNIA-ACL, 1914)**

The Independent Weekly
The Value of the Standard Paper-The Pacific Coast

Guaranteed Circulation 54,000
Publishing the Best of Progress Throughout the World

THE Negro World

Letter to the *Negro World*

Cristobal Colon Canal Zone 2-18-19

ECHO FROM THE [ISTH]MUS

Sir,

The echo of the "New World" is not only a matter of moment, but one of much deep thought and thinking for the Negro to consider the subject of unity and cooperation, to redeem the time[,] to redeem their children, to redeem Africa. 300 years of serfdom, with only isolated cases, that stand out permanently to give the lie to those who believe we are not capable of doing better, cannot be considered progress to a people whose earliest fathers were Kings and Rulers. Perhaps it is such a thought which led the Rev Webster Davis to exclaim!

Wherefore do all our virtues thus c[s]cape the public eye?
Wherefore do our imperfections they seek to magnify?
In Church, in war, //in state, // in letters and in art!
In every worthy work and state, the Negro plays a part.

Yet vilifiers of our race are ever ready to magnify our imperfections, and leave our virtues silent. But all that they might do the Negro has shown himself capable of his task. He has shown that under the most trying conditions he is a man to be feared, for no barrier can keep down the mind who is determine[d] to rise. The Negro World with Mr. Marcus Garvey as its Moses has sen[t] forth the call to Negroes the World over to unite, to cooperate; if not so much for their good, for the good of their children. The father's land must be redeemed, better conditions of life provided, wage must be equal to labour, man's sweat must be regarded, it must not only [be] a speaking of duty by the privileged ones, but a doing of their duty to man as man. We in Colon have answered the call of our Moses through the Negro World, and is using might and [brain?] to put forward the cause believing //in// the justness of same.

From February 5th we have started under new conditions. We held [7] mass meetings up to Sunday 16th and 115 persons enrolled their names for membership. 60 of that number paid their Entrance Fee.

The task of convincing our people [in] this part of the world that they should cling together for their betterment is difficult and hard, they having for centuries lived under the influence and teaching that is not beneficial to their own advancement. We are however, not unmindful of our uphill work, for with men of the Radway,¹ Willis,² Sargeant and the McCarthy's type, the game must be won. And with the zeal of a Grant, Buckley, Chambers, Augustine, Stephens, White, Haddon, Harris, Hudson and Peterkin with our indifaticable [indefatigable] Sister Scott, we shall march to Victory.

Of the 55 remaining persons who have enrolled to become members, we hope by the end of February to have them as members.

We are aiming high, it is our wish to push the good work to every point of success. With our firm mind, which is the power to mould and make we hope to leave behind us a record that our children might follow for their mutual good.

<http://marcusgarvey.com/?p=1183>

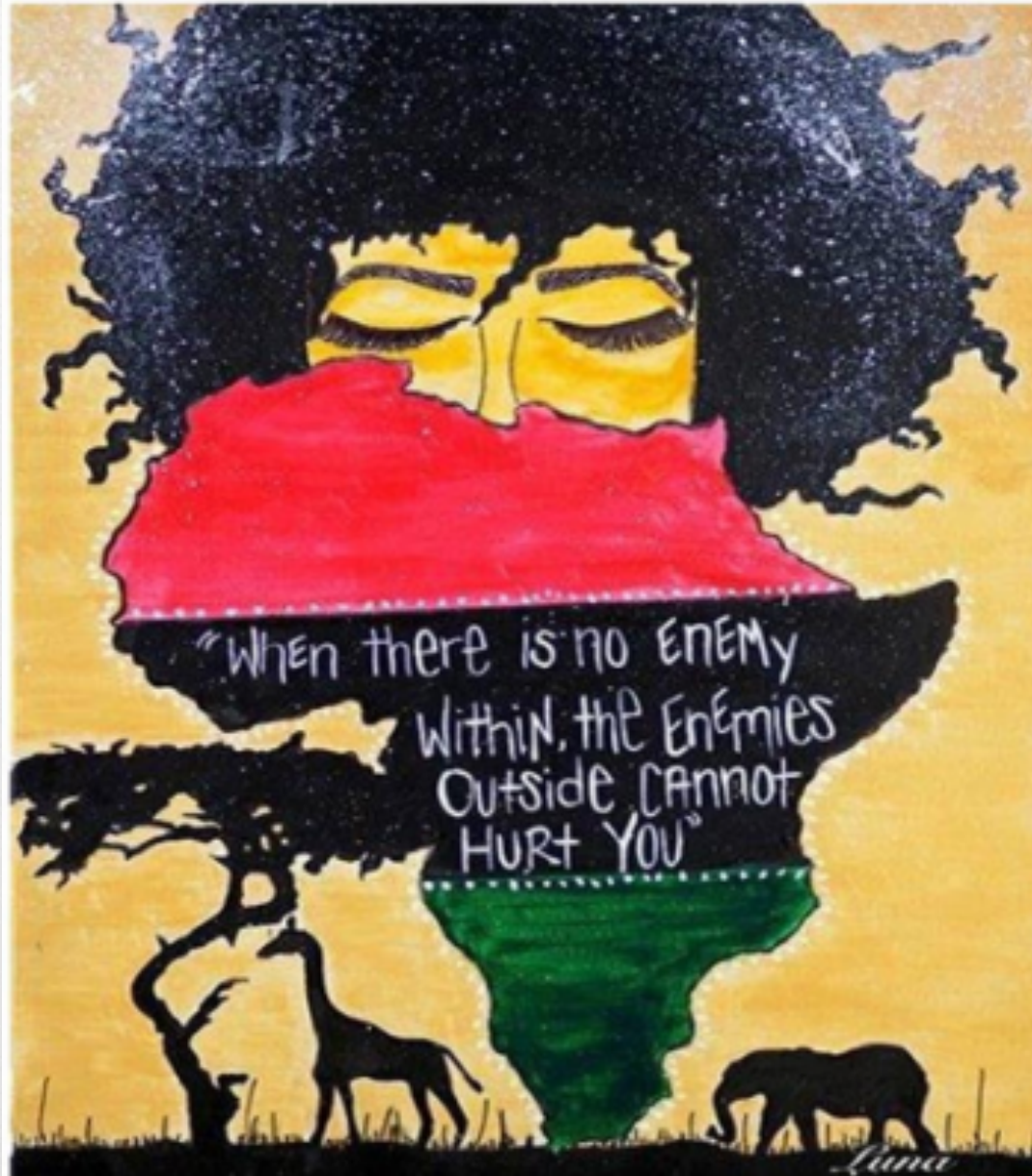
The Pan-African Flag or Black Liberation Flag
Or The UNIA Flag, adopted in 1920



*Red for our blood and struggle
Black for our people of color
Green for the land
the symbol of hope, a liberated
future which black hero's spoke.*

Another version







- œ End of Lecture Spring 2020
- œ But the following slides have really useful questions and information.
- œ See the Youtube on Harlem Renaissance. I use it as a connector between The Pan-African Movement and the Négritude Movement of the French Antilles, France, and Africa.

Timeline of Leading Figures


See Separate PDF file in Week 9

Big Summary Question

Why is Pan-Africanism important to Africana Studies?

- ☞ It fostered various sentiments toward African self-identity and connections between Africa and diaspora.
- ☞ It produced various efforts of repatriation and development of an African national identity.
- ☞ It produced important literature on education, colonialism, epistemology, etc.
- ☞ It establish the convention movements, which led to concrete organizations that would work for the advancement of African peoples.

Questions from The Reading

- ❧ What is the meaning or definition of Pan-Africanism? 
- ❧ What were some of the characteristics of the early emigration efforts of Pan-Africanists prior to the twentieth-century?
- ❧ Who were some of the major figures in the Pan-African movement and what were their contributions?
- ❧ How does Pan-Africanism connect the African diaspora with Africa? 22

Possible Answers to Question Two


- ❧ What were some key characteristics of early Pan-Africanism?
 - ❧ Early emigration efforts: Interest in Africans in North America in physically returning to ~~Africa~~ was greatest among the poor and most oppressed.
 - ❧ The establishment of colonies like Sierra Leon and Liberia were the result of North American blacks (many well educated) returning to Africa, simultaneously promoting pan-Africanist sentiments and perpetuating western capitalist oppression.
 - ❧ There important evangelical and missionary dimensions of Pan-Africanism (176-177).
 - ❧ Black Africanization threatened Europeans (especially white missionaries) who responded with organized efforts to prevent the return of black missionary work in Africa.
- ❧ Back to Africa schemes were never overwhelmingly very popular, although all told some thousands of people returned at one time or another.

Possible Answers to Question Three

Who were some major figures in the Pan-African movement and what were their contributions?


- ✧ Robert Campbell, Martin Delaney (resettlement, address injustices, repatriation), Paul Cuffe (colonization), Henry Highland Garnett (Christian missionary zeal, to help civilize Africa with repatriation of American blacks), also Bishop Henry McNeal Turner.
- ✧ Convention Movement, late 19th century: Sylvester Williams, W.E.B DuBois (intellectual and political emphasis, as well as cultural).
- ✧ Marcus Garvey (populist nationalist emphasis – all back to Africa to form a black nation).
- ✧ Frantz Fanon, Leopold Senghor, Kwame Toure, Kwame Nkrumah (to end colonialism, make structural changes in Africa by Africans)

Answers to Question Four

How does Pan-Africanism  connect the African Diaspora with Africa?

- ∞ Williams writes about the struggle in African and the diaspora see page 174.

Your Homework

- ❧ 1. According to Williams, what is the meaning of Pan-Africanism?
- ❧ 2. Why did Pan-Africanism have socialist leanings?
- 
- ❧ 3. In at least one full sentence, describe the relationship between emigration and early 19th-century Pan-Africanism from pages 173-176.

- ❧ 4. Name at least three major intellectuals/leaders of 20th-century Pan-Africanism and briefly what where each one's contributions?

- ❧ 5. Name one reason for the relative failure or limited success of Pan-Africanism? See summary on page 185.

- ❧ 6. Two parts. Based on watching the youtube on Harlem Renaissance 1. Write down whatever connection or similarity you see between Pan-Africanism and the Harlem Renaissance and 2. Write down one characteristic that distinguishes them and say why.



❧ Extra Stuff for your information

Pop Quiz and Review Questions

- ❧ What relation does socialism have with Pan Africanism?
- ❧ What is the conventional wisdom regarding the origins of Pan-Africanism?
- ❧ How does solidarity apply to Pan Africanism?
- ❧ Why does Williams say Pan-Africanism is multifaceted?
- ❧ How does disenchantment of the poor relate to Pan Africanism?
- ❧ How does repatriation apply to Pan Africanism?
- ❧ Name two reasons why Marcus Garvey's brand of Pan-Africanism was so effective?
- ❧ What relation does the Black Power movement have with Pan Africanism?
- ❧ To what degree has Pan-Africanism succeeded?
- ❧ To what degree has Pan-Africanism failed and why?
- ❧ From your perspective what relevance does Pan-Africanist ideas have, or not, for you. If yes why? If not, why?

More important points to consider in the development Pan-Africanism

In what ways has the Pan-African movement been influenced by major world events?



- ∞ The encroachment of European colonization fueled anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist sentiments.
- ∞ DuBois and Garvey made demands from western international bodies, such as the League of Nations and the Paris Peace Conference of Versailles in 1919.
- ∞ Italy's invasion of Ethiopia sparked a huge outcry against imperialist rule and helped rally many African American Africans to the Ethiopian cause.
- ∞ Meanwhile many African leaders were influenced by the writings of Marx and Lenin.
- ∞ After WWII the democratic ideals of the Atlantic Charter, created by Great Britain and The U.S. and the fact that black troops participated in the War further radicalized the idea of a free African peoples.
- ∞ The black power movement (e.g., Kwame Toure aka Stokely Carmichael) inherited much of the radical inertia set by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

- ❧ Why was Marcus Garvey's brand of Pan-Africanism so effective? (page 178)
- ❧ To what degree has Pan-Africanism succeeded?
 - ❧ The motive and politics of Pan-Africanism remains strong.
 - ❧ This also helps maintain ~~some degree~~ of cultural and international cohesion and a sense of common destiny.
- ❧ To what degree has Pan-Africanism failed or what problems does Pan-Africanism still face?
 - ❧ Disunity, ambiguity, and lack of institutional trans-national structure.
 - ❧ Africanist scholar John Henrik Clarke, has noted that the Pan-African movement relied too much on intermittent conferences, which fall short of establishing meaningful governing authority and implementation of policies. ("Pan-Africanism and The Future of The Family" 1988).
 - ❧ Residual imperialist domination, over reliance on outside (ex-colonial powers) to help settle thorny issues.
 - ❧ Long-sanding debt, economic disparities among and within African countries.
 - ❧ International terrorism
 - ❧ See also p 184

❧ To wrap up, the Summary of this chapter on page 185 is very useful for reviewing some of the reasons for the development and failures of Pan-Africanism over time.

❧ Summary of points on p. 185:

❧ Pan-Africanism has been a multifaceted movement.

❧ It has not yet fully met its objective of unifying and liberating Africa.

❧ One reason for this was the interference and domination by outside imperialist forces.

❧ Another reason is the failure of the different Pan-Africanist organizations over time to establish and coordinate an institutionalized structure with a viable transnational agenda.

Continued . . . Key word to Remember:

Key words associated with Pan-Africanism: unity, trans-national solidarity, self determination, black cultural nationalism, liberation, anti-colonialism, The Berlin Conference

Images for Pan Africanism

↻

Link to Pan African Images

↻

<https://www.pinterest.com/RiseAfricaRise/pan-africanism/>

↻

[Pan African University http://pauwes.univ-flemcen.dz/about/five-questions-for-the-director/](http://pauwes.univ-flemcen.dz/about/five-questions-for-the-director/)



↻

<https://www.google.com/search?q=images+of+21st+century+pan+africanism+today&client=safari&rls=en&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiN3rxqZjeAhUFn-AKHbxeCBYQ7A16BAgDEBE&biw=1280&bih=682#imgrc=0XgXclNFGRSNWM:>

↻

Questions to Answer in your notebook for Thursday's reading.

↻

Name three key characteristics or motivations that went into the early development of Pan-Africanism as an international intellectual/political movement.

↻

Name three major figures in the Pan-African movement, and what contributions did they make?

↻

Name two ways the Pan-African movement has been influenced by major world events over time.

↻

Name two reasons why Marcus Garvey's brand of Pan-Africanism was so effective?

↻

To what degree has Pan-Africanism succeeded?

↻

To what degree has Pan-Africanism failed?

↻

From your perspective what relevance does Pan-Africanist ideas have, or not, for you. If yes why? If not, why?

↻

What does this imagery suggest to you in terms of past and present messages or modes of representation? With Jesse Peterson and Umar Johnson

↻

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7awygOKL8dw>

Debate on Pan Africanism <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r1d5c5S9tzk>

Pan-Africanism To Harlem Renaissance



What relationship does Pan-Africanism have with the Harlem Renaissance?

- ☞ The Harlem Renaissance came After the Pan-African movement had started and began for different reasons.
- ☞ It was concentrated, largely in the United States, lead by people like the intellectual Alain Locke--also W.E.B DuBois-- who sought to define “The New Negro” and bring black people, who were migrating North, out of the darkness of 19th century racism and encourage them to celebrate their blackness and African heritage .



- ❧ See Harlem Renaissance video.
- ❧ Name one thing Dr. Byrd says about the Harlem Renaissance that reflects Africana thought and or action.
- ❧ In what ways were Pan-Africanism and The Harlem Renaissance similar?
- ❧ In what ways were they different?

Some Key Points from The Video



- ❧ What does the word “Renaissance” mean in relation to the Harlem Renaissance?
- ❧ The other name for the Harlem Renaissance Movement is _____?
- ❧ The Great Migration was an important factor in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance.
- ❧ A cultural movement more than political: literature, art, music, performance. The growth of Jazz.



☞ Name the most important thing you've learned today.



∞ The End.