

1956

PAN-AFRICANISM or COMMUNISM? The Coming Struggle for Africa by

George Padmore, Roy Publishers, N.Y.

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Thanks Mr. Abu Mayanja of Uganda Nat. Congress & Hugh Scotland, Sec. of Coloured Peoples' Association, J.A. Rogers & WEBD DuBois Foreword by Richard Wright, dated 2/2/56 Paris—"Breaking did not mean he supported enemies of S.U....trying to achieve thru his own instrumentalities that which he had worked for when he was in the Comintern hierarchy."

ALL IN BIG CAPS

Introd. dated by Padmore July 1955, London, says: "The main purpose of the book, however, is to record the rise & growth of contemporary Negro pol. movements: 'Pan-Africanism' & 'Garveyism' or 'Black Zionism'... As affirmed by (CLR) the W.I. historian, the name of Garvey resists through Afr. (A His. of Negro Revolt)... Pan Africanism subscribes to attaining self-determination through non-violence... working for universal brotherhood, social justice & peace for all peoples everywhere... Pan Africanism recognises much that is true in Marican interpretation of his, since it provides a rational explanation for a good deal that would otherwise be unintelligible. But it nevertheless refuses to accept the pretentious claims of doctrinaire (DOCTRINAIRE) C-Lam, that it alone has the solution to all the complex racial, tribal & socio-eco. problems facing Afr. It also rejects C-ist intolerance of those who do not subscribe to its ever-changing party line, even to the point of liquidating them as 'enemies of the people'. Dem. & Brotherhood cannot be built upon intolerance & violence... Economically & socially Pan-Africanism subscribes to the fundamental objectives of Dem. Soc., with state control of the basic means of prod. & distribution...."

- Part I: Back to Africa Movements; Founding of Liberia;
- Part II: Africa's Pawn in European Diplomacy; Black Zionism or Garveyism
- Part III: Background to Pan-Africanism; Origin of Pan-Africanism; Growth; Comes of Age & In Action; theory of DuBois; action of Nkrumah

2nd Pan African Congress, 8/28-29 in London, Dr. DuBois' Declaration to the World:

Be. 1919-1945 WEBD resp. for p. 131 "The Negro race thru their thinking intelligent in demand set under League of Nations of an int. inst. for study of N problems" p. 144 Int. Afr. Friends of Abyssinia, org'd 1934 p. 145 among sponsors of IASA were 2 reps of AAPS (African Peoples' Rights Protection Society) Messrs. Moore & Dr. JEDaugh who was sec. of the 2nd Ofori-Atta (leading Paramount Chief) led delegation from Gold Coast. Officers were: MR. (CLR) of Trinidad as chairman; Dr. Peter Millard of Br. Guiana & Hon. T. Albert Maryshaw of Grenada as vice-chairmen; Mr. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya as honorary sec.; Mrs. Amy Ashwood Garvey as honorary treasurer—They together with Sam Manning of Trinidad, Mr. Mohammed Said of Somaliland & author form exec. com. The society org'd. reception for the Emperor... in 1934... disbanded when a no. of influential Engl. friends & admirers of Haile Selassie decided to carry on under auspices of Abyssinian Ass. founded by Prof. Stanley Jevons...."

p. 145—some of the members if the erstwhile IASA together with a few newcomers chief among them Mr. T.R. Makonnen, who was later to become gen. sec. of Pan-Afr. Federation in Britain, met in London in early part of 1937 to form INT. AFR. SERVICE BUREAU, THE FORERUNNER OF THE PAN AFR. FEDERATION Principal Officers of IASB were Mr. Wallace Johnson, well-known W. Afr. trade unionist, gen. sec.; MR. (CLR), author & journalist, editorial director; Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, & myself as chairman

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Handwritten notes: "CLR's... S.C. with... 1937... 1938..."

Handwritten signature: "J.M. A. J. J. J."

p.147: Aims & Objects of the IASB

"A non-party org., the IASB owed no affiliation or allegiance to any pol. party, org. or group in Europe...

p.148

By lectures & discussions, the Bureau attracted a group of brilliant young Negro intellectuals in Br. Many of them held Marxist views on socio-pol. problems, altho they were never members of the Br. C.P. ... Pan Africanism as an ind. pol. expression of N. aspirations for complete nat. ind. from white domination - capitalist Communist.

(Link bet. IASB & Pan Afr est'd. during war years) By 1945 BIRTH OF PAN-AFR. FED. merged into which p.149 merged into Pan Afr. Federation which became Br. section of Pan-Afr. Congress Movement in 1944 when Pan Afr united front movement met in Manchester

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p.149: "BY POOLING RESOURCES & LIBERATING THEMSELVES FROM THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF DOCTRINAIRE MARXISM WHICH BR. C\*ISTS OPERATING THROUGH CERTAIN NEGRO FELLOW TRAVELERS WERE TRYING TO IMPOSE UPON AFR. NAT. LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AS A MEANS OF EXERCISING STALINIST CONTROL OVER THEM THE PAN AFR. FEDERATION WAS ABLE TO TAKE AN IND. IDEOLOGICAL POSITION ON COLONIES"

p.150

Theoretical problems such as the methods & form of org. to be adopted by colonial peoples; the tactics & strategy of the national freedom struggle; the application of Gandhian (non-violent non-coop. technique to the Afr. situation were all openly discussed in the columns of the Federation's journal, INT. AFR. OPINION EDITED BY THE DISTINGUISHED W.I. HISTORIAN CLERJ ASSISTED BY WM. HARRISON, AN ERUDITE AFRO\*AM HARVARD SCHOLAR THEN DOING POST GRADUATE STUDIES UNDER PROF. HAROLD LASKI AT THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMISTS (Here Padmore brings in what was pub in pre-war years in which he includes Black Jacobins)

"The yrs. immediately before outbreak of 2nd WW. coincided with what is known in left wing pol. circles as the Anti-Fascist Popular Front Per. This per. was one of the most stimulating & constructive in the his. of Pan-Africanism." A program of Positive Action 1st applied in Gold Coast (1950)

p.175 National Council of Nigeria & Camerons (NCNC) est'd 1943 ("Atlantic Charter 3rd Afr. Freedom" by Asikiwa Padmore was Press Sec. to it in 1947 then birth of CPP with Nkrumah) p.178 "ORG. DECIDES EVERYTHING." wrote Nkrumah. "SEEK YOU 1ST THE POL. KINGDOM & EVERYTHING ELSE WILL BE ADDED UNTO YOU."

p.206 - RDA

Prof. Leopold Senghor, soc-ist, (son-in law of Gov - General Eboua 1951) Senghor led revolt against Fr. domination of Senegalese Soc. Party & formed Bloc Democratique Sénégalais. New org, freed from direct rule by Fr. pol. parties, Indépendants d'outre-mer (OM) consist of Parti Progressiste (Soudannaise) allied with SFIO, Parti Progressiste Congolaise with RDA, and Union Démocratique Tuhadiens with RFA (Only RDA section still under pro-C-ist influ in Unions des Populations du Cameroun

p. 290 The red blueprint drawn by L was later amplified by Mao in his bk Hsin, Nat & Colonial Ques.

p. 297 (1931) "As chairman of the Negro Bureau of the Profintern, I was appointed by its gen. sec. Lenovsky to serve on a special comm. to enquire into ~~the~~ which deviation had been strongly criticized by Mao Tse-tung. The Commission endorsed Mao's policy which together with ~~Chen~~ had assumed control of the Party & Red Army... ROY CONSIDERED MAO AN 'UNDISCIPLINED OPPORTUNIST'... This was a blessing in disguise for Africa. (Roy's departure Chairman Mao & his supporters were left free to implement Mao's agrarian policy which he called 'The New Dem.!'... (KUTVU--University for the Toilers of the East where I once lectured on Colonial Affairs.)

\*\*\*\*\*p. 309 Padmore quotes favorably Marshal Ivan Koniev's statement to Supreme Soviet 2/9/1955 "we are not alone. The great nation of China... & the SU form one camp & a powerful army for peace." "The significant thing to remember is that this alliance came about as a result of departure from orthodox Marxism, which was a W.E. doctrine to be applied to an industrialized society...."

\*\*\*\*\*p. 314 in 1930 while I served as deputy on the Moscow soviet... (See Dr. Yorgan's "Communist Threat in Africa" in AFRICA TODAY (Johns Hopkins Press, 1965) (also USNEWS & World Report, 5.1/63)

\*\*\*p. 319 IT (MARXISM) WAS TRANSFORMED BY THE POLITICAL GENIUS OF MAO TSE TUNG TO SUIT THE NATIONAL TRADITIONS & NEEDS OF THE CH. PEOPLE WHOSE SOCIAL PHIL. IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN CONFUCIANISM MANDARIN BUR.

p. 339 big powers must be ready to fix a date FOR TRANSFER OF POWER as America did in the Philippines..

p. 345: "Had Lenin & Mao Tse-tung been doctrinaire Marxists they could never have led successful revolutions." THEN QUOTES WITH APPROVAL MAO: "there are people who think that Marxism cures any disease. We should tell them that dogmas are more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."

(Restudy T-ism & St-ist ch. in So. Africa 380s) Movement for Colonial Freedom under chairmanship of Fenner Brockway.

pp. 366ff MRA "since outbreak of cold war... ideology to save Afr. from Communism" MRA Task Force toured Africa in 1963 to propagate "FOUR ABSOLUTES" "absl. honesty", "abs. purity"; "abs. love", "abs. unselfishness" Dr. Frank Buchanan, head von Dr. Nhamdi AZIKIWE, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria plus imp. Nigerian tribal leaders & enrolled some prominent Ashanti chief in Ghana too.

\*\*\*\*p. 377 "Much of the strength in Asia lies in the fact that they have been able to offer people honest govt. in Ch. & Viet-minh even if it sometimes oppressive."