

PAN-AFRICANISM and the struggle of the TWO IDEOLOGIES

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THE AFRICAN CONTINENT has in recent years become the scene of a bitter ideological struggle. Never before has there been such ferment in African minds as there is today. The bitterness of this struggle can be easily explained.

The majority of African peoples have liberated themselves from colonial occupation and set up their own national states. The imperialists, forced to abandon direct political rule, have tried to take advantage of their former colonies' economic dependence in order to maintain indirect political control and thus keep them within the capitalist orbit. But history has its own logic. Now that the African countries have attained sovereignty, they naturally wish to conduct an independent policy which differs from that of their former rulers and indeed very often cuts right across the latter's interests.

To a differing extent and in various ways African Governments are trying to restrict the dominating position held by the former metropolitan countries in their economic affairs. Many have firmly resolved that, with the backing and disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, they will put an end to their economic dependence on imperialist powers and thereby free themselves of political pressure from that quarter.

The African countries are intently searching for the quickest ways of overcoming economic and cultural backwardness. Soviet experience in transforming economically and culturally backward Russia into a great, leading Socialist power has fired the Africans' imagination. One African Government after another has announced its adherence to Socialist ideas. The number of persons spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced ideology of modern times, is constantly

* Translated from the Soviet journal *Communist*, this article, and the late Professor Potekhin, are referred to in the Editorial Notes of this issue.

multiplying. Socialism has become more popular than any other idea in Africa today. Moreover, many countries are taking measures in conformity with the non-capitalist way of development.

Because the imperialists are seriously disturbed by the Africans' determination to choose their own way forward without consulting them on the matter they are now more than ever supplementing economic fetters with ideological persuasion. Never before have they retained such a large staff of ideological servitors as in the independent African countries today. Never before have they dumped such a tremendous amount of propaganda material onto Africa.

The struggle between the two principal ideologies of our day, the bourgeois and the Socialist, lies at the heart of the ideological struggle in Africa and throughout the world. In Africa, however, due to certain historical peculiarities and the existing social structure, this struggle is exceptionally complicated by a whole host of other factors of the people's spiritual life, such as nationalism, which sometimes takes the form of anti-white racialism, tribalism (the ideology of patriarchy and tribal separatism), etc. The social outlook of most African intellectuals, who constitute the leading force in most African countries because of the weakness of the working class and the bourgeoisie, is marked by eclecticism an odd mixture of different and even contradictory, basically idealistic views on society, the laws of its development and man's inner world. It is worth noting in this connection a statement made by Mburumba Kerin, a leader of the national movement in South-West Africa who used to live in the U.S.A. and represented his country at the United Nations. Our aim, he wrote, is Pan-African Socialism, and justice and prosperity for all. In their struggle the African leaders should welcome and use ideological contributions in the same way as they welcomed material contributions. They must seek ideological confirmation of their fight everywhere they could: in the social and economic teaching of Islam and Christianity, in Karl Marx's economic analysis, in the experience of the Chinese People's Republic, the Soviet Union, America and Cuba. As leaders devoted to their cause, he concluded, they should take from everywhere everything that was of value for Africa and supplement this with Africa's considerable ideological capital accumulated over the centuries.

The state of mind of African intellectuals, particularly in the tropical countries peopled by Negro Africans, is reflected in the policy and ideology of Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism started as a political movement with its own ideological basis at the end of the nineteenth century and has since followed a very complicated, contradictory course. It originated in

America. The nineteenth century was a bloody period for the Negro people. In Africa, people died in their thousands, upholding their right to an independent way of life. In America, the descendants of Africans who had been transported there by the slave-traders rose up in a succession of revolts against slavery. The African peoples were mercilessly crushed and turned into colonial slaves in their own homeland. Their descendants in America, in alliance with the white anti-slavery campaigners, were victorious: on January 1st, 1863, President Lincoln declared the Emancipation Proclamation.

The slaves became free, but the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling of 1857 in the case of Dred Scott, a Negro, remained in force. This ruling, made in a particular case, proclaimed a principle of general validity: Negroes were inferior to whites and, even if freed, could never become part of the American nation. This racialist declaration was formally annulled by the adoption of the 13th (1865) and 14th (1868) Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, but the outrageous practice of discrimination against Negroes continues to this day.

The events of 1963, a hundred years after emancipation, showed that the ruling of 1857 is no dead letter for modern American society, that same society which imperialist propaganda holds up as a 'model'. All over the country, reports Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Negroes are beaten up, kicked, shot at and killed. A hundred years had passed since emancipation, noted American Negro leader Martin Luther King, but they had to acknowledge a tragic fact: Negroes were no freer than before. As in the past, the life of Negroes in the U.S.A. was crippled by the fetters of segregation and the chains of discrimination. A hundred years later, he protested, Negroes were pushed into the corners of American society and felt themselves alien in their own land. Negro-baiting has, indeed, become a dangerous political weapon in the hands of the fascist-minded reactionaries. They are responsible for increasing tension between black and white so as to undermine America's democratic institutions and clear the way for a fascist dictatorship.

No other race has suffered so many insults to its human dignity or such humiliation under capitalism as the Negro. For the sake of capitalist business Negroes both in Africa and in America were declared inferior people. In conditions of the existence of colonial empires it becomes urgent to refute the 'theory' of white racial superiority and show that the Negro was a human being and that black-skinned people were no worse than white-skinned people. Research had to be done into African history of the time Africa was free, when the great empires of Ghana and Mali existed, and when African crafts-

men created exquisite works of art. As Frantz Fanon of Martinique, who fought in the Algerian revolution, wrote, Negroes were faced with the urgent task of 'proving to the white world at all costs the existence of a Negro civilization' (Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, p. 46). The first to tackle this task were the American Negroes who, besides having a vital interest in this question, had greater opportunities than the enslaved peoples of Africa. In the nineteenth century, the American Negroes produced a considerable number of talented historians, the most notable being the late Dr. William DuBois, grandson of a slave, member of the American Communist Party and Lenin Peace Prize winner.

Africans were only able to get down to this task after they had won political independence. The idea of the African personality was propounded at the First Conference of Independent African States in 1958; this idea means recognizing that Africa has its own personality, its own history and its own culture and that it has made valuable contributions to world history and world culture. It is the same idea that was developed by American Negro historians in the nineteenth century: to restore the dignity of the Negro peoples which had been trampled underfoot by the American slave-owners and the European colonizers. It is a great liberating idea. In order to round off the struggle against colonialism, the imperialist-dominated peoples had to find renewed inspiration and become aware of their own strength and ability to build their life anew. Guinean President Sékou Touré calls it 'spiritual decolonisation', Pan-Africanism is therefore a reaction to colonial enslavement in Africa and racial discrimination against the descendants of African slaves in America; it is an ideological and political means of fighting racialism and colonialism.

At first the Pan-African movement was really a Pan-Negro movement, centred in America, to unite the Negro people of Africa and America in the fight against racialism and colonialism. The first Pan-African Conference was called in London in 1900 by H. Sylvester-Williams, a Negro from Trinidad. Between 1919 and 1927, four Pan-African congresses were held on the initiative and under the guidance of Dr. DuBois. Few delegates came from Africa, most being American Negroes. In fact, no Africans at all attended the Fourth Congress held in America. The independence movement had not yet assumed a mass scale in Africa. The nationalist organizations at that time limited their demands to a reform of the colonial administration rather than putting forward the slogan of independence. The resolutions on African questions adopted at the first four Pan-African congresses reflected this moderation but, all the same, the Pan-African

movement then played a useful role in drawing the attention of world opinion to African problems.

The Fifth Congress held in Manchester in 1945 under Dr. DuBois's chairmanship helped broaden the tasks of the Pan-African movement. In fact, the composition of the Congress made it a really African affair. Besides DuBois, such leaders of the national independence movement as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and Nnamdi Azikiwe took a prominent part in it. Moreover, the Congress was strongly anti-colonial and anti-imperialist. It called on the peoples of Africa to fight 'by all the means at their disposal' for the abolition of colonial regimes and the attainment of political independence. '. . . The struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation,' the delegates affirmed in their Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals. 'The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. . . . We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the Colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. . . . Today there is only one road to effective action—the organization of the masses. . . . Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World—Unite!' This was the first Congress to make a call for African unity and the uniting of all countries and peoples of the continent in the fight against colonialism and imperialism, and to advance the idea of a union of African states.

When the African leaders proclaimed the slogan of unity, they were quite aware that it would be a very difficult thing to put into practice. The imperialists had carved the continent up into fifty pieces of colonial territory whose administrative boundaries bore no relation to ethnic distribution. This still remains a bone of contention between some countries. The people of Africa belong to several races and a great many linguistic groups; besides three world religions—Christianity, Islam and Judaism—there are several local religions. The African countries usually have practically no economic relations with each other; on the other hand, however, they are still firmly tied to traditional markets in the former metropolitan countries. The imperialist powers are doing everything they can to prevent African unity. The association, under imperialist pressure, of eighteen African countries with the European Common Market puts additional difficulties in the way of promoting inter-African trade. Furthermore, African statesmen themselves hold different views on what form unity should take.

Yet, despite all the obstacles, the idea of African anti-imperialist unity is making headway. The movement for unity draws support from a wide variety of social groups: Pan-African organizations of workers, peasants, young people, women, journalists and students have already been set up; and last year a Pan-African conference of clergymen was held in Kampala. Disruptive elements from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions obstructed the establishment of a single Pan-African trade union association with the result that two union bodies were formed in 1961. But the working class will ultimately have its way and overcome this difficulty too. Representatives from the two bodies met in Dakar last November and set up a committee to prepare a united Pan-African trade union conference.

The adoption of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity by the Heads of State (Government) Conference in Addis Ababa is a great victory for those fighting colonialism and imperialism and is welcomed by all true friends of the African peoples. In his Message to the heads of state and government attending the Conference the Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov said that 'the idea of unity and solidarity of the African countries and their desire to unite their efforts in the fight against colonialism, for strengthening political and economic independence, and for the advancement and well-being of their peoples is keenly felt and understood by the Soviet peoples. The high and noble aims set by the Charter find wholehearted support in the Soviet Union.' The future will show what success the Charter principles will have in practice. But the first steps taken by African states to eliminate the last remaining colonial regimes (particularly in Angola) and to put an end to the hapless lot of the Africans in South Africa give grounds for hope.

The political aspect of Pan-Africanism underwent a great change when slogans on Africa's liberation and unity and the subsequent fight to implement them were brought to the fore. As we saw above, this had previously been a Pan-Negro movement formally uniting Negroes throughout the world, particularly in the United States and Africa. Now Pan-Africanism became a movement of the African peoples irrespective of race. Besides the black, Negro race, the African continent is inhabited by the white race (Arabs, Berbers, etc.) and the Khoisan race (Bushmen, Hottentots), etc. Both Arabs and Ethiopians have actively joined the fight for Pan-African unity alongside the Negro peoples.

The Pan-African movement became truly African and swept the entire continent. The old idea of the Pan-Negro movement, however, was taken up by others who gave it a completely different slant. Before

the second world war two Negro poets, then living in Paris—Léopold Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, and Aimé Césaire, from Martinique, advanced the concept of Negritude.

Negritude is first and foremost a reaction against the humiliation suffered by black intellectuals and their fellow countrymen in Paris; it is a protest against the imperialist policy of assimilation and suppression of African culture. 'Negritude is an idea born in us from the awareness that throughout the whole of history we have been robbed,' wrote Alioune Diop, general secretary of the Society of African Culture. 'Negritude is our modest but resolute striving to restore the victim's rights and show the world what it has particularly insistently denied—the dignity of the black man.' But Negritude, like the nationalism of an oppressed nation, has two sides to it: a just desire to restore the dignity of the black man, and the reactionary counterposing of the black race to the white, which is dangerous for the progress of the Negro peoples. The opponents of Negritude who sum it up as anti-racial racialism are quite right.

According to the concept of Negritude, white and black people have a different way of thinking: 'the European's way of thinking is analytical and logical, while the Negro-African's is intuitive.' This implies two methods of cognition, and 'cognition by means of comparison and intuition is Negro-African cognition'. These anti-scientific ideas lead to absurd political conclusions. Hence, Marxism is said to be unsuitable for Africa and 'the romantic theme widespread in Europe' about 'the so-called solidarity of the European proletariat and the colonial peoples does not stand up to criticism'. There can be no alliance between the European workers and the imperialist-enslaved peoples of Africa, affirms the advocate of Negritude, turning a blind eye on the valuable contribution made, for instance, by the French workers and their Communist Party towards the liberation of the French colonial people.

After the second world war, attempts were made to boost the idea of a single Negro-African culture and Negro-African literature including literature created by all Negro writers regardless of where they lived or worked—in the Congo or the United States—and on this basis to organize a new Pan-Negro movement. In 1947, a group of Negro intellectuals from French colonies in Africa and the West Indies started to put out a magazine in Paris called *Présence Africaine* intended to 'uphold the unity of Negro culture'. In 1956, they convened an International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, which decided to form the Society of African Culture (formally founded on March 9th, 1957); the word African is here used as a synonym for Negro. Jean Price-Mars, a doctor from Haiti, was elected president

of the Society. A second Congress was held in Rome in 1959. The Society's activities were useful in that they made many people familiar with problems connected with the renaissance and development of African culture which the colonialists had pronounced primitive and unworthy of attention. On the political level, however, it was not and could not be successful.

The concept of Negritude did not win recognition in Africa or among the American Negroes. The best minds of the continent refuse to attach any importance to the colour of a man's skin and to introduce racial considerations into politics. Speaking about Garveyism (a Negro movement in the 1920's) Ghanaian President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has stated quite categorically that black nationalism was the opposite of African nationalism. Ghana's Permanent Representative at the United Nations Alex Quaison-Sackey frequently observes in his book *Africa Unbound* (1963, pp. 43, 161, etc.), how stupid it is for a Negro to emphasize his blackness. On the subject of Negritude he wrote that it 'is a dangerous creed: why should the colour of a man's skin mean anything? . . . What is truly important is the self-respect and mutual understanding among all human beings of whatever colour'. (*Ibid.*, p. 161.)

Negritude implies justification of colonialism as an historically unavoidable evil. Its proponents admit that colonialism is an evil, but 'let us cease uttering reproaches and be more attentive to the contribution made than to the damage done', they cry. Europe 'brought us a higher technique than our own; . . . having destroyed the old Negro-African animism, it offered us Christianity—a more rational religion', and so on, and for that reason 'let us stop cursing colonialism and Europe and making them the cause of all our ills'. In order to justify their stand, they allege—as Léopold Senghor did, for instance, when opening a seminar on 'African Socialism' (Dakar, December 3rd-8th, 1962)—that Marx and Engels 'were not anti-colonialists'.

Events in recent years have shown that the advocates of Negritude prefer alliance with imperialist France to Pan-African unity. Ruling circles in African countries, formerly part of the French colonial empire, who have given their allegiance to Negritude have not participated in the all-African peoples' conferences, the direct continuation of the Pan-African Congresses. And they did not attend the three Afro-Asian solidarity conferences held in African capitals (their countries were either totally unrepresented or were represented by opposition organizations and leaders). They refused to take part in the third conference of independent African states, scheduled for Tunis in 1962, preferring instead to convene separate conferences (Brazzaville, December 1960; Yaoundé, March 1961), as a result of

which the splinter Afro-Malagasy Union was set up. They were to blame for the fact that the projected third conference of independent African states did not take place. Public opinion in support of African unity compelled them, however, to attend the Addis Ababa Conference and sign the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Even so, they immediately announced their intention of continuing with the Afro-Malagasy Union, whose activity, as President Sékou Touré of Guinea has rightly said, 'is aimed at emasculating the African Charter adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference of its dynamic content.'

This is the short, as yet unfinished, history of a contemporary movement founded on a racial concept: it started with anti-racialism and condemnation of French colonial policy and ended in alliance with the imperialists. One reason why the advocates of Negritude find themselves in this unnatural alliance with the oppressors is because they reject an alliance between the oppressed peoples of Africa and the European workers.

A wide range of historical experience convincingly shows that racial considerations have always been introduced into politics by reactionary forces (slave-owners, colonialists, German fascists, Japanese militarists, etc.) to justify their repugnant anti-popular policies. History shows that popular movements having a racial basis have always arisen as a reaction to racial oppression. Although in the first instance these movements are usually progressive, they always have some features which can be and in fact are used to a reactionary end. A member of such a movement may make up his mind, or may be persuaded, that all people of another race are his enemies and the enemies of his people. The case of the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa is an instructive example.

For a number of years before it was banned by the Government, the Congress of Democrats in South Africa grouped together English and Afrikaner supporters of the progressive, anti-imperialist organizations of the non-European population—the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, and the Coloured People's Congress. When all these organizations formed a common front of struggle against Verwoerd's fascist policies, a small group of A.N.C. members split away, complaining that the A.N.C. had fallen under white influence, and set up their own organization—the Pan-Africanist Congress—as a purely racial organization allegedly 'free' from white influence. The P.A.C. leadership immediately came out with violently anti-Communist statements and soon attracted the support of the white Liberal Party also engaged in vicious anti-Communist propaganda. The leader of its Right wing, Patrick Duncan,

a rabid anti-Communist, became a particularly enthusiastic champion of the P.A.C. After having left the A.N.C. for the alleged reason that it co-operated with progressive whites, the P.A.C. fell into company with white reactionaries. This is, of course, quite natural: the main contradiction in bourgeois society is not between races but between antagonistic classes, between the forces of progress fighting for the Socialist transformation of society and the forces of imperialist reaction striving to save the outlived, decadent capitalist system.

The P.A.C. leaders are no exception. There are political figures in other African countries who counterpose black to white, and with the same result: in turning their back on friends, they find themselves bound in a shameful alliance with the enemies of African freedom.

The idea of 'ideological independence' has gained considerable ground among certain Africans. We cannot accept the ideology of either West or East, they say, for we have our own ideology and we must develop it further and improve on it. There are a number of factors behind the appearance of this idea.

The whole thesis rests on the concept of 'African exceptionalism': which claims that Africa is developing in ways different to other continents. African society, it is alleged, is by its very nature classless; elements of private ownership and exploitation were brought in by the colonialists and are alien to African society; before the colonialists arrived, African society was already Socialist, but the colonialists destroyed it and now it is necessary to restore the former Socialist institutions. The general laws governing the development of human society are said not to extend to Africa, which apparently has its own laws and should therefore have its own ideology.

At the same time, the concept of 'African exceptionalism' is a reaction to the humiliation suffered by the Negro peoples at the hands of the colonialists. Over the centuries the colonialists had maintained that the Negro peoples were incapable of independent creative action; they were perhaps able to take over the achievements of white peoples but, because of their mental inferiority, they could not create any new spiritual values themselves. Hence the natural desire to create something of their own, something original and in this way give the lie to the insulting inventions of the racialists and restore the dignity of the Negro peoples or, as Pan-Africanists would say, the dignity of the 'African personality'.

But is ideological independence possible? African society includes petty commodity producers, private property owners, and petty bourgeoisie; in many countries a capitalist bourgeoisie has already appeared and is exploiting the labour of others. Consequently, bourgeois ideology finds fertile soil within African society. For a long time

Africa has been subjected to strong ideological influence from the bourgeois countries of Europe and America. The colonialists implanted bourgeois, and not some other kind of ideology. As a result, bourgeois ideas are more widespread in Africa today than Socialist ideas which have only recently begun to filter through, although they are today spreading quickly. The attempt to conduct a policy of ideological independence can in practice mean only one thing: to prevent the spreading of Socialist ideas and strengthen bourgeois ideas. Small wonder that both the local, African, and the foreign, imperialist, bourgeoisie approve this policy.

Bourgeois journals throughout the world support '*African Socialism*' or, to give its other variant, '*Pan-African Socialism*' in the belief that this theory will not lead to Socialism. For this reason those African statesmen and political figures who really are striving for Socialism have lately begun to use the more exact term '*scientific Socialism*'. Characteristic in this respect is the evolution in the views of the Convention People's Party of Ghana. At first, the C.P.P. put forward in its policy statements the demand for '*African Socialism*', then simply '*Socialism*' without any definition, and finally '*scientific Socialism*'. The ruling party in Mali, the Sudanese Union, has also given up using the term '*African Socialism*'; at its last, sixth congress in 1962 the theory of scientific Socialism was proclaimed as its ideological foundation. At the colloquium on '*African Socialism*' in Dakar, the Mali representative, Minister of Development Seydou Kouyate, spoke out in defence of the scientific theory of Socialism. When President Sékou Touré opened the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea on December 27th, 1962, he said: 'There is a lot of talk in Africa about African Socialism as if there were such a thing as Chinese Socialism, American Socialism, Yugoslav Socialism, Bulgarian Socialism, etc. If we go any farther along this path, then we shall begin to speak of the Nigerian or Togolese road to Socialism, about Senegalese chemistry or Moroccan mathematics.'

There is no single concept of '*African Socialism*' but a great many different ones. A careful study of them all shows that in some cases they arise from confusion in the minds of people sincerely striving for Socialism, while in others they reflect the interests of the rising African national bourgeoisie who are willing to employ certain Socialist methods (economic planning, establishment of a state sector, etc.) in order to overcome economic backwardness but do not intend to allow any infringement on their own class interests. But no matter how theorists in Africa and elsewhere interpret '*African Socialism*', the African popular masses regard it as firm rejection of the capitalist way of development and the end of man's exploitation of man, as

well as of imperialist exploitation, that is, as authentic scientific Socialism. The working people link all their hopes for a better life with the idea of Socialism, that brand of Socialism which has already set one-third of mankind on the road to happiness, freedom and justice; this is the great achievement of our age.

Some African leaders claim that Marxism cannot be applied to their countries because the proletarian and bourgeois classes are not yet fully formed there. But Marxism offers, among other things, an explanation of the most general laws governing any society, including a pre-capitalist one. What it means by a non-capitalist path is that countries where the proletarian and bourgeois classes have not had time to form can take a way of development which can lead to Socialism, so by-passing the capitalist stage. The idea of non-capitalist development has won wide recognition in Africa, which provides further confirmation that Marxism is applicable to all continents and countries, including Africa.

Anti-Communist propaganda tries to convince Africans that if they accept the theory of scientific Socialism, this means they must blindly copy the experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and disregard specific African conditions. These specific conditions are very real and substantial and will inevitably affect the tempo and methods of transition to a Socialist society, but scientific Socialism in fact, demands a thorough analysis of conditions in a country building Socialism. This truth is becoming more widely understood in Africa. At the Dakar colloquium Maurice Adoum from the Republic of Chad said that he did not think the term 'African Socialism' very suitable since 'the theory of Socialism, being a scientific theory, cannot be African just as it cannot be Chinese or Russian'. Nevertheless, he further remarked, 'the great masters of revolutionary practice show us by their own experience that there are many ways of approaching Socialism'. He called upon Africans to get rid of 'intellectual flabbiness' and find the means of implementing the ideas of scientific Socialism with due regard for African reality. This interpretation of 'African Socialism' as the search for ways and means of building Socialism with the material available to Africans does not contradict the scientific theory of Socialism, although the term itself is rather dubious since it is open to false interpretation.

As a political movement, Pan-Africanism has made a positive contribution to the struggle to liberate Africa from colonialism, but the fight is far from finished. The first stage of the national, anti-imperialist revolution—the winning of political independence and the establishment of national states—has not yet been completed since a number of countries still lie under the colonial yoke. Construction of

a balanced national economy ensuring economic independence and strengthening state sovereignty is the next stage in the anti-imperialist revolution. Experience has shown that this is not an easy task. If all the peoples of Africa were united around a common anti-imperialist platform, it would be easier to complete this revolution. 'Africa's salvation lies in unity,' Telli Diallo of Guinea told the O.A.U. foreign ministers conference. In this sense Pan-Africanism's historic mission is not yet accomplished.

The ideology of Pan-Africanism is diffuse and can be interpreted in quite opposite ways. Consequently, the enemies of African unity, the enemies of her really independent development can sometimes hide behind the flag of Pan-Africanism. This, evidently, is what prompted Mburumba Kerin to say that the reactionaries hide themselves in America in the clothing of professional Africanists and in Africa behind the name of Pan-African nationalists. Pan-Africanism is not a single, integral whole either in the political or the ideological sense. A fierce battle between the forces of reaction and progress is being fought around the concept of Pan-Africanism. Some understand Pan-Africanism as unity of the African peoples in the struggle against imperialism, for abolition of the vestiges of colonialism, and for economic and social progress. Interpreted in this way, Pan-Africanism deserves every support from the forces of progress. Others regard Pan-Africanism as counterposing black to white—a view which only plays into the hands of Africa's enemies, the imperialists.

By interpreting Pan-Africanism in the way that suits them best, the European and American imperialists are trying to isolate Africa from its true friends, to strengthen their own ideological influence and make it an instrument for retaining political control in order to ensure their further, essentially colonial, exploitation of Africa. The people of Africa are repulsing these attempts and, although they are not yet always strong enough to expose all imperialism's ideological diversions, they will ultimately be victorious, for the truth of life is on their side.