Pan-Africanism Reconsidered is composed of the main speeches, papers, and comments given at the Third Annual Conference of the American Society of African Culture, which was held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania from June 22 to June 26, 1960. The subject of the conference was “African Unities and Pan-Africanism.” It is our purpose in this book to reflect the nature of this significant conference and to present a record of lasting importance on a subject that is by nature constantly changing. Some attempt has been made to omit the transitory and the ceremonial which cannot be of interest to those who will turn to this volume as a source.

One major apology is made necessary by our decision to publish this volume, and this is to our African participants and guests. When we planned the conference, we had limited funds. Subsequently, we were able to raise additional money from the Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation and the Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, which made it possible to invite African guests. Unfortunately, by this time it was too late to ask these guests to prepare papers; consequently, our African participants could only be asked to be commentators. In many instances they spoke extemporaneously and had very little time in which to preview the papers on which they were to comment. We have been able to include their contributions in this volume mainly by the use of tape recordings. The transcriptions have been edited and made into more-or-less formal papers. Where our African guests spoke in French, there has been the additional difficulty of the proper rendering of their remarks in translation. In spite of being placed under such handicaps, the contributions of our African friends stand up well in this volume.

The American Society of African Culture (AMSAC), established in 1957, is an organization of about three hundred and fifty American scholars, writers, and artists of African descent. It is an affiliate of the Société Africaine de Culture (SAC), which publishes Présence Africaine from its Paris headquarters. Basically, AMSAC is concerned with the study of African culture in Africa and elsewhere in the world in order to provide a bond of understanding between Africans and
all Americans, especially those of African descent. AMSAC's concern with African culture includes the study of both high culture (the plastic arts, the performing arts, and the humanities) and culture and society in the sense of the social scientist's use of the term.

The first annual conference of AMSAC was held in New York in June, 1958, and was concerned largely with organizational matters. The second, in June, 1959, also held in New York, considered African literature, history, religion, arts, leadership, economy, society, and education. After long deliberations, the planning committee selected "African Unities and Pan-Africanism" as an appropriate subject for the third annual conference. It seemed to us that the role of Pan-Africanism needed a new emphasis. In the past, with considerable support and nurture from American Negroes, it had served as a rallying force against colonialism, imperialism, and racial persecution. In 1960, African states were emerging at a rapid rate and, in addition to many other problems, were facing two fearful dangers: the development of an unbridled national state system in the pre-World War II sense, and the involvement of African states in the cold war. Pan-Africanism, when properly developed, seemed to the planning committee to be a partial answer to both dangers. If the continent of Africa hopes to be neutral, then it needs the defense of Pan-Africanism just as the Western Hemisphere has had the defense of Pan-Americanism. Neutralism requires defensive strength. In the old days, this was provided by oceans, deserts, and mountains. Now that these natural barriers do not suffice, defense for neutralism can be provided for Africa by Pan-Africanism and the United Nations Organization. Pan-Africanism can also provide the motivating force to prevent political, economic, and military rivalries between African nations. There are many unities in African culture to provide a basis for a truly collective Pan-Africanism. We planned our conference in the fall of 1959 and the winter of 1959–60. The events of 1960 showed that our subject was worth considering.

Although the main work of the conference lay in the papers, the panel discussions, the commentary, and the panel reports, African high culture and its continuing creativity and contributions were demonstrated in an art exhibit, an evening of dance and music, and a tour of the University of Pennsylvania's African Art Collection. The conference opened with addresses by His Excellency Telli Diallo,
Ambassador from Guinea to the United States; Dr. Jean Price-Mars, President of the Société Africaine de Culture; and Professor Alioune Diop, Executive Director of the Société. These speeches, which explain the past and present of SAC and AMSAC, along with the keynote speech of the conference are placed in an introductory section of the volume. The book concludes with the final address of the conference by the then Speaker of the Nigerian House of Assembly, the Honorable Jaja A. Wachuku, who on the brink of his country's independence brought glad tidings to American Negroes of Africa's future and of theirs.

What the social scientist has to say about Africa is quickly eroded by time. In reading the papers of Marcum, Apter and Coleman, and Fofana, and the comments made upon them, certain events subsequent to their presentation should be kept in mind. Independence for the Congo has been threatened by regional separation. Syria has seceded from the United Arab Republic. The Mali Federation split into Senegal and Mali (the French Soudan), and the latter joined Ghana and Guinea in the Union of Africa States, a loose league involving no transfer of sovereignty. The Casablanca group of nations and the Brazzaville-Monrovia-Lagos group have emerged as representing different aspects of Pan-Africanism and certainly different attitudes toward the former European colonialists and the United States. Both Liberia and Nigeria are active in Pan-African affairs.

One final word is necessary with regard to those who made this book possible. In addition to Samuel W. Allen, the editor, Miss Cynthia Courtney, the AMSAC's Director of Publications, is mainly responsible for achieving the production of the volume. As we have already indicated, the manuscript presented a host of difficult technical problems. These were mastered by Gilman Park, Jr., who is in large measure responsible not only for copy-editing but also for the preliminary organization and format of the manuscript.

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