

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE 7TH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

UGANDA, 1994

Prologue:
Panafricanism in an Epoch of Social Revolution

Global capitalism is waging a campaign to recolonize Africa! We convened the 7th Panafrican Congress to organize a new politics of resistance to the new conditions that are threatening Africa and African peoples in more dangerous ways than ever before. Panafricanism has always been a global calling to advance the cause of liberation and freedom, and it is in this tradition that the 7th Panafrican Congress has been held.

Driven by its predatory instinct for primitive accumulation, Europe turned Africa into a reserve for the exploitation of its human resources at the dawn of the capitalist era. The most profitable and barbaric aspect of this history was the slave trade that destabilized traditional society and robbed Africa of millions of its children. In this way African peoples were spread out over the globe, especially in the Americas, creating the African Diaspora. Inside Africa these same European powers raped and plundered the natural wealth of the continent, and tried to establish bastions of white supremacy through various forms of colonialism. The infamous Berlin Conference (1884-85) carved Africa up into countries based on boundaries that reflected European interests and violated traditional African geography.

From the very first act of aggression against Africa the history of resistance was born. There has always been a history of resistance by African peoples that reflected the conditions under which the people lived and were exploited. As early as the 18th century there was peasant led mass resistance in Africa and slave revolts throughout the Diaspora. The global Panafrican movement was born after the Berlin conference because European colonization forced Africans to unite against a common enemy. On this basis African nationalism has always been panafrican in content!

The 20th century international PanAfrican movement was founded in 1900, and has convened six previous Congress meetings (1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, 1945, 1974) The main focus began as a collective effort to reform the colonial system, and culminated in the 1945 5th Panafrican Congress (Manchester, England) calling for the end of colonial rule. This led to the independence of African countries beginning with Ghana in 1957, and reaching a high point in 1960 when the UNO proclaimed "Africa Year."

The Panafrican movement was transformed when the heads of state of the newly independent countries formed the Organization of African Unity founded in 1963. There were three main forms of Panafricanism in this period: the formation of continental organizations following the example of the OAU; the development of armed struggle against the remaining colonialism of Portugal (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique) and the racist settler

regimes of Southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa); and the reconnection of the African Diaspora with revolutionary forces on the African continent. However, the gains of political independence were compromised by the continuation of European economic domination. This marked a shift from colonialism to neocolonialism, and the development of class structures among Africans that linked privileged elites and the middle classes to the imperialist interests of the former colonial powers.

In the African Diaspora the countries of the Caribbean, Central and South America experienced similar histories of systemic shifts from colonialism to neo-colonialism, and from the leadership of anti-colonial elites to comprador collaborationists with imperialism. The main exception to this has been the Cuban revolution which joins with Haiti as bright spots of revolution in the African Diaspora. In the USA, the African American middle classes led a massive working class civil rights movement that achieved an end to legal apartheid in the 1960's, but also led to them being coopted into the mainstream of political and economic institutions. What happened in the USA is taking place in England, and Canada. France remains belligerent in attempting to keep French colonialism alive in Guadalupe and Martinique.

While remnants of the colonial system remain, and structures of neocolonialism engulf the entire continent, the current situation facing Africa and African people throughout the world is entering a new period. The change that is taking place in Africa is part of a global transformation based on revolutionary advances in science and technology.

The economic basis of the industrial era of world history is undergoing a fundamental transformation, along with the social and political institutions based on it. Just as the steam engine led the technological revolution that transformed the world through industrialization beginning in the 18th century, so computer and microchip technology leads a new revolution as we approach the 21st century.

The industrialization in the 20th century had both capitalist and socialist forms, and the cold war competition between them dominated international politics, including Africa. The socialist countries helped prevent total imperialist victory over revolutionary forces in Africa, and its competition with capitalism expressed itself in increased material, political, and moral support. However, as the capitalist countries deepened their control over Africa through the mechanism of debt, a historical betrayal of the African revolution by its decadent elites was underway. Through the rule of police state tyranny, they looted national wealth and sold away national sovereignty.

Today, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have emerged as the main international agencies of third world underdevelopment, dictating to African countries the reorganization of their economies and much of their internal domestic social policy. As the call to the 7th Panafrican Congress stated "The IMF and the World Bank supervise an economic order which does not provide means for African development and growth, but structurally adjusts Africa into increasing poverty and hardship."

We face a breakdown of our societies and communities. Our people cry out for food, housing, health care, education, jobs, justice, and freedom from police terror, drugs, and AIDS (HIV).

African women and children have been especially hard hit. The social welfare state that emerged after World War II has been replaced by a neo-fascist state that has yet to fully bear its fangs. Despite the differences between countries, a "new world dis-order" has taken shape.

Thus, the control of Africa remains in the hands of imperialism. Within virtually every country imperialism has the full cooperation of the ruling civilian and military elites. The economic character of this neo-colonial relationship is driven by the technological revolution, and is fast depleting Africa's natural resources, despoiling its environment, and destabilizing the agricultural basis of its world trade. The overall result is that Africa is being forced into dangerous levels of economic impoverishment, social decay, and chemical genocide (e.g., toxic waste dumping and AIDS). The mass poverty of virtually every African country is also spreading throughout the African Diaspora, and on this basis revolution is once again in the air, from Cairo to Chicago, from Somalia to South Central Los Angeles, from Kansas City to Kampala, from Detroit to Durban.

Toward a 21st Century Revolutionary Program

We declare the following political program for the Panafrican movement as we fight our way into the 21st century. A program defines the goals of a movement, and the strategy and tactics being used to attain those goals. This broad program must be discussed and debated at the grass roots level (in every country, in every village, by every movement in every language spoken by African people), be applied to the actual conditions being faced, and translated into practical programmatic action.

The 7th Panafrican Congress has been convened to propose a general program of action for our freedom:

to summarize the conditions faced by African peoples all over the world;

to summarize the collective political responses by African peoples to these revolutionary times;

to formulate an overall political and economic strategy

for the final liberation of Africa from foreign aggression;

for the liberation of Africa from the betrayal of imperialist collaborators within African governments and military forces as well as in business and nongovernmental organizations; and

for the liberation of African peoples throughout the Diaspora in the context of the revolutionary struggle being carried out by all of the oppressed and exploited peoples in those countries.

Our strategy is to aim the main blow of the Panafrican movement at the stranglehold of imperialist debt, to fight for ending the total debt on the basis of the "odious debt" principle

as accepted in international law. African people are legally justified to resort to this principle of protection, because the debts were incurred without their approval through normal democratic organs. There is nothing to show on the ground for the massive \$300 billion debt. We see no bridges, no dams, no rural electrification, no industries, no modern agriculture -- but we see only massive outflow of value from Africa in the form of debt servicing and looting that masquerades as trade.

The 7th Pan-African Congress endorses the fight for "European/ US Reparations for the African Holocaust." This would be affected by investing in large-scale Africa-wide infrastructure projects --e.g., Panafrican roads, railways and river/canal transportation, linking our massive rivers and lakes for better utilization of Africa's water resources (estimated at 40% of world hydro-electric potential) for the benefit of the entire continent.

This should apply to all African countries and those countries of the African Diaspora whose histories were based on the enslavement of African peoples.

The main forces to carry out this historical mission are the workers and peasants, joined by their allies of other classes and social forces. In general, on this basis, we call for a new movement of African peoples to form a popular front for the 21st century liberation of Africa from foreign domination.

Inside Africa our blow is aimed against the betrayal of Africa by the imperialist collaborators in our own ranks. Our goal is to liberate African peoples based on collective mobilization and survival tactics at local levels, aimed at a new era of democracy at the national level. We call upon African governments to support this fight against the debt crisis by refusing to pay and carry out the structural adjustment programs and other conditionalities. Furthermore, we call for a continental moratorium on all foreign military activity, including the establishment of military bases and the deployment of troops, whether under the auspices of the UNO or as unilateral action.

We must organize ourselves to carry out our program. The foundation of our political unity is mass action at the grass roots, and networking among our practical revolutionary leadership throughout Africa and the African Diaspora. We must build a decentralized movement based on local self-reliance guided by international strategic planning and the forging of tactics on a regional and local level. We have to organize everyone, because everyone has a positive role to play in our revolutionary movement.

1. our movements:

Our task is to unite all efforts to organize working and poor people in urban and rural communities, especially women and the youth.

2. our governments:

Our task is to unite with all forces in every government working to fight imperialist domination.

3. our religious institutions:

Our task is to promote liberation theology and all forms of social activism consistent with this

- program from every religious organization.
4. our sisters:
Our task is to promote women into the leadership of every movement and organization, and actively fight to end all forms of special oppression against women.
 5. our class:
Our task is to coordinate a workers and peasants movement based on union solidarity and self-reliance for survival.
 6. our scholars:
Our task is to develop a revolutionary intelligentsia, and a school curriculum for all levels of education that promotes this Declaration, and places the recent advances in science and technology in the service of the African revolution.
 7. our youth:
Our task is to mobilize the masses of unemployed youth into a mighty force for social change by transforming their energy into social power.
 8. our farmers:
Our task is to feed our nations as we diversify into national and regional markets rather than remain hooked on the world market for foreign exchange.
 9. our artists:
Our task is to recruit our creative cultural workers into the service of promoting the Declaration by forging the symbols and rituals of Panafrican identity within the revolutionary struggles throughout Africa. In addition we need to continue the fight of placing the cultural contribution of African people at the center of world culture.
 10. our elders:
Our task is to temper our knowledge with the wisdom of those with experience as their guide

OUR VISION

We dare to dream the same dream that has always filled the slave quarters with hope, that has always animated the spirit of rebellion, that has united the poor and suffering workers and peasants with the revolutionary expectation that the wealth of the world would be used for life and liberation, and not greed. But we have held the 7th Panafrican Congress to do more than dream, for we have come together to make concrete plans for action, action that will rid the world of a curse that has plagued Africa for centuries. We are the warriors and thinkers whose task is to make a mighty stride toward freedom by any means necessary.

The great panafricanist W.E.B. DuBois wrote of his vision in

1958 (Ghana) and we take this to be our own in 1994 (Uganda):

Awake, awake, put on thy
strength, O Africa! Reject
the weakness of missionaries
of false gods and evil states
who teach neither love nor
brotherhood, but chiefly
the virtues of private profit
from capital, stolen from
your land and labor.
Africa, awake! Put on your
beautiful robes of
Pan-Africanism, and fight!

Our salvation lies in our own hands. We are the architects of
our own freedom.

Forward, comrades, to the work that we must do!