7TH PANAFRICAN CONGRESS

KAMPALA, UGANDA, EAST AFRICA
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HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE

FOR

NORTH AMERICAN DELEGATION

Prepared by

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HANDBOOK OF STRUGGLE

Outline

1. Greeting

2. Program for Advanced Study (Optional)

3. Historical Background
   a. PanAfrican Congress Movement (1900 - 1945)
   b. 6th Pan African Congress (1974)

4. 7th Pan African Congress

5. UGANDA

6. Individual Preparation

7. Glossary
May 1 1993

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

On behalf of the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) for the 7th Pan African Congress, I wish to certify that Prof Abdul Alkalimat is a member of the IPC and has authority to represent the 7th Pan African Congress in all ways possible to sensitize, mobilise and organize African peoples both on the continent and in the diaspora.

The Congress will take place from 12-16 December 1993.

We shall be delighted if you could be of any assistance to him.

Thanking you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours Sincerely,

[Signature]

Dr Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem
General Secretary

DONT AGONISE, ORGANISE!

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Greetings! It is a pleasure to welcome you to the US Delegation of the 7th PanAfrican Congress. This is an historical opportunity to participate in discussion and networking that can influence the shape of world history. We will be helping to shape the policy we need for the 21st century, our strategy and tactics. This is a major meeting of revolutionary forces, and lots of other progressive individuals and organizations from all over the world, especially the African continent.

This is a time to be at our best because what we do in the short time of a week will be a permanent part of the historical struggles waged by Black people to be free. Furthermore, it will be a major contribution to world revolution.

Black people out side of Africa, in the African Diaspora, have been major players in every PanAfrican Congress. We will be expected to make a strong contribution, both in sessions and the hallways. We will set up bi-lateral meetings, meaning the US Delegation will meet with others on a one-on-one basis. Be ready to represent our class, our people, our revolutionary struggle.
This handbook of struggle is for your preparation, and also for a reference while you are in Africa. In addition, if you are able to do some additional reading the following books are strongly suggested for your study:

1. Sid Lemelle, *PanAfricanism for Beginners*.

2. Abdul Alkalimat, ed., *Black Liberation and Social Revolution*


5. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*


AMILCAR CABRAL (1924-1973) Secretary-General and President of the War Council of the P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) after the arrest of Raphael Barbosa, President of the Party’s Central Committee, in February 1962. Cabral was trained in Portugal as an agronomist, and served in the Portuguese ‘overseas territories’ until the early 1950s when growing awareness of the fraud on which Portuguese colonialism was based led to his resignation from the Portuguese colonial service. As early as 1952, he and Agostinho Neto helped to establish the ‘Centre of African Studies’ in Lisbon as a forum for discussions and confrontations between African intellectuals in the Portuguese colonies. He helped found the P.A.I.G.C. in September 1956 in Bissau. In June 1962 the armed struggle was launched, using traditional weapons and old pistols; by January 1963 the struggle spread throughout the southern part of Guiné (Bissau) and was extended to the north the same year. With the exception of the islands of Bissao, Bissagos, Percice, Balwa, Djete and Cape Verde, the P.A.I.G.C., contrary to certain observers, is active in all zones where Portuguese troops are stationed, and has taken the military initiative. Assassinated in March 1973; the following year Guinea Bissau declared its independence.

Cabral

‘THE WEAPON OF THEORY’*

Address delivered to the first Tricontinental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana in January 1966.

If any of us came to Cuba with doubts in our mind about the solidarity, strength, maturity and vitality of the Cuban Revolution, these doubts have been removed by what we have been able to see. Our hearts are now warmed by an unshakeable certainty which gives us courage in the difficult but glorious struggle against the common enemy: no power in the world will be able to destroy this Cuban Revolution, which is creating in the countryside and in the towns not only a new life but also—and even more important—a New Man, fully conscious of his national, continental and international rights and duties. In every field of activity the Cuban people have made major progress during the last seven years, particularly in 1965, Year of Agriculture.

We believe that this constitutes a particular lesson for the national liberation movements, especially for those who want their national revolution to be a true revolution. Some people have not failed to note that a certain number of Cubans, albeit an insignificant minority, have not shared the joys and hopes of the celebrations for the seventh anniversary because they are against the Revolution. It is possible that others will not be present at the celebrations of the eighth anniversary, but we would like to state that we consider the ‘open door’ policy for enemies of the Revolution to be a lesson in courage, determination, humanity and confidence in the people, another political and moral victory over the enemy; and to those who are worried, in a spirit of friendship, about the dangers which may be involved in this exodus, we guarantee that we, the peoples of the countries of Africa, still completely dominated by Portuguese colonialism, are prepared to send to Cuba as many men and women as may be needed to compensate for the departure of those who for reasons of class or of inability to adapt have interests or attitudes which are incompatible with the interests of the Cuban people. Taking once again the formerly hard and tragic path of our ancestors (mainly from Guinea and Angola) who were taken to Cuba as slaves, we would come now as free men, as willing workers and Cuban patriots, to fulfill a productive function in this new, just and multi-racial society, and to help and defend with our own lives the victories of the Cuban people. Thus we would strengthen both all the bonds of history, blood and culture which unite our peoples with the Cuban people, and the spontaneous giving of oneself, the deep joy and infectious rhythm which make the construction of socialism in Cuba a new phenomenon for the world, a unique and for many unaccustomed event.

We are not going to use this platform to rail against imperialism. An African saying very common in our country says:
elaboration, more or less influenced by external factors (be they favourable or unfavourable) but essentially determined and formed by the historical reality of each people, and carried to success by the overcoming or correct solution of the internal contradictions between the various categories characterising this reality. The success of the Cuban revolution, taking place only 90 miles from the greatest imperialist and anti-socialist power of all time, seems to us, in its content and way of evolution, to be a practical and conclusive illustration of the validity of this principle.

However we must recognise that we ourselves and the other liberation movements in general (referring here above all to the African experience) have not managed to pay sufficient attention to this important problem of our common struggle.

The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements—which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform—constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all. We believe, however, that a sufficient number of different experiences has already been accumulated to enable us to define a general line of thought and action with the aim of eliminating this deficiency. A full discussion of this subject could be useful, and would enable this conference to make a valuable contribution towards strengthening the present and future actions of the national liberation movements. This would be a concrete way of helping these movements, and in our opinion no less important than political support of financial assistance for arms and such like.

It is with the intention of making a contribution, however modest, to this debate that we present here our opinion of the foundations and objectives of national liberation in relation to the social structure. This opinion is the result of our own experiences of the struggle and of a critical appreciation of the experiences of others. To those who see in it a theoretical character, we would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory.
Those who affirm—in our case correctly—that the motive force of history is the class struggle would certainly agree to a revision of this affirmation to make it more precise and give it an even wider field of application if they had a better knowledge of the essential characteristics of certain colonised peoples, that is to say peoples dominated by imperialism. In fact in the general evolution of humanity and of each of the peoples of which is is composed, classes appear neither as a generalised and simultaneous phenomenon throughout the totality of these groups, nor as a finished, perfect, uniform and spontaneous whole. The definition of classes within one or several human groups is a fundamental consequence of the progressive development of the productive forces and of the characteristics of the distribution of the wealth produced by the group or usurped from others. That is to say that the socio-economic phenomenon ‘class’ is created and develops as a function of at least two essential and interdependent variables—the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership of means of production. This development takes place slowly, gradually and unevenly, by quantitative and generally imperceptible variations in the fundamental components; once a certain degree of accumulation is reached, this process then leads to a qualitative jump, characterised by the appearance of classes and of conflict between them.

Factors external to the socio-economic whole can influence, more or less significantly, the process of development of classes, accelerating it, slowing it down and even causing regressions. When, for whatever reason, the influence of these factors ceases the process reasserts its independence and its rhythm is then determined not only by the specific internal characteristics of the whole, but also by the resultant of the effect produced in it by the temporary action of the external factors. On a strictly internal level the rhythm of the process may vary, but it remains continuous and progressive. Sudden progress is only possible as a function of violent alternations—mutations—in the level of productive forces or in the pattern of ownership. These violent transformations carried out within the process of development of classes, as a result of mutations in the level of productive forces or in the pattern of ownership, are generally called, in economic and political language, revolutions.

Clearly, however, the possibilities of this process are noticeably influenced by external factors, and particularly by the interaction of human groups. This interaction is considerably increased by the development of means of transport and communication which has created the modern world, eliminating the isolation of human groups within one area, of areas within one continent, and between continents. This development, characteristic of a long historical period which began with the invention of the first means of transport, was already more evident at the time of the Punic voyages and in the Greek colonisation, and was accentuated by maritime discoveries, the invention of the steam engine and the discovery of electricity. And in our own times, with the progressive domesticization of atomic energy it is possible to promise, if not to take men to the stars, at least to humanise the universe.

This leads us to pose the following question: does history begin only with the development of the phenomenon of class, and consequently of class struggle? To reply in the affirmative would be to place outside history the whole period of life of human groups from the discovery of hunting, and later of nomadic and sedentary agriculture, to the organisation of herds and the private appropriation of land. It would also be to consider—and this we refuse to accept—that various human groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America were living without history, or outside history, at the time when they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism. It would be to consider that the peoples of our countries, such as the Balante of Guinea, the Coaniamas of Angola and the Macondes of Mozambique, are still living today—if we abstract the slight influence of colonialism to which they have been subjected—outside history, or that they have no history.

Our refusal, based as it is on concrete knowledge of the socio-economic reality of our countries and on the analysis of the process of development of the phenomenon ‘class’, as we have seen earlier, leads us to conclude that if class struggle is the motive force of history, it is so only in a specific historical period. This means that before the class struggle—and necessarily after it, since in this world there is no before without an after—one of several factors was and will be the motive force of history. It is not difficult to see that this factor in the history of each human
group is the mode of production—the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership—characteristic of that group. Furthermore, as we have seen, classes themselves, class struggle and their subsequent definition, are the result of the development of the productive forces in conjunction with the pattern of ownership of the means of production. It therefore seems correct to conclude that the level of productive forces, the essential determining element in the content and form of class struggle, is the true and permanent motive force of history.

If we accept this conclusion, then the doubts in our minds are cleared away. Because if on the one hand we can see that the existence of history before the class struggle is guaranteed, and thus avoid for some human groups in our countries—and perhaps in our continent—the sad position of being peoples without any history, then on the other hand we can see that history has continuity, even after the disappearance of class struggle or of classes themselves. And as it was not we who postulated—on a scientific basis—the fact of the disappearance of classes as a historical inevitability, we can feel satisfied at having reached this conclusion which, to a certain extent, re-establishes coherence and at the same time gives to those peoples who, like the people of Cuba, are building socialism, the agreeable certainty that they will not cease to have a history when they complete the process of elimination of the phenomenon of 'class' and class struggle within their socio-economic whole. Eternity is not of this world, but man will outlive classes and will continue to produce and make history, since he can never free himself from the burden of his needs, both of mind and of body, which are the basis of the development of the forces of production.

The foregoing, and the reality of our times, allow us to state that the history of one human group or of humanity goes through at least three stages. The first is characterised by a low level of productive forces—of man's domination over nature; the mode of production is of a rudimentary character, private appropriation of the means of production does not yet exist, there are no classes, nor, consequently, is there any class struggle. In the second stage, the increased level of productive forces leads to private appropriation of the means of production, progressively complicates the mode of production, provokes conflicts of interests within the socio-economic whole in movement, and makes possible the appearance of the phenomenon 'class' and hence of class struggle, the social expression of the contradiction in the economic field between the mode of production and private appropriation of the means of production. In the third stage, once a certain level of productive forces is reached, the elimination of private appropriation of the means of production is made possible, and is carried out, together with the elimination of the phenomenon 'class', and hence of class struggle; new and hitherto unknown forces in the historical process of the socio-economic whole are then unleashed.

In politico-economic language, the first stage would correspond to the communal agricultural and cattle-raising society, in which the social structure is horizontal, without any state; the third to socialist or communist societies, in which the economy is mainly, if not exclusively, industrial (since agriculture itself becomes a form of industry) and in which the state tends to progressively disappear, or actually disappears, and where the social structure returns to horizontality, at a higher level of productive forces, social relations and appreciation of human values.

At the level of humanity or of part of humanity (human groups within one area, of one or several continents) these three stages (or two of them) can be simultaneous, as is shown as much by the present as by the past. This is a result of the uneven development of human societies, whether caused by internal reasons or by one or more external factors exerting an accelerating or slowing-down influence on their evolution. On the other hand, in the historical process of a given socio-economic whole each of the above-mentioned stages contains, once a certain level of transformation is reached, the seeds of the following stage.

We should also note that in the present phase of the life of humanity, and for a given socio-economic whole, the time sequence of the three characteristic stages is not indispensable. Whatever its level of productive forces and present social structure, a society can pass rapidly through the defined stages appropriate to the concrete local realities (both historical and human) and reach a higher stage of existence. This progress depends on the concrete possibilities of developments of the society's productive forces and is governed mainly by the nature of
the political power ruling the society, that is to say, by the type of state or, if one likes, by the character of the dominant class or classes within the society.

A more detailed analysis would show that the possibility of such a jump in the historical process arises mainly, in the economic field, from the power of the means available to man at the time for dominating nature, and, in the political field, from the new event which has radically changed the face of the world and the development of history, the creation of socialist states.

Thus we see that our peoples have their own history regardless of the stage of their economic development. When they were subjected to imperialist domination, the historical process of each of our peoples (or of the human groups of which they are composed) was subjected to the violent action of an external factor. This action—the impact of imperialism on our societies—could not fail to influence the process of development of the productive forces in our countries and the social structures of our countries, as well as the content and form of our national liberation struggles.

But we also see that in the historical context of the development of these struggles, our peoples have the concrete possibility of going from their present situation of exploitation and underdevelopment to a new stage of their historical process which can lead them to a higher form of economic, social and cultural existence.

The political statement drawn up by the international preparatory committee of this conference, for which we reaffirm our complete support, placed imperialism, by clear and succinct analysis, in its economic context and historical co-ordinates. We will not repeat here what has already been said in the assembly. We will simply state that imperialism can be defined as a worldwide expression of the search for profits and the ever-increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly financial capital, centred in two parts of the world; first in Europe, and then in North America. And if we wish to place the fact of imperialism within the general trajectory of the evolution of the transcendental factor which has changed the face of the world, namely capital and the process of its accumulation, we can say that imperialism is partly transplanted from the seas to dry land, partly reorganised, consolidated and adapted to the aim of exploiting the natural and human resources or our peoples. But if we can calmly analyse the imperialist phenomenon, we will not shock anybody by admitting that imperialism—and everything goes to prove that it is in fact the last phase in the evolution of capitalism—has been a historical necessity, a consequence of the impetus given by the productive forces and of the transformations of the means of production in the general context of humanity, considered as one movement, that is to say a necessity like those today of the national liberation of peoples, the destruction of capital and the advent of socialism.

The important thing for our peoples is to know whether imperialism, in its role as capital in action, has fulfilled in our countries its historical mission: the acceleration of the process of development of the productive forces and their transformation in the sense of increasing complexity in the means of production; increasing the differentiation between the classes with the development of the bourgeoisie and intensifying the class struggle; and appreciably increasing the level of economic, social and cultural life of the peoples. It is also worth examining the influences and effects of imperialist action on the social structures and historical processes of our peoples.

We will not condemn nor justify imperialism here; we will simply state that as much on the economic level as on the social and cultural level, imperialist capital has not remotely fulfilled the historical mission carried out by capital in the countries of accumulation. This means that if, on the one hand, imperialist capital has had, in the great majority of the dominated countries, the simple function of multiplying surplus value, it can be seen on the other hand that the historical capacity of capital (as indestructible accelerator of the process of development of productive forces) depends strictly on its freedom, that is to say on the degree of independence with which it is utilized. We must however recognise that in certain cases imperialist capital or moribund capitalism has had sufficient self-interest, strength and time to increase the level of productive forces (as well as building towns) and to allow a minority of the local population to attain a higher and even privileged standard of living, thus contributing to a process which some would call dialectical, by widening the
contradictions within the societies in question. In other, even rarer cases, there has existed the possibility of accumulation of capital, creating the conditions for the development of a local bourgeoisie.

On the question of the effects of imperialist domination on the social structure and historical process of our peoples, we should first of all examine the general forms of imperialist domination. There are at least two forms: the first is direct domination, by means of a political power made up of people foreign to the dominated people (armed forces, police, administrative agents and settlers); this is generally called classical colonialism or colonialism. The second form is indirect domination, by a political power made up mainly or completely of native agents; this is called neo-colonialism.

In the first case, the social structure of the dominated people, whatever its stage of development, can suffer the following consequences: (a) total destruction, generally accompanied by immediate or gradual elimination of the native population and, consequently, by the substitution of a population from outside; (b) partial destruction, generally accompanied by a greater or lesser influx of population from outside; (c) apparent conservation, conditioned by confining the native society to zones or reserves generally offering no possibilities of living, accompanied by massive implantation of population from outside.

The two latter cases are those which we must consider in the framework of the problematic national liberation, and they are extensively present in Africa. One can say that in either case the influence of imperialism on the historical process of the dominated people produces paralysis, stagnation and even in some cases regression in this process. However this paralysis is not complete. In one section or another of the socio-economic whole in question, noticeable transformations can be expected, caused by the permanent action of some internal (local) factors or by the action of new factors introduced by the colonial domination, such as the introduction of money and the development of urban centres. Among these transformations we should particularly note, in certain cases, the progressive loss of prestige of the ruling native classes or sectors, the forced or voluntary exodus of part of the peasant population to the urban centres, with the consequent development of new social strata; salaried workers, clerks,
their proper functioning.

We therefore see that both in colonialism and in neocolonialism the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remains the same: the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces. This observation, which identifies the essence of the two apparent forms of imperialist domination, seems to us to be of major importance for the thought and action of liberation movements, both in the course of struggle and after the winning of independence.

On the basis of this, we can state that national liberation is the phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected.

We have seen that violent usurpation of the freedom of the process of development of the productive forces of the dominated socio-economic whole constitutes the principal and permanent characteristic of imperialist domination, whatever its form. We have also seen that this freedom alone can guarantee the normal development of the historical process of a people. We can therefore conclude that national liberation exists only when the national productive forces have been completely freed from every kind of foreign domination.

It is often said that national liberation is based on the right of every people to freely control its own destiny and that the objective of this liberation is national independence. Although we do not disagree with this vague and subjective way of expressing a complex reality, we prefer to be objective, since for us the basis of national liberation, whatever the formulas adopted on the level of international law, is the inalienable right of every people to have its own history, and the objective of national liberation is to regain this right usurped by imperialism, that is to say, to free the process of development of the national productive forces.

For this reason, in our opinion, any national liberation movement which does not take into consideration this basis and this objective may certainly struggle against imperialism, but will surely not be struggling for national liberation.

This means that, bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present world economy, as well as experiences already gained in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism. Furthermore, if we accept that national liberation demands a profound mutation in the process of development of the productive forces, we see that this phenomenon of national liberation necessarily corresponds to a revolution. The important thing is to be conscious of the objective and subjective conditions in which this revolution can be made and to know the type or types of struggle most appropriate for its realisation.

We are not going to repeat here that these conditions are favourable in the present phase of the history of humanity; it is sufficient to recall that unfavourable conditions also exist, just as much on the international level as on the internal level of each nation struggling for liberation.

On the international level, it seems to us that the following factors, at least, are unfavourable to national liberation movements: the neo-colonial situation of a great number of states which, having won political independence, are now tending to join up with others already in that situation; the progress made by neo-capitalism, particularly in Europe, where imperialism is adopting preferential investments, encouraging the development of a privileged proletariat and thus lowering the revolutionary level of the working classes; the open or concealed neo-colonial position of some European states which, like Portugal, still have colonies; the so-called policy of 'aid for undeveloped countries' adopted by imperialism with the aim of creating or reinforcing native pseudo-bourgeoises which are necessarily dependent on the international bourgeoisie, and thus obstructing the path of revolution; the claustrophobia and revolutionary timidity which have led some recently independent states whose internal economic and political conditions are favourable to revolution to accept compromises with the enemy or its agents; the growing contradictions between anti-imperialist states; and finally, the threat to world peace posed by the prospect of atomic war on the part of imperialism. All these factors reinforce the action of imperialism against the national liberation movements.

If the repeated interventions and growing aggressiveness of
imperialism against the peoples can be interpreted as a sign of
desperation faced with the size of the national liberation
movements, they can also be explained to a certain extent by the
weaknesses produced by these unfavourable factors within the
general front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

On the internal level, we believe that the most important
weaknesses or unfavourable factors are inherent in the socio-
economic structure and in the tendencies of its evolution under
imperialist pressure, or to be more precise in the little or no
attention paid to the characteristics of this structure and these
tendencies by the national liberation movements in deciding on
the strategy of their struggles.

By saying this we do not wish to diminish the importance of
other internal factors which are unfavourable to national
liberation, such as economic under-development, the consequent
social and cultural backwardness of the popular masses, tribalism
and other contradictions of lesser importance. It should however
be pointed out that the existence of tribes only manifests itself
as an important contradiction as a function of opportunistic
attitudes, generally on the part of detribalised individuals or
groups, within the national liberation movements. Contradictions
between classes, even when only embryonic, are of far greater
importance than contradictions between tribes.

Although the colonial and neo-colonial situations are identical
in essence, and the main aspect of the struggle against imperialism
is neo-colonialist, we feel it is vital to distinguish in practice these
two situations. In fact the horizontal structure, however it may
differ from the native society, and the absence of a political power
composed of national elements in the colonial situation make
possible the creation of a wide front of unity and struggle, which
is vital to the success of the national liberation movement. But this
possibility does not remove the need for a rigorous analysis of the
native social structure, of the tendencies of its evolution, and for
the adoption in practice of appropriate measures for ensuring true
national liberation. While recognising that each movement knows
best what to do in its own case, one of these measures seems to us
indispensable, namely the creation of a firmly united vanguard,
conscious of the true meaning and objective of the national
liberation struggle which it must lead. This necessity is all the
more urgent since we know that with rare exceptions the colonial
situation neither permits nor needs the existence of significant
vanguard classes (working class conscious of its existence and
rural proletariat) which could ensure the vigilance of the popular
masses over the evolution of the liberation movement. On the
contrary, the generally embryonic character of the working classes
and the economic, social and cultural situation of the physical
force of most importance in the national liberation struggle—the
peasantry—do not allow these two main forces to distinguish true
national independence from fictitious political independence.

Only a revolutionary vanguard, generally an active minority, can
be aware of this distinction from the start and make it known,
through the struggle, to the popular masses. This explains the
fundamentally political nature of the national liberation struggle
and to a certain extent makes the form of struggle important in
the final results of the phenomenon of national liberation.

In the neo-colonial situation the more or less vertical structure
of the native society and the existence of a political power com-
posed of native elements—national state—already worsen the
contradictions within that society and make difficult if not im-
possible the creation of as wide a front as in the colonial situation.
On the one hand the material effects (mainly the nationalisation
of cadres and the increased economic initiative of the native
elements, particularly in the commercial field) and the
psychological effects (pride in the belief of being ruled by one's
own compatriots, exploitation of religious or tribal solidarity
between some leaders and a fraction of the masses) together
demobilise a considerable part of the nationalist forces. But on
the other hand the necessarily repressive nature of the neo-
colonial state against the national liberation forces, the sharpening
of contradictions between classes, the objective permanence of
signs and agents of foreign domination (settlers who retain their
privileges, armed forces, racial discrimination), the growing
poverty of the peasantry and the more or less notorious influence
of external factors all contribute towards keeping the flame of
nationalism alive, towards progressively raising the consciousness
of wide popular sectors and towards reuniting the majority of the
population, on the very basis of awareness of neo-colonialist
frustration, around the ideal of national liberation. In addition,
while the native ruling class becomes progressively more bourgeois, the development of a working class composed of urban workers and agricultural proletarians, all exploited by the indirect domination of imperialism opens up new perspectives for the evolution of national liberation. This working class, whatever the level of its political consciousness (given a certain minimum, namely the awareness of its own needs), seems to constitute the true popular vanguard of the national liberation struggle in the neo-colonial case. However it will not be able to completely fulfill its mission in this struggle (which does not end with the gaining of independence) unless it firmly unites with the other exploited strata, the peasants in general (hired men, sharecroppers, tenants and small farmers) and the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. The creation of this alliance demands the mobilisation and organisation of the nationalist forces within the framework (or by the action) of a strong and well-structured political organisation.

Another important distinction between the colonial and neo-colonial situations is in the prospects for the struggle. The colonial situation (in which the nation class fights the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie of the colonising country) can lead, apparently at least, to a nationalist solution (national revolution); the nation gains its independence and theoretically adopts the economic structure which best suits it. The neo-colonial situation (in which the working classes and their allies struggle simultaneously against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the native ruling class) is not resolved by a nationalist solution; it demands the destruction of the capitalist structure implanted in the national territory by imperialism, and correctly postulates a socialist solution.

This distinction arises mainly from the different levels of the productive forces in the two cases and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle.

It would not be difficult to show that in time the distinction becomes scarcely apparent. It is sufficient to recall that in our present historical situation—elimination of imperialism which uses every means to perpetuate its domination over our peoples, and consolidation of socialism throughout a large part of the world—there are only two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neo-colonialism, capitalism, state capitalism), or to take the way of socialism. This operation, on which depends the compensation for the effects and sacrifices of the popular masses during the struggle, is considerably influenced by the form of struggle and the degree of revolutionary consciousness of those who lead it. The facts make it unnecessary for us to prove that the essential instrument of imperialist domination is violence. If we accept the principle that the liberation struggle is a revolution and that it does not finish at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem played, we will see that there is not, and cannot be national liberation without the use of liberating violence by the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism. Nobody can doubt that, whatever its local characteristics, imperialist domination implies a state of permanent violence against the nationalist forces. There is no people on earth which, having been subjected to the imperialist yoke (colonialist or neo-colonialist), has managed to gain its independence (nominal or effective) without victims. The important thing is to determine which forms of violence have to be used by the national liberation forces in order not only to answer the violence of imperialism but also to ensure through the struggle the final victory of their cause, true national independence. The past and present experiences of various peoples, the present situation of national liberation struggles in the world (especially in Vietnam, the Congo and Zimbabwe) as well as the situation of permanent violence, or at least of contradictions and upheavals, in certain countries which have gained their independence by the so-called peaceful way, show us not only that compromises with imperialism do not work, but also that the normal way of national liberation, imposed on peoples by imperialist repression, is armed struggle.

We do not think we will shock this assembly by stating that the only effective way of definitively fulfilling the aspirations of the peoples, that is to say of attaining national liberation, is by armed struggle. This is the great lesson which the contemporary history of liberation struggle teaches all those who are truly committed to the effort of liberating their peoples.

It is obvious that both the effectiveness of this way and the stability of the situation to which it leads after liberation depend
not only on the characteristics of the organisation of the struggle but also on the political and moral awareness of those who, for historical reasons, are capable of being the immediate heirs of the colonial or neo-colonial state. For events have shown that the only social sector capable of being aware of the reality of imperialist domination and of directing the state apparatus inherited from this domination is the native petty bourgeoisie. If we bear in mind the aleatory characteristics and the complexity of the tendencies naturally inherent in the economic situation of this social stratum or class, we will see that this specific inevitability in our situation constitutes one of the weaknesses of the national liberation movement.

The colonial situation, which does not permit the development of a native pseudo-bourgeoisie and in which the popular masses do not generally reach the necessary level of political consciousness before the advent of the phenomenon of national liberation, offers the petty bourgeoisie the historical opportunity of leading the struggle against foreign domination, since by nature of its objective and subjective position (higher standard of living than that of the masses, more frequent contact with the agents of colonialism, and hence more chances of being humiliated, higher level of education and political awareness, etc.) it is the stratum which most rapidly becomes aware of the need to free itself from foreign domination. This historical responsibility is assumed by the sector of the petty bourgeoisie which, in the colonial context, can be called revolutionary, while other sectors retain the doubts characteristic of these classes or ally themselves to colonialism so as to defend, albeit illusorily, their social situation.

The neo-colonial situation, which demands the elimination of the native pseudo-bourgeoisie so that national liberation can be attained, also offers the petty bourgeoisie the chance of playing a role of major and even decisive importance in the struggle for the elimination of foreign domination. But in this case, by virtue of the progress made in the social structure, the function of leading the struggle is shared (to a greater or lesser extent) with the more educated sectors of the working classes and even with some elements of the national pseudo-bourgeoisie who are inspired by patriotic sentiments. The role of the sector of the petty bourgeoisie which participates in leading the struggle is all the more important since it is a fact that in the neo-colonial situation it is the most suitable sector to assume these functions, both because of the economic and cultural limitations of the working masses, and because of the complexes and limitations of an ideological nature which characterise the sector of the national pseudo-bourgeoisie which supports the struggle. In this case it is important to note that the role with which it is entrusted demands from this sector of the petty bourgeoisie a greater revolutionary consciousness, and the capacity for faithfully interpreting the aspirations of the masses in each phase of the struggle and for identifying themselves more and more with the masses.

But however high the degree of revolutionary consciousness of the sector of the petty bourgeoisie called on to fulfil this historical function, it cannot free itself from one objective reality: the petty bourgeoisie, as a service class (that is to say that a class not directly involved in the process of production) does not possess the economic base to guarantee the taking over of power. In fact history has shown that whatever the role—sometimes important—played by individuals coming from the petty bourgeoisie in the process of a revolution, this class has never possessed political control. And it could never possess it, since political control (the state) is based on the economic capacity of the ruling class, and in the conditions of colonial and neo-colonial society this capacity is retained by two entities: imperialist capital and the native working classes.

To retain the power which national liberation puts in its hands, the petty bourgeoisie has only one path: to give free rein to its natural tendencies to become more bourgeois, to permit the development of a bureaucratic and intermediary bourgeoisie in the commercial cycle, in order to transform itself into a national pseudo-bourgeoisie, that is to say in order to negate the revolution and necessarily ally itself with imperialist capital. Now all this corresponds to the neo-colonial situation, that is, to the betrayal of the objectives of national liberation. In order not to betray these objectives, the petty bourgeoisie has only one choice: to strengthen its revolutionary consciousness, to reject the temptations of becoming more bourgeois and the natural concerns of its class mentality, to identify itself with the working classes and not to oppose the normal development of the process
of revolution. This means that in order to truly fulfil the role in the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong.

This alternative—to betray the revolution or to commit suicide as a class—constitutes the dilemma of the petty bourgeoisie in the general framework of the national liberation struggle. The positive solution in favour of the revolution depends on what Fidel Castro recently correctly called the development of revolutionary consciousness. This dependence necessarily calls our attention to the capacity of the leader of the national liberation struggle to remain faithful to the principles and to the fundamental cause of this struggle. This shows us, to a certain extent, that if national liberation is essentially a political problem, the conditions for its development give it certain characteristics which belong to the sphere of morals.

We will not shout hurrahs or proclaim here our solidarity with this or that people in struggle. Our presence is in itself a cry of condemnation of imperialism and a proof of solidarity with all peoples who want to banish from their country the imperialist yoke, and in particular with the heroic people of Vietnam. But we firmly believe that the best proof we can give of our anti-imperialist position and of our active solidarity with our comrades in this common struggle is to return to our countries, to further develop this struggle and to remain faithful to the principles and objectives of national liberation.

Our wish is that every national liberation movement represented here may be able to repeat in its own country, arms in hand, in unison with its people, the already legendary cry of Cuba:

PATRIA O MUERTE, VENCEREMOS!
DEATH TO THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM!
FREE, PROSPEROUS AND HAPPY COUNTRY FOR EACH OF OUR PEOPLES!
VENCEREMOS!
ADDRESS TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD BY THE PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN LONDON, 1900

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.

To be sure, the darker races are today the least advanced in culture according to European standards. This has not, however, always been the case in the past, and certainly the world's history, both ancient and modern, has given many instances of no despicable ability and capacity among the blackest races of men.

In any case, the modern world must remember that in this age when the ends of the world are being brought so near together the millions of black men in Africa, America, and the Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have a great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact. If now the world of culture bends itself towards giving Negroes and other dark men the largest and broadest opportunity for education and self-development, then this contact and influence is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the world and hasten human progress. But if, by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed and injustice, the black world is to be exploited and ravished and degraded, the results must be deplorable, if not fatal—not simply to them, but to the high ideals of justice, freedom and culture which a thousand years of Christian civilization have held before Europe.

And now, therefore, to these ideals of civilization, to the broader humanity of the followers of the Prince of Peace, we, the men and women of Africa in world congress assembled, do now solemnly appeal:

Let the world take no backward step in that slow but sure progress which has successively refused to let the spirit of class, of caste, of privilege, or of birth, debar from life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness a striving human soul.

Let not color or race be a feature of distinction between white and black men, regardless of worth or ability.

Let not the natives of Africa be sacrificed to the greed of gold, their liberties taken away, their family life debauched, their just aspirations repressed, and avenues of advancement and culture taken from them.

Let not the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less developed nations, whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted faith of the Christian Church.

Let the British nation, the first modern champion of Negro Freedom, hasten to crown the work of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Buxton, and Sharpe, Bishop Colenso, and Livingstone, and give, as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the West Indies.

Let not the spirit of Garrison, Phillips, and Douglass wholly die out in America; may the conscience of a great nation rise and rebuke all dishonesty and unrighteous oppression toward the American Negro, and grant to him the right of franchise, security of person and property, and generous recognition of the great work he has accomplished in a generation toward raising nine millions of human beings from slavery to manhood.

Let the German Empire, and the French Republic, true to their great past, remember that the true worth of colonies lies in their prosperity and progress, and that justice, impartial alike to black and white, is the first element of prosperity.

Let the Congo Free State become a great central Negro State of the world, and let its prosperity be counted not simply in cash and commerce, but in the happiness and true advancement of its black people.

Let the nations of the World respect the integrity and independence of the first Negro States of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these States, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind.

Thus we appeal with boldness and confidence to the Great Powers of the civilized world, trusting in the wide spirit of humanity, and the deep sense of justice of our age, for a generous recognition of the righteousness of our cause.

ALEXANDER WALTERS (Bishop)
President Pan-African Association
HENRY B. BROWN
Vice-President
H. SYLVESTER-WILLIAMS
General Secretary
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
Chairman Committee on Address
THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Paris, 1919

RESOLUTION

(a) That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labour.

(b) That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social and economic welfare of the natives.

(c) The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

(i) The Land. The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

(ii) Capital. The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

(iii) Labour. Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labour except in punishment of crime, and the general conditions of labour shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

(iv) Education. It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

(v) The State. The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of states; to the end that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans... Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any state or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and culture, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilised world.
THE LONDON MANIFESTO (29 August 1921)

The United States of America, after brutally enslaving millions of black-folk suddenly emancipated them and began their education, but it acted without system or forethought, throwing the freed man on the world penniless and landless, educating them without thoroughness and system and subjecting them the while to lynching, lawlessness, discrimination, insult and slander, such as human beings have seldom endured and survived. To save their own government they enfranchised the Negro and then when danger passed, allowed hundreds of thousands of educated and civilised black folk to be lawlessly disfranchised and subjected to a caste system, and at the same time in 1776, 1812, 1861, 1897, and 1917 they asked and allowed thousands of black men to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the country which despised them.

France alone of the great colonial powers has sought to place her cultured black citizens on a plane of absolute legal and social equality with her white, and given them representation in her highest legislature. In her colonies she has a widespread but still imperfect system of state education. This splendid beginning must be completed by widening the political bases of her native government, by restoring to her indigenes the ownership of the soil, by protecting native labour against the aggression of established capital, and by compelling no man, white or black, to be a soldier unless the country gives him a voice in his own government.

The independence of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and San Domingo is absolutely necessary to any sustained belief of the black folk in the sincerity and honesty of the white. These nations have earned the right to be free, they deserve the recognition of the world. Notwithstanding all their faults and mistakes and the fact that they are in many respects behind the most advanced civilization of the day, nevertheless they compare favourably with the past and even recent history of most European nations and it shames civilization that the Treaty of London practically invited Italy to aggression on Abyssinia and that free America has unjustly and cruelly seized Haiti, murdered her citizens and for a time enslaved her workmen, overthrown her free institutions by force and has so far failed in return to give her a single bit of help, aid or sympathy.

What, then, do those demand who see these evils of the colour line and racial discrimination, and who believe in the divine right of Suppressed and Backward Peoples to learn and aspire and be free?

The Suppressed Races through their thinking leaders are demanding:
1. The recognition of civilised men as civilised despite their race and colour.
2. Local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge to complete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world.
3. Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth and in industrial technique, undivIner from the art of beauty.
4. Freedom in their own religion and customs and with the right to be non-conformist and different.
5. Co-operation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the basis of Justice, Freedom and Peace.
6. The ancient common ownership of the Land and its natural fruits and defence against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

The world must face two eventualities; either the complete assimilation of Africa with two or three of the great world states, with political, civil and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of a great black African State, founded in Peace and Good Will, based on popular education, natural art and industry and freedom of trade, autonomous and sovereign in its internal policy, but from its beginning a part of a great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world.

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal and the end of our unthirking effort. To our aid we call all men of the earth who love Justice and Mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world, out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars.

The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social, is the founding stone of World Peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super races or of races naturally and inevitably inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique or social organisation or spiritual vision lag a few hundred years behind another or forge fitfully ahead or come to differ in thought, deed and ideal is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty, rather fulfills it.

And of all the various criteria by which masses of men have in the past been judged and classified that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair is surely the most adventitious and idiotic.

It is the duty of the world to assist in every way the advance of the Backward and Suppressed Groups of mankind. The rise of all men is a menace to no one and is the highest human ideal—it is not an altruistic benevolence, but the one road to world salvation.

For the purpose of raising such peoples to intelligence, self-knowledge and self-control, their intelligentia of right ought to be recognised as the natural leaders of their groups.
The insidious and dishonourable propaganda which for selfish ends so distorts and denies facts as to represent the advancement and development of certain races as impossible and undesirable should be met with wide-spread dissemination of the truth; the experiment of making the Negro slave a free citizen in the United States is not a failure; the attempts at autonomous government in Haiti and Liberia are not proofs of the impossibility of self-government among black men; the experience of Spanish America does not prove that mulatto democracy will not eventually succeed there; the aspirations of Egypt and India are not successfully to be met by sneers at the capacity of darker races.

We who resent the attempt to treat civilised men as uncivilised and who bring in our hearts grievance upon grievance against those who Lynch the untried, disfranchise the intelligent, deny self-government to educated men, and insult the helpless,—we complain,—but not simply or primarily for ourselves,—more especially for the millions of our felow, blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh, who have not even what we have; the power to complain against monstrous wrong, the power to see and know the source of our oppression.

How far the future advance of mankind will depend on the social contact and physical intermixture of the various strains of human blood is unknown. But the demand for the interpenetration of countries and intermingling of blood has come in modern days from the white race alone and has been imposed on brown and black men mainly by brute force and fraud; and on top of that the resulting people of mixed race have had to endure innuendo, persecution and insult; and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery.

If it be proven that absolute world segregation by group, color or historic affinity is the best thing for the future world, let the white race leave the dark world and the dark races will gladly leave the white. But the proposition is absurd. This is a world of men,—of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labour and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only peace-makers who work sincerely and peacefully to this end.

The beginning of Wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed Peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempt to prove that its practice is the secret and divine Gift of the Few, no habit is more natural and more widely spread among primitive peoples or more easily capable of development among wide masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, Africa, America and the Isles of the Sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignominiously and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millennium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest age of Human Reason there can be found in the civilised world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good rather than continuing to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalised and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions whose one aim is profit and power for the few.

And this brings us to the crux of the matter; it is to the shame of the world that to-day the relations between the main groups of mankind and their mutual respect and estimate is determined chiefly by the degree in which one can subject the other to its service,—enslaving labour, making ignorance compulsory, uprooting ruthlessly religion and custom and destroying government so that the favoured few may luxuriate in the toil of the tortured many. Science, Religion and Philanthropy have thus been made the slaves of world-commerce and industry, and the bodies, minds and souls of Fiji and Congo are judged almost solely by the quotation on the Bourse.

The day of such world organisation is past and whatever excuse may be made for it in other ages, the 20th century must come to judge men as men and not as merely material and labour.

This great industrial problem which has hitherto been regarded as the domestic problem of the culture lands must be viewed far more broadly if it is ever to revive just settlement. Labour and Capital in England can never solve their problem as long as a similar and vastly greater problem of poverty and injustice marks the relations of the whiter and darker peoples.

It is shameful, irreligious, unscientific and undemocratic that the estimate that half the peoples of the earth put on the other half, depends mainly on their ability to squeeze money out of them.

If we are coming to recognise that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustment in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustment is in the outrageously unjust distribution of the world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples,—in the rape of land and raw material, the monopoly of technique and culture.

And in this crime, white labour, is particeps criminis with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately the vast power of the white labour vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debase black, brown and yellow labour and, with fatal retribution, are themselves to-day bound and gagged and rendered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few.

And too just as curiously, the educated and cultured of the world, —the wellborn and well-bred, and even the deeply pious and philanthropic receive their education and comfort and luxury, the ministrations
of delicate beauty and sensibility on condition that they neither inquire into the real sources of their income or the methods of the distribution, or interfere with the legal props which rest on a pitiful human foundation of writhing white, yellow and brown and black bodies. *

We claim no perfectness of our own nor do we seek to escape the blame which of right falls on the Backward for failure to advance, but noblesse oblige, and we arraign civilisation, and more especially the colonial powers for deliberate transgression of our just demands and their own better conscience.

England with all her Pax Britannica, her courts of justice, established commerce and a certain apparent recognition of native law and customs has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the natives, has enslaved them and is still enslaving some of them, has usually declined even to try to train black and brown men in real self-government, to recognise civilised black folk as civilised, or to grant to coloured colonies those rights of self-government which it freely gives to white men.

Belgium as a nation has but recently assumed responsibility for her colonies and has taken steps to lift them from the worst abuses of the autocratic regime; but she has not as yet instituted any adequate system of state education, she has not confirmed to the people the possession of their land and labour, and she shows no disposition to allow the natives any voice in their own government or to provide for their political future. Her colonial policy is still mainly dominated by the banks and great corporations who are determined to exploit the Congo rather than civilise it.

Portugal and Spain have never drawn a caste line against persons of culture who happen to be of Negro descent. Portugal has a humane code for the natives and has begun their education in some quarters. But unfortunately the industrial concessions of Portuguese Africa are almost wholly in the hands of foreigners whom Portugal cannot or will not control and who are exploiting Land and Labour and re-establishing the Africa slave trade.

* A reference to the acquiescence of the privileged classes in the exploitation of labour, whatever its colour.
THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS
Manchester, 1945

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL RESOLUTIONS PASSED:

I
To secure equal opportunities for all colonial and coloured people in Great Britain, this Congress demands that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law.

That all employments and occupations shall be opened to all qualified Africans, and that to bar such applicants because of race, colour or creed shall be deemed an offence against the law.

In connection with the political situation, the Congress observed:

(a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitation by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of 'partnership', 'Trusteeship', 'guardianship', and the 'mandate system', do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.

(b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of government which are inimical to the wishes of the people of West Africa.

(c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.

(d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers.

(e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples.

II
Economic. As regards the West African economic set-up, the Resolution asserted:

(a) That there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants.

(b) That the industrialisation of West Africa by the indigenes has been discouraged and obstructed by the imperialist rulers, with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level.

(c) That the land, the rightful property of West Africans, is gradually passing into the hands of foreign Governments and other agencies through various devices and ordinances.

(d) That the workers and farmers of West Africa have not been allowed independent trade unions and co-operative movements without official interference.

(e) That the mining industries are in the hands of foreign monopolies of finance capital, with the result that wherever a mining industry has developed there has been a tendency to deprive the people of their land holdings (e.g. mineral rights in Nigeria and Sierra Leone now the property of the British Government).

(f) That the British Government in West Africa is virtually controlled by a merchants' united front, whose main objective is the exploitation of the people, thus rendering the indigenous population economically helpless.

(g) That when a country is compelled to rely on one crop (e.g. cocoa) for a single monopolistic market, and is obliged to cultivate only for export while at the same time its farmers and workers find themselves in the grip of finance capital, then it is evident that the Government of that country is incompetent to assume responsibility for it.

Commenting on the social needs of the area, the Resolution said:

(a) That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with, that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples, but on the contrary tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution, and many other social evils.

(b) That organised Christianity in West Africa is identified with the political and economic exploitation of the West African peoples by alien Powers.

III
1. The principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice at once.

2. The abolition of land laws which allow Europeans to take land from the Africans. Immediate cessation of any further settlement by Europeans in Kenya or in any other territory in East Africa. All available land to be distributed to the landless Africans.

3. The right of Africans to develop the economic resources of their country without hindrance.

4. The immediate abolition of all racial and other discriminatory laws at once (the Kipande system in particular) and the system of equal citizenship to be introduced forthwith.

5. Freedom of speech, Press, association and assembly.

6. Revision of the system of taxation and the civil and criminal codes.

7. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen, with free meals, free books and school equipment.

8. Granting of the franchise, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of twenty-one to elect and be elected to the Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
9. A State medical, health and welfare service to be made available to all.
10. Abolition of forced labour, and the introduction of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

IV

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL POWERS

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world’s drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.

Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the word listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.

V

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic.

The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own Governments, without restrictions from foreign Powers. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal.

The object of imperialist Powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, 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 Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons—the strike and the boycott—are invincible.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!
Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress

Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America.

by Walter Rodney

Political conferences of the oppressed invariably attract a variety of responses—varying from cynical conviction that they are an utter waste of time to naive optimism that they will change the face of the world. In actuality, popular struggle continues from day to day at many different and more profound levels; and its intensity at any given time primarily determines the relevance and utility of the conference as a technique of co-ordination. The Sixth Pan-African Congress scheduled for Dar es Salaam in June, 1974 consciously aims at being heir to a tradition of conferences which grew out of the response of Africans to their oppression in the first half of this century. Therefore, its rationale must be sought through a careful determination of the co-ordinates of the contemporary endeavours of African people everywhere.

Since the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945, the political geography of Africa has been transformed by the rise of some forty constitutionally independent political units presided over by Africans. This is to state the obvious. Yet, following in the wake of the great pageant of the regaining of political independence, there has come the recognition on the part of many that the struggle of the African people has intensified rather than abated, and that it is being expressed not merely as a contradiction between African producers and European capitalists but also as a conflict between the majority of the black working masses and a small African possessing class. This, admittedly, is to state the contentious; but the Sixth Pan-African Congress will surely have to walk the tightrope of this point of contention.

Any 'Pan' concept is an exercise in self-definition by a people, aimed at establishing a broader redefinition of themselves than that which had so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, the exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole. This is always the case with respect to national movements. Consequently, certain questions must be placed on the agenda: notably, the following:

—Which class leads the national movement?
—How capable is this class of carrying out the historical tasks of national liberation?
—Which are the silent classes on whose behalf 'national' claims are being articulated?

The significance of the above questions emerges clearly in the classic case of Pan-Slavic nationalism. The Pan-Slavic ideology of the late nineteenth century and the turn of this century offered the Slav peoples of Eastern Europe a unified vision of themselves, aiming to transcend the fragmentation which was a consequence of the powerful waves of imperial expansion which has struck the shores of the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The Slav intelligentsia who advocated Pan-Slavism were spokesmen of emergent bourgeois forces in the clash against feudalism, and their position also reflected some sympathy for the oppressed peasantry since it was in the interests of capitalism that serfdom be removed. But their hopes were frustrated because they failed to unseat indigenous and external feudal oppressors, including their Slav 'Brothers' who formed the ruling class in Tsarist Russia. Subsequently, the local Balkan bourgeoisie were unable or unwilling to confront capitalist/imperialist partition; and their region gave rise to the term 'Balkanization', as the supreme expression of failure to carry out the task of national liberation and unification. It was left to the Balkan masses under working class leadership albeit under conditions of war to tackle effectively the problem of nationalism and of broader eastern European unity in the period after the second
world war. Significantly enough, they did so within the context of socialist reconstruction, a task which was beyond groups benefiting from capitalist exploitation.

Pan-Africanism in the post-independence era is internationalist in so far as it seeks the unity of peoples living in a large number of juridically independent states. But it is simultaneously a brand of nationalism; and one must therefore penetrate its nationalist form to appreciate its class content. This exercise is made easier by the fact the nationalist movements in Africa which led to the regaining of independence in more than three dozen states constitute a phenomenon which has already received considerable attention. These movements were essentially political fronts or class alliances in which the grievances of all social groups were expressed as 'national' grievances against the colonizers. However, while the workers and peasants formed the overwhelming numerical majority, the leadership was almost exclusively petty bourgeoisie. Understandably, this leadership placed to the fore those 'national' aims which contributed most directly to the promotion of their own class interests; but they voiced sentiments which were historically progressive, partly because of their own confrontation with the colonialists and partly because of pressure from the masses. Pan-Africanism was one of these progressive sentiments, which served as a platform for that sector of the African or black petty bourgeoisie leadership which was most uncompromising in its struggle against colonialism at any given time during the colonial period.

Virtually all leaders of African independence movements paid at least lip service to the idea that regional freedom was only a step towards the freedom and unity of the whole continent; and the most advanced nationalists were usually the most explicit on the issue of Pan-African solidarity. Nkrumah and Kenyatta were both at Manchester; while Nyerere, Kaunda and Mboya were the driving forces behind the Pan-African Movement for East and Central Africa (PAMECA). Within the Francophone sphere, several leaders took Pan-Africanist positions in one form or another. The radical Union des Populations de Cameroun refused to accept colonial boundaries in Africa; Senghor espoused a culturally oriented doctrine of black internationalism, comparable to Pan-Africanism; and even Houphouet-Boigny was initially associated with a political party which was Pan-Africanist in thrust: namely, the Rassemblement Democratique Africaine, which addressed itself to the whole of French West Africa. Pan-African solidarity also manifested itself with regard to the war of independence in Algeria, an episode which united not merely North Africa but also helped forge alliances between progressive nationalists on both sides of the Sahara. Similarly, the rise of national liberation movements dedicated to achieving freedom by any means necessary served to underscore the reality of Pan-Africanism. All African leaders had to concede that freedom in Southern Africa was vital to guarantee the freedom of any given sort of Africa, and the test of practice showed that commitment was greatest in the case of the most forward-looking of the petty bourgeois regimes —Ghana (under Nkrumah), Egypt (under Nasser), Algeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Guinea.

It would be unhistorical to deny the progressive character of the African petty bourgeoisie at a particular moment in time. Owing to the low level of development of the productive forces in colonized Africa, it fell to the lot of the small privileged educated group to give expression to a mass of grievances against racial discrimination, low wages, low prices for cash crops, colonial bureaucratic commandism, and the indignity of alien rule as such. But the petty bourgeoisie were reformers and not revolutionaries. Their class limitations were stamped upon the character of the independence which they negotiated with the colonial masters.1 In the very process of demanding constitutional independence, they reneged on a cardinal principle of Pan-Africanism: namely, the unity and indivisibility of the African continent.

The first Pan-Africanists to engage in the political mobilization of the African masses on African soil had a continental outlook. The African National Congress which was formed in the Union of South Africa in 1912, aimed at being 'African' and not merely 'South African' and it was renamed in 1923 to emphasize this fact. Significantly, organizations of the same name extended into what is now Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. It is also significant that dynamic African spokesmen of the 1930s like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Wallace Johnson were African first rather than Nigerian or Sierra Leonean. But the lawyers and place-seekers who eventually took the independence movement in hand were incapable of transcending the territorial boundaries of the colonial administrations. Imperialism defined the context in which constitutional power was to be handed over, so as to guard against
the transfer of economic power or genuine political power. The African petty bourgeoisie accepted this, with only a small amount of dissent and disquiet being manifested by the progressive elements such as Nkrumah, Nyerere and Sekou Toure. Areas of West and Central Africa which experienced French colonial rule witnessed the shameless dismantling of those colonial politics which had a large territorial base. Whereas the French had maintained unity for exploitation, the African petty bourgeoisie lacked the capacity to demand both unity and freedom. So they accepted the Balkanization which led to fragments called Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Central African Republic and so on. Since independence, little or no progress has been registered with respect to reversing this Balkanization.

It is a striking historical fact that the bourgeoisie proper have been the spearheads of national unity in the areas in which capitalism was first engendered. They sought political unity to guarantee the integration of production and distribution, giving rise to what were then relatively large nation states in Britain, France and Germany as compared to the numerous feudal fiefs which previously existed. The North American continent provides the most formidable example of the identification of bourgeoisie interests with federal unity and with the building of an infrastructure which rolled across a whole continent without regard to the cost in blood especially since the blood split was principally African and Native American (Indian).

The petty bourgeoisie of Asia, Africa and Latin America are a different breed. They cannot be described as 'entrepreneurs', 'pioneers', 'captains of industry', 'robber barons' or in any of the other swashbuckling terms coined to glorify the primary accumulation of capital. Franz Fanon flays them unmercifully but truthfully when he points to the shoddy, imitative, lack-lustre character of the African petty bourgeoisie. Their role in the international capitalist system has always been that of compradors. Their capital outlay might often be greater than that of a factory owner during the industrial revolution in England during the early nineteenth century, but in the present era of monopoly capitalism it suffices mainly for chicken-farms. In any event, most of the African petty bourgeoisie is not directly involved in economic enterprises—their real sphere being the professions, the administration and the military/police hierarchy. They lack both the vision and the objec-
tive base to essay the leap towards continental unity.

A close scrutiny further reveals that the failure of the African ruling class to effect meaningful unity is not merely due to weakness. Recalling once more the dismantling process which took place in Francophone Africa at the time of negotiated independence, it can be seen that the pusillanimity of the African petty bourgeoisie in the face of the deliberate creation of non-viable dependent mini-states by France attests not merely to the strength of the colonizers but also to fear on the part of the presumptive African rulers that larger territorial units might have negated their narrow class welfare. Throughout the continent, none of the successful independence movements denied the basic validity of the boundaries created a few decades ago by imperialism. To have done so would have been to issue a challenge so profound as to rule out the preservation of petty bourgeois interests in a compromise 'independence' worked out in conjunction with international capital.

If the weakness of the present petty bourgeoisie leadership of Africa were the only problem, then they could be dismissed as passive by-standers, who cannot make operational the potential of Pan-Africanism as an ideology of liberation. However, they maintain themselves as a class by fomenting internal divisions and by dependence on external capitalist powers. These policies are antithetical to Pan-Africanism. The record since independence confirms that the interests of the African petty bourgeoisie are as irreconcilable with genuine Pan-Africanism as Pan-Africanism is irreconcilable with the interests of international capitalism.

Most African mini-states are engaged in consolidating their territorial frontiers, in preserving the social relations prevailing inside these frontiers, and in protecting imperialism in the form of the monopolies and their respective states. The capitalist superpowers, directly and indirectly, individually and collectively, guarantee the existence of the African petty bourgeoisie as a ruling class and use them to penetrate and manipulate African society. This has been done so cruelly and openly that one does not have to be especially informed or especially aware in order to perceive what has been going down. Ex-ambassadors of the U.S. have a way of reminiscing on how they cynically manoeuvred the Reds and the Blacks; local representatives of American, British and French security forces are so entrenched that they
dispense with all cover; and the African petty bourgeoisie itself is so gauche that it rushes openly to the defense of an international monopoly such as LONRHO, when even the metropolitan political rulers are too embarrassed to do so.

All the activities of international capital aim at perpetuating the division of the continent which they initiated at the time of the Partition. The petty bourgeoisie is also showing that it seeks to maintain division of the African masses, since the anti-colonial alliance with all other classes has gained its objective of formal independence. The only alliance which the African ruling class now vigorously defends is that with imperialism against the African people. Most decidedly, this power structure does not want to allow the masses either the consciousness or the reality of unity.

Pan-Africanism has been so flouted by the present African regimes that the concept of 'Africa' is dead for all practical purposes such as travel and employment. The 'Africanization' that was aimed against the European colonial administrator soon gave way to restrictive employment and immigration practices by Ivory Coast, Ghana (under Busia), Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and others—aimed against Dahomeans, Nigerians, Burundi nationals, Malawians, Kenyans and all Africans who were guilty of believing that Africa was for the Africans. Of course, it was said that unemployment among citizens of any given country forced the government to take such extreme steps. This is a pitiable excuse, which tries to hide the fact that unemployment is the responsibility of the neo-colonial regimes, which can do nothing better than preside over dependent economies with little growth and no development.

In many respects, one African has been further shut off from another during the present neo-colonial phase than was the case during raw colonialism. Even within the context of the existing African nation states, the African ruling class has seldom sought to build anything other than tribal power bases, which means that they seek division and not unity at all levels of political activity, be it national, continental, or international.

The dominant mode of thinking in Africa today is inherited from the colonial masters and is given currency by the state apparatus. Not surprisingly, therefore, the very concept of class is ignored or mystified. The petty bourgeoisie get very upset at being called "petty bourgeoisie", and strenuously deny that there are any class differences between themselves on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other. It is not surprising that Socialism has been enemy number one for so many African states. African leaders fight the bogey of Communist threat rather than the reality of capitalist/imperialist oppression. Even the more progressive of this ruling class harbour and protect local reactionaries while neutralizing or eliminating Marxist and other left-wing elements.

In ten, twelve or fifteen years of constitutional independence, the various parts of Africa have scored no victories in ending exploitation and inequality. On the contrary, social differences have increased rapidly and the same applies to the amount of surplus extracted by foreign monopoly capital. In the spheres of production and technology, the so-called "development decade" of the sixties offers the spectacle of decreasing agricultural production, a declining share of world trade, and the proliferation of dependency structures because of the further penetration of multi-national corporations. All of these matters are highly relevant to a discussion of Pan-Africanism.

The transformation of the African environment, the transformation of social and productive relations, the break with imperialism, and the forging of African political and economic unity are all dialectically interrelated. This complex of historical tasks can be carried out only under the banner of Socialism and through the leadership of the working classes. The African petty bourgeoisie as a ruling class use their state power against Socialist ideology, against the material interests of the working class, and against the political unity of the African masses.

Of course, the rhetoric of the African ruling class is something else. Only a Banda has the temerity to openly abuse the concept of african unity, and only a few others would openly espouse capitalism and imperialism as decent, and just. Otherwise, the petty bourgeoisie prefers the technique of paying lip-service to progressive ideas, seeking the defeat of these ideas through a process of trivialization and vulgarization. Both Socialism and Pan-Africanism are of the utmost importance with respect to this technique. In one sense, the unwillingness of the petty bourgeoisie to manifest overt hostility to Socialism and Pan-Africanism is a testimony to the development of mass consciousness and to the level of confrontation between progressive and reactionary forces on the world stage. But it is also very insidious in so far as pseudo-revolutionary positions tend to pre-empt genuinely
revolutionary positions. For instance, the existing African regimes have helped create the illusion that the OAU represents the concretization of Pan-African unity. The OAU is the principal instrument which legitimates the forty-odd mini-states visited upon us by colonialism.

It is a tribute to the momentum of Pan-Africanism that the OAU had to be formed. The idea of Pan-African political unity had taken deep roots, and it had to be given expression if only in the form of a consultative international assembly. This indicates a higher level of continental political co-ordination than was to be found in Latin America during the period when the old colonial regimes there were demolished. It is also true that no imperialist power is a voting member of the organization, in the way that the United States of America is entrenched within the Organization of American States. Nevertheless, the O.A.U. does far more to frustrate than to realize the concept of African Unity. The degree of its penetration by imperialist powers has been evidenced on numerous occasions, the most striking being those which have arisen around the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority in Zimbabwe, around the issue of 'Dialogue' with the white racist South African regime, and over the persistence of the French in selling arms to the Republic of South Africa.

At best, the OAU regulates a few internal conflicts between the petty bourgeoisie from different parts of the continent. Beyond this, it is committed to maintain the separation of African peoples implicit in the present territorial boundaries, so as to buttress the exploitative social systems which prevail on the continent in this neo-colonial epoch.

When Lumumba was waging his heroic battle against imperialism in the Congo, it seemed for a brief while that there would be an alignment of progressive versus reactionary African forces. The masses of Africa were only too anxious to join their Congolese brothers in the fight against white and black mercenaries. Indeed, the lines were drawn so clearly that international revolutionary solidarity was forthcoming from many parts of the world. However, the continent suffered a setback in the Congo. Affairs in the Congo were 'normalized' to the point of changing the country’s name to Zaire. Meanwhile, one of the most important principles accepted by African governments in the wake of the defeat of the Congolese was that no popular dissident movement in an independent African country can be supported by any group or government in another independent African country. In constitutional terms, this is expressed in the fine-sounding phrase “non-interference in the internal affairs of a member state”. In practical terms, this is how the most reactionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie tie the hands of the masses of Africa.

One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of Africa; and, indeed, black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility. The OAU denies this, apart from areas still under formal colonial rule. By so doing, they are implying that the objective conditions which impelled the African masses to fight the colonialists have since been transformed, which is a blatant falsehood. Any exploitative, oppressive and autocratic African state is cordoned off against fellow African intervention or criticism, even when the most elementary civil and human rights are trampled upon. Meanwhile, the more progressive states are not really protected against intrigues and various forms of aggression arranged by imperialism through the agency of the adjacent neo-colonial African states; and, in any event, Socialism cannot be built in any one African country, so that the few initiatives towards Socialist transformation on the continent are bound to be stifled by the continued division of Africa into artificial states.

The questions posed at the outset of this analysis in relation to the class content of nationalism suggested that one identifies the leading class, assesses its revolutionary capacity and evaluates the manner in which the subordinate classes are handled. Our conclusions at this point are that the African petty bourgeoisie leadership since independence has been an obstacle to the further development of the African revolution. A final illustration to this effect is the way in which the very vanguard of the Pan-Africanist movement (as it emerged from the Fifth Congress) lost its direction and wallowed in bourgeois theory and practice. Like other African leaders, they too propagated the false antithesis between Pan-Africanism and Communism—an intellectual activity spearheaded by no less a person than George Padmore. Understandably, his practical politics suffered a corresponding decline; and in spite of once having stood in the ranks of the international working class movement, Padmore found himself intervening in Guyana in the mid-1950s on the side of that section of the local leadership which
was supported by the British and American governments, by local and foreign capitalists and by the CIA-infiltrated trade union, the AFL-CIO. At the same time, Nkrumah was engaging in ideological mystification under new facades such as 'conscientism', while doing little to break the control of the international bourgeoisie or the Ghanaian petty bourgeoisie over the state. He had already eliminated the genuine working class leadership from the CPP during the first years of power, and it was only after his overthrow by a reactionary petty bourgeoisie coup d'état that Nkrumah became convinced that there was a class struggle in Africa and that the national and Pan-African movements required leadership loyal to its mass base of workers and peasants.

Obfuscation of the notion of class in post-independence Africa has made Pan-Africanism a toothless slogan as far as imperialism is concerned, and it has actually been adopted by African chauvinists and reactionaries, marking a distinct departure from the earlier years of this century when the proponents of Pan-Africanism stood on the left flank of their respective national movements on both sides of the Atlantic. The recapture of the revolutionary initiative should clearly be one of the foremost tasks of the Sixth Pan-African Congress.

Although New World black representation predominated at all Pan-African Congresses and Conferences in the past, the agendas were usually devoted almost exclusively to the affairs of the African continent. It can be assumed that the Sixth Pan-African Congress will not be substantially different, but the creation of independent Caribbean nation states does introduce a new dimension with regard to the participation of this part of the black world. Having sketched the main outlines of the petty bourgeoisie position in Africa, it is unnecessary to elaborate on the Caribbean scene, because of the numerous and basic similarities. It is to be noted, however, that that which appears as tragedy against the vast backdrop of Africa re-appears as comedy in the Caribbean. Early this year, the people of the then colony of Grenada took to the streets to express in uncompromising terms their opposition to the exploitative and oppressive system of Anglo-American colonialism, which is manned locally by a certain petty bourgeoisie clique. At the same time, the British government carried on regardless in its plans to grant independence to the said petty bourgeois clique, expressing reservations only on the point of whether or not it was safe to send a member of the Royal Family to preside over the independence ceremony. As it was, militant striking workers deprived the independence celebrations of telephone services, port services and electricity, but the petty bourgeois regime managed to add some fireworks to mark the auspicious occasion. What term other than 'comedy' can describe such a situation?

The ruling class in each given British Caribbean territory usually takes pains to create a 'national' identity, which amounts to little more than glorifying the fact that some Africans were sent to slave plantations in Jamaica or Trinidad rather than Barbados or Antigua, as the case may be. On the basis of this 'nationalism', the petty bourgeoisie can continue the former British colonial policy of preventing trade unionists and progressives from moving freely amongst the people of the Caribbean. Another antic which is common on the part of the West Indian regimes is that they operate against (unarmed) national liberation movements inside the Caribbean while fully proclaiming support of African liberation movements in Southern Africa. This latter posture, along with other pro-African rhetoric, was forced on several West Indian leaders because of popular sympathy for the African cause at the mass level. The posturing and the rhetoric are extremely useful on jaunts to Africa in their quest for class alliances with the African petty bourgeoisie itself.

Yet, the realities of state power have predetermined that when the Sixth Pan-African Congress meets in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1974 it will be attended mainly by spokesmen of African and Caribbean states which in so many ways represent the negation of Pan-Africanism. One immediate consequence of the rise of constitutionally independent African and West Indian states is that for the first time such a gathering will be held on African soil and will be sponsored, directed and attended mainly by black governments rather than by black intellectuals as such or by small black protest organizations, as was the case up to the Fifth Congress in Manchester. Already it is clear that states will be represented as states and that the OAU will play some role.

When a few individuals began to contemplate this Congress some years ago, it was felt that it should be a coming together of black political movements, as distinct from governments. One school of thought envisaged that it would be a select conference of the most progressive elements in the black world. To a large
extent, this was the significance of the All African People’s Conference held in Accra in 1958. However, plans for a similar meeting in the 1970s would be hopelessly idealist. The African radicals of 1958 are by and large the incumbents in office today. The radicals of today lead at best an uncomfortable existence within African states, while some languish in prison or in exile. The present petty bourgeois regimes would look with disfavour at any organized programme which purported to be Pan-African without their sanction and participation.

None of the progressive African regimes, which are already isolated and exposed to internal and external reaction, would dare to host a Congress which brought together only those who aggressively urge a unity of the African working masses and the building of a Socialist society. Such a Congress would have to be held in a metropolitan centre, and would thus condemn itself to serve primarily as a forum for alienated intellectuals.

In the light of the above considerations, any African committed to freedom, Socialism and development would need to look long and hard at the political implications of participation in the Sixth Pan-African Congress. The purists might be tempted to eschew any association whatsoever; but revolutionary praxis demands that one should contend against class enemies in theory and in practice, by seizing every opportunity to utilize all of the contradictions within imperialism as a global system—in this instance, contradictions born of economic exploitation and racist oppression.

Without falling into the trap of imagining that the present states of Africa and the Caribbean will liberate the African masses from the tyranny of man and nature, it still remains an open political question as to how far they can be pressured to take steps which lessen the immediate impact of imperialist exploitation and which perhaps grant a respite to the producers and progressive forces. Southern Africa provides excellent illustrations to this effect. Our brothers in the South are striking blows which include attacks on enemy bases in Angola, the destruction of rail links in Mozambique, the disruption of production through strikes in Namibia and South Africa, and the intensification of politico-military offensives in Zimbabwe. The leadership even in the most reactionary African states have found it difficult to avoid responding in some positive manner to these activities; just as liberal organizations and governments of the capitalist world are now finding it prudent to join Socialists and radicals in giving international support to African liberation movements. It would be naive to abstain from participation in forums where the above processes are taking place, because a committed presence is essential both to accelerate as well as to control contributions which could otherwise cease to be merely opportunist and become actively counter-revolutionary.

Turning to the economic policy of African regimes, one also perceives that the dilemma of increasing underdevelopment places the petty bourgeoisie on the defensive. Whether within the OAU or in a wider Non-Aligned context, they can be propelled to consider new marketing arrangements, new forms of African and Third World cooperation and some devices to moderately restrain foreign exploitation. The agreement between oil producers has been the most striking in recent times. African governments have been understandably ambivalent in their attitude towards the manoeuvres of North African oil states and other producers in the middle East, but the fact that so many members of the OAU broke diplomatic relations with Israel was no insignificant achievement in the face of Zionist and imperialist propaganda and penetration in Africa. Clearly, the system of neo-colonialism is not closed to elementary progressive steps by the present leadership. Strictly speaking, such steps derive from the restlessness of the workers and peasants and not merely from the perceived class interests of the petty bourgeoisie. For this reason, it is crucial that within a Pan-African forum a principled and analytical position should be advanced for the adoption of increasingly revolutionary strategies for African economic and political liberation. The petty bourgeoisie must either be pushed forward or further exposed.

As stated at the outset, popular struggle is carried on in many ways and at many different levels. The struggle to participate is the opening round of the series of inter-connected battles likely to emerge out of the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress.

Queries have been raised with the Temporary Secretariat of the Congress concerning fears that anti-governmental organizations in the Caribbean would be excluded from participation, owing to the involvement of at least two (English-speaking) Caribbean governments in financing and in offering venues for preparatory meetings. In an open letter to the Secretary of the Temporary Secretariat, Owusu Saudaki drew attention to the following points:
1) The involvement of Heads of State, who use their relationship to the Sixth Pan-African Congress as a sign of being progressive while in fact they pursue domestic and foreign policies which maintain the neo-colonial status quo within their own countries.

2) The possibility that because of financial problems and other problems the only people representing Caribbean countries will be official government delegations and not those people who represent community, workers and other progressive groups in those areas.

It is useful to quote at some length from the reply by the Secretary Courtland Cox. He noted that, ‘‘the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which is host for the Sixth Pan-African Congress, strongly recommended that all African and Caribbean heads of state, without exception, be invited to the Congress. . . . This formal procedure should not be construed as a blanket endorsement by the Congress of domestic and foreign policies of all heads of state, nor should it be taken that the Congress will be dominated by the policies of any one, or groups of these heads of state. . . . The truth is that those who advocate the most militant steps for African liberation . . . frequently don’t even have money to get together to talk. . . . President Nyerere used the occasion of an interview with the Congress earlier this year to ask how can the colonially-created existing black states be used by our people to gain liberation? These states are there. Their policies, institutions and services have some considerable impact on the lives of millions of Africans. . . . Our criteria for delegations to the Sixth Pan-African Congress may be stated generally as: (1) Africans with demonstrated commitment to progressive political principles, (2) Africans with capabilities (or access to these) necessary to meet our people’s basic needs, especially those with technical skills and (3) Africans with mass political bases; as embodied in political organizations and institutions with recognized community constituencies. . . . No delegates, whether from the Caribbean or anywhere else, will be prevented from participating in the Congress due to lack of funds. This is one of the special charges of the International Secretariat and the International Steering Committee. . . .

In spite of the above re-assurances, it will undoubtedly require vigilance, mobilization and perhaps confrontation within the Caribbean on the part of the Left movements to confirm their right to attend—allbeit alongside of representatives of governments and pro-government organization. The apparent restriction of delegations to the English-speaking Caribbean is another negative feature. The seemingly superficial difference of language has always sharply divided the international black movement into an Anglophone sector and a Latin culture zone. French-speaking (and Spanish-speaking) blacks joined their brothers in French-ruled Africa in elaborating the initially anti-colonialist and anti-racist doctrine of Negritude. But, like Pan-Africanism, Negritude in the hands of petty bourgeois black states became a sterile formulation of black chauvinism, incapable of challenging capitalism and imperialism. Negritude in Senegal buttresses neo-colonialism, while in Haiti it is used to gloss over an even more desperate situation of exploitation and suppression of the black masses.

It is important to break through the language barrier and it is crucial to recognize the existence of opposed tendencies within the international black world. The Congress organizers must be asked to take steps to reach the known nationalist and Socialist opponents of French colonial rule in places like Martinique and French Guyana; and they cannot be allowed to side-step the existence of a large black population in Cuba who have already accumulated rich experience in the liquidation of racism through Socialist transformation. But of course these are not tasks to be left solely to the Secretariat and the host country of Tanzania. Any Pan-Africanists committed to Socialist revolution will first strive to ensure that the Congress and the future of Pan-Africanism are not left to the tender mercies of the black petty bourgeoisie.

It is still not clear which governments will or will not participate in the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress. No release from the Temporary Secretariat has borne on this point, although information did become public via the Tanzania press suggesting that the invitations were all-embracing and that a proposal to exclude Banda was defeated. The more conservative African governments may well view the whole idea with skepticism if not hostility. For them the OAU is quite enough for the realization of Pan-Africanism.
Eloquent testimony to the doubts on the part of segments of the petty bourgeoisie was provided by an editorial comment in Kenya’s *Sunday Nation* of March 17, 1974. It suggests that many people would query the very calling of another Pan-African Congress on the grounds that “most of the aims of the Pan-African movement were achieved after the 1945 Manchester meeting”. Besides, the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress has certain areas of focus such as health, agriculture, technological research, liberation support and political cooperation; and according to the commentary in question, it might be better to leave the governments and the OAU to organize such programmes. Even granting the need for another Congress, the *Sunday Nation* (representative of local and foreign capitalist interests in Kenya) finds that “the whole political tenor of the (proposed) congress is leftist, and the choice of Dar-es-Salaam as the venue for the meeting is no accident”. The commentary is in no doubt that the most critical question is that of whom to invite; and it reacts strongly and specifically to the mere whisper that Cuba might be invited, asking rhetorically, “how can the government of Cuba be invited as a participating government?” One must certainly thank this right-wing African journal for corroborating an analysis made from a different perspective. The one point on which class enemies can agree is that there is a battle to be fought.

Given the balance of class forces in the African continent today at the level of state power, it must be assumed that, apart from the Liberation movements, the majority of African delegates will seek to retain Pan-Africanism within its present parameters of interstate co-operation, based on the persistence of the territorial units and of petty bourgeois control. However, a progressive presence of one dimension or another would at least ensure that certain issues would be open to debate. The issues most likely to evoke contention can partially be foreseen by scrutinizing the official document referred to as “the Call”, both in terms of what it says and (perhaps more indicative) what it does not say.

The Call accords high priority to the question of liberation in the still colonized parts of Africa. This is as it should be, not merely because one wants the South to be ‘independent’ like the rest of Africa, but more so because the nature of the confrontation in Southern Africa offers the real possibility of African freedom there being qualitatively different from that which was obtained by the constitutional road. Since southern Africa is the cockpit of international monopoly capital, and since Portugal and the white minority regimes are all clearly supported by NATO and multinational corporations, the struggle for national liberation is a rather clearer learning experience than the nationalist episode of the 1950s. People are fighting and dying for more than the trappings of independence. In each theatre of operations, both the leadership and the mass are maturing, so that members of the petty bourgeois stratum which exists there as everywhere else have either failed to last the tough course or they have been transformed in the process. There will no doubt be more instances of opportunism and defections, and there will no doubt be a much longer period of the practice of tribalist mobilization in certain quarters; but the prospects of greater ideological clarity, of increasing politicization and of a stronger attachment to egalitarian and democratic structures arise directly out of the concrete situation, being pre-conditions for the success of the armed struggle.

At the very least, the Congress would be expected to record the firmest statement of support for the Liberation movements, taking as a point of departure the accord reached recently by the OAU at Accra which has been the most resolute statement by African leaders to date. Documentary support for the Liberation Movements is by no means a decisive factor in their existence or success, but when a conference has to pronounce on the matter, then those statements must be sharp enough to constitute political and diplomatic weapons for use in the rear of those fighting on the front lines. Because the *Lusaka Manifesto* (1970) was a mild document which could be interpreted as having some reservations about armed struggle, it was seized upon in this sense by many reactionaries, and it was still being quoted as an official position of progressive African leaders long after they had unequivocally declared their backing for the armed struggle in the *Mogadishu Declaration* (1971).

However, generally speaking, no delegate at any conference today has to make the case for the Liberation Movements. For one thing, they are already making the most effective case for themselves through sacrifice and achievements; and for another thing, the real danger in the support movement on the African continent itself is that rhetoric may take the place of practical assistance. The record to date exposes the gap between resolution and practice on
the part of OAU members as far as monetary support to the OAU Liberation Committee is concerned. Recently, the rhetoric has become seemingly more fiery and reveals a tendency to obfuscate issues concerning the interpretation of the struggle. Take, for instance, the demagogic appeal that African governments should send armies to the combat zone. Such a suggestion is completely out of touch with the concept of a people’s war and out of sympathy with the process through which a people prepare themselves for self-liberation. One African Generalissimo has just called for the scrapping of people’s guerrilla activities in Southern Africa, and proposes instead to lead his own (mercenary) army to conquer the white regimes!

Even the slightly more palatable call for individual volunteers casts doubts on the capacity of Africans in the South to effect their own liberation. Significantly enough, these statements do not originate with any of the Liberation Movements. None of the Liberation Movements has called for anything other than material, diplomatic and moral support. They have the fighters—that is not a problem. A serious problem does arise when offers of assistance to the struggle are used to camouflage attempts to penetrate and control on the part of imperialism and its lackeys. When “Our Man in Kinshasa” appears in the role of supervisor, umpire and builder of the Angolan people’s movement, it hardly requires a great deal of political acumen to sense the pricking of one’s thumbs.

The Congress must be asked to adopt the position that Liberation Movements should at all times be allowed to speak for themselves. The demand should be that, both inside and outside Africa, Liberation Movements should have unshakeable credentials, instead of being excluded when their interests are being discussed or instead of having to fight anew on each occasion to determine whether they should have the status of observers or second-class participants. It is for the Movements to indicate their own priorities and necessities at the Congress, and in response other delegates would contemplate the practical support which can be mobilized. It should also be made clear that the most positive support is the advancement of popular anti-imperialist power everywhere on the continent and in the Pan-African world.

Vying with liberation in importance in the estimation of the authors of The Call is the question of science and technology. The Call asserts rightly that “If we do not control the means of survival and protection in the context of the twentieth century we will continue to be colonized.” (Emphasis in the original). Consequently, it proposes the establishment of a Pan-African Centre of Science and Technology geared towards such priorities as the development of a viable self-supporting agricultural system in Africa.

On the issue of technology, one is again faced with the fact that superficially universal agreement can be obtained. No one would deny the necessity for mobilizing maximum resources in science and technology to fight the war against ignorance, disease and poverty. No one can remain indifferent to the chronic malnutrition or to the acute suffering brought on by widespread drought and famine. The danger is that a discussion of technology tends to become ‘technocratic’ in the worst sense of the word. Drought and famine, for instance, are not merely ‘natural phenomena’ arising out of the failure of precipitation from on high. The incapacity to prevent or deal with drought and famine and the fantastic hardship which ensues are all related to the socio-economic structures of neo-colonial Africa and to the way that our economies are located within the international imperialist system. It requires certain political decisions to change these structures and the system. Whether or not Africa will make scientific progress, whether or not the technology will be relevant and adequate, whether or not the mass of the people will benefit from scientific/technological innovations are all questions which can be resolved only within specific socio-economic contexts and questions which are therefore ultimately political and ideological.

It is precisely in the politico-ideological sphere that The Call is most deficient. It confines itself to the broad distinction between colonized blacks and European colonizers. It says nothing about the existence of capitalist and Socialist systems or of struggle within the capitalist/imperialist world. It comes out against the fact that Africans allow finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life; but this leaves room for the national bourgeois interpretation that this domination can be remedied while still remaining within the capitalist fold. Indeed, most African governments are at the moment scrambling to become more

*Macbeth: “By the pricking of my thumbs
Something wicked this way comes”
deeply involved in the European Common Market. With regard to indigenous exploitation, the authors of The Call are prepared to "stand with those who are avowed and open enemies of the elite who wish to lead a life of privilege among our people" — which is fine, but hardly sufficiently analytical and explicit.

In defence of the bland nature of The Call, the organizers of the Congress would no doubt argue that it is not their function to preempt discussion, but that their role is to bring together a wide spectrum of views held by concerned Africans and black people everywhere. (In line with Cox to Saudaki as cited above.) But the tenor of this discussion so far has been to illustrate that the neutrality and unity of nationalism is illusory and that in practice particular classes or strata capture nationalist movements and chart their ideological and political direction. Pan-Africanism today has to recognize such situations, if it is to be a brand of revolutionary nationalism and if it is to be a progressive internationalist force.

Coincidentally, a "Conference of Asians" is scheduled to be held in Tokyo next June at about the same time as the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Their Preparatory Committee has also circulated a preliminary call which suggests that "We have been left behind and they are ahead of us". However, in this instance, 'we' and 'they' are not simplisticly Asian and European, respectively. On the contrary, the Asian Preparatory Committee explains as follows:

'We' are the people, the masses of the people. 'They' are those who have power and money. 'They' create their own network of power and money to exploit and suppress us, the people. 'We' the people, are left behind; we are divided and ruled.10

The inference to be drawn from the above Asian analogy is that the goal of African people's unity is by no means inconsistent with a policy of drawing a line of steel against African enemies of the people and with seeking the closest working relations with non-African peoples, to the extent that the latter are engaged in the fight against exploitation. It should not be imagined that previous Congresses were occasions for all-black camaraderie. Oftentimes, the Left and the Right were represented, and a line had to be hammered out through struggle, as was the case when Dubois and Blaise Diagne confronted each other. For that matter, the reactionary trend was occasionally successful; notably, when the French colonialists managed to promote their own spokesman, Blaise Diagne.

Whatever may emerge from the Sixth Pan-African Congress, it is necessary that some participants should be identified with a platform which recognizes the following elements:

1) That the principal enemies of the African people are the capitalist class in the U.S.A., Western Europe and Japan.

2) That African liberation and unity will be realized only through struggle against the African allies of international capital.

3) That African freedom and development requires disengagement from international monopoly capital.

4) That exploitation of Africans can be terminated only through the construction of a Socialist society, and technology must be related to this goal.

5) That contemporary African state boundaries must be removed to make way for genuine politico-economic unity of the continent.

6) That the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa are revolutionary and anti-imperialist and must therefore be defended against petty bourgeois state hegemony.

7) That the unity of Africa requires the unity of progressive groups, organizations and institutions rather than merely being the preserve of states.

8) That Pan-Africanism must be an internationalist, anti-imperialist and Socialist weapon.

Walter Rodney11
Dar-es-Salaam.
April 1974.

Footnotes

1. Strictly speaking, the African petty bourgeoisie during this early stage of the independence struggle constituted a stratum or fraction within the international bourgeoisie. One of the most interesting features of post-independence politics is the manner in which the petty bourgeoisie has increased its dimensions, its economic base and its autonomy by use of the state machinery.
2. Some of the evidence attesting to this point can be listed as follows:
   a) Sekou Toure attempted to move immediately into political units broader than Guinea—comprising at various times Senegal, Mali and Ghana.
   b) Nkrumah secured the insertion of Pan-Africanist clauses in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1960, which was framed “in the confident expectation of an early surrender of sovereignty to a union of African states and territories”.
   c) Nyerere was prepared to postpone the independence of Tanganyika and subordinate this objective to that of an independent East African Federation, “rather than take the risk of perpetuating the balkanization of East Africa”—See Freedom and Unity (1966), p. 90

3. The allusions are firstly to William Attwood, The Reds and The Blacks (London 1967) and secondly to several international news highlights of 1973/74. Specifically on the Lonrho issue, what is worth noting is that the embarrassment was caused to British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, because of the revelations of the blatant way in which Lonrho directors flouted profit controls at a time when the Conservative government was trying to convince the working class to accept wage freezes.


8. The Call was originally issued by the Temporary Secretariat in Washington and is now available from P.O. Box 9351 Dar-es-Salaam.


10. Information on the “Conference of Asians” can be obtained from:
    Dai San Kikaku
    4th floor, Omotemachi Building,
    4-8-19, Akasaka,
    Minato-ku, Tokyo,
    Japan.

11. The author has been associated with the Congress preparations in the capacity of 'sponsor'—a vaguely-defined term which includes persons of many differing political persuasions.
General Declaration of the Sixth Pan African Congress

Introduction

The Sixth Pan African Congress was held in Dar es Salaam from 19th to 27th June, 1974, and was attended by delegates and observers from African and Caribbean countries, representatives of people of African descent from the Americas, Britain and the Pacific as well as African Liberation movements and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The Congress analysed at length the historical development of the Pan African Movement up to the Fifth Congress of 1945 and the major political and economic developments which have taken place in the world ever since, the strengthening of the struggle for national liberation in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World against racial discrimination in Africa, in the Americas and elsewhere and the questions of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, unity and solidarity.

The conference had the honour of being opened by Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and received a recorded message from Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) and the President of the Republic of Guinea, the speeches of the two African leaders having been unanimously accepted as basic documents of the deliberations of the Congress. Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, 1st Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania, deputised during the sessions for Ndugu Mwalimu Nyerere, who had been unani

Historical Background

The Pan African Movement was born, historically, to promote freedom and justice for black men and women. It was led by the logic of that demand to struggle against colonialism, oppression, and racialism. That, in its turn, requires the unity of Africans including those people of African descent outside Africa.

We are indebted to all those who played a constructive part in the Pan African Congresses.

In particular, we pay tribute to the efforts made by the Pan African Association, under the leadership of Henry Sylvester Williams, in organising the 1900 Pan African Conference. We also pay tribute to the special contribution made to this movement by Dr William Du Bois, having been the moving spirit behind the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses, for he was himself responsible for initiating, and leading all the Pan African Congresses between 1919 and 1954.

Past Congresses had to be held outside Africa, for in this continent there were until 1917 only two states in which black people were rulers as well as ruled. The tone of the demands expressed at these meetings changed over the years, but the demands have been consistent.

The first five Congresses could only be held because they were promoted and attended by concerned individuals. Some of the participants had the backing of trade unions, political or social organisations. But the status of black people in the world was such that individuals could only be representatives in the sense that a suffering and aware man or woman can always speak for others in the same condition. These men and women acted because they could no longer accept without protest the almost subhuman status which had been assigned to them by the world's dominant political and economic forces.

The Fifth Pan African Congress echoed the experiences of the African masses in the struggle they had been waging against colonialists ever since the second half of the 19th century; their spontaneous rebellions, their first guerrilla fighters, their soldiers used as cannon fodder in the imperialist armies, their peasants evicted by foreign settlers; their mining, railroad, dock and agricultural workers, whose strikes had defied the colonial administrations and the capitalist companies, particularly between the two world wars.

The Congress Appeal to colonial people ended with the words: 'Colonials and oppressed peoples of the world unite' and advocated joint action by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of colonial territories, using all possible means, including violence, to liquidate the colonial system immediately and completely.

After Manchester, the action of the peoples pushed history along the path of independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that the Fifth Congress constituted a high point in the development of political leadership of the African liberation movement.

The achievement of the first independence and nationalist activity generalised throughout the continent allowed for the holding of two important Pan African Congresses in 1958: the first Conference of Independent African States, held from 15 to 22 April, and the All-African Peoples' Conference, from 5 to 13 December, in Accra, capital of Ghana. Both conferences were sponsored by the independent Government of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

The All-African Peoples' Conference declared, 'that the struggle for the liberation of Africa is a task of the Africans themselves', and it called on 'the workers, peasants and other sectors of the exploited masses as well as on the intellectuals, to join forces in common action for the final attack against discrimination and racism'.

The year 1960 has been called the Year of Africa. Numerous countries obtained political independence, an unquestionably important step for the liberation movement and African unity. The birth of the Organisation of African Unity in May 1963 was a major factor in the implementation and development of Pan Africanism in that hereafter Pan Africanism became a truly continental movement.

Although the Pan African Movement was originally confined to black people, our particular struggle for dignity has always been one aspect of the worldwide struggle for human liberation. That is why if we react to the continued need to defend our position as black men by regarding ourselves as different from the rest of mankind, we shall weaken ourselves, and the racist[s] of the world will have scored their biggest triumph.

Contemporary Pan Africanism

Contemporary Pan Africanism is called upon to develop in a period which
is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of a new strategy so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem, and consequently draw up the appropriate tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society.

This is the paramount criterion we must continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, Pan Africanism must essentially be a dynamic force for liberation of the colonized peoples as well as for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses.

It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonized peoples or victims of racism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

The historical context in which this Sixth Pan African Congress is taking place is indeed radically different from that which prevailed in 1945, when the Manchester meeting was held. After the Second World War, a vast and vigorous socialist camp emerged in the world, constituting a powerful force against imperialist claims to world domination.

On the other hand the struggle of colonial powers weakened their very foundations. New nations, especially in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, have achieved independence, paving the way for a staunch community as expressed in the non-aligned movement, the OAU and other regional and international organizations.

In certain capitalist countries there are indications that the advanced sections of the white working class have gained in class consciousness, and therefore should be encouraged as political allies in the struggle against racism and imperialism, which are the common enemies of all people of the world. However, we recognize that in the advanced capitalist countries such as the U.K. and the U.S.A., the material base of racism distorts class consciousness and sets white workers against Black workers. Where advanced class consciousness does not exist it is our duty to encourage it and work for a movement of the working masses to defeat monopoly and finance capitalism, and the forces of racism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In a word, our Congress is taking place in the period of the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the class struggle at national and international levels.

Pan Africanism must consider the most radical methods of putting an end to foreign domination, and liquidate the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and zionism, by the common actions of the peoples of Africa, peoples of African descent and all people of the world.

African development demands that Africa must be free from economic, exploitation and political and cultural domination by capitalist powers; in order to ensure its presence as a factor for the enrichment of mankind. Domination imposed on a people, or foreign occupation of any part of mankind, however small, at the expense of human dignity, has always been a source of world conflict.

Whatever progress is achieved on the African continent will reinstate both Africans and black people in the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe, just as the progress made by black people in the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe against the many forms of social and human alienation is an important contribution to the African continent. Our present task is to show unfailing vigilance towards any ideology which, while professing Pan Africanism, conceals the interests of the imperialist powers with a view to making us accept the philosophy of submission to foreign interests on the basis of skin colour.

We must finish once and for all, obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy's methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to the forces of exploitation, alienation and racism. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of domination the myth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was, intended to be anti-racist. While Pan Africanism was born as a movement of rebellion, it can only undertake its programme of liberation if it becomes a revolutionary liberation movement of our times; that is, if it analyses and clearly defines its aims, determines its means and engages in consistent action.

Skin colour—be it black, white, yellow or brown—is no indication of the social class, ideology, nature, behaviour qualities or abilities of men or peoples. All human races and religions are fraught with contradictory interests. Most important for us must be our common historical destiny as a consequence of having been unjustly treated by exploiting powers. We must therefore define ourselves not in terms of skin colour, which is a static element, but solely in terms of dynamics which are dynamic.

Revolutionary Pan Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.

We must never forget that the imperialism we are fighting, the imperialism which nearly exterminated us in Africa and is still daily committing crimes of genocide here, was not generated through the internal historical process which took place in Africa. Imperialism was generated by capitalism and it therefore concerns the entire world. If it is to be effective, the liquidation of imperialism, that is, the liberation of the people, must be general. The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our fighting solidarity has been forged in the support for the heroic peoples of Indochina, struggling against U.S. imperialism; in the support for the Palestinian people and our Arab brothers struggling against Israeli aggression and the annexation of land by force; in the support for the workers and the discriminated minorities in North America, in particular for the struggle of Black People, for the destruction of the bourgeois society which oppresses both whites and blacks; in the support for the peoples of the Caribbean and in the first place the brother peoples of Puerto Rico and the French colonies; in the support for the peoples of Latin America in their struggle against oligarchic reaction and fascism; and in the support for the struggles of peoples of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at this time of great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a
vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent blows that the African Peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. It is evident that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, are imposing their independence on the Portuguese colonialists by the force of arms.

We are convinced that revolutionary Pan Africanism will step up its support for the rapid and total liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, so-called 'French' Somalia, the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles, Reunion, the so-called 'Spanish' Sahara, and the Canary Islands.

Our fighting solidarity has invariably manifested itself in our support for the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who defend their inalienable right to the full exercise of their national sovereignty, the effective control over their natural resources, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises to safeguard these resources, and the adoption of the social and economic system they deem most suitable to their development, against pressures, threats, aggression of all kinds by imperialism.

New Perspectives

Revolutionary Pan Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

1. To put an end to foreign domination in Africa by destroying the last colonial and racist regimes, because for as long as part of the African continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether of black or African descent, will be jeopardised.

2. To get rid of neo-colonialism since it hinders the overthrow of the last colonial regimes, as well as the achievement of African unity, and is a concrete instrument of imperialist oppression of our peoples.

3. To liquidate foreign military bases in African States and the Caribbean as a contribution to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Africa and the Caribbean.

4. To consolidate the unity between the peoples of Africa and of African descent and all peoples.

5. To appeal to all the progressive forces in Africa and in the world to give political and material aid to the liberation movements in Africa and outside Africa.

6. The strategy of Revolutionary Pan Africanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist struggle, for which it considers to be a means of promoting democracy and developing a new society:

a) The people must form the basis of this generalised struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it.

b) It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the rational basis for explaining and finding solution to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism.

7. Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, Revolutionary Pan Africanism takes into account the organisational and
tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organisation are subordinate to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products.

8. In 1974, Pan Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the African peoples of their dignity and responsibility, the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind, and the fullest development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.

9. Pan Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or chauvinist considerations, it embraces the cause of all oppressed people of the world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world.

It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of power, of all powers and power in its entirety.

In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of the present international situation, Pan Africanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the peoples of all the countries in the world, advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin colour or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of responsibility and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Africa and of all people.
Call to the Seventh Pan-African Congress
Perspectives for the 21st Century.

The unfolding political developments in South Africa, marked by negotiations towards a deracialised South Africa/Azania and majority rule, represent the beginning of an end to formal colonialism in Africa as the twentieth century draws to a close.

However today, over half of Africa is engulfed in wars of differing intensities. The world has geopolitically become a unipolar world dominated by the United States of America. 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 need to develop new strategies and rededicate ourselves to the struggle for African freedom both on the continent and the diaspora. We call on all patriots to heed the lament of the crying masses; crying for hope, food, justice and freedom. We are calling for full participation by all sectors, organisations and individuals within the Pan African world in the Seventh Pan-African Congress.

Our salvation lies in our own hands. We are the architects of our own freedom. This is a truth which stares us resolutely in the face. It is a point we need to remind ourselves of. Let us come together to discuss and resolve the burning issues of African freedom. We owe this to ourselves and the generations after us.

The above call to the Seventh Pan-African Congress was adopted by The International Preparatory Committee on this day, the 14th September 1993 in Kampala, Uganda.
The International Planning Committee for the 7th Pan African Congress would like to invite your organisation to participate at the Congress scheduled to take place in Kampala, in December 1993.

The Congress, in keeping with the broad character of all previous Congresses [1963-1974] will be open to all shades of opinion, groups and individuals in the whole Pan African World. In addition African governments in Africa and the Diaspora will be invited as participants on equal footing with other delegates.

The working theme of the Congress will be: PAN AFRICANISM: Facing the Future In Unity, Social Progress and Democracy. The committee has put forward the following as potential issues for the Congress, without any prejudice to the right of all participants to include other matters or topics on the agenda:

- State and Conditions of Africans on the Continent
- State and Conditions of Africans in the Diaspora
- International trends & its impact on Africa
- Debt Crisis, Democracy, Human Rights, Civil war, Aid, AIDS,
- Food Crisis, Refugees and displaced Persons
- The campaign for reparation
- The O. A. U. and the Future
- The immediate and Long Term Pan Africanist Strategy
- Pan Africanism and Internationalism
- African Women
- Culture for Change
- Class Struggles and Mass Struggles in Africa
- SAP IMF WORLD BANK and the Recolonisation of Africa.
- Southern Africa, decolonisation and neo-colonialism
- The African Child
- NGO's in Africa
- Pan African Alternatives
- The Military in Africa

Individual and group positions and representations are encouraged. However we are particularly encouraging various national, regional Committees of the Congress to hold broad discussions and mini Congresses of their own before December 1993 so that delegates at the Congress will spend longer time examining the practical and action implications of the Positions. It is the overriding desire of the Planning Committee that the Congress is not just a forum for ideas but an historic opportunity to formulate a plan of Action.

For more details contact:
The Secretariat
7th Pan African Congress,
Parliament Buildings,
P.O. Box 7168 Kampala, Uganda,
Tel: (41) 254 881/6; Fax: (41) 235 462 or 255328
Towards the Seventh Pan African Congress

Press Release

The International Preparatory Committee (IPC) for the Seventh Pan-African Congress has completed its deliberations. Following four days of intense discussion between the 11th and 14th of September 1993, the thirteen members who were present examined the global and continental context in which the Congress will take place.

The IPC;

• Received progress reports from the IPC members based in the following countries; Nigeria, Europe, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Senegal, North America and Tanzania.

• Received a progress report from the Secretariat on the great strides that have been taken to prepare the ground for the congress.

• Deliberated over the process leading up to the Congress, its objectives, agenda and management structure during the congress.

• Reflected on hotspots in the African world and prepared statements on the situation in Somalia, Sudan, North America, Europe, Mozambique, Angola, Libya, the OAU, South Africa/Azania and Zaire.

Following these reports and deliberations, the IPC arrived at the following resolutions:

DON'T AGONISE, ORGANISE!
To *popularise* the following four objectives for the Congress:

*To *locate* the concrete conditions and ongoing struggles of African peoples continentally and in the diaspora.

*To *articulate* a vision for the 21st Century and a programme of action for the Pan African movement.

*To *popularise* and mobilise a broad based Pan-African movement.

To *construct* a responsive and sustainable institutional framework within which the diversity of African organisations can build unity, social progress and democracy.

To *intensify* the process of popular mobilisation of the entire African World to attend the Congress in December.

To *adopt* and *popularise* the Call for the Seventh Pan-African Congress: Perspectives for the 21st Century (attached)

To *adopt* a common declaration of eleven principles guiding the philosophy, theory and strategy of the 7th Pan African Congress.

To *explore* a participatory and all embracing approach to the 7th Pan African Congress as a process rather than an event held over a series of days.

To *extend* gratitude to the people of Uganda through the Government of Uganda for their vision, resourcefulness and commitment to the Pan African movement.

15 SEPTEMBER 1993

Signed: Abdul-Rahman Mohammed Babu

Akidi Ocan

For The International Preparatory Committee for the 7th Pan African Congress
Pan-Africanism and Imperialism

By Ondoga ori Amaza

THE movement for independence in Africa was linked with Pan-Africanism to such an extent that at the continental level, Pan-Africanism could be said to have served as the guiding philosophy of the movement for independence in Africa. Thus most African leaders who participated in the struggle for independence and have since been recognised by history as great statesmen, were at one time or another champions of the Pan-Africanist cause. However, although Pan-Africanism helped many African leaders to win independence for their countries, it never achieved its ultimate objective of uniting the African people under a single polity. Indeed, as more and more African countries regained independence, the very idea of Pan-Africanism was abandoned by our political leaders, and ceased to be fashionable. Some of the most outspoken adherents of the philosophy such as the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, were rudely shoved off the political arena and with their demise it was assumed Pan-Africanism itself had died.

Recently, however, what has been dubbed as "a new breed of African leaders" has emerged on the African political scene and re-introduced Pan-Africanism on the political agenda of the continent. This re-introduction of a philosophy that was for a long time assumed to have died a natural death onto the political agenda, is bound to open up debate. Some people will argue that while Pan-Africanism helped us regain our political independence, there is no room for it in the African politics of today. Others will contend that Pan-Africanism is still a viable proposition and should not only be resurrected, but be made to play a leading role in African politics. Both sides could be right or wrong in my opinion, depending on how they define Pan-Africanism. As I have already intimated, Pan-Africanism is a political philosophy that has as its ultimate aim the unification of all the peoples of Africa under a single polity. A very important aspect of the Pan-Africanist ideal is that it does not restrict its definition of Africans to people living on the African continent alone. Anybody living on the other continents but having ancestral links with the African continent qualifies to be called an African. It is thus not uncommon to hear Pan-Africanists talking of "Africans of the continent" and "Africans of the Diaspora."

One of the tasks Pan-Africanism always assigns its followers is consolidation of the relationship that exists between Africans of the continent and those of the diaspora. Indeed, Pan-Africanism itself can directly be traced to the activities of prominent "Africans of the Diaspora" such as W.E.B. du Bois, Marcus Garvey, etc., and quite a few of the leading Pan-Africanists have always belonged to this category of "Africans."

In order to be a viable philosophical for the peoples of Africa and their descendants in the diaspora, Pan-Africanism should be defined within the context of the struggle of the former to disengage themselves from the strangle-hold of imperialism, and that of the latter to dismantle the unjust society their sweat has created and sustains.

We should admit into the Pan-Africanist camp only those of our descendants in the diaspora who accept the legitimacy of our struggle against imperialism, and express solidarity with us in this struggle. Similarly, our brothers and sisters in the diaspora should accept as Pan-Africanists only those Africans from the continent who accept the legitimacy of their struggle to dismantle the unjust society under which they live, and lend moral and material support to this struggle.

The relationship between Africans of the continent with their descendants in the diaspora is thus a very important aspect of the Pan-Africanist ideal, and no definition of the philosophy that ignores it can be considered to be complete. In this essay my aim is to re-examine the basis of this relationship as a means of re-defining the Pan-Africanist ideal.

Pan-Africanism and racialism

One common denominator between Africans of the continent and those in the diaspora cannot be overlooked is the fact that they are black people or descendants of black people. The fact of their common racial origin cannot, however, serve as a basis for any relations that might exist between these two groups of related people. This is because the Africans of the diaspora and those of us who have remained on the continent constitute two different social groups despite our common racial origin. And when two different social groups establish relations, they do not do so because of racial considerations but because of socio-economic considerations. Unless we understand the socio-economic basis of the relations that exist between social groups, we can neither understand nor correctly relate ourselves to such relations. Basically, social groups establish relations because they wish to use each other's potentials and/or resources to solve their socio-economic problems. This is not, however, to imply that relations between different social groups are always of a mutually beneficial character. A social group may establish relations with another solely for the purpose of solving its own problems without caring for those of the other.

At any one historical moment the task confronting social groups may thus be that of consolidating the relations they have established with other social groups or of dis-engaging from such relations. This is why it is important to understand the socio-economic basis of the relations that bind different social groups, before deciding what to do about them.

In discussing the relationship between the Africans of the diaspora and those of us on the continent as an aspect of Pan-Africanism, it is important to remember that this relationship owes its signifi-
a just civilisation since the descendants of the African people who were the most crucial factors in building it are not beneficiaries of the affluence of which it boasts.

The historical task confronting the Africans of the diaspora is thus that of uniting with all the oppressed and exploited peoples in their countries, and struggling with them to dismantle the unjust society their sweat has given rise to and replacing it with one that is more just.

The rather naive and sentimental tendency of over-emphasizing our common racial origin to the exclusion of all other considerations while defining Pan-Africanism, should in my opinion be totally discouraged if we are to avoid making the same mistakes that were made by some of the earlier Pan-Africanists. This assertion may sound strange, even to some so-called Pan-Africanists of the day, but to those of us who have had to take up arms to fight their own countrymen so that a more just social order may prevail, there can be no greater logic. We have got to accept the fact that Pan-Africanism is not just a club to which anybody with a black skin or having ancestral links with Africa, may join. It is a political movement that emerged as a reaction to the oppression and exploitation of the African people by imperialism, and its aim is to bring an end to this oppression and exploitation. It is the fact of oppression and exploitation by imperialism, rather than the fact of our "blackness" - of our common racial origin - that must serve as a basis for the re-definition of Pan-Africanism today.

Of course, the Pan-Africanist ideal should remain the unification of all the people of Africa under a single polity. But the fact of the matter is that there can be no unification so long as Africa remains under the domination of imperialism. Thus, whereas politicians of the Nkrumah era might have been right in asserting: "Seek ye first political unity, and all else shall follow!" our slogan today must be: "Seek ye first the liquidation of imperialism, and all else shall follow!" Anybody who rejects this slogan must himself be rejected from the Pan-Africanist camp.

This article is reproduced from July/August 1967 issue of The 6th of February Magazine, Kampala.
Kampala to host 7th Pan African Congress

Sunday Mail Reporter
THE 7th Pan African Congress which will be held in Kampala, Uganda, in early December will only be the third such congress to be held in Africa.

The first congress was held in France in 1900, and the series of other congresses were also held in Europe and America, culminating in the first Pan African Congress to be held in Africa, which was held in Ghana in 1958 and followed by another in Dar es Salaam in June 1974.

Ironically, the idea to hold such congresses did not originate from the continent but from people of African origin such as Dr W. E. B. Du Bois of the United States. It is he who is now regarded as the father of Pan Africanism as it is known today.

In a newsletter, the secretary of the 7th Pan African Congress has traced the history of the movement from its beginning until it was brought to Africa by Dr Kwame Nkrumah upon Ghana's independence.

Dr Nkrumah observed at that congress, "Pan Africanism has finally returned home" as it had ceased to be a diaspora-inspired and led movement. It had also ended the Du Bois series which had ended with the 5th congress.

The eminent people at that congress were Dr Nkrumah himself, Patrice Lumumba, Tom Mboya, Nyerere, Ndabaningi, Mobutu and other leaders from the continent. The resolutions of that conference rectified the central demands of the 1945 congress regarding self-determination for all African people with the added boost there were now independent countries in the continent.

Arrangements for the 7th congress are now in full swing, according to the congress' newsletter.

Already, general secretary of the congress, Dr Tekudoem Abdul-Rahim is in Kampala and has assumed executive responsibilities for all preparations.

Taking place almost two decades after the 5th congress, the Kampala meeting is seen as having been rightly characterised as a revival of Pan Africanism. There is thus a lot of determination to see it through. There was also the feeling that the 7th congress should depart from its predecessors as far as organisation and future plans are concerned.

There is now an emphasis on grassroots, mass-based organisation as opposed to personalities and governments alone. It also has on its agenda the setting up of a permanent secretariat from which all future Pan African activities and congresses are to be organised and monitored.

The chairman of the Zimbabwe National Committee for the 7th congress, Cde Chen Chimwengwende, who is Deputy Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, told The Sunday Mail (that preparations were underway in Zimbabwe to enable the participation of interested groups.

He said that individuals and organisations interested in attending the conference should contact the national committee on Post Office Box 472 in Harare. It was envisaged to approach various organisations and agencies for financial assistance to enable Zimbabwe's participation.

Plans were underway for several fund-raising activities to enable as many people as possible to attend the Kampala meeting. Invitations were being made for interested groups to identify areas and topics of importance with a view to making a meaningful contribution at the conference on the major issues facing the world and map out strategies for the future.
'Congress for liberation'

By Owono Opondo

The forthcoming 7th Pan-African Congress due in Kampala in December will aim at generating a popular political consciousness on liberation and emancipation of Africans, its convener and chairman Col. Kahiinda Otaiire has told pressmen during a panel discussion on Thursday at Hotel Equatoria.

Otaiire said the four-day congress beginning December 13 is to be held in the face of an iniminent global up-level when the poorest of the world (Africans) being recolonised, exploited and dictated to. He stressed “recolonisation is no longer a mere threat but a process already in motion”.

Otaiire cited the UN presence in Somalia as a classic case of recolonisation and added, “Why do they shoot children and women civilians who are not a threat to forces in helicopter gunships?”

Otaiire charged that foreign interests were making the decision-making process for African leaderships really hard and were now even suffocating the democratic process in some countries.

Facing a barrage of questions from participants Otaiire argued that Uganda was chosen as host because it could not be bogged down in internal political wrangles as well as ideological polarisation.

On Ugandan refugees skeptical about returning home to attend the conference, Otaiire explained that there was general amnesty but added, “They are also free to return into exile after they have attended the congress”. All those living in exile, he said, were doing so willingly, and will this week and next week, there are people arriving here from exile, they are very big people”, he charged. “Nobody has the right to hold Ugandans a ransom”, he said.

He clarified that his role in the ‘Pan-African’ movement had no direct relationship with his position in the Ugandan state. “I am here as a Ugandan and pan-Africanist”, he stated.

The congress is to be attended by African government delegations, intellectuals, youth movements, women and prominent Africans both within Africa and from diaspora.

The Congress will seek guidance for leaders, act as platform for a free discussion on vital issues.

Magistrates to

By Alfred Wasike

A one-day national seminar for magistrates is to take place on September 25 at the Law Development Centre (LDC) in Kampala. The Third Deputy Premier and Justice Minister Mr. Abu Mayanja and the Chief Justice Wako Wambuzi are expected to attend.

According to the Secretary of the Uganda Magistrates Association (UMA), Mr. Joseph Murangira, the theme “The Constitution with emphasis on fundamental human rights and attitude of Courts”. The guest speaker and resource person will be The New Vision Corporation Secretary Mr. Patrick Kiggundu. The discussions will be the Inspector General of Government (IGG), Mr. Augustine Ruzindana, the Dean of the Makerere University Faculty of Law, Prof. Frederick Kibere and Solon Mr. Magis Nakawa said on Saturday.

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UNEASY ASSIGNMENT

K. Gyan-Apenteng assesses the prospects of the forthcoming Pan-African Congress

"ON BEHALF OF the International Planning Committee for the 7th Pan African Congress I would like to invite you to participate at the Congress scheduled to be held in Kampala in the 1st week of December 1993." Thus begins the call to all African governments and organisations to attend what the organisers hope will be the second Pan African Congress to be held on African soil since the movement began at the start of this century. According to the formal statement of invitation, the congress will be open to all shades of opinion, groups, and individuals in the whole Pan African world.

This is not an easy assignment, for all the ingredients for a turbulent encounter are all there in such an open-ended invitation to a congress with an equally open-ended agenda which has been summarised by Dr Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, the secretary of the IPC, as "everything". And everything it is: The agenda includes some of the hottest topics in Pan African politics: creating a United States of Africa; state and conditions of Africans on the continent and in the diaspora; international trends that have an impact on Africa; debt crisis, democracy, human rights, civil war, aid, Aids; reparations campaign etc. Given this formidable agenda, it is not an understatement to speculate that the future of Africa will be settled in Kampala in December 1993.

The organisers of the 7th may not be claiming that the congress will settle Africa's destiny, but they hope that Kampala '93 will be a prided follow up to the 6th Congress which was held in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1974. Certainly, in terms of numbers, the 7th PAC will outstrip its immediate predecessor by miles. Where there were 52 delegates in Tanzania in 1974, there can be thousands in Uganda, although Abdul-Raheem confesses that he has no idea of how many people will actually turn up.

The inability to guestimate numbers even at this late date stems mostly from the formula which is being used to invite, which may ensure democracy at the expense of organisation. According to the IPC secretary-general, all organisations, including governments, opposition parties, non-governmental organisations, and identifiable civic bodies in Africa and the diaspora are being invited on equal footing with two voting representatives each. In the ideal world, this will be the best of all possible scenarios - that all Africans, governments and opposition, friends and foes will sit in one grand talking shop and plan the future...Unfortunately, the equal representation formula is fraught with grave dangers not least of which is the numbers that will descend on Kampala.

Realistically, however, not many of the NGOs and assorted civic groups which have been invited can afford to attend as the fares, from most parts of Africa, will top the thousand dollar mark. The congress secretariat may come up with some funds for genuine strugglers who must be at the congress, but since the congress itself is being organised through a fund-raising drive, spare cash will be a problem. Although Abdul Raheem thinks that the self-paying principle will eliminate the "professional conference attendees", it is likely to have exactly the opposite effect. After all, it is the well heeled organisations which can afford their own fares.

More importantly are the political problems involved in the equal representation principle. Few African governments will sit with the opposition on an equal basis even at a PAC. Lamentable but true, so unless the congress programme includes a special governmental conclave, a mini-OAU, however irrelevant it may be, governmental response will be patchy. And this is the rub: unless governmental participation is assured, the meeting will be tagged an opposition congress which will then be boycotted by governments.

The IPC is well aware of these problems, however, and appears to be taking them in its stride as it builds the organisation to ensure success. Preparations for the congress took off last August with the meeting of the IPC which was attended by, among others, Abdul-Rahman Mohammed Babu, Victor Sable-Phma of the PAC of Azania, Karim Essack, Bankie Foster Bankie, Akidi Ocan, Nathan Diamini of the ANC of South Africa, Serwanga Lwanga, Sabi Mutenges, and Ezra Kamukama. Together with other people, including Horace Campbell, Gorkeh Gamal Nkrumah and Kwame Toure, this group was constituted into the IPC. So far the IPC has contacted all governments in the defined area as well as the OAU and other regional institutions. Abdul-Raheem is currently on a European tour assessing the work done so far.

As part of the strategy for ensuring the broadest participation in the congress the IPC has encouraged the formation of national and regional committees to hold discussions to lead to mini congresses throughout the world. These congresses will also provide the necessary awareness of Kampala '93 as well as enable national committees to sort out the problems of representation.

There is no doubt that a Pan African congress in the 30th year of the OAU will be the ideal vehicle for reviving the flagging spirit of the movement which was the spur for African independence. At various times in this century, when Africa's self interest has had to be asserted as happened after each of the two world wars, the Pan African movement has supplied the intellectual and programmatic framework. Overloaded with debt and poverty, oppression and exploitation and threatened with marginalisation in a raucous world, the 7th PAC may be the needed tonic.

But there is a lot of obstacles to overcome. Divisions run deep in many ways in Africa and they may threaten the unity of purpose which alone will guarantee minimum success. Already, Ugandan exiles have slammed the holding of the congress in Kampala, alleging that it is an attempt by the Museveni government to achieve international legitimacy. There is no shortage of reasons for which one organisation, or government personality will not attend, as indeed happened when CLR James and others boycotted the 6th PAC because of the presence of some governments from the Caribbean. It is the task of the IPC in the months ahead to convince everyone that the Pan African ideal is bigger than any single agenda.
TO: INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

FR: ABDUL ALKALIMAT (USA)

RE: PROPOSALS FOR 7th PAC

This international meeting has the great responsibility of finalizing basic decisions regarding the 7th PAC. The overall importance of 7th PAC is nothing short of charting a course for Africa to enter the 21st century, including issues internal to the African continent as well as the entire world that encompasses the African diaspora. There is no mandate for this other than what we generate by the quality of our work (our deliberations, analyses, plans of action, and overall intellectual production), and what legitimacy we generate by the support and cosponsorship that leads to concrete plans of action (including national and local organizations, movements and governments, individuals and publications, especially at the grass roots level throughout Africa and the African diaspora).

This proposal contains specific suggestions to put 7th PAC on the proper level of being as important as 5th PAC. The Manchester congress (1945) set the course for the anti-colonial struggles for national liberation. The Kampala congress (1993) might well chart the course for the fight against neo-colonialism and its concomitant military dictatorships, debt crises, general social degeneration, health and drug related crises, and political demobilization. While we have set a tentative congress date, it seems that we might well consider the rest of the 1990's as a 7 year framework in which to get our work done and out into the field of battle so that we face the 21st century fighting with our new plans.

I would like to propose four specific points for our consideration:
1. The Congress Plenum
2. The Congress Declaration
3. The Congress Commissions
4. The Congress Publications

1. BUILDING THE 7TH CONGRESS AS AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

This is a proposal for the 7th PAC to be structured around multiple plenums, at least 3 but not more than 4, with each plenum being held in a separate country over several days. Specifically, the proposal is to have the first plenum in Africa (Uganda), the second plenum in the Diaspora (USA), and the final plenum back in Africa. The main problems are obvious, staff and budget. But the strength of the proposal is precisely that it will open up new avenues to raise money and mobilize organizations and individuals.

A multiple plenum approach would enable us to make proper use
of the 50th anniversary of the 1945 Manchester 5th PAC.

This proposal is being advanced on the basis of having already gotten commitments for staff and facilities in New York City (USA) fort he second plenum. Furthermore, our overall budget would only be $100,000. This would include being able to offer simultaneous teleconfernce hooks ups on a global level, as well as audio/video tapes of the entire proceedings.

2. POPULARIZING 7TH PAC BY INITIATING INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

This proposal is that out of the 7th PAC first plenum we issue "The Kampala Declaration." This document would answer four main questions: 1. Who are we and where are we?; 2. Why are we in the shape we're in and how did we get here?; 3. What is our vision of Africa and the African Diaspora for the 21st century?; and 4. How are we gonna get there? This document would be given to conference participants before the first plenum in draft form and a special congress body would finalize it for adoption at the final plenary.

Utilizing modern technology, we would first aim to have this text translated and read onto tape in every language Africans speak in Africa and the diaspora. This text must be accessible at the village level, everywhere. No one must be excluded. Also, in major languages, we need to publish written versions, and produce video tapes as well. In addition we need to issue a study guide that can be adapted for use in every school so that the declaration can be studied by students to give them the proper orientation.

3. BASING 7TH PAC DISCUSSIONS ON RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE

There will be diverse and spirited debate and discussion during all phases of 7th PAC based on its inclusive agenda. Each participant will come with a specific background and focus, and on that particularistic basis intervene in the deliberations. This third proposal is to utilize these vast intellectual and political resources available to 7th PAC to provide a common data base, common documentation, in order to facilitate the basic consensus that must come out of this process. We can't expect uniformity, but we must prepare the basis for the practical political unity that we need to carry out informed political action.

The Africa world might well be organize into 10 regions.
1. Africa: North 6. Caribbean
3. Africa: West 8. Central & South America
4. Africa: Central 9. Middle East
5. Africa: Southern 10. Europe, Asia, & the Pacific

In each region a 7th PAC Regional Research Committees would be formed under the guidance of an overall International Research Commission. On the basis of a standard format set by the
International Research Commission, each Regional body would compile data and issue a research report. On this basis the International body would publish preparatory documentation for the final plenum of 7th PAC in all official 7th PAC languages. This final documentation would be thematic and based on the empirical documentation of the entire African world.

4. PREPARING FINAL DOCUMENTATION THROUGH PUBLISHING

The work of the 7th PAC will continue after the final plenum is over. There will be at least a year of major consultations with international organizations and governments regarding the 7th PAC final decisions. In order to make this process as smooth as possible an arrangement should be made with major publishers in every major literary language of the African world to publish the 7th PAC library of declaration, commissions reports, and proceedings.
We have divided the nations of Africa into five regions (North, West, Central, East, and Southern) for an easier understanding of this diverse continent. See page viii for further discussion of the regions within Africa.
Uganda  (Republic of Uganda)

GEOGRAPHY

Area in Square Kilometers (Miles):
235,885 (91,076) (slightly smaller
than Oregon)
Capital (Population): Kampala
(331,000)
Climate: tropical to semi-arid

PEOPLE

Population
Total: 17,960,000
Annual Growth Rate: 3.5%
Rural/Urban Population Ratio: 86/14
Languages: official: English; others
spoken: Kiswahili, Luganda, Iteso,
Soga, Acholi, Lugbara, Nyakole
Nyoro, others

Health
Life Expectancy at Birth: 48 years
(male); 50 years (female)
Infant Death Rate (Ratio): 107/1,000
Average Caloric Intake: 83% of FAO
minimum
Physicians Available (Ratio): 1/27,420

Religion(s)
66% Christian; 18% traditional
indigenous; 16% Muslim

SONG OF LAWINO

Song of Lawino, a “poetic novel” by Ugandan poet and novelist Okot
P’ Bitek, has been popular in the Western world as well as in Africa.
First written in the Acholi language, it has been translated into English
by the author and depicts a “modern” Ugandan man who has assumed
Western values. The story is told through the eyes of his African wife,
who is not Western-educated but is wiser than he. The views she
presents illustrate how sensible many traditional African ways are.
For example, in one passage, the wife says: “Listen/My husband,/In the
wisdom of the Acoli/Time is not stupidly split up/Into seconds and
minutes,.../It does not resemble/A loaf of millet bread/Surrounded by
hungry youths/From a hunt./It does not get finished/Like vegetables in
the dish....”

Education
Adult Literacy Rate: 57%

COMMUNICATION
Telephones: 61,600
Newspapers: 5

TRANSPORTATION
Highways—Kilometers (Miles):
26,200 (16,244)
Railroads—Kilometers (Miles): 1,286
(797)
Commercial Airports: 1 international

GOVERNMENT
Type: republic; under control of the
National Resistance Council
Independence Date: October 9, 1962
Head of State: President Yoweri
Kaguta Museveni
Political Parties: National Resistance
Movement; Nationalist Liberal Party;
Democratic Party; Conservative
Party; Uganda People’s Congress
Suffrage: universal for adults

MILITARY
Number of Armed Forces: 70,000
Military Expenditures (% of Central
Government Expenditures): 1.4%
Current Hostilities: internal conflicts

ECONOMY
Currency ($ U.S. Equivalent): 370
Uganda shillings = $1
Per Capita Income/GNP: $300/$4.9
billion
Inflation Rate: 72%
Natural Resources: copper; other
minerals
Agriculture: coffee; tea; cotton
Industry: processed agricultural
cooks; copper; cement; shoes;
fertilizer; steel; beverages

FOREIGN TRADE
Exports: $272 million
Imports: $626 million
UGANDA

After a decade and a half of repressive rule accompanied by massive interethnic violence, Uganda is still struggling for peace and reconciliation. A land rich in natural and human resources, Uganda suffered dreadfully during the despotic regimes of Milton Obote (1962–1971, 1980–1985) and Idi Amin (1971–1979). Under these two dictators, hundreds of thousands of Ugandans were murdered by the state.

The country had reached a state of general social and economic collapse by 1986, when the forces of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) established the current administration, led by Yoweri Museveni. The new government has made considerable progress in restoring a sense of normalcy throughout most of the country, but it faces overwhelming challenges in its attempts to rebuild the nation.

HISTORIC GEOGRAPHY

The breakdown of Uganda is an extreme example of the disruptive role of ethnic and sectarian competition, which was fostered by policies of both its colonial and postcolonial governments. Uganda consists of two major zones: the plains of the northeast and the southern highlands. It has been said that you can drop anything into the rich volcanic soils of the well-watered south and it will grow. Until the 1960s the area was divided into four kingdoms—the Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, and Toro—whose peoples speak related Bantu languages. The histories of each of these states stretches back to the fifteenth century A.D. European visitors of the nineteenth century were impressed by their sophisticated social orders, which they equated with the feudal monarchies of medieval Europe. When the British took over, they integrated the ruling class of the southern highlands into a system of “indirect rule.” By then missionaries had already succeeded in converting many southerners to Christianity; indeed, civil war between Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims within Buganda had been the British pretext for establishing their overrule.

The Acholi, Lango, Karamojong, Teso, Madi, and Kakwa peoples who are predominant in the northeast lack the political heritage of hierarchical state-building found in the south. Linguistically, these groups are also separate, speaking either Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic languages. The two regions were united by the British as the Uganda protectorate during the 1890s (the name Uganda, which is a corruption of Buganda, has since become the accepted term for the larger entity). However, under colonial rule, the zones developed separately.

Cash-crop farming, especially of cotton, by local peasants spurred an economic boom in the south. The Bugandan ruling class particularly benefited. Growing levels of education and wealth led to the European stereotype of the “pro-
gressivel" Bugandans as "the Japanese-of-Africa." A growing class of Asian entrepreneurs also played an important role in the local economy, although its prosperity, as well as that of the Bugandan elite, suffered from subordination to resident British interests. The growing economy of the south contrasted with the relative neglect of the northeast. Forced to earn money to pay taxes, many northerners became migrant workers in the south. They were also recruited, almost exclusively, to serve in the colonial security forces.

As independence approached, many Bugandans feared that their interests would be compromised by other groups. Under the leadership of their king, Mutesa II, they sought to uphold their separate status. Other groups feared that Bugandan wealth and educational levels could lead to their dominance. A compromise federal structure was agreed to for the new state. At independence, the southern kingdoms retained their autonomous status within the United Kingdom of Uganda. The first government was made up of Mutesa's royalist party and the United People's Congress, a largely non-Bugandan coalition, led by Milton Obote, a Langi. Mutesa was elected as president and Obote as prime minister.

**THE REIGN OF TERROR**

In 1966 the delicate balance of ethnic interests was upset when Obote used the army, still dominated by fellow northerners, to overthrow Mutesa and the Constitution. In the name of abolishing "tribalism," Obote established a one-party state and ruled in an increasingly dictatorial fashion. In 1971 he was overthrown by his army chief, Idi Amin. Amin began his regime with widespread public support but alienated himself by favoring fellow Muslims and Kakwa. He expelled the 40,000-member Aslian community and distributed their property to his cronies. The Langi, suspected of being pro-Obote, were also early targets of his persecution, but his attacks soon spread to other members of Uganda's Christian community—that is, about 80 percent of the total Ugandan population. Educated people in particular were purged. The number of Ugandans murdered by Amin's death squads is unknown; the most common figure is 300,000, but estimates range from 50,000 to 1 million. Many others went into exile.

A Ugandan military incursion into Tanzania led to war between the two countries in 1979. Many Ugandans joined with the Tanzanians in defeating Amin's army and its Libyan allies. Unfortunately, the overthrow of Amin, who fled into exile, did not lead to better times. In 1980 Obote was returned to power through a fraudulent vote count.

The second Obote administration was characterized by a continuation of the violence of the Amin years. An estimated 300,000 people, mostly southerners, were massacred by Obote's security forces, while an equal number fled the country. Much of the killing occurred in the Bugandan area known as the Luwero triangle, which was completely depopulated; today its fields are still full of skeletons. As the killings escalated, so did the resistance of Museveni's NRM guerrillas, who had taken to the bush in the aftermath of the failed election. In 1985 a split between Ancoli and Langi officers led to Obote's overthrow and yet another pattern of interethnic recrimination. Finally, in 1986, the NRM gained the upper hand.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES**

Museveni's NRM administration has faced enormous challenges in trying to bring about national reconstruction. Their task has been complicated by continued warfare in the northeast by armed factions representing elements of the former regimes, independent Karamojong communities, and followers of prophetic religious movements. In 1987 an uprising of the Holy Spirit rebels of Alice Lakwena was crushed, at the cost of 15,000 lives.

Museveni's inability so far to end completely Uganda's cycle of violence is largely a legacy of the bitterness and social breakdown brought about by his predecessors. Currently in Uganda there is cause for both hope and despair. A sense of civil society has been returning to much of the country. With peace has come economic growth, which has made up for some of the past decline. However, the northeast remains unsettled. Whereas NRM troops enjoyed a good reputation when fighting Obote, their discipline has been breaking down. Voting for local Revolutionary Councils took place in 1989, but there are as yet no firm plans for national elections.
Strikers burn Kakira estate

By Osmagye Kakooza

Workers of the Millenium Sugar Estates at Kakira yesterday went on strike and set several plantations on fire.

Justice Minister Eugene众多

Security Minister Omondi Mutebi and several CMCs.

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By John Sekagya

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Land ownership to be reviewed
Archbishop, anti-Bamwoze group to meet

By Geunayo Cobhod 

The PROVINCIAL Assembly of the Church of Uganda will meet a delegation of the anti-Bamwoze Christians. The Archbishop, the Rt Rev Dr Nsereko, will meet the Church of Uganda delegation of 200 at 8am today in the office of the Archbishop at the Church of Uganda House in Nsambya, Kampala.

The meeting will be the first of its kind since the Archbishop’s repudiation of the anti-Bamwoze group in June last year.

Workers burn plantation

From Page One

Workers at the Nakasero Sugar Works have set fire to a section of the plantation in a protest against the sack of 44 workers who were involved in the strike. The workers have been given a deadline of midnight to withdraw their demands or face action.

Army blamed

From Page One

The army has been blamed for the deaths of five civilians in the area recently. The army denies the allegations but the residents say the army has been involved in Human Rights violations in the area.

CMs reject 1.4b=

From Page One

The Canadian and Namibian governments have rejected a proposal by the Canadian government for a loan to Namibia to develop its copper industry. The Canadian government offered the loan but the Namibian government rejected it due to the high interest rate.

Moi pledges increased security

Nairobi, Wednesday, Kenyan President Daniel T. Moi promised on Wednesday to increase security for the United Nations workers in Nairobi after four workers were killed in a bomb attack last weekend.

"We shall hunt down the bandits who carried out the attack and bring them to justice," Moi said in his message.

The government will increase security for all UN staff, Moi said, adding that he "wants to work in the knowledge that they are secure." Moi said.

The attack was the latest in a series of raids by armed robbers in Nairobi outside the UN complex.

A UN spokesman in Nairobi said the world body had asked in New York headquarters to intervene to get Kenyan police to offer more protection to its employees.

On Sunday police shot and wounded two of the robbers who escaped without arresting the UNEP worker's car, but the residents of the city of Nairobi were relieved that the police were doing little to prevent worsening crimes.

Rester
Introduction

Uganda’s long string of tragedies since independence in 1962 have featured in the Western media to such an extent that most people probably regard the country as dangerously unstable and to be avoided.

Yoweri Museveni’s National Resistance Army has ruled effectively since coming to power in 1986. In the past, predictions of the stability of a regime have been premature. However, Museveni is taking Uganda into the 1990s with brighter prospects than it has had for many years. Stability has returned to most parts of the country, Kampala has virtually returned to normal and the process of getting the country back on a firm footing is well under way.

Before independence Uganda was a prosperous and cohesive country. Its great beauty led Winston Churchill to refer to the country as the ‘Pearl of Africa’, but by early 1986 Uganda lay shattered and bankrupt, broken by tribal animosity, nepotism, politicians who had gone mad on power and military tyranny. While a lot of the blame can be laid squarely at the feet of the sorid and brutal military dictatorship of Idi Amin, who was overthrown in 1979, others have a great deal to answer for. Indeed, there was really little difference between any of Uganda’s pre-1986 rulers. All appear to have been spawned from the same degenerative mould.

Yet despite the killings and disappearances, the brutality and the fear and destruction of the past, Ugandans appear to have weathered the storm remarkably well. You will not meet a sullen, bitter or cowed people. Rather, though hard to believe, they still smile and find the enthusiasm to carry on and rebuild after the nightmare years. In fact these days there’s an air of optimism as people realise that the years of terror and bloodshed are finally over.

Undoubtedly, the main reason is the regime headed by Museveni which has made a clean sweep of the government, the civil service and the army. Despite the huge odds against him and an empty treasury, during his early years in power Museveni made a lot of effort to get the country back on its feet. There was a clampdown on corruption, political meetings were banned to prevent a resurgence of intertribal rivalry and squabbling among power brokers, and a real effort was made to reassure tribal leaders that Museveni’s administration was balanced. Perhaps of chief importance, Museveni’s army is the most disciplined that Uganda has ever seen, despite the astonishing (to Westerners) sight of fatigued teenagers among its ranks—some as young as 14. Gone are the days when every road was littered with checkpoints staffed by drunken, surly soldiers intent on squeezing every last penny from civilians, or when soldiers took anything they wanted from stores at gunpoint. There are still roadblocks, but politeness and courtesy are what you’re most likely to encounter now.

For the traveller, all this means that Uganda is once again a safe and friendly country to visit. Certainly the level of comfort is not what you might be used to in Kenya, but the Ugandan people are among the friendliest on the continent and there are some unforgettable sights. Don’t be afraid to go there. It’s a beautiful country and it has a great deal to offer.

Facts about the Country

HISTORY
Early Settlers
Until the 19th century there was very little penetration of Uganda from outside. Despite the fertility of the land and its capacity to grow surplus crops, there were virtually no trading links with the East African coast. Some indigenous kingdoms came into being from the 14th century onwards, among them Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Busoga, with Bunyoro initially being the most powerful.

Over the following centuries, the Baganda (the people of the Buganda tribe) eventually created the dominant kingdom. They made up about 20% of Uganda’s population and were once ruled by a kabaka (king).

During the reign of Kabaka Mwanga in the mid-19th century, contacts were finally made with Arab traders from the coast and European explorers. The Christian missionaries who followed the explorers made themselves very unpopular with the rulers of Buganda and Toro, and there were massacres of both Christians and Muslims.

The Colonial Era
After the Treaty of Berlin in 1890, which defined the various European countries’ spheres of influence in Africa, Uganda, Kenya and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were declared British Protectorates in 1894. The colonial administrators adopted a policy of indirect rule giving the traditional kingdoms a considerable degree of autonomy but, at the same time, they also favoured the recruitment of Baganda for the civil service.

Other tribespeople, unable to acquire responsible jobs in the colonial administration or to make inroads on the Baganda-dominated commercial sector, were forced to seek other ways of joining the mainstream. The Acholi and Lango, for example, chose the army and became the tribal majority in the military. Thus were planted the seeds for the intertribal conflicts which were to tear Uganda apart following independence.

Independence
Unlike Kenya and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania, Uganda never experienced a large influx of European settlers and the expropriation of land which occurred with it. Instead, tribespeople were encouraged to grow cash crops for export through their own cooperative organisations. As a result, nationalist organisations sprouted much later than those in neighbouring countries and when they did it was on a tribal basis. So exclusive were some of these that when independence began to be discussed the Baganda even considered secession. By the mid-1950s, however, a Lango schoolteacher, Dr Milton Obote, managed to put together a loose coalition which led Uganda to independence in 1962 on the promise that the Baganda would have autonomy. The kabaka was the new nation’s president and Milton Obote was its prime minister.

It wasn’t a particularly propitious time for Uganda to come to grips with independence. Civil wars were raging in neighbouring southern Sudan, Zaire and Rwanda and refugees streamed into the country adding to its problems. Also, it soon became obvious that Obote had no intention of sharing power with the kabaka. A confrontation was inevitable.

Obote moved fast, arresting several cabinet ministers and ordering his army chief of staff, Idi Amin, to storm the kabaka’s palace. The raid resulted in the flight of the kabaka and his exile in London, where he died five years later. Obote had himself made president, the Bagandan monarchy was abolished and Idi Amin’s star was on the rise.

The Amin Years
Events started to go seriously wrong after
that. Obote had his attorney general, Godfrey Binaisa (a Bagandan), rewrite the constitution to consolidate virtually all powers in the presidency. He then began to nationalise foreign assets.

Then, in 1969, a scandal surfaced with the revelation that US$6 million in funds and weapons allocated to the Ministry of Defence could not be accounted for. An explanation was demanded from Amin. When it wasn’t forthcoming, his deputy, Colonel Okoya, and some junior officers demanded his resignation. Shortly afterwards Okoya and his wife were shot dead in their Gulu home and rumours began to circulate about Amin’s imminent arrest. It never came. Instead, when Obote left for Singapore in January 1971 to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference, Amin staged a coup. The British, who had probably suffered most from Obote’s nationalisation programme, were one of the first countries to recognise the new regime. Obote left Singapore and went into exile in Tanzania.

So began Uganda’s first reign of terror. All political activities were quickly suspended and the army was empowered to shoot on sight anyone suspected of opposition to the regime. Over the next eight years an estimated 300,000 Ugandans lost their lives, often in horrifying ways: beheaded to death with sledgehammers and iron bars or tortured to death in prisons and police stations all over the country. Nile Mansions, next to the Conference Centre in Kampala, became particularly notorious. The screams of those who were being tortured or beaten to death there could often be heard around the clock for days on end. Prime targets of Amin’s death squads were the Acholi and Langi who were decimated in waves of massacres. Whole villages were wiped out. Next he turned on the professional classes. University professors and lecturers, doctors, cabinet ministers, lawyers, businessmen and even military officers who might have posed a threat to Amin were dragged from their offices and shot or simply never seen again.

Next in line was the 70,000-strong Asian community. In 1972 they were given 90 days to leave the country with virtually nothing more than the clothes they wore. Amin and his cronies grabbed the US$1000 million booty they were forced to leave behind and quickly squandered it on new toys for the army and frivolous luxury items. Amin then turned on the British and nationalised, without compensation, US$500 million worth of investments in tea plantations and other industries. Again the booty was squandered.

Meanwhile, the economy collapsed, industrial activity ground to a halt, hospitals and rural health clinics closed, roads cracked and filled with potholes, cities became garbage dumps and their utilities fell apart. The prolific wildlife was machine-gunned down by soldiers for meat, ivory and skins and the tourist industry evaporated. The stream of refugees across the border became a flood.

Faced with chaos and an inflation rate which hit 1600%, Amin was forced to delegate more and more powers to the provincial governors who became virtual warlords in their areas. Towards the end, the treasury was so bereft of funds that it was unable to pay the soldiers. At the same time, international condemnation of the sordid regime was strengthening daily as more and more news of massacres, torture and summary executions leaked out of the country.

About the only source of support for Amin at this time was from Libya under the increasingly idiosyncratic leadership of Gaddafi. Libya bailed out the Ugandan economy, supposedly in the name of Islamic brotherhood (Amin had conveniently become a Muslim by this stage), and began an intensive drive to equip the Ugandan forces with sophisticated weapons.

The rot had spread too far, however, and was way past the point where it could be arrested by a few million dollars worth of Libyan largesse. Faced with a restless army in which intertribal fighting had broken out, Amin was forced to seek a diversion. He chose a war with Tanzania, ostensibly to teach that country a lesson for supporting anti-Amin dissidents. It was his last major act of insanity and it began his downfall.

Post-Amin Chaos

On 30 October 1978 the Ugandan army rolled across north-western Tanzania virtually unopposed and annexed more than 1200 sq km of territory. Meanwhile, the airforce bombed the Lake Victoria ports of Bukoba and Munyoma. President Julius Nyerere ordered a full-scale counterattack but it took months to mobilise his ill-equipped and poorly trained forces. By the following spring, however, he had managed to scrape together a 50,000-strong people's militia composed mainly of illiterate youngsters from the bush. This militia joined with the many exiled Ugandan liberation groups (united only in their determination to rid Uganda of Amin). The two armies met. East Africa's supposedly best equipped and best trained army threw down its weapons and fled and the Tanzanians pushed on into the heart of Uganda. Kampala fell without a fight and by the end of April organised resistance had effectively ceased. Amin fled to Libya where he remained until Gaddafi threw him out following a shoot-out with Libyan soldiers. He now lives in Jeddah on a Saudi Arabian pension.

The Tanzanian action was criticised, somewhat half-heartedly, by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), but it's probably true to say that most African countries breathed a sigh of relief to see the madman finally thrown out. All the same, Tanzania was forced to foot the entire war bill, estimated at US$500 million. This was a crushing blow for an already desperately poor country. No other country has ever made a contribution.

The rejoining in Uganda was short-lived. The 12,000 or so Tanzanian soldiers who remained in the country, supposedly to assist with reconstruction and to maintain law and
316 Uganda – Facts about the Country

order, turned on the Ugandans as soon as their pay wasn’t forthcoming. They took what they wanted from shops at gunpoint, hijacked trucks arriving from Kenya with international relief aid and slaughtered more

Once again the country slid into chaos and gangs of armed bandits began to roam the cities, killing and looting. Food supplies ran out and hospitals could no longer function. Nevertheless, thousands of exiled Ugandans began to answer the new president’s call to return home and help with reconstruction.

Usefu Lule, a modest and unambitious man, was installed as president with Nyerere’s blessing, but when he began speaking out against Nyerere he was replaced by Godfrey Binaisa, sparking riots supporting Lule in Kampala. Meanwhile, Obote bided his time in Dar es Salaam.

Binaisa quickly came under pressure to set a date for a general election and a return to civilian rule. Although this was done, he found himself at odds with other powerful members of the provisional government on ideological, constitutional and personal grounds – particularly over his insistence that the pre-Amin political parties not be allowed to contest the election.

The strongest criticism came from two senior members of the army, Tito Okello and David Ojok, both Obote supporters. Fearing a coup, Binaisa attempted to dismiss Ojok, who refused to step down, and instead placed Binaisa under house arrest. The government was taken over by a military commission which set the election for later that year. Obote returned from exile to an enthusiastic welcome in many parts of the country and swept to victory in an election which was blatantly rigged. Binaisa returned to exile in the USA.

The honeymoon with Obote proved to be relatively short. Like Amin, Obote favoured certain tribes. Large numbers of civil servants and army and police commanders belonging to the tribes of the south were replaced with Obote supporters belonging to the tribes of the north. The State Research Bureau, a euphemism for the secret police, was re-established and the prisons began to fill once more. Obote was about to complete the destruction that Amin initiated. More and more reports of atrocities and killings leaked out of the country. Mass graves were unearthed that were unrelated to the Amin era. The press was muzzled and Western journalists were expelled. It was obvious that Obote was once again attempting to achieve absolute power. Intertribal tension was again on the rise and in mid-1985 Obote was overthrown in a coup staged by the army under the leadership of Tito Okello.

The NRA Takeover

Okello was not the only opponent of Obote. Shortly after Obote became president for the second time, a guerrilla army opposed to his tribally biased government was formed in western Uganda. It was led by Yoweri Museveni, who had lived in exile in Tanzania during Amin’s reign and who had served as defence minister during the chaotic administrations of 1979-80.

From a group of 27 men grew a guerrilla force of about 20,000, many of them orphaned teenagers. In the early days, few gave the guerrillas, known as the National Resistance Army, much of a chance. Government troops frequently made murderous sweeps across the notorious Luwero Triangle and artillery supplied by North Korea pounded areas where the guerrillas were thought to be hiding. Few people outside Uganda even knew of the existence of the NRA due to Obote’s success in muzzling the press and expelling journalists. At times it seemed that Museveni might give up the battle – he spent several months in London at one point – but his dedicated young lieutenants kept fighting.

The NRA was not a bunch of drunken thugs like Amin’s and Obote’s armies. New recruits were indoctrinated in the bush by political commissars and taught that they had to be the servants of the people, not their oppressors. Discipline was tough. Anyone who got badly out of line was executed. Museveni determined that the army would never again disgrace Uganda. Also, a central thrust of the NRA was to win the hearts and minds of the people, who learnt to identify totally with the persecuted Bagandas in the infamous Triangle.

By the time Obote was ousted and Okello had taken over, the NRA controlled a large slice of western Uganda and was a power to be reckoned with. Recognising this, Okello attempted to arrange a truce so that the leaders from both sides could negotiate on sharing power. However, peace talks in Nairobi failed. Wisely, Museveni didn’t trust a man who had been one of Obote’s closest military aides for more than 15 years. Neither did he trust Okello’s prime minister, Paulo Mwanga, who was formerly Obote’s vice president and minister of defence. Also, Okello’s army was notorious for its lack of discipline and brutality. Unite of Amin’s former army had even returned from exile in Zaire and Sudan and joined with Okello.

What Museveni wanted was a clean sweep of the administration, the army and the police. He wanted corruption stamped out and those who had been involved in atrocities during the Amin and Obote regimes brought to trial. These demands were, of course, anathema to Okello who was up to his neck in corruption and responsible for many atrocities.

The fighting continued in earnest and by late January 1986 it was obvious that Okello’s days were numbered. The surrender of 1600 government soldiers booted up in their barracks in the southern town of Mbarara, which was controlled by the NRA, brought the NRA to the outskirts of Kampala itself. With the morale of the government troops at a low ebb, in February the NRA launched an all-out offensive to take the capital. Okello’s troops fought without a fight, although not before looting whatever remained and carting it away in commandeered buses. It was a typical parting gesture, as was the gratuitous shooting-up of many Kampala high-rise offices.

During the following weeks Okello’s rattle were pursued and finally pushed north over the border into Sudan. The civil war was over apart from a few mop-up operations in the extreme north-west and Karamoja Province. The long nightmare was finally over. Although there are occasional reports of units of Okello’s army raiding frontier areas, it’s a spent force. There is no mistaking which of the two armies Ugandan civilians prefer.

Despite Museveni’s Marxist leanings (he studied political science at Dar es Salaam University in the early 1970s and trained with the anti-Portuguese guerrillas in Mozambique), he has proved to be pragmatic since taking control. Despite many of his officers’ radical stands on certain issues, he appointed several arch-conservatives to his cabinet and made an effort to reassure the country’s influential Catholic community.

In the late 1980s peace agreements were negotiated with most of the guerrilla factions who had fought for Okello or Obote and were still active in the north and north-east. Under an amnesty offered to the rebels, by 1988 as many as 40,000 had surrendered and many were given jobs in the NRA. In the north-west of the country, almost 300,000 Ugandans have returned home from across the Sudanese border.

The economy is now the country’s main problem, but if peace can be maintained Ugandans can look forward with optimism. Factories which have lain idle for years are finally getting back into production. Museveni is likely to face political pressure, for as peace spreads, so too will demands to relax the ban on political parties and move towards a multiparty democracy.

Uganda – Facts about the Country 317
GEOGRAPHY

Uganda has an area of 236,580 sq km, of which about 25% is fertile arable land capable of providing a surplus of food. Lake Victoria and the Victoria Nile, which flows through much of the country, together create one of the best watered areas of Africa.

The land varies from semidesert in the north-east to the lush and fertile shores of the lake, the Ruwenzori Mountains in the west and the beautiful, mountainous south-west.

The tropical heat is tempered by the altitude, which averages over 1000 metres.

CLIMATE

As most of Uganda is fairly flat with mountains only in the extreme east (Mt Elgon), extreme west (Ruwenzori) and close to the Rwanda border, the bulk of the country enjoys the same tropical climate with temperatures averaging about 26°C during the day and 16°C at night. The hottest months are from December to February when the daytime range is 27°C to 29°C. The rainy seasons are in the south from April to May and October to November, the wettest month being April. In the north the wet season is from April to October and the dry season is from November to March. During the wet seasons the average rainfall is 175 mm per month. Humidity is generally low outside the wet seasons.

ECONOMY

Before Amin’s coup, Uganda was approaching self-sufficiency in food, had a small but vital industrial sector and profitable copper mines. Boosting export income were the thriving coffee, sugar and tourist industries.

Under Amin the country reverted almost completely to a subsistence economy. The managerial and technical elite was either expelled, killed or exiled and the country’s infrastructure was virtually destroyed. Some cash crops made a tentative recovery under Obote, but Museveni’s government inherited massive problems.

In 1987 there was a massive devaluation, a new currency was issued, an International Monetary Fund (IMF) restructuring deal was accepted and the government made a real attempt to tackle its economic problems. Despite this, inflation was running at more than 100% within a year and another massive devaluation followed.

Uganda’s problems stem from its almost total reliance on coffee, which accounts for 98% of exports, plus the fact that 60% of foreign earnings is used to pay off its large foreign debt.

The remainder of the exchange reserves are spent on items aimed at bringing about improvements in the long term. Short-term benefits are few and poverty is widespread.

One of the more interesting aspects of the Ugandan economy is the barter system, whereby the country makes deals with foreign trading partners, exchanging goods (usually coffee) for much needed imports. So far it has struck deals with Algeria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy, Libya, North Korea, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Yugoslavia.

Inflation remains a critical problem and it seems the government has lost control of the currency. Inflation is running at more than 200% and the black market is flourishing (the value of the shilling is three times the official rate).

Despite the obvious problems, the Ugandan economy appears set for large improvements, as agricultural and manufacturing output and construction have all increased in the past few years.

Agriculture is the single most important component of the Ugandan economy. It accounts for 70% of gross domestic product (GDP) and employs 90% of the workforce.

Coffee, sugar, cotton and tea are the main export crops. Cultivation for local consumption includes maize, millet, cassava, sweet potato, beans and cereals.

The manufacturing sector’s share of GDP has shrunk from 12% in 1970 to less than 4% now. Manufactured goods include textiles, soap, cement and steel products. Foreign aid is mostly used to supply vital imported fuel and purchase spare parts to get factories back to full production.

POPULATION

Uganda’s population of 16 million is increasing at the alarming rate of 2.8%. It is made up of a complex and diverse range of tribes. Lake Kyoga forms the northern boundary for the Bantu speaking peoples who dominate much of east, central and southern Africa and, in Uganda, include the Baganda and several other tribes. In the north live the Lango (near Lake Kyoga) and the Acholi (towards the Sudan border) who speak Nilotic languages. To the east are the Teso and Karamojong who are related to the Masai and who also speak Nilotic languages. Pygmies live in the forests of the west.

RELIGION

While about two-thirds of the population is Christian, the remaining one-third still practices animism while a small percentage is Muslim. There were sizeable numbers of Sikhs and Hindus in the country until Asians were expelled in 1972.

HOLIDAYS & FESTIVALS

January

New Year’s Day (1st)
Start of NRM Government (26th)
April

Good Friday
Easter Monday
Labour Day (1st)
Independence Day (9th)
December

Christmas Day (25th)
Boxing Day (26th)

LANGUAGE

The official language is English, which most people can speak. The other major languages are Luganda and Swahili, although the latter isn’t spoken much in Kampala.
Friday from 9 am to 3 pm. Visa costs vary according to your nationality, but range from US$2.20 to US$9.30. Visas are valid for three months, take two days to issue and require two photos.

Zaire Don't come to Kampala with the idea of picking up a Zaire visa. The fee, at US$70 for a one month single entry visa and US$100 for multiple entry, is nothing short of extortion. It must be paid in hard currency too. It's scandalous, especially as the same visa in Nairobi costs the equivalent of about US$7.50. If you still want to apply, the embassy (tel 23377) is at 20 Philip Rd, Kololo District. While it's open Monday to Friday from 8 am to 3 pm, visa applications are only accepted before noon. A letter of introduction from your embassy and two photos are required, and the visa is issued in 24 hours.

MONEY
US$1 = USh 340 (official)
US$1 = USh 750 (black market)

The Ugandan shilling (USh) is a highly volatile currency and is constantly losing value. The rate given here was applicable in 1990, but will probably look laughable now. The big difficulty is that prices quoted in Ugandan shillings here will be way off the mark in a very short time, which is why prices are quoted in US dollars, using the exchange rate in this book. This way you should still get a fairly good idea of current prices. Items quoted are payable in Ugandan shillings unless stated otherwise.

The other trouble with the continuing devaluation of the Ugandan shilling is the sheer volume of banknotes it's necessary to carry. The largest denomination (at the time of writing) was USh 100! Change US$100 (on the black market) and you have at least 750 banknotes to cart around – conceal them in case you are checked, although this is extremely unlikely. Carrying these notes around and counting them is the economy's only major growth sector. The other notes in circulation are USh 50, USh 20 and USh 10 (no coins).

Black Market
You'll have no trouble finding someone to change your money. Cash and travellers' cheques can be changed on the street market, though expect quite a bit less for cheques per US dollar than cash. Shop around for the best rates. These are usually found in clothing stores, automobile parts shops, photographic shops and any store which sells imported goods, especially electronic appliances. Simply go in and ask.

Kampala is the best place to change money, although rates at places like Kasese and Kabale are only marginally less. At Malaba on the Uganda-Kenya border the exchange rates are generally poor because
moneycollectors assume that tourists don’t know the current maximum rates (often true). You’ll be lucky to get more than about US$500 to the dollar. Change only enough to get to your next destination and make a point of asking other travellers who have recently been to Uganda what the rates are.

If you’re going to use the black market (and unfortunately for Uganda, there are very few travellers who can afford not to) use US dollars and to a lesser extent pounds sterling. Anything else is virtually useless.

Currency Declaration Forms

These forms are usually issued at the border on entry, but whether or not you have to show the money you declare varies from day to day and from border to border. Officials at the Malaba crossing with Kenya are now keen to search bags and money belts for undeclared cash, so hide it well.

It’s a good idea to officially change a minimal amount of money and get a bank stamp on your form. For a start, you won’t get into any national park unless you have proof that you’ve changed money officially. Also, it’s likely that you’ll be asked for the form when leaving the country. As long as it has a stamp it’s unlikely to raise questions. If your form is blank you may have to resort to bribery. Your chances of getting through without parting with some money are slim. Some travellers report having their form checked at roadblocks within Uganda.

A far more altruistic reason for changing money officially is that, hopefully, it will help buy medicines, fuel and other essential imports. Consider it a donation towards helping a destitute country get back on its feet and try not to think that your money could go towards guns for the army or lousiness for government bigwigs.

It occasionally happens that some Ugandan borders run out of forms, which makes a total nonsense of the whole operation. Another piece of absurdity regarding currency forms is that the Ugandan Shilling Corporation, which runs a chain of top hotels throughout the country, demands payment in hard currency. They won’t accept shillings, even when there are sufficient bank stamps on your currency form to prove that you’ve changed money in a bank at the official rate.

Naturally, if you don’t have the exact amount in hard currency – Uganda Airlines internal flights too. There are no cheap deals. This makes flying out of Uganda expensive. Similarly, some embassies will no longer accept shillings for visa fees. However, you can still pay for postage and telephone calls in shillings, which makes it easy to make changes into Eastern African standards, especially when compared with places like Rwanda and Burundi.

COSTS

Uganda is not the travel bargain it was a few years ago. At black market rates, goods and services are affordable (on a par with Kenya) but there are no real bargains. Using the official rate you’ll find that your money disappears at an incredible pace.

You can pay for all the necessities of life with shillings – accommodation, food, drink, transport, post and telecommunications. The exceptions are hotels belonging to the Uganda Airlines Corporation, air fares and national park fees.

Transport and food are especially cheap since the prices must, to some extent, reflect the capacity of the average Ugandan to pay. Hotel prices are proportionally higher, in line with catering for a more affluent clientele.

TOURIST INFORMATION

There is a tourist office in Kampala but it has very little printed information.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Post & Telephone

Despite the ravages of the civil wars, international postal and telephone services are excellent, at least from Kampala. I sent several letters and parcels to Australia from Kampala and all of them arrived. Poste restante also functions efficiently.

Internal telephone connections have improved greatly in the past few years and are generally not a problem.

Time

The time is GMT plus three hours.

Banking Hours

Banking hours are Monday to Friday from 8.30 am to 12.30 pm.

MEDIA

Newspapers

Quite a few English-language newspapers have reappeared on the streets since order has been re-established. These include the government-owned New Vision, the Star and the Independent Observer. They offer very little in the way of international news but give an interesting insight into how the country is gradually pulling itself out of the mire. Newspapers published in Uganda include Munno, Ngabo and Taifa.

HEALTH

You must take precautions against malaria. Also, bilharzia is a serious risk in any of Uganda’s lakes (Victoria, Kyoga, etc) and rivers. Avoid swimming and walking around barefoot, especially where there are lots of reeds (the snails which are the intermediate host for the bilharzia parasite live in areas such as these).

DANGERS & ANNOYANCES

More than any other East African country, Uganda has suffered incredibly from misgovernment, corruption, civil war, coups and badly disciplined armies. As a result, it has an image as a dangerous and unstable country to visit. Only in the past few years have tourists started to visit Uganda once more. With the stability that has been established with the Museveni government, travellers have found that Uganda is once again a safe, friendly and interesting country.

There is no need to have any fears about travelling in Uganda. Yet staff at some embassies are still warning tourists about dangers. If you are concerned, check with other travellers as they are generally a far more reliable source of information than a government official behind a desk in another country. It’s true that there are still areas where your safety cannot be guaranteed, but this is limited to the extreme north along the border with Sudan and the north-east of the country along the border with Kenya. If you want to visit these areas, make enquiries before setting off. As for the rest of the country, it’s safe to travel. Ugandans are generally very friendly people.

FILM & PHOTOGRAPHY

Bring all your own equipment and film. In Kampala there are limited quantities of Konica print film, but it’s not cheap. In other
parts of the country don’t count on being able to get anything. Slide film is unobtainable anywhere.

Although there are no official restrictions on photography, there is a certain amount of paranoia about photos being taken of anything which could be interpreted as poverty or deprivation. This is only a recent phenomenon and the situation varies from place to place. Always ask permission before taking photos of people. Usually they will be more than happy to be photographed, but respect their feelings if they aren’t. Quite a few Ugandan homes are proudly displaying family portraits which I took and, having received the photos, they always write to wish you every happiness in the world. So if you promise a copy, please send it.

Getting There

Possible access routes into Uganda are by air and road. There are railways but no international trains, even though the line is continuous with the Kenyan system. One day it may be restored, making it again possible to travel all the way from Kasere to Mombasa by train.

AIR

International airlines serving Uganda include Aeroflot, Air Tanzania, Ethiopian Airlines, Kenya Airways, Sabena and Uganda Airlines.

Few travellers enter Uganda by air because most of the discounted air fares available in Europe and North America use Nairobi as the gateway to East Africa. International airline tickets bought in Uganda have to be paid for in hard currency (Ugandan shillings are not acceptable). This, coupled with the fact that there are no discounted fares available in Kampala, makes flying out of Uganda expensive. It’s possible, however, that you might find a cheap Aeroflot ticket to a European city via Moscow, but it doesn’t fly often. Flights to Kenya can be booked out for a week or two in advance because these flights are used a lot by international aid workers, banking officials and government delegations.

OVERLAND

To/From Kenya

The two main border posts which most overland travellers use are Malaba and Busia, with Malaba being by far the more commonly used. You would probably use Busia only if you were coming directly from Kisumu and wishing to go directly to Jinja or Kampala, bypassing Tororo.

Nairobi to Kampala via Malaba

There are trains from Nairobi to Malaba via Nakuru and Eldoret on Tuesday, Friday and Saturday, leaving at 3 pm and arriving at 8.30 am the next day. In the opposite direction they depart Malaba on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday at 4 pm and arrive at 9.30 am the next day. The fares are KSh 440 in 1st class, KSh 207 in 2nd class and KSh 107 in 3rd class. The trains don’t connect with the Ugandan system, so you must go by road between Malaba and Tororo (and beyond, unless you want to take the extremely slow train from Tororo to Jinja or Kampala).

Buses with different companies travel daily between Nairobi and Malaba, departing both places at about 7.30 pm and arriving at about 5.30 am the next day. The fare is KSh 160. If you prefer to travel by day there are several daily buses between Nairobi and Bungoma, in each direction, which depart both places at about 8 am and arrive at about 5 pm the same day.

There are plenty of matatus between Bungoma and Malaba which cost KSh 20 and take about 45 minutes. If you stay in Bungoma overnight there are plenty of cheap hotels to choose from.

The Kenyan and Ugandan border posts are about one km from each other at Malaba. You will have to walk. When leaving Kenya you will be asked for your currency declaration form, which isn’t checked, and whether you have any Kenyan shillings (it’s illegal to export them), but otherwise there’s no fuss or baggage searches.

When entering Uganda, firstly you’ll be issued with a currency declaration form. Upon its completion, go through the gate to the stinking hot tin hut on the right for a baggage search and money check, then it’s just a matter of queuing to go through immigration, then customs (over the road). The whole process takes anything up to 1½ hours, but usually less. Ugandan customs and immigration are usually closed for an hour at lunch.

On the Kenyan side there are hordes of moneychangers who will greet you, both before you clear Kenyan immigration and while you’re on your way to the Ugandan
post. It's safe enough to change with them although their rates are poor (about US$1 = Ug. Sh800; they also change Kenyan shillings). They'll also tell you there's no bank on the Ugandan side, which is a lie. The bank at Malaba is open seven days a week, although on Sundays entry is through the back door. It's probably a good idea to change a small amount at the border post officially, otherwise how will you pay for the onward matatu? Plenty of people are willing to change money for you in Malaba; expect about US$90 for US$1. There are also a couple of basic lodges at Malaba if you need to stay overnight. The Paradise Inn has basic singles/doubles for US$2.30 and a good restaurant and bar.

There are frequent matatus in either direction between Malaba (in Uganda) and Tororo which cost US$0.30 and take less than one hour. Between Malaba and Jinja (US$2, two hours) or Kampala (US$3, three hours) matatus are frequent until the late afternoon. The road has been resurfaced and is excellent, although it does mean that drivers can reach terrifying speeds, especially between Jinja and Kampala. There's also a train from Tororo to Kampala but it only runs three times a week and is diabolically slow.

Taking a vehicle through this border crossing is fairly straightforward and doesn't take more than a couple of hours.

To/From Rwanda
The two crossing points between Uganda and Rwanda are at Gatuna/KatUNa on the Kigali-Kabale road and at Cyanika on the Rubugungi-Kigali road. Both border posts are very easy-going.

Kigali to Kabale There are frequent minibuses from Kigali to Katuna which cost RFR 250 and take about two hours. The border is very easy-going and it's only 100 metres to the Ugandan post. There are moneychangers on the Rwandan side and you can buy Ugandan shillings (with either Rwandan francs or dollars), although you do need to know the current rate or you're a sitting duck to be ripped off. From the border, minibuses which go frequently to Kabale cost about US$0.40 and take about 30 minutes.

Ruhengeri to Kisoro From Rubugungi to Cyanika there are regular minibuses which take about an hour and cost RFr 70. You may have trouble finding anyone who sells Ugandan shillings at this border, but the customs officials have been known to oblige! The road on the Ugandan side is little more than a dirt track which sees hardly any traffic. You may have to walk the 12 km to Kisoro, although hitching is possible — it just takes time.

To/From Sudan
The only point of entry from Sudan is via Nimule north of Gulu, but this is the area into which the retreating troops of Amin and Okello were pushed by the NRA in early 1986 so it may still not be safe. Make enquiries before setting off.

There's also a civil war going on in southern Sudan between the Muslim north and the Christian/animator south, so it is almost certainly impossible to get from Juba to Nimule. At present it's certainly impossible to go overland from Khartoum to Juba without risking your life, so if you're heading north from Uganda you need to think seriously and ask around before setting off. There are a few intrepid travellers who make it through between Nimule and Juba when hostilities are on the back burner, but don't undertake it lightly. Getting a visa for Sudan is the first of many problems you'll encounter.

To/From Tanzania
Trying to go overland across the Kagera salient from Bukoba to Masaka via Kyaka will prove extremely frustrating. The road has been in very bad condition ever since Tanzanian troops repelled Idi Amin's forces in 1979 and went on to take Kampala. The road and border is open but we haven't heard from (or of) anyone who's done this route for years.

To/From Zaire
The two main crossing points are south from Rutshuru to Kisoro, and north-west from Beni to Kasesse via Katwe and Kasindi. The Ishasha crossing between Kasesse and Rutshuru is also open. There are less used border posts further north between Mahagi and Pakevush and between Aru and Arua. If you're thinking of crossing between Aru and Arua, you'd be wise to make enquiries about security before setting off. Railig remnants of Amin's, Obote's and Okello's troops may still be a nuisance in this area.

Rutshuru to Kisoro The most reliable crossing is that between Rutshuru and Kisoro, a distance of about 30 km. You'll probably have to hitch and the road is very rough. The actual crossing is very straightforward. A basic hotel on the Zaire side of the border charges Z600 for a single room.

Rutshuru to Kasesse The Ishasha border is another possibility. As there's a Friday market at Ishasha, this is probably the best day to go because trucks from Rutshuru to Ishasha leave early in the morning (about 5.30 am) and return in the evening. There's also a Saturday market at Ishacho (about halfway between Rutshuru and Ishasha), so there are trucks from Rutshuru early on Saturday mornings.

On the Ugandan side, the Ishasha River Camp is 17 km from Ishasha, inside the Ruwenzi National Park. You'll have to wait for a lift as walking along the park is prohibited due to the lions. There are no supplies of any sort (apart from Primus beer from Zaire), although the rangers will cook something up if you're desperate. Camping costs US$2 and bandas (circular, grass-thatched traditional-style houses) are US$4.

From Ishasha, the road to Katunguru (marked on most maps as a 2nd class road) is impassable at present, so don't try it! The alternative route is the road through Kihiji and Rukungiri to Ishaka on the Kasese-Mbarara road. There is a steady trickle of traffic along this route so hitching from Ishaka shouldn't be too much of a problem and there's even the occasional matatu. The Ugandan customs official at the Ishasha border lives at Kihiji so it may be possible to hitch with him.

Beni to Kasesse The route from Beni to Kasesse via Kasindi, Mpondwe and Katwe involves hitching unless you can find a matatu. Depending on the day you go, this could involve a considerable wait (hours rather than days), whichever of the two routes you use from the Ugandan border to Kasesse.

Kasindi has a couple of hotels, a bar and a restaurant of sorts. A hotel room costs Z700. It's three km from Kasindi to the border post at Bweru. You'll probably have to walk. When crossing the border hide any excess zaires well, as everyone wants them — from customs officials to drivers and waitresses.

In Bweru, the Modern Lodge Hotel is a clean and very friendly concrete place. Rooms cost US$1 per night, and coffee and meals are available across the road. Pick-ups leave at about 7 am for the trip to Kasesse (US$0.70).

LAKES
To/From Tanzania
The ferry service between Jinja and Mwanza (in Tanzania) across Lake Victoria is primarily for freight. While there's room for passengers, getting permission to travel on the ferries is virtually impossible. If you want to try, see the chief traffic manager of the United Tanzania Railways. You can find him lurking in an office on the 1st floor of the Kampala Railway Station.

There is talk of a service connecting Mwanza and Bukoba with Entebbe, but at this stage it's just that.
Getting Around

AIR
Uganda Airlines services all internal routes. Tickets must be paid for in hard currency. Ugandan shillings are not acceptable even with a currency form and bank stamps to prove that you have changed money officially. There are usually several flights per week between Entebbe and most major centres of population but they're often cancelled at short notice.

BUS
Uganda is the land of minibuses (matatus) and shared taxis and there's never any shortage of them. Fares are fixed and they leave when full. The only trouble is that 'full' is usually the equivalent of 'way beyond capacity'. Most matatus are like sardine cans, but this isn't always the case. Many drivers are speed maniacs who go much too fast to leave any leeway for emergencies. So-called accidents are frequent.

Normal buses also connect the major towns. They're cheaper than matatus and much slower because they stop a great deal to pick up and set down passengers. They're also a lot safer.

Most towns and cities have a bus station/matatu park, so simply turn up and tell people where you want to go. On the open road, just put out your hand.

TRAIN
There are two main lines in Uganda. The first starts at Tororo and runs west all the way to Kaseme via Jinja and Kampala. The other line runs from Tororo north-west to Pakwach via Mbale, Soroti, Lira and Gulu.

Travelling by train is a good way of getting from Kampala to Kaseme, but elsewhere services are either suspended or terribly slow. There are three classes on Ugandan trains: 1st class, which consists of tiny two-berth compartments; 2nd class, the same as 1st class but with six berths; and economy class, which has seats and is usually very crowded. All the carriages have seen better days. It would be unusual to find one where the lights or flush toilets work. Second class is adequate, especially if you're part of a group. Economy class is bearable, although you need to keep a close watch on your gear at night. Sexes are separated in 1st and 2nd class unless your group fills a compartment.

It's advisable to book in advance if you want a ticket in one of the bunk classes, though you can only do this the day before the scheduled departure. When buying a ticket, first get a reservation (not necessary in economy) then join the queue to pay.

Most trains have dining cars, which are actually far more pleasant places to ride in than the claustrophobic compartments. The lights and fans work too! Meals, beer and soft drinks are available at reasonable prices. There are often no connecting doors between the carriages so you may be stuck in the dining car for some time, although it's usually less than an hour between stops. There's also food at stalls at most stations. These stalls are usually very cheap and offer items like barbecued meat, roast maize, ugali (maize meal), stewed meat dishes, fruit, tea and coffee.

The train schedules are largely wishful thinking, as delays, derailments and cancellations are all common. The train I caught from Kampala departed 10 hours late and was even further behind time when it finally arrived in Kaseme.

DRIVING
There's a system of sealed roads between most major centres of population, though the conditions vary from unbelievably good (Kampala-Jinja, Kabale-Kisoro) to diabolically bad (Mbarara-Kabale). Minor roads are usually badly potholed and become impassable after heavy rain.

HITCHING
Hitching is virtually obligatory in some situations, such as getting into national parks to which there's no public transport. Most of the lifts you will get will be on trucks, usually on top of the load at the back, which can be a very pleasant way to travel, although sun protection is a must. Free lifts on trucks are the exception rather than the rule, so ask before you get on.

Other sources for lifts are international aid workers, missionaries, businesspeople and the occasional diplomat, but you may have to wait a long time in some places before anyone comes along. There were not many privately owned vehicles that were not 'requisitioned' by Okello's retreating troops. There must be a lot of rotting vehicles lying by the side of the road in northern Uganda.
The capital, Kampala, suffered a great deal during the years of civil strife that began with Idi Amin’s defeat in 1979 at the hands of the Tanzanian army and ended with the victory of Yoweri Museveni’s NRA in early 1986. The city is still getting back on its feet and services continue to be gradually restored. Kampala still carries the scars of street fighting and looting, the enforced departure of its Asian population and years of corruption.

Unless you’ve had previous experience of upheavals like these, it’s hard to believe the amount of gratuitous destruction and looting that went on: office blocks and government offices had the bulk of their windows shattered; the buildings were riddled with rifle fire; plumbing and electrical fittings and telephone receivers were ripped from walls; buses were shot up and abandoned; and stores were looted of everything down to the last bottle of aspirin or the last odd shoes.

Now Kampala is much more like a normal city – the electricity works, water comes out of the taps, buildings are being rehabilitated (notably the old Apollo Hotel which is now a spanking new Kampala Sheraton) and the shops and markets are once again well stocked. The major roads are in fairly good condition and matatus and taxis ply the streets regularly. Perhaps Uganda is also the flavour of the ‘90s with national aid agencies, as it seems every second vehicle in Kampala belongs to one of them.

It’s quite safe to walk around Kampala at any time of the day or night. The people are friendly and there’s quite a bit to see.

Orientaction
The city is said to be built on seven hills, though it’s more than likely you will spend most of your time on just one of them, Nakasero Hill, in the city centre. The top half of this hill is a type of garden city with wide, quiet avenues lined with flowering trees and large, detached houses behind imposing fences and hedges. Here you’ll find many of the embassies, international aid organisations, top class hotels, rich people’s houses, the High Court and government buildings. Between here and the lower part of the city is Kampala’s main thoroughfare – Kampala Rd (which turns into Jinja Rd at one end and Bombo Rd at the other). On this road are the main banks, the post and telecommunications office, the railway station, the immigration office and a few hotels and restaurants.

Below Kampala Rd, towards the bottom of the valley, are heaps of different shops and small businesses, budget hotels and restaurants, the market, the immense gwadarwas (temples) of the very much depleted Sikh community (one has been converted into a school) and the bus and matatu stations. It’s a completely different world to that on the top side of Kampala Rd. There are potholed, congested streets thronged with people, battered old cars and minibuses, overflowing garbage skips, impromptu street markets and pavement stalls offering everything from rubber stamps to radio repairs. There are hawkers, hustlers, newspaper sellers and one of the most mind-boggling and chaotic matatu stands you’ve ever likely to see. This is Nairobi’s River Rd all over again.

Apart from Kololo which is a fairly exclusive residential area, the other hills of Kampala tend to be a mixture of the two extremes.

Information
Tourist Office The Ministry of Tourism & Wildlife (tel 32971) acts as a tourist office. It’s on Oboke Ave (Parliament Ave), PO Box 4241, opposite the British High Commission and the American Embassy. The staff are very friendly and helpful and do their best under trying circumstances. They usually sell an excellent large-scale street map of Kampala for US$0.25, but very little else. They may also have a free leaflet detailing the prices and current state of repair of national park lodges and hotels belonging to the Ugandan Hotels Corporation.

Post The GPO is on the corner of Kampala Rd and Speke Rd. It’s open on weekdays and Saturday from 8 am to 5 pm, and on Sunday from 9 to 11 am.

The poste restante service is well organised and there’s no charge for collect- ing letters. There’s even a reasonable philatelic department.

It’s also economical to post parcels from here. For example, a seven kg parcel sent airmail to Australia costs US$10.

Telephone The post office also houses the international telephone department and, because it’s quite cheap to make an international call, you’ll often see travellers here.

The service is usually very efficient – expect five to 10 minutes wait for a call to the USA or Australia. Calls to Australia finance by the USA or UK cost US$5.10 for three minutes.

Money The Uganda Commercial Bank office on Kampala Rd next to the Nile Grill is open Monday to Friday from 8.30 am to 12.30 pm and 2 to 4 pm, and on Saturday and Sunday from 9 am till noon.

Foreign Embassies There are embassies or high commissions for Algeria, Burundi, France (Embassy House, King George VI Way – issues visas for Central African Republic, Chad, etc), Germany, India, Italy, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, UK, USA and Zaire.

Bookstores Excellent large-scale maps of Uganda (Series 1301, Sheet NA-36) with a lot more detail than any of the usual maps of East Africa (Michelin, Bartholomew’s, etc) can sometimes be bought from the Uganda Bookshop on Colville St. If it has no stock the only other place to try is the Department of Lands & Surveys office in Entebbe.

For English-language publications the best place to try is the Uganda Bookshop.

Uganda Museum
The Uganda Museum on Kira Rd has been closed for renovations since 1985 but should be open now, although it wouldn’t guarantee it. Before it closed the museum had good ethnological exhibits covering hunting, agriculture, war, religion and witchcraft, as well as archaeological and natural history displays. Perhaps its most interesting feature, however, is a collection of traditional musical instruments.

Kasubi Tombs
Another ‘must see’ are the Kasubi Tombs (also known as the Steakakaba’s Tombs) on Kasubi Hill just off Matio Rd. Here you will find the huge traditional reed and bark cloth buildings of the kabakas (kings) of the Baganda people. The group of buildings contains the tombs of Mutesa I, his son Mwanga, Sir David Chwa and his son Edward Mutesa II, the last of the kabakas.

He died in London in 1969, three years after being deposed by Obote.

The kabaka’s palace is also here, but is closed to the public.

The entry fee to the tombs is US$0.40 which includes a guide, although a tip is half expected. Remove your shoes before entering the main building. You can get to the tombs by minibus, either from the matatu park in the city centre (ask for Hoima Rd), or from the junction of Bombo and Makerere Hill roads. The minibuses you want are the ones which terminate at the market at the junction of Hoima and Masiro roads. The tombs are a few hundred metres walk up the hill from here (signposted).

Religious Buildings
Also worth a visit are the four main religious buildings in Kampala – the gleaming white Kibuli Mosque dominating Kibuli Hill on the other side of the railway station from Nakasero Hill; the huge Roman Catholic Rubaga Cathedral on Rubaga Hill; the Anglican Namirembe Cathedral where the congregation is called to worship by the beating of drums; and the enormous Sikh Temple in the city centre.
min. Get off before you reach the end of the line. If you need a meal, snack or drink while you’re in the area try the Entebbe Club, which has cold beer and meals for US$1.

Entebbe Airport

There’s little of great interest in Entebbe unless you can go to the airport where Israeli commandos once stormed a hijacked jet and liberated the hostages, much to the chagrin of Idi Amin.

Places to Stay – bottom end

Accommodation in Kampala is not cheap and you get little for your money. Even the cheapest dups/booths cost US$3.40 (street rates) for a double that’s basically uninhabitable. In other words, it’s much more than you’d pay in Nairobi for a comparable place. It’s not until you pay about US$5.40 that you get something decent, and even then it’s nothing flash. Single rooms are very rare. Thank goodness for the YMCA.

The one saving grace is the YMCA on Buganda Rd, about 15 minutes walk from the city centre. A floor mat costs US$0.70 and US$1.20 gets you a mattress, if there are any left. It’s a popular and friendly place to stay, although somewhat inconvenient as you must pack up and be out by 8 am each day as it’s used as a school on weekdays. The showers are basic and the toilets could do with a good scrub, but it’s really the only inhabitable cheap place in Kampala.

If you really want a hotel room, the best of a bad bunch is the Splendid House Hotel on Nakivubo Rd in a bustling part of the city. Small double rooms (no singles) cost US$3.40 and there are only bucket showers. It’s just habitable. In the same league is the Malwana Hotel on Nakivubo Place near the bus station. Extremely scruffy rooms (mostly windowless) cost US$2.40/3 a single/double, there are bucket showers and the toilets are full of shit – only for the desperate.

Places to Stay – middle

Things improve rapidly if you are prepared to pay a bit more. The Nakasero Hotel opposite the Nakasero Market is convenient and the rooms are fairly clean and not too small. At US$3.20/4.70 a single/double with a common bath it’s about the best value in this price range.

The City Springs Hotel next to the railway station is in an incredible state of disrepair, but still charges US$4.20 for double rooms. The bathrooms are filthy, with plumbing hanging out of the walls and blocked drains. The place is slowly being renovated so there may be some decent rooms by the time you get there. There is also a noisy disco on Saturday nights in the bar below the rooms.

Just a few minutes walk from the centre, the Gloria Hotel on William St is not bad value at US$5.40 for large clean doubles. It’s on a quiet street and has its own bar and restaurant. Close by is the Equatoria Hotel which has certainly seen better days and looks closed most of the time. Shabby double rooms (no singles) with a balcony cost US$5.60 and the hotel has a bar.

The new Rene Hotel on Namirembe Rd, a matatu ride from the centre, but is good value at US$4.80 for clean doubles with a common bath and US$6.40 with a private bath. Take a Namirembe matatu from the matatu park. Further out along the same street is the Namirembe Guest House opposite the Mango Hospital. It’s set in spacious grounds in a quiet suburb, and is good value at US$4 for a double, US$3.20 for a bed in a double and US$2.90 for a bed in a triple. Breakfast costs US$1 and dinner costs US$2.20. Take a Namirembe matatu and ask for Mango Hospital.

Up the price scale a bit (and a quantum leap as far as quality goes) is the renovated Tourist Hotel, next to the City Springs Hotel on Kampala Rd. Large, clean rooms with a bath and hot water cost US$6.40/8 a single/double. A good breakfast of omelette, toast and tea costs US$0.70.

The College Inn on Bomo Rd past the YMCA has good clean rooms with a bath, toilet and hot water for US$6.70. It has a good restaurant.

Places to Stay – top end

All accommodation in this price bracket has to be paid for in hard currency, so forget it unless you’re spending someone else’s money. The Speke Hotel, one block up the hill from Kampala Rd, still bears the scars of the past and is fire-damaged in one wing. It’s not good value by any stretch of the imagination at US$14/16 a single/double. The Fairway Hotel on Kafu Rd near the golf course is owned by the Ugandan Hotels Corporation, costs much the same as the Speke and is much better value.

The old Apollo Hotel which dominated the city skyline has been completely renovated and is now the Kampala Sheraton (tel 244590), the city’s only true five-star hotel. Rooms cost US$115/125 plus tax.

Places to Eat – cheap

If you’re staying at the YMCA (most travellers do) there are a couple of cheap local restaurants by the roundabout. There’s also the College Inn 2000 which has good meals of roast chicken or steak and chips for US$1.60. For really cheap local food, try the shed in the car park on De Winton Rd, on the right side going down. It’s run by Diggory, a disabled person’s enterprise. A meal will cost you less than a beer does in most places.

Below the City Springs Hotel on the railway station side is the small and very mellow Icelandic Restaurant. It not only serves excellent huge meals at very reasonable prices, but has a good music selection and cold beers – recommended.

Places to Eat – more expensive

A popular meeting place in the city centre on Kampala Rd is the Nile Grill. It is not the cheapest place to go, but it is popular with expatriate aid workers and well-to-do locals. Outside there are tables with umbrellas. The food is expensive but not that great (chips for US$1.40) but if you’re hanging out for a
steak or roast chicken it’s the place to head for. Many people come here for a coffee or a beer. It’s open from 9 am to 9 pm daily, except Sunday when it closes at 4 pm. Between noon and 3 pm there’s a minimum charge of US$1.40.

If you feel like lashing out, there are a few places worth trying. For Chinese food you can’t beat the new China Palace Restaurant, poorly signposted on the 1st floor of the building on Pilkington St; you’ll probably have to ask directions. Main dishes cost from US$1.60 to US$2.70, so expect to pay from US$3.40 to US$4 per person, plus drinks. It’s open Tuesday to Sunday for lunch and dinner. Also highly rated by many people is the Kibimba Chinese Restaurant on Kampala Rd, up from and opposite the Nile Grill.

Another good splurge is the buffet breakfast at the Kampala Sheraton. It costs US$3.70 (payable in shillings) and is open from 7.30 to 10.30 am. There’s a mind boggling array of food which you can dig into as often as you like, and the views of Kampala are excellent – not to be missed. For just a beer and a snack the Lion Bar in the grounds of the Sheraton is a good spot. There are tables inside and out, and the prices are a lot more reasonable than you might expect.

The Fairway Hotel does an ‘Afro’ buffet for lunch on Sundays in its very pleasant dining room. There’s a good spread of food and it’s yours for US$4.70.

Entertainment
Nightlife in Kampala is much improved on what it was a few years ago. The California Bar puts on bands most evenings at 6 pm. The Bar Valley Club on Bombo Rd next to UNICEF and near the YMCA has live music on weekends. All-night dance clubs include Club Clouds on Nkrumah Rd, Club Tropicana One-Ten on Jinja Rd and Ange Noire, also on Jinja Rd. Entry to these places is about US$2 on weekends.

There are a few disco and ‘day and night clubs’ down in the area of the Nakasero Market, but they’re basically pick-up joints. The City Bar & Sports Club on Kampala Rd opposite the Tourist Hotel has music some evenings and there are tables outside.

Getting There & Away
Bus Buses leave for Kasese daily at 7 am and go via Fort Portal. There is no advance booking, so be there an hour before and fight your way on, otherwise you could be standing in the entire way. The trip takes eight hours to Kasese and costs US$4.30; to Fort Portal it’s one hour less and costs US$3.50.

There are buses every morning to Kabale via Masaka and Mbarara. The entire trip takes 10 hours and costs US$4.70. Be there early to get your bun on a seat.

Matatu Tororo-Kampala by matatu costs US$2.70 and takes about 3½ hours. Jinja-Kampala costs US$1.10 and takes about one hour. By ordinary bus the fare is less but the journey takes over two hours.

To Busia by matatu takes about four hours and costs US$2. Entebbe-Kampala by matatu costs US$0.40 and takes 25 to 30 minutes. An ordinary taxi (which private cars suddenly turn into as soon as their drivers clap eyes on White people) costs US$1.40. Mbarara-Kampala by matatu costs US$6.70 and takes 4½ to five hours.

Train
The train schedules from Kampala should be taken with a large pinch of salt. Delays and cancellations are the order of the day.

Trains to Tororo depart on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 9 am, arriving at about 4 pm. The trains are economy class only. The fare is US$1 to Tororo and US$0.60 to Jinja. Few travellers take this train as the matatus are a lot quicker and more convenient.

To Kasese, the 1st and 2nd class service leaves Kampala on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 3 pm, arriving at 6 am (if you’re lucky). An economy class service runs on Tuesdays and Thursdays, leaving Kampala at 7 pm. The fare is US$3.10 in 1st class, US$2.30 in 2nd class and US$1.60 in economy class. Sleeping berths should be booked at 8 am on the day before departure.

Ferry From Kampala’s Port Bell there are ferries two or three times a week to the Sese Islands.

Getting Around
The international airport is at Entebbe, 35 km from Kampala. It has a duty-free shop, restaurant, bank, post office and a hotel/car hire reservations office. There are public matatus between Kampala and Entebbe but only a taxi service for the last three km between the airport and Entebbe centre.
AIDS

Uganda is one of the Worlds Hot Spots for The HIV Virus

Don't even think about it!
INDIVIDUAL PREPARATION

WE DON'T HAVE MUCH TIME SO EVERY POINT HERE SHOULD BE TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY IF YOU ARE TO HAVE A SAFE AND COMFORTABLE TRIP!

1. **Official Documents:** You **must** have a valid Passport. You do not need a **visa** as it will be given when you get to Uganda. However, if you have not paid for your trip or for any reason have not been officially documented by the Regional Coordinator you will not be allowed to enter Uganda. There will be no exceptions.

2. **Money:** It is essential that every one have at least $200 in US currency. This is necessary for phone calls, postage for post cards, emergency taxi fare, etc. Each official delegate will have conference provided room, food, and transportation.

3. **Shots:** Find the local Immunization Center and get shots for Uganda. These include *Cholera, Gamma Globulin,* and *Yellow Fever.* Get these shots as soon as possible because it takes some time for them to take effect. Bug spray is necessary. Spray shoes every day.

4. **Packing:** Each person should limit their packing to two bags, one suitcase and one handbag/brief case. Each person should be able to carry their own luggage.
   a. Comfortable shoes for lots of walking are essential.
   b. The conference is only 5 days, so don't plan on washing
   c. Bring clothes for one official social event (but be prepared to wear it twice if necessary)
   d. It will be hot.

5. **Documentation:** Each person should actively capture this experience.
   a. Bring a camera if you can, and bring film with you
   b. Bring a tape recorder, including tape and batteries
   c. Bring a note book to keep notes of the meetings and a diary of your experiences and observations. Make entries every day at the same time (e.g., early morning or late at night) so that you don't have to remember things but will have a written record. When you give talks back home you'll find this a valuable resource
6. Political Preparation:

a. Put a notebook (scrapbook) together of the leaflets and clippings etc. of the activities of your group. People will really love to see what's happening here.

b. Write up a fact sheet on your city and memorize the info:
   a. population size and % Black, % Latino
   b. key struggles in the past few years (what was the issue, what battles were fought, what was the outcome)
   c. what do you and your comrades think of Bill Clinton

c. Be prepared to give people your address and be prepared to get the same (BRING A PACK OF 3X5 CARDS FOR THIS PURPOSE)

D. While preparing think about how you are going to share your experiences when you get back home. This will help you get the kind of information that will be necessary. One technique is to ask people who are not going what questions they would like to have answered, especially what might give us some ideas and inspiration for our own practical work.

e. BE PREPARED: The delegation is NOT a vacation, but a working political trip. We will have delegation meetings and will expect a high level of political discipline.
Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) A disease of immune-system dysfunction assumed to be caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which allows opportunistic infections to take over the body.

African Development Bank Founded in 1963 under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa, the bank, located in Côte d'Ivoire, makes loans to African countries, although other nations can apply.

African National Congress (ANC) Founded in 1912, the group's goal is to achieve equal rights for blacks in South Africa through nonviolent action. “Spear of the Nation,” the ANC wing dedicated to armed struggle, was organized after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) An independence movement that fought during the 1960s and 1970s for the liberation of present-day Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portuguese rule. The two territories were ruled separately by a united PAIGC until a 1981 coup in Guinea-Bissau caused the party to split along national lines. In 1981 the Cape Verdean PAIGC formally renounced its Guinea links and became the PAICV.

African Socialism A term applied to a variety of ideas (including those of Nkrumah and Senghor) about communal and shared production in Africa's past and present. The concept of African socialism was especially popular in the early 1960s. Adherence to it has not meant government's exclusion of private-capitalist ventures.

Afrikaners South Africans of Dutch descent who speak Afrikaans and are often referred to as Boers (Afrikaans for "farmers").

Amnesty International A London-based human-rights organization whose members "adopt" political prisoners or prisoners of conscience in many nations of the world. The organization generates political pressure and puts out a well-publicized annual report of human-rights conditions in each country of the world.

Aouzou Strip A barren strip of land between Libya and Chad contested by both countries.

Apartheid Literally, "separateness," the South African policy of segregating the races socially, legally, and politically.

Arusha Declaration A document issued in 1967 by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, committing the country to socialism based on peasant farming, democracy under one party, and self-reliance.

Assimilado The Portuguese term for Africans who became "assimilated" to Western ways. Assimilados enjoyed equal rights under Portuguese law.

Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) Founded in 1978 at the time of the Black Consciousness Movement and revitalized in the 1980s, the movement works to develop chapters and bring together black organizations in a national forum.

Bantu A major linguistic classification for many Central, Southern, and East African languages. Also, a derogatory term for Africans, used by the South African government.

Bantustans Areas, or "homelands," to which black South Africans are assigned "citizenship" as part of the policy of apartheid.

Basarawa Peoples of Botswana who have historically been hunters and gatherers.

Berber The collective term for the indigenous languages and peoples of North Africa.

Bicameral A government made up of two legislative branches.

Black Consciousness Movement A South African student movement founded by Steve Biko and others in the 1970s to promote pride and empowerment of blacks.

Boers The Dutch word for farmers of Dutch-German-French descent who settled in South Africa after 1652. See also Afrikaner.

Brotherhoods Islamic organizations based on specific religious beliefs and practices. In many areas, brotherhood leaders and their spiritual followers gain political influence.

Cabinda A small, oil-rich portion of Angola separated from the main body of that country by the coastal strip of Zaire.

Caisse de Stabilization A marketing board that stabilizes the uncertain returns to producers of cash crops by offering them less than market prices in good harvest years while assuring them of a steady income in bad years. Funds from these boards are used to develop infrastructure, to promote social welfare, or to maintain a particular regime in power.

Caliphate The office or dominion of a caliph, the spiritual head of Islam.

Cassava A tropical plant with a fleshy, edible rootstock; one of the staples of the African diet. Also known as manioc.

Chimurenga A Shona term meaning "fighting in which everyone joins," used to refer to Zimbabwe's fight for independence.

Coloured The South African classification for a person of mixed racial descent.

Committee for the Struggle Against Drought in the Sahel (CILSS) A grouping of eight West African countries, formed to fight the effects of drought in the region.

Commonwealth of Nations An association of nations and dependencies loosely joined by the common tie of having been part of the British Empire.

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) Established in 1985 to form a coalition of trade unions to press for workers' rights and an end to apartheid.

Copperbelt A section of Zambia with a high concentration of copper-mining concessions.

Creole A person or language of mixed African and European descent.

Dergue From the Amheric word for "committee," the ruling body of Ethiopia after the revolution in 1974.

East African Community (EAC) Established in 1967,
this organization grew out of the East African Common Services Organization begun under British rule. The EAC included Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda in a customs union and involved common currency and development of infrastructure. It was disbanded in 1977, and the final division of assets was completed in 1983.


Economic Community of Central African States (CEAC, also known as ECCA) An organization of all of the Central African states, as well as Rwanda and Burundi, whose goal is to promote economic and social cooperation among its members.

Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO) An organization of French-speaking countries formed to promote trade and regional economic cooperation.

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Established in 1975 by the Treaty of Lagos, the organization includes all of the West African states except Western Sahara. The organization’s goals are to promote trade, cooperation, and self-reliance among its members.

Enclave Industry An industry run by a foreign company that uses imported technology and machinery and exports the product to industrialized countries; often described as a "state within a state."

Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) The major group fighting the Ethiopian government for independence of Eritrea.

European Community (EC, or Common Market) Established in 1958, the EC seeks to establish a common agricultural policy between its members as well as uniform trade and travel restrictions among members. A common currency is planned for 1992.

Evolús A term used in colonial Zaire (Congo) to refer to Western-educated Congolese.

Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) Established in 1945 to oversee good nutrition and agricultural development.

Franc Zone This organization includes members of the West African Monetary Union and the monetary organizations of Central Africa that have currencies linked to the French franc. Reserves are managed by the French treasury and guaranteed by the French franc.

Freedom Charter Established in 1955, this charter proclaimed equal rights for all South Africans and has been a foundation for almost all groups in the resistance against apartheid.

Free French Conference A 1944 conference of French-speaking territories, which proposed a union of all the territories in which Africans would be represented and their development furthered.

French Equatorial Africa (FEA) The French colonial federation that included present-day Congo, Central African Republic, Chad, and Gabon.

French West Africa The administrative division of the former French colonial empire that included the current independent countries of Senegal, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Benin, and Mauritania.

Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) Liberation forces established in 1963 to free Mozambique from Portuguese rule; after 1975 the dominant party in independent Mozambique.

Frontline States A caucus supported by the Organization of African Unity (consisting of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola) whose goal is to achieve black majority rule in all of Southern Africa.

Green Revolution Use of Western technology and agricultural practices to increase food production and agricultural yields.

Griots Professional bards of West Africa, some of whom tell history and are accompanied by the playing of the kora or harp-lute.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) The value of production attributable to the factors of production in a given country regardless of their ownership. GDP equals GNP minus the product of a country’s residents originating in the rest of the world.

Gross National Product (GNP) The sum of the values of all goods and services produced by a country’s residents at home and abroad in any given year, less income earned by foreign residents and remitted abroad.

Guerrilla A member of a small force of irregular soldiers. Generally, guerrilla forces are made up of volunteers who make surprise raids against the incumbent military or political force.

Harmattan In West Africa, the dry wind that blows from the Sahara Desert in January and February.

Homelands See Bantustans.

Horn of Africa A section of northeastern Africa including the countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan.

Hut Tax Instituted by the colonial governments in Africa, this measure required families to pay taxes on each building in the village.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) Established in 1945 to promote international monetary cooperation.

Irredentism An effort to unite certain people and territory in one state with another, on the grounds that they belong together.

Islam A religious faith started in Arabia during the seventh century A.D. by the Prophet Muhammad and spread in Africa through African Muslim leaders, migrations, and holy wars.

Jihad “Holy war” waged as a religious duty on behalf of Islam to rid the world of disbelief and error.

Koran Writings accepted by Muslims as the word of God, as revealed to the Prophet Mohammed.

Lagos Plan of Action Adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1980, this agreement calls for self-reliance, regional economic cooperation, and the creation
of a pan-African economic community and common market by the year 2000.

**League of Nations** Established at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, this forerunner of the modern-day United Nations had 52 member nations at its peak (the United States never joined the organization) and mediated in international affairs. The league was dissolved in 1945 after the creation of the United Nations.

**Least Developed Countries (LDCs)** A term used to refer to the poorest countries of the world, including many African countries.

**Maghrīb** An Arabic term, meaning "land of the setting sun," that is often used to refer to the former French colonies of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

**Mahdi** The expected messiah of Islamic tradition; or a Muslim leader who plays a messianic role.

**Malinke (Mandinka, or Mandinga)** One of the major groups of people speaking Mande languages. The original homeland of the Malinke was Mali, but the people are now found in Mali, Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia, and other areas where they are sometimes called Mandingoes. Some trading groups are called Dyolua.

**Marabout** A Muslim saint or holy man, often the leader of a religious brotherhood.

**Marxist-Leninism** Sometimes called "scientific socialism," this doctrine derived from the ideas of Karl Marx as modified by Vladimir Lenin; it is the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and has been modified in many ways by other persons and groups who still use the term. In Africa, some political parties or movements have claimed to be Marxist-Leninist but have often followed policies that conflict in practice with the ideology; these governments have usually not stressed Marx's philosophy of class struggle.

**Mfecane** The movement of people in the nineteenth century in the eastern areas of present-day South Africa to the west and north as the result of wars led by the Zulus.

**Mozambique National Resistance (MNR, also known as Renamo)** A South African-backed rebel movement that attacks civilians in attempting to overthrow the government of Mozambique.

**Muslim** A follower of the Islamic faith.

**Naam** A traditional work cooperative in Burkina Faso.

**National Youth Service** Service to the state required of youth after completing education, a common practice in many African countries.

**National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)** One of three groups that fought the Portuguese during the colonial period in Angola, now backed by South Africa and the United States and fighting the independent government of Angola.

**Nkotati Accords** An agreement signed in 1984 between South Africa and Mozambique, pledging that both sides would no longer support opponents of the other.

**Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)** A group of nations that have chosen not to be politically or militarily associated with either the West or the communist bloc.

**Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)** A private voluntary organization or agency working in relief and development programs.

**Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS)** A regional grouping of countries bordering the Senegal River that sponsors joint research and projects.

**Organization of African Unity (OAU)** An association of all of the independent states of Africa (except South Africa) whose goal is to promote unity and solidarity among African nations.

**Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** Established in 1960, this association of some of the world's major oil-producing countries seeks to coordinate the petroleum policies of its members.

**Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)** A liberation organization of black South Africans that broke away from the ANC in the 1950s.

**Parastatals** Agencies for production or public service that are established by law and that are, in some measure, government organized and controlled. Private enterprise may be involved, and the management of the parastatal may be in private hands.

**Pastoralist** A person, usually a nomad, who raises livestock for a living.

**Polisario Front** Originally a liberation group in Western Sahara seeking independence from Spanish rule. Today, it is battling Morocco, which claims control over the Western Sahara (see SADR).

**Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)** A Marxist liberation movement in Angola during the resistance to Portuguese rule; now the governing party in Angola.

**Rinderpest** A cattle disease that periodically decimates herds in savanna regions.

**Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)** The Polisario Front name for Western Sahara, declared in 1976 in the struggle for independence from Morocco.

**Sahel** In West Africa, the borderlands between savanna and desert.

**Sanctions** Coercive measures, usually economic, adopted by nations acting together against a nation violating international law.

**Savanna** Tropical or subtropical grassland with scattered trees and undergrowth.

**Senegambia** A confederation of Senegal and The Gambia signed into agreement in December 1981 and inaugurated on February 1, 1982, to be ruled by a Cabinet of five Senegalese and four Gambians.

**Sharia** The Islamic code of law.

**Sharpeville Massacre** The 1960 pass demonstration in South Africa in which 60 people were killed when police fired into the crowd; it became a rallying point for many anti-apartheid forces.

**Shengo** The Ethiopian Parliament.

**Sorghum** A tropical grain that is a traditional staple in the savanna regions.
Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) An organization of nine African states (Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and Tanzania) whose goal is to free themselves from dependence on South Africa and to cooperate on projects of economic development.

South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) Angolan-based freedom fighters who have been waging guerrilla warfare against the presence of South Africa in Namibia since the 1960s. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have recognized SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people.

Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) Economic reforms encouraged by the International Monetary Fund which include devaluation of currency, cutting government subsidies on commodities, and reducing government expenditures.

Swahili A widespread lingua franca in East Africa; an African-based Afro-Arab language and culture.

Tsetse Fly An insect that transmits sleeping sickness to cattle and humans. It is usually found in the scrub-tree and forest regions of Central Africa.


Unicameral A political structure with a single legislative branch.

Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) A declaration of white minority settlers in Rhodesia, claiming independence from the United Kingdom in 1965.

United Democratic Front (UDF) A multiracial, black-led group in South Africa that gained prominence during the 1983 campaign to defeat the government's Constitution, which has given only limited political rights to Asians and Coloureds.

United Nations (UN) An international organization established on June 26, 1945, through official approval of the charter by delegates of 50 nations at a conference in San Francisco, California. The charter went into effect on October 24, 1945.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Established to create local organizations for increasing wealth through better use of human and natural resources.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Established on November 4, 1946 to promote international collaboration in education, science, and culture.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Established in 1951 to provide international protection for people with refugee status.


Villagization A policy whereby a government relocates rural dwellers to create newer, more concentrated communities.

World Bank A closely integrated group of international institutions providing financial and technical assistance to developing countries.

World Health Organization (WHO) Established by the United Nations in 1948, this organization promotes the highest possible state of health in countries throughout the world.