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THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

ECONOMIC RESOLUTIONS

[Ed. Note: *The 6th Pan-African Congress was held from the 19th to the 27th day of June 1974 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. The Black-Scholar (Vol. 5 No. 10) carries two assessments of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Congress.*]

General Statement

The African world, since the 15th-century, has been an organic part of the evolution of the world market economy which has progressed from the mercantilism of the *city state* through free trade imperialism, at the height of the industrial revolution, to its present stage of monopoly capitalism. A single world social and economic order has created uneven development because the gains from the international division of labor are unevenly distributed. Economic dependency relations and a "culture of dependency" have been institutionalized to operate against the peoples of the Third World.

The 6th Pan-African Congress supports the declaration of the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly with respect to the creation of a new economic order to liberate the African and Third World Countries from imperialism. To this end the philosophical foundation of our development strategy should be based on Self-Reliance guided by a progressive ideology, inter-African, Caribbean and Third World co-operation, democratization of international organisations particularly the financial and monetary institutions in order to bring about the liberation of our people (at home and in the diaspora) and our countries, and to control the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The Congress is convinced that Self-Reliance could be promoted by pooling together the resources of the Pan-African and other progressive peoples through Sub-regional and regional alliances leading to continental and inter-continental co-operation.

Resolutions

I. Economic Development Through Self-Reliance

Considering that every man has a right to self determination, justice and human dignity and respect; *Aware* that

justice, human dignity and respect cannot obtain in a situation where one man or group of men is being exploited, oppressed and dehumanised by another or is dependent on another; further *want* that inequality, exploitation, oppression and human injustice and indignity are the products of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and zionism; and *wish* of bringing exploitation, oppression, injustice, indignity, and dependence to an end; this 6th Pan-African Congress assembled in Dar es Salaam from the 19th to 27th day of June, 1974 resolves that:

1. In planning their development, the African people should avoid aping the pattern of capitalist development which puts emphasis on growth and the development of 'things' rather than on the liberation of man. Development must aim at making the African people self-confident and capable of relying upon themselves.
2. All the African peoples should thus seek to free themselves from colonialism, neo-colonialism, capitalism and imperialism by coordinating their efforts to take full control of their economies and placing the means of production, distribution and exchange in the collective hands of the people themselves then ensuring that the surpluses realized therefrom are fully ploughed back and used to develop the national economies for the benefit of all the people.
3. Since it is the prevalence of multi-national companies and corporations that deprives the Pan-African world and progressive people of their freedom and benefits from their own resources, all the African Governments and peoples and the Third World must denounce and seek total disengagement of their internal economies from monopoly capitalism and its instruments the multi-national corporations.
4. In pursuit of self-reliance, efforts must be made to bring the rural sector into full play with a view to balancing the benefits going to the urban and rural sectors; workers and peasants should determine the production policies and targets of their respective establishments.
5. The pattern of economic development in all African economies and indeed Third World countries should be such as to enable them:

- a. To trade more and more among themselves. To this end, Regional and Sub-Regional Co-operation becomes imperative.
 - b. To change the nature of commodities being traded from primary to finished or semi-finished goods which can give them more stable price structures.
 - c. To dictate to the developed countries the terms at which their goods are sold.
 - d. To make maximum use of local resources - human, financial and material.
6. Foreign "AID" should *never* be made the basis of development but merely a supplement to the people's own efforts.
 7. Developed countries should be asked to write off all past loans to increase the resource capacity of the underdeveloped countries; developed countries should be made to compensate the developing countries of all the resources they have extracted from them.

II. Democratisation of International Institutions

Confronted by the severe economic and financial crises which sweep across the world and whose consequences are more severely felt by the under developed countries; *considering* the juridical conditions imposed by the capitalist developed countries on the underdeveloped countries, within international economic and financial organizations; *aware* of the fact that the judicial structures of international economic and financial agencies are designed to prevent the underdeveloped countries from enjoying the freedom of trade which is one of the legitimate rights of mankind; *convinced* that all countries are sovereign and should establish relations of equality with one another in every sphere particularly in the economic and financial fields; *having regard* to the undemocratic nature of the U.N.O. Charter inevitably entailing situations which perpetuate injustice within the specialised and other international agencies dealing with economic and financial matters; and *aware* of the imperative need for the underdeveloped countries to react against economic imperialism in order to regain their dignity;

the Sixth Pan-African Congress resolves that:

1. The Charter of the UN Organisation be re-examined and in particular the membership of the Security Council

and the right of veto reserved for the permanent members be removed in order to fairly represent the countries of the Third World.

2. A study be made of the structures of the International economic, financial and monetary institutions in particular IMF and the World Bank with a view to democratising them.
3. Appeal to the organisation of African Unity experts and the group of 77 to submit to the next assembly of the UNO technical survey on the democratisations of the aforesaid agencies.
4. There is absolute need for the countries of the Third World to come together in dealing with the developed countries in these international financial and political agencies.

III. The Struggle Against Economic Imperialism with Special Reference to Multinational Corporations

Having been inspired by the wise counsel of H. E. President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere of the host country, the United Republic of Tanzania; *having* heard the stirring injunctions of revolutionary brother H.E. President Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea, and *having* heard other inspiring messages from other Heads of States; *having* considered at length the economic conditions of the African people throughout Africa and the World; *convinced* that the current domination of African and Caribbean economies by Western imperialism, which is manifest by the multinational corporations of the United States, Canada, Western Europe and Japan must be fought by a Revolutionary Pan-African alliance of forces; *bearing* in mind that political freedom has no meaning for the masses of African people in the absence of a correspondingly full economic freedom; *aware* that economic independence and self-reliance requires the control of the principal material resources located within the territories of African and Caribbean states; *recognizing* that imperialism is a World-wide system and that the struggle against imperialism must therefore be a World-wide struggle; and *aware* of the current activities of regional economic organizations and economic Ministries of individual states in Africa and the Caribbean; this 6th Pan-African Congress

1. *Affirms* the solidarity of the Pan-African World with the struggle of the Arab World against the oil monopolies and international imperialism.

2. *Denounces* the architects of the current international division of labour which maintains the system of unequal exchange and exploitation.
3. *Calls* for an end to foreign investment in the colonial racist regimes of Southern Africa and calls on all African Caribbean, Arab and other friendly states to impose a total embargo against the fascist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, as well as selective boycotts of certain multi-national corporations and their respective products.
4. *Affirms* the inalienable right of African and Caribbean states to control the use and disposition of their territorial natural resources including the territorial waters and the air above them, and calls on these states to assert these rights in appropriate international forums so as to obtain a general World recognition of their sovereignty in these matters.
5. *Recommends* the development of concrete programs of cooperation among the organization of African Trade Union Unity (CATUU), the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), The Caribbean Congress of Labour (CCL), The Arab Trade Union Federation (ATUF), and Pacific Labour Organizations for the purpose of coordinating their use of the weapon of selective strikes and other work sections in the struggle against the multinational corporations.
6. *Recommends* that African regional and sub-regional economic organizations should permit the participation of counterpart organizations in the Caribbean and North America.
7. *Recommends* the establishment of a common currency among African States, or to move towards a general convertibility of currencies to permit free trade among the African and Caribbean Countries.

IV. Economic Organisation in Liberated Areas

Bearing in mind Africa's declared aim to liquidate colonialism and racism on the African continent, and, in particular, to achieve national independence for the 50 million oppressed indigenous people in Southern Africa; *taking* note of the work being done by the OAU states in the liberation of countries that are still dependent, and especially the responsibilities being assumed by some of the committed states on the borders

of colonialist and racist regimes; and *recognising* the hard work done by liberation movements to mobilise and organise their people against foreign, colonial, and oppressive rule, especially the work being done to create a new social order in the liberated areas; the 6th Pan-African Congress

1. *Expresses* its support for the efforts of liberation movements to establish new economic organisations and structures along socialist lines.
2. *Fully* supports programmes and policies that are intended to serve the interests of the masses of the people living in liberated areas, and warns against the dangers of the re-emergence of primordial tendencies or economic institutions intended to serve the interests of an African petty bourgeoisie at the expense of the people.
3. *Fully* supports programmes of political education and mass literacy among the population in liberated areas, and all efforts to improve the health, water systems, and other basic material needs to the brothers and sisters living in these areas.
4. *Endorses* the emphasis placed by liberation movements on the total emancipation of women in our society as an integral part of the emancipation of all oppressed people.
5. *Calls* on the Pan African and progressive peoples to express their support and solidarity with people living in liberated areas, by giving them concrete financial and material support to meet all their basic needs of housing, health, education etc., and to support the new economic organisations established by the people themselves.
6. *Appeals* to border states to assist the peoples in liberated areas, under leadership of their liberation movements, to export their produce, import farm machinery, medicines, and other equipment, permit the use of and conversion of their currencies, help print books and pamphlets, and generally assist in making the new social order viable.

V. Use of African Resources

Considering that the continent of Africa is richly endowed with natural resources, especially minerals and oils, fertile soils in certain areas for the production of tropical

agricultural products, and large potential for hydro-electric power; *aware* that Africa's richest resource is its human population, the African brothers and sisters who have provided the labour for the whiteman's farms and industries for several centuries in all continents and that African sweat has been part of the oil and grease of monopoly and international capitalism from the slavery of the fifteenth century to the multinational corporations of today; *being* aware also that in the modern era, the international division of labour is such that African labour continues to subsidise the high wages of workers in industrialised developed countries; *recognising* that the depletion of African resources by the economic activities of multinational corporations in particular, and capitalist industrialised nations in general with modern mining equipment, massive resources are lifted from the bowels of our continent every day and that Africa's rich mining fields in countries like Gabon, Zaire, Zambia and South Africa, to mention a few, are declining in output, and their life expectancy is reported to only a few decades; *noting* that the extensive search for new resources in Africa by imperialist countries, while consolidating their hold on the resources they are exploiting already, rich oil fields have been found on the Atlantic seaboard, and extensive exploration is proceeding on the Indian seaboard; and *recalling* that the North African countries have won the struggle to control their rich oil resources, an example which the Third World should take note of; the 6th Pan-African Congress

1. *Calls* for solidarity of all producers of raw materials in a trade union of the poor countries, on the basis of self-reliance in order to increase their own economic power, and control over their own resources.
2. *Demands* complete sovereignty of African and Caribbean states over their own natural resources, and that their populations should enjoy the proceeds from these resources without hinderance from the developed industrialised countries.
3. *Calls* on our governments to use our own resources effectively by adopting policies and programmes that ensure that the masses of our people enjoy the surplus generated from our resources, and we strongly condemn the exploitation of man by man internally or internationally.
4. *Calls on* African states that are richly endowed with rich natural resources to cooperate with other African

countries not so richly endowed with natural resources. The solidarity between African countries should be encouraged in investment and banking, and consideration be given to the financial reserves of African states being withdrawn from international currencies, and pooled in an African Reserve Bank.

VI. Drought and Famine in Africa

The Sixth Pan African Congress,

Recognising the disaster and human suffering inflicted on the Sahelian Zone and other African Countries as a result of the drought and famine; *considering* that the drought and famine exemplifies the economic development problems facing Africans everywhere; *noting* that the Sahelian drought and famine is in part due to the fragile ecological balance and temporary or permanent climatic changes; and *stressing* that other aspects of the causes responsible for the famines in the area, namely, the breakdown of indigenous social and economic institutions due to colonization, colonial division of labour, production and distribution and exploitative patterns of development; *recommends* that the following problems be studied as a prelude to solving them in the short and long runs:

1. A study of natural causes of drought inducing climatic changes in the area and ways to control them;
2. A study of ecological patterns of production and how coordination between states can complement and supplement economic organizations in the drought zones;
3. A study of economic cooperation in the fields of sharing natural resources to alleviate impediments to economic development arising from lesser endowment of natural resources and access to the sea;
4. Analysis of disorganization of indigenous trading patterns; suffocation and disruption of internal economies resulting from colonialism, and also arising specifically from the drought and famine;
5. A study of the effectiveness of relief operations primarily by the O.A.U. and by other international agencies; and
6. A study of the problem for which indigenous solutions may be sought to alleviate the present and other African development problems.