

DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS  
ON THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Sixth Pan African Congress, convening in Dar es Salaam from the 19th to the 27th of June 1974, paid particular attention to the situation currently prevailing in Southern Africa.

The holding of the Congress in Tanzania, an important and firm rear base of the liberation struggle in the African continent, is in itself an eloquent testimony of the understanding shown by the Pan African movement regarding the fundamental nature and decisive character of the confrontation that exists today between the oppressed African peoples in Southern Africa and the colonialist and racist powers still implanted in our Continent.

From Dar es Salaam, the Sixth Pan African Congress sends militant greetings to the freedom fighters in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola and Namibia, as well as to those peoples of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, the Comoros, the Seychelles, so-called French Somaliland, Sao Tome and Principe, and so-called Spanish Sahara.

The Sixth Pan African Congress hails in particular the victories achieved in the armed struggle waged by the people under the leadership of their Liberation Movements.

These victories are manifested by the progressive destruction of the structures of colonial domination, the liberation of large regions of the dominated countries, and the building of a new society. Here, for the first time after centuries of oppression, exploitation and racial humiliation, the African people are assuming full control of their sovereignty and their personality.

These successes demonstrate the courage and determination of the African people to free themselves, to be masters of their destiny, and by the force of their own efforts to uproot foreign colonialist and racist domination. They thus constitute a source of pride and encouragement for all Africa as well as all men and women of African descent throughout the world.

The Sixth Pan African Congress, saluting these successes as victories of all African peoples and popular forces throughout the world, considers them a powerful contribution in the affirmation of the personality, dignity and honour of the African peoples. Nevertheless, the dimension of the struggle and the triumphs in the armed combat cannot be confined to this aspect alone. Their profound significance lies in the concrete contribution they constitute towards the destruction of the world imperialist system - the source of all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination still existing throughout the world. They also represent a tangible support for the consolidation of African independence - and

in particular the independence of those countries bordering the zones still occupied by the forces of colonialism and racism. The nature of the liberation struggle and its political dimension go beyond the geographical limits of Southern Africa, given the role played by Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia within the world imperialist system where they act as bridgeheads and economic and strategic reserves in the African Continent.

The militant and warm solidarity expressed by the participants in the Sixth Pan African Congress does not stem from either altruism or simple racial solidarity, for these struggles are part of the general struggle of peoples against all forms of oppression and exploitation which are felt in their very flesh by all Congress participants whatever country they may come from.

The Sixth Pan African Congress also realises that the successes have been possible because of a correct ideological orientation in the conduct of the political and armed struggle, particularly in the proper definition of the enemy. The enemy of the colonised peoples is the system of exploitation and it is against this that the barrels of the liberation guns should be directed. To confuse the enemy with skin colour, to identify it with the white man or any other particular colour, would only detract attention from the principal enemy. Any such confusion would also sow division, which is a great source of weakness, and pave the way to all types of manoeuvres geared towards new form of dominations, such as neo-colonialism.

The Sixth Pan African Congress recognises the importance of political and material solidarity provided to the liberation movements by the African and Caribbean countries, through the OAU and bilaterally, by organisations of people of African descent, in the Americas and elsewhere, the peoples of the third world, by the socialist countries, and democratic forces within capitalist countries. This support has made an invaluable contribution in enabling the liberation struggle to reach its present degree of development.

The Sixth Pan African Congress considers that the most important lesson to be drawn from the revolutionary experiences of the people of Southern Africa, is that to be victorious, the liberation fighters must place themselves within a clear revolutionary perspective of global transformation and radical renewal of society - politically, economically, socially and culturally. This demands the making of a new man free from all

the vestiges of the capitalist, colonial society.

At the very moment that the Sixth Pan African Congress is taking place, the effects of the Mozambican, Guinea Bissau and Angolan peoples' armed fight are already being felt through the collapse of the Portuguese fascist regime. Nevertheless, colonialism still remains and is feverishly seeking new formulae to safeguard its domination and the interests of international imperialism.

At this time, it is important to reinforce the vigilance and political mobilisation of the African masses and all popular masses throughout the world in order to expose these manoeuvres and support the just positions of the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese dominated territories for the conquest of total and complete national independence. In this respect the Congress fully and unequivocally endorses their correct position that there is no such thing as "democratic colonialism".

The Congress solemnly endorses the appeal made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity in its session in Mogadiscio, in June 1974, to the effect that States should withhold diplomatic recognition of the new government in Portugal until that government recognises fully and unequivocally the right of the African peoples under her domination to full independence.

Similarly, the struggle of the peoples under colonial domination of the racist South African and Rhodesian regimes, as well as those under French, British and Spanish colonial domination demands a widespread mobilisation effort by the forces participating in the Sixth Pan African Congress.

The support to the liberation struggle should be translated into a sustained concrete action. Such support should encompass political and material assistance. To this end the participants of the Congress undertake to work collectively and in concert with other democratic forces in the world for total mobilisation in support of the liberation struggle.

To the communities of people of African origin in the Western capitalist countries, particularly the member countries of NATO, the principal supporters of Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes, falls the special role of mobilising public opinion in their countries against their governments' actions and against the big capitalist economic interests aiming to perpetuate the domination of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Let the successes achieved by our brothers in combat against colonialism and racism in Southern Africa be a source of inspiration and encouragement for the reinforcement of our common action

against all forms of oppression and exploitation, the raison d'être and motive force of the Pan African movement.

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To the communities of people of African origin in the Western capitalist countries, particularly the member countries of NATO, the principal supporters of Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes, falls the special role of mobilizing public opinion in their countries against their governments' actions and against the big capitalist economic factors so as to help to perpetuate the domination of the people of Southern Africa.

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