



SIXTH  
PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS  
*Temporary Secretariat*  
1802 BELMONT ROAD, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009, U. S. A.  
(202) 232-4135

## THE CALL

The 20th century is the century of Black Power. It has already been marked by two dynamics. First, a unified conception of all peoples who have been colonized. They are known by friends and enemies as members of the Third World. And the most significant members of the Third World are those who strive for power to the people and Black Power to the Black People. On the other hand, white power, which ruled unchallenged for so long during this very century, is marked by unparalleled degeneration, first by two savage and global wars such as the World had never before seen. The same mentality prepares for a third war. Its barbarism unpurged, European power strives at all costs to maintain that domination from which the formerly colonial peoples are breaking. That is the world white power seeks to maintain at a time when the colonial peoples have begun one of the greatest movements toward human freedom that the world has ever known. The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS, to be held in the United Republic of Tanzania in June, 1973, is part of that movement.

### Out of the Past

We are proud to be able to call the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS, for the name and the concepts within it demonstrate the continuity and acceleration of Black struggle. The first Pan African Conference, called by



Sylvester Williams in 1900, appealed to the leaders of the world not to ignore the sufferings of Black people. The British government of Queen Victoria replied, "Her Majesty's government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races." Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, a member of that 1900 Conference, wrote "The Appeal" to the rulers of various countries. But within the Appeal could be heard the silent anger of the Black people. One sentence reads:

"In any case the modern world must needs 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 myriads elsewhere, are bound to have great influence upon the world in the future by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact."

Beginning immediately after World War I and continuing into the 1920's W.E.B. DuBois convened a series of conferences which were known specifically as Pan African Congresses.

In 1945 the same Dr. DuBois was invited to preside over what was to become the Fifth Pan African Congress, the famous Congress held in Manchester. Among other principal organizers were Pan Africanists in London, among them George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Ras Makonen, Wallace Johnson, C.L.R. James and Jomo Kenyatta. At that Congress it was unanimously decided that the independence and freedom of Africans could be won only by the action of the great masses of African peoples themselves. In 1945 this seemed to be a rash and extravagant statement. But in less than twenty years it had been proved correct and had initiated one of the greatest political movements that the world has ever known.

As we in 1973 prepare the future, we have to bear in mind where we stood in Manchester in 1945, not yet thirty years ago. At that time the



only existing African states were Ethiopia and Liberia. The man who shattered forever the mould of colonized Africa was an African, Kwame Nkrumah. He had formed a decisive association in 1943 with Padmore, and in 1947, after twelve years of absence from his native country of the Gold Coast, Nkrumah returned home. It is said over and over again that after some years of African struggle the British government granted freedom and independence to the people of the Gold Coast. Nothing of the kind happened. That the British government granted anything was an absolute reverse of the truth.

As we prepare for the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS we must be aware that Nkrumah, out of an African people enslaved for centuries, built the first politically independent nation on the continent of Africa. He called on the youth of Ghana and others to join his party to struggle against imperialism all over the world. He ultimately challenged the local colonial government by a general strike which paralyzed the whole of the Gold Coast and showed the world that an African nation had arrived.

Nkrumah was established as political leader of the Gold Coast in 1951, a political event of a range, depth and rapidity which until then was unknown to the world. In 1957 Ghana achieved its independence. Recognizing that the security of that independence was tied to the establishment of a meaningful independence across the continent Nkrumah in 1958 convened in April a conference of independent African states, and in December an all African peoples conference. These conferences re-affirmed the concept of African control over Africa and called for Pan African development. The all African peoples conference in particular warned that "the existence of separate states in Africa is fraught with the dangers of exposure to imperialist intrigues and of resurgence of colonialism even



after their attainment of independence, unless there is unity among them". It declared as an ultimate objective a "Commonwealth of Free African States." In ten years some 50 states, North and South of the Sahara, sprung up.

Independence: Political, Economic, Social

Today Africans themselves are taking the road, whether inside or outside of Africa, to solve the problems that threaten to overwhelm human society. The struggle being waged in Guinea-Biassau, in Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea, demonstrates that today Africans are not seeking mere political independence. Those who are fighting today make no distinction between political independence and complete economic control. Upon this policy, which Africans are carrying out with arms in hand, the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS must draw a line of steel against those, Africans included, who hide behind the slogan and paraphernalia of national independence while allowing finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life. This is for Africans everywhere an unalterable principle.

We affirm that one of the immediate tasks facing us is the political freedom and self-determination, complete and absolute, of our brothers and sisters in the Southern part of Africa. No names among fighters for freedom stand higher than of those who fought at Sharpville. The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS must give total support to the fighters who engage the enemies of Africa in day to day struggle.

The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS affirms to all who struggle that the only principle upon which Africa and African peoples can base their future is the concept of self-reliance. We stand with those who are avowed and



open enemies of the elite who wish to lead a life of privilege among our people.

To quote Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, "We start from a full acceptance of our Africanness and a belief that in our own past there is very much which is useful for our future."

We believe that the future of Africans lies in the fullest utilization of our own human resources instead of continued dependency on loans and gifts from abroad.

SELF-RELIANCE. The word means as much to the urban as to the rural African. Self-reliance and independence are directly proportional to our ability as a people to utilize modern tools of science and technology for our liberation. If we do not control the means of survival and protection in the context of the twentieth century we will continue to be colonized.

The mega-machine is to a large extent at the root of the inhumanity and bestiality that saturate Western civilization. The machine, the technology, the scientific method are root causes as well as effects of racism, colonialism slavery, exploitation, oppression and genocide. We must begin to utilize what we have for our liberation, and for the defense of our land and our value systems. Here we begin to understand what it means to emphasize science and technology in a Pan African perspective for we must not be trapped into being enslaved by the machine, of becoming automatons, of substituting or integrating Western civilization into our African unity.

#### Pan African Center of Science and Technology

Consistent with our commitment to independence and self-reliance, the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS will pursue the development of a PAN AFRICAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTER. The Center will be designed to serve the



vast array of needs of African people in the scientific and technological fields:

It will be an educational exhibition so designed as to attract and instruct the observer to an understanding of both the geopolitics of Africa and of the geopolitical and economic position of Africans in the Americas and the Caribbean. This will be done graphically and simply with large maps, books, articles, charts, and a tour-guide adept at explaining the exhibition.

Secondly, the Center will be a locus for organizing scientific and technological expertise to assist, advise and develop various projects touching on the human and technical development of African societies.

The Center will be financed and operated by Africans from all over the world. Its staffing and its teams of experts will be Africans contracted from wherever we are for specific periods of time, to carry out specific tasks, solve particular problems or conduct research in areas of science and technology.

One of the Center's priorities will be the making available of human, technical and scientific resources to develop a viable and self-supporting agricultural system in Africa. That is to say, Africa must feed itself. And to be relevant, agriculture has to consider every other human endeavour: economics, nutrition, medicine, transportation, communication, education, etc. Embodied in this goal is Pan Africanism.

The Center must not be viewed as a fixed structure but rather as a living concept among all African people. It is to be so designed as to be relevant to utilizing Black resources for the development of Africa for Africans at home and abroad. It is a move towards self-reliance in the Pan African perspective.

With the growing consciousness that we as a people must struggle to be free, there have emerged among us individuals and groups ready to take the lead in the achievements of Black people in a world culture, which the best minds of today know to be the inescapable future of mankind. When we look at the United States during the twentieth century, no intellectual, no organizer stands higher than W.E.B. DuBois, one of the supreme spirits of our time. We shall bear in mind and propagate the distinguished contribu-



tions to modern civilization made by Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah and Mwalimu Nyerere.

Among Africans in the diaspora, we have seen during the last decades remarkable men who show the high quality that is inherent in Africa and in all Africans today. The Caribbean islands brought forth such luminaries as Edward Blyden, Aimé Césaire (the man of Negritude), George Padmore, who organized Black people politically and is known today as "The Father of African Emancipation," and Franz Fanon, one of the most honored political thinkers of the day. With them is also the historian and political activist, C.L.R. James.

From the United States we have some of the most tremendous struggles that have developed in the world since the end of World War II. From events in Montgomery, Alabama to the present day, we have seen the unprecedented upheavals in Watts, in Cleveland, in Detroit, in Los Angeles, in Newark, all over the United States, in places known and unknown. And on the same level as the mass movement, we have seen such people as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Elijah Muhammed, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, George Jackson, and Imamu Baraka -- men who, whatever their political differences, have shown that Black people are now in the very forefront of the political activities of that country. Here is a universal pattern of rejection of Western civilization by Blacks and a successive series of creative contributions to the new society. Malcolm X, George Jackson, Angela Davis, Rap Brown, are more closely associated with the jails of the United States and not the Universities: Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Banda and Lumumba had to be taken out of imperialist jails to govern African peoples otherwise ungovernable by the imperialists.

Our people are moving together towards the achievement of a society where the intellectual or functionary will no longer be dominant, a society



in which we shall achieve more of the things which all people through all time have acknowledged to be the legitimate goals of struggle: independence and equality.

This is the contemporary, the deeply historical significance of the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS. And we call upon you, Africans everywhere, whatever your political attitudes, if you are feeling the weight and consciousness -- first of what Black people are suffering, secondly, of what we have achieved and are in the process of achieving, to come to the Congress, to give it your support, to spread the news about it, to follow whatever it is doing; so that before the end of this century, perhaps we shall take a leading part in the achieving of a society in which we can look at our children, from the very beginnings of their lives, and know they are taking a complete part in shaping the forces that touch Africa and its people.