

PAN AFRICAN  
DIALOGUES TO  
BUILD SOCIALISM



DILEMMAS OF  
HUMANITY



LES DILEMMES  
DE L'HUMANITÉ

DIALOGUES  
PANAFRICAINS POUR  
CONSTRUIRE LE  
SOCIALISME



MIKANGANYIKO  
KATIKA

MJADALA WA  
KI-UMAIUMUI  
WA AFRIKA KWAJILI  
YA UJENZI WA UJAMAA



DILEMAS DA  
HUMANIDADE

DIÁLOGOS DE  
PAN AFRICANISMO  
PARA CONSTRUIR  
O SOCIALISMO

**DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS**  
**17 - 20 JULY 2023**



## **Preface.**

This conference set itself the task of making a *qualitative* shift. We committed ourselves to transcending the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist front we have been constructing by clearly defining our destination: namely, Socialism. Our path to this destination depends on at least three crucial pillars.

No more can we allow for technical solutions to our political problems; no more can our movement leaders be undermined; no more can we allow ourselves to be *disorganised*. It is time to defend our autonomy and our capacity for revolutionary praxis.

Firstly, mass movements must consolidate themselves and grow stronger as we know that strong movements are a source of confidence to the working peoples of our continent. This calls for concrete solidarity among our movements on the continent and around the world.

Secondly, mass movements must - through their own organic intellectuals - position themselves as protagonists in the struggle for political power. We join movements to defend our gains and to improve our immediate conditions; we join the struggle for socialism to *win*.

Thirdly, political parties must, in their specific contexts, rise to the occasion and play a vanguard role in defining the strategies and tactics that will keep us on the path to a future where our people live in dignity.

This conference constitutes a clarion call by delegates, and the diverse formations we lead, to take our rightful place as the engine that will drive us towards socialism.

## **Declaration.**

We, the 184 delegates, representing 38 Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Capitalist and Pan-Africanist Organisations met at the Thuto Centre, Bela-Bela in South Africa from 17-20 July 2023. We deliberated on the Dilemmas of exploitation, oppression and collective self-destruction facing humanity and, through fruitful dialogues, reaffirmed the need to construct Pan African Socialism as the necessary historical conclusion of the National Liberation struggles against colonialism, launched by modern Africa's Founders.

We come from youth and students' organisations, gender movements, trade unions, cultural organisations, peasant and farmers' organisations, the intellectual community, media platforms, and political parties.



Our conference was unanimous that the democratic, National Liberation Struggle remains unfinished in Africa. From Western Sahara to Swaziland and the Chagos Islands, our brothers and sisters remain under the extreme yoke of *colonial* occupation and the conference called for mass solidarity with the peoples and organisations fighting for national liberation - both from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Delegates reaffirmed the findings of the Third Annual Pan-Africanism Today Conference in the historic town of Winneba, Ghana from 20-23 September 2018 that: Capitalism remains the main obstacle to advancement of all societies on the globe.

We noted that, in its desperation to control the levers of power around the world, the forces of imperialism have intensified their efforts to instigate war by pouring fuel on raging ethnic, geographical and political conflicts. The conference expressed extreme concern about the expanding military presence of imperialist countries, especially from the US and former colonial powers, around the world.

The rapacious consumption of capitalism, with its indifference to environmental destruction and the working people, are among the root causes of exacerbating poverty across the world, especially in the Global South.

We acknowledge that the struggles of the peoples of Africa for independence, deeper democracy, social justice and peace are inextricably linked to similar struggles all over the world.

At the end of our deliberations, we salute our Pan-Africanism Today Secretariat for hosting this conference and we look forward to the convening of the International Dilemmas of Humanity Conference which is scheduled to take place in Johannesburg in October 2023.

We declare that:

1. We remain committed to the struggles to remove all vestiges of colonialism from Africa and the world. We demand an end to the colonial occupation of Western Sahara and the Chagos Islands.
2. The establishment of foreign military bases on African soil and aircraft carriers in our territorial waters are a violation of our sovereignty and an escalation of militarisation on our continent. We are calling for the unity of *all* anti-imperialist forces in the heroic and bold efforts to dismantle all foreign military bases.
3. The destruction of the environment poses great dangers for current and future generations and is a block on the effort to eradicate poverty in all its forms. We stand for an anti-imperialist defence of nature, which develops the productive forces in the Global South alongside the reduction of emissions in the Global North.
4. We support the evolution and expansion of BRICS as a potential antidote to the unipolarity of our current world.
5. Whilst the enhancement and enjoyment of trade union rights, by itself, cannot construct a new, dignified society, we nonetheless see the struggles for trade union rights as pivotal. We defend the rights of workers to organise themselves into independent, democratic, worker-controlled trade unions.



6. The attack on the peasantry through land grabbing, and the drive of Capital to privatise our social and natural wealth must be denounced in the strongest terms. We stand with all peasants in their struggles against land grabs, protection of indigenous seeds. We defend the development of peasant agroecology and food sovereignty as tools for decolonising food systems and advancing socialism.
7. We recognise the need for an end to the raging war in the Republic of Sudan and the imperative of an immediate ceasefire, leading eventually to a negotiated settlement which must be centred on the rights of the people of Sudan to choose their own path to development and to elect their own leaders.
8. The growing internationalisation and militarisation of social conflicts in the Sahel and parts of Southern Africa are destabilising the continent. As forces of progress, we encourage the establishment of peoples' platforms to end these terrorist insurgencies, which have opportunistically instrumentalized religion to legitimise their actions.
9. The formation of the West African Peoples Organisation (WAPO) is an important step in the mobilisation of the peoples of Africa in pursuit of a united and Socialist Africa. While we salute WAPO and wish this initiative much success, we are committed to expanding this initiative to other subregions of Africa.
10. We stand in solidarity with all peoples throughout the world fighting for national independence, social justice, democracy and Socialism. To this end we strongly affirm our solidarity with:
  1. The people of Palestine in their battle against the genocidal, Zionist, Apartheid, colonial occupation.
  2. The people of Cuba who are resisting more than 60 years of an illegal blockade imposed on them by the government of the United States of America.
  3. The people of Venezuela, who are resisting illegal sanctions by the USA which is blatantly interfering in their internal affairs.
  4. The people of Haiti who are confronting imperialist intervention as a continuous punishment for their successful revolution against slavery in 1804.
  5. The people of Mali who, with great difficulty, are navigating a way out from the neo-colonialism that has characterised their reality since they received flag independence in 1960. We are hopeful that the closer cooperation between Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso will be a platform and an example for a meaningful sovereignty in Africa.
  6. We remain committed to a just and lasting peace in the war between Russia and NATO, unfolding in Ukraine. We vehemently condemn the escalation of the conflict by the West which is increasingly pumping highly sophisticated weapons into Ukraine to fuel and perpetuate the war. This war must end.
  7. We congratulate the People's Republic of China for exercising great restraint in the face of all forms of provocations from the United States of America and its allies. We call on all parties to avoid World War 3, which would see Africa and the rest of the Global South suffer the most.





## **Resolutions.**

We commit to **advance and build socialism as a path towards the future** - to specifically address the issues we face across the different regions in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. With **Political and Ideological education** as a tool, we will **combat the capitalist system that divides the working class** and perpetuates its oppression. Below are our resolutions to achieve these objectives.

### **Regarding urban struggles for dignified housing.**

In Africa the question of land is crucial; it shapes how people live. For the majority of people living within the confines of capitalism, dignified housing and assurance of land for cultivation continue to remain unattainable. In this context we resolve:

1. To adopt consistent Political Education as a tool for organising. Land and Housing struggles must be understood as building blocks of our broader task of socialist construction.
2. To reject the sectarian politics of NGOs and multinational corporations that appropriate working class struggles. The independence of popular movements and organisations must remain sacrosanct.
3. To reject commodification of land and demand that the social value of land replace its commercial value. Land is life; it should not be privatised, nor commodified.
4. To denounce the ongoing land-grabbing in Africa as triggered by multinational corporations and facilitated by neoliberal states. Injustices from the past and present must be addressed. Our organisations and movements will continue to fight for our people in urban and rural areas to live dignified lives.

### **Regarding gender struggles to end patriarchy.**

We remind ourselves that capitalism and imperialism perpetuate patriarchy. Our fight to end all manifestations of patriarchy, including misogyny, discrimination based on sexual orientation and Gender Based Violence (GBV), must therefore be anchored in a class analysis. In this context, we resolve:

1. To build a revolutionary, international platform of militant, working class women and landless peasants capable of resisting neoliberalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The platform will discuss, study and debate women's and gender issues and will be complemented by consistent activism.
2. To fight for opportunities for young girls and women in order to ensure we do not perpetuate generational disadvantages within our organisations.
3. To organise campaigns and collective action days focusing on common exchanges and workshops against all forms of gender stereotypes.
4. That all organisations present at this conference will work towards full gender equality at all levels of our organisations. To empower working-class women, we shall work to organise them along their specific struggles including domestic work, landlessness, and unionisation. This includes addressing barriers to their participation by providing childcare centres.



### **Regarding agroecology, food sovereignty and the struggle for socialism.**

Where 70% of the world's population works in the primary food production system, capitalism remains a non-viable, exploitative, damaging and violent system towards the peasantry. In the context of agriculture, capitalism is committed to over-production for the accumulation of profit, driving peasants off their lands and water sources and the over-exploitation of these resources. The capitalist system submits workers and peasants to poverty; it produces food for profit and not to feed the people. In this context, we resolve:

1. To conduct regional peasant agroecology and food sovereignty campaigns as indigenous, popular and scientific frameworks for resolving humankind's food and nutritional crisis, improving the quality of life and protecting cultures and biodiversity. Furthermore, to identify and mobilise scientific knowledge that debunk capitalist narratives that maintain control of food in the hands of the few.
2. To restructure social relations as a way to detach the peasants from the grip of agribusiness and empower them. This includes popular sovereignty over land, water, forests, seeds and seed development technologies – including the production and processing of farm products. It includes, reduced dependence on multinational corporations for agricultural inputs and preservation of food cultures.
3. To join the struggle for women to own and control the land that they till.
4. To express concern about the co-option and 'greenwashing' of our legitimate quest to bring dignity to peasants in Africa through instruments like AGRA alongside other international financial and agriculture institutions.

### **Regarding health, science and technology.**

Access to healthcare remains unequal within and across our countries, whilst science and technology continues to be commercialised. Ultimately, healthcare is a social resource which ought to belong to the people and not only to the wealthy few. Under capitalism, access to healthcare, like all social goods, is determined by one's wealth and position in class society and profits, rather than need, determine access to healthcare. In this context, we resolve:

1. To challenge both the logic and narrative of neoliberalism which presents health as a commodity and supports private health care while undermining public health care. Health care must be a social good that is accessible to all, regardless of financial means, race or nationality.
2. To advocate for health information and literacy to be institutionalised in the public education system.
3. To initiate small health projects that address the problems in the health sector and set examples of how the public health sector should work. These shall be anchored within our organisations and movements, including through the training of local communities to champion health work.
4. To honour indigenous knowledge and solutions. This includes a rejection of exploitation by pharmaceutical companies and an insistence that technology



must be used to provide solutions that are accessible and relevant to all our people.

5. That we shall continue to denounce the role of multinationals in health and other areas. In particular, the cycle of overproduction of unhealthy and low-nutrition foods and seeds, leading to the purchase of supplements and medications must be rejected.

### **Regarding the future of our youth and quality, dignified education.**

As the most youthful continent on the planet, we must confront the shackles that seek to suffocate our dreams and aspirations. We recognize that the minds of our young people are keenly sought after by the imperialists for the purpose of exploiting them, brainwashing them, creating puppets and with the ultimate objective of securing control of the continent through a demographic advantage in the future. In this context, we resolve:

1. To conduct a thorough class analysis in various regions to better understand the impact of capitalism on the youth in Africa. Recognizing that youth are *not* a homogeneous group, we will prioritise poor and working-class youth.
2. To document and popularise educational programmes that are based on socialist principles, such as Education for Self-reliance for the youth and public adult literacy programmes. The dissemination of these shall include knowledge about class conflict and its relevance to the majority of young people.
3. To create and strengthen existing centres of true learning which nurture the seeds of revolution by teaching Marxist theory, the heroism of African liberation movements, and the resilience of our forefathers. This should start at a young age and extend to the family unit.
4. To fearlessly advocate for policies that empower the working-class youth, advocate for land reform and encourage intergenerational decision making. This includes access to dignified life of work, housing and land.
5. To express serious concern over the tragedy of young migrants from our continent dying on the seas in search of what is perceived as a better life in Europe. This brain- and youth-energy drain from Africa needs to be stopped through ensuring prospects for a dignified life for our young at home; not stricter immigration policies and policing. Their lives cannot continue to be disposable.

### **Regarding the organisation of the working class.**

Our task is to develop a joint program of common demands that unite the working class without prejudices. Such a program must include organised, unorganised, employed and unemployed workers and must be advanced at national, regional and continental level. In order to build a common program, a political axis must be formed between movements, community based organisations, unions and revolutionary vanguard parties. In this context, we resolve:

1. To develop the necessary tactics and strategies to organise workers against the changing world of work, high rates of unemployment, and the 4th Industrial Revolution.



2. To continue defending the legal status and the gains made by trade unions – wages, benefits and conditions. We encourage trade unions to act as schools for raising levels of consciousness of the working class and as fertile ground for recruiting workers to join and/or build revolutionary, vanguard parties.
3. That the Continental Youth Secretariat of PAT shall be made up of representatives from various working-class youth organisations, ensuring inclusivity and diversity in leadership. It will operate on democratic principles, empowering young people to actively participate in decision-making processes.
4. To advance concrete international and, particularly, Pan African solidarity. This includes exploration of an expanded scope for our unions and the construction of one continental union which will be borderless - separated only by rivers and forests and not country borders.
5. To continue forging strong solidarity between the exploited workers in the urban areas and their comrades in the rural areas, notably the peasantry.

### **Regarding the Battle of Ideas.**

Whilst we primarily struggle for material gains, we also have a responsibility to win the hearts and minds of the masses. Here we are contesting the immense propaganda machinery of the ruling class - which presents its interests as universal ideas. We have a task to get onto the front foot and articulate our ideas; we must elevate the experiences, analyses and aspirations of the working peoples in struggle - and the organisations they build. In this context, we resolve:

1. To strengthen and promote greater collaboration between existing peoples' media projects. To promote the elevation of working class peoples' voices and provide a platform to demonstrate that another world is both possible and necessary.
2. To develop an accessible platform for movements and organisations to share photos, videos, and information that is copyright free for media projects to share and amplify - this is based on the principle that we should be confident in our ability to narrate our own struggles.
3. To support our organisations in their effort to build their own media units. To help create and disseminate content through media structure within each organisation to advance the ideas and concrete work of the organisation and of the working class.

### **Regarding sovereignty, self-determination and full national liberation.**

Colonialism and exploitation continue to plague all corners of the African continent. We continue to be at the bottom of the food chain and the project of national liberation remains incomplete. Against the backdrop of challenges and opportunities for genuine liberation, the people on this continent remain resolute. In this context, we resolve:

1. To launch a vibrant campaign in solidarity with the people of Palestine against the racist colonial apartheid Israeli occupation. For this we must target the embassies of Israel and all those who have endorsed this brutal occupation; Israel is not a state, it is an occupying force. This occupation must end and





those who have been displaced by this colonial project must be allowed to return to their homes.

2. To denounce all direct sanctions that have been imposed on 30% of the global population by the United States and its allies. We also reject the indirect sanctions imposed on even more people around the world through neo-colonial debt and bogus treaties.
3. To launch a rolling, mass action campaign in Africa, demanding that all foreign military bases in the continent be closed immediately.