

To: AAPC@60 Conveners UG

From: Sobukwe Shukura All African People's Revolutionary Party

Re: Paper Submission (Rep. and Restorative Justice)

Date: October 12, 2018

Power, Justice and Self-Determination: A Revolutionary Pan-Africanist Approach to Reparations and Restorative Justice

The reparations movement is a struggle for restorative justice for the exploitation of oppressed peoples' labor and resources over the last several centuries. The perpetrators of slavery, capitalism and imperialism in all their forms are benefactors of this crime against humanity. So, they are the guilty parties. They are the ones, who us, the aggrieved, seek restitution from. Yet, justice for the oppressed have never been given voluntarily by the oppressor. The idea that justice will be achieved through appealing to the consciousness of oppressors leads to three fallacies: 1) that we can quantify a historical wrong that's still ongoing; 2) that an analysis can be absent current economic/class relationships (ie patriarchy, neo-slavery, capitalism, imperialism, neocolonialism, and settler-colonialism) and 3) that the oppressed need voluntary permission from the oppressor to exact their reparations or to restore justice to themselves.

This paper will explore:

- 1) What is owed and what is still being stolen and how it is being accumulated;
- 2) Who's doing the stealing, and who are the victims; and,
- 3) Strategies and tactics for revolutionary reparations that restores our material and immaterial losses from oppression.

The paper will explore the struggle for a self-determined restorative justice historically. Beginning with resistance against slavery and colonization. The history of armed resistances. The development of Pan-Africanism and Women/Feminist movements. The paper will look at national liberation struggles, the questions of land reclamation, and cancellation of debt movements.

The paper, in conclusion, will examine the relationship of mediating institutions that arise from the oppressors: United Nations, International Criminal Court, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. It will also examine institutions growing out of revolutionary movements: the Non-aligned Movement; the Organization of Solidarity for Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), Bank of the South. The paper will use a nation/class/gender analysis in framing outcomes and solutions using a dialectical approach to socioeconomics, law and philosophy, power and influence, and public versus private space.

What is owed and what is being stolen and what is still being accumulated?

The historical wrong usually starts with the advent of what is generally called the (European) Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. A slave trade distinct from the Arab slave trade or slavery in general in Africa. This slave trade was clearly controlled by European merchants supported by a fading European feudal class and endorsed by the then unifying religious institution known as the Catholic Church. There is no fallacy

in this aspect of the argument that Europe and their settler classes in the Americas and Africa prospered off the labor of African people without compensation. While there is some complicity on the part of Arab/Asian merchants, and even African leadership, the vast majority of the capital accumulated from slavery went to the emerging European bourgeois class financing the rise of capitalism as an economic system *. The slave trade was forced as neo-slavery today is in the form of mass imprisonment by the force of arms. Violence, torture, rape and death are always a feature of slavery.

Using Walter Rodney's seminal work "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" as a reference point, not only did the masses of Africans not benefit from the European slave trade, their economies were devastated by it. This economic loss was not just in the era of the slave trade itself, but it is important to note the impact on successive eras to follow. Where there was slavery in Africa prior to European arrival, Africa as whole was never a slave producing society. It was never the dominant form of economic activity. When some scholars want to talk about Africans sold their brothers and sisters into slavery, they conveniently leave out that the majority of Africans had no slaves to sell. The dominant form of economic activity on the continent at the time was communalism. Most of the people were peasants and small manufacturers of goods who certainly did not employ slaves. Slavery depleted the continent of much needed labor and was psychologically devastating to those who lost loved ones, friends and members of the clan. Conservative estimates put the loss of Africa's human capital at about 25 million. Let's look at it another way, the way that the first President of liberated Guinea Conakry, Sekou Touré explained. We have to look at how many each captured and enslaved person represented over a 400-year process of enslavement, in other words how many offspring each person represents. Stolen in this case does not just indicate those who were captured by Europeans slave catchers without purchase, this is with fundamental human understanding that no human being can own another, that any human enslaved has their labor stolen. Touré estimated those stolen and lost were in the hundreds of millions. Estimating those who survived can be done easily by looking at the growth of African populations in the Western hemisphere: 100,000 million in Brazil, 40 million in the US, 20 million in Columbia, millions in the Caribbean, and the millions in other countries in Central and South America. There is also the uncounted Africans mixed with indigenous peoples throughout Turtle Island (the Americas). This era of Africa's loss is truly the basis of the call of reparations.

The European Slave trade is part and parcel of European Settler-colonialism in the western hemisphere. That is why the enslavement of African and indigenous people in the Americas is directly tied to this question of settler-colonialism, (land theft) in the Americas. As the progressive reparations movement in the Caribbean has correctly pointed out, the struggle for justice for Africans in the western hemisphere is also a struggle for reparations for the native peoples.

"The governments of Europe committed genocide upon the native Caribbean population. Military commanders were given official instructions by their governments to eliminate these communities and to remove those who survive pogroms from the region. Genocide and land appropriation went hand in hand. A community of over 3,000,000 in 1700 has been reduced to less than 30,000 in 2000. Survivors remain traumatized, landless, and are the most marginalized social group within the region. The University of the West Indies offers an Indigenous Peoples Scholarship in a desperate effort at rehabilitation. It is woefully insufficient. A Development Plan is required to rehabilitate this community." <http://caricomreparations.org/caricom/caricoms-10-point-reparation-plan/>

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, on the issue of reparations would take it one step further -- as a struggle for land reclamation. The struggle of indigenous and African peoples in Columbia, Brazil, Honduras, the

U.S. and Canada etc. claiming their lands and, in some cases, just the defense of their remaining lands, are struggles for power. This is what separates reform from revolution. Whereas all struggles for power are not always revolutionary, in fact many are for conquest, reaction and counter-revolution, Revolutionary struggle is always for power and self-determination.

The struggle for restorative justice for African people is closely tied to land reclamation in Africa. Along with Africa’s stolen labor, the struggle is also about our stolen land and resources under settler-colonialism, the colonial period, and today under neo-colonialism.

It must be made perfectly clear that our struggle against settler-colonialism and colonialism has not been completed. In the case of settler-colonialism, land reclamation is unfinished in Africa (e.g., Azania/South Africa, Namibia, Kenya, and etc.) As with the more than 300 treaties the U.S. broke with the Native Nations, restitution has not been achieved through negotiation. Zimbabwe land reclamation was not achieved through the Lancaster Agreement, but through the courageous mass action of the people and the decisive acts of the ZANU-PF government. Between the period of the beginning of colonization to 1930 Europeans acquired more than 50 percent of the land -- and almost 100% of the best land. Another 28% was assigned other uses and the African population was left with just 22% of their own lands (see table below).

TABLE 1: RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY THE SETTLER GOVERNMENT IN 1930

Category	Acres	% of the country
European Areas	49,149,174	51
Native Reserves	21,127,040	22
Unassigned areas	17,793,300	18.5
Native purchase areas	7,464,566	7.8
Forestry areas	590,500	0.6
Undetermined areas	88,540	0.1
Total	96,213,120	100

Source: R. Palmer (1977)

The Lancaster Agreement at independence, after the military victory of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) over the European settlers and their North American Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, was a sort of a reparations process with donor agreements guarantying no nationalization of land in the constitution without the 100% vote in the parliament; a constitutional parliament that assured seats to 20 white settlers for 10 years. This made it impossible to achieve land reclamation on any significant scale. The land struggle was accelerated by mass action led by the Zimbabwe veterans in the late 1990’s. This positive action of the masses with concrete objectives of restitution, the regaining of their lands lost to European settlers, proved successful. The chart below shows what was achieved in every phase of the land reclamation in Zimbabwe. This example is key in the discussion of a mass based self-determinant approach to reparations and restorative justice.

The reaction by the West to restoration is also very instructive in understanding the current views on reparations by the neo-colonialists, the foreign capitalist classes, and their domestic partners. The foreign capitalist reacts with a struggle to reverse the process, with violent economic sanctions,

interference in elections and outright threats of invasions. Without the revolutionary capital gained through a Pan-African approach to liberation in the Southern region, it is likely an invasion like we saw in Libya and Ivory Coast would have been tried in Zimbabwe. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) defense pact prevented this.

Neo-colonialism is a system that controls the economic activities on the African continent. Progressive and revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe, and on the continent in general, are caught between the neo-colonialist forces in and outside the country. There is always the threat of force. But what Nkrumah said is true in the final analysis, the masses are the determining force. The masses are a force that can push back against neo-colonialism. In fact, they are that decisive force. Land reclamation must become one of the center pieces off any revolutionary approach to restorative justice. The ratification of the constitution of Zimbabwe that enshrines the land reclamation process is a perfect example of self-compensation for historical grievances.

289. *“Ownership of natural resources In order to redress the unjust and unfair pattern of land ownership that was brought about by colonialism, and to bring about land reform and the equitable access by all Zimbabweans to the country's natural resources, policies regarding agricultural land must be guided by the following principles-*

- a. land is a finite natural resource that forms part of Zimbabweans' common heritage;
- b. subject to section 72, every Zimbabwean citizen has a right to acquire, hold, occupy, use, transfer, hypothecate, lease or dispose of agricultural land regardless of his or her race or colour;
- c. the allocation and distribution of agricultural land must be fair and equitable, having regard to gender balance and diverse community interests;
- d. the land tenure system must promote increased productivity and investment by Zimbabweans in agricultural land;
- e. the use of agricultural land should promote food security, good health and nutrition and generate employment, while protecting and conserving the environment for future generations;
- f. no person may be deprived arbitrarily of their right to use and occupy agricultural land.”

Zimbabwe Constitution 2013

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF LAND ACQUIRED TO BENEFICIARIES

	Resettlement Phase	Number of Families	Area (hectares)
First Phase (1980-1998) and Second Phase (1992-1998)	Willing buyer-willing seller combined with compulsory government acquisitions	71,000	3,498,444
Third Phase (1998-2000)	Inception of the violent land occupations	4,697	168,264
Fourth Phase (2000-2008)	FTLRP: A1 Module for smallholder schemes	145,775	4,137,085
	FTLRP: A2 Module for large commercial schemes	16,386	2,681,642
Total		237,858	10,485,435

Adapted from Government of Zimbabwe, 2009.

To make this aspect of the struggle very clear in the argument for reparations, I would like to pull from an upcoming publication on settler-colonialism. This chart illustrates how the capture of territories in

Africa created and creates untold wealth for Europe. In his chart John Trimble shows a small country like Portugal with its oversea territories increases its land mass more than 100-fold.

Table 1		Land Mass in Sq KM		Size ratio
European Colonizer	Settler Colonies	European country	Settler colonies	
Portugal	Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissua	91 470	10 419 340	113
United Kingdom (non-African)	USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand	549 970	26 187 937	47
United Kingdom (African)	South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Kenya	549 970	2 993 747	5
France	Algeria	549 970	2 381 741	4
Spain	Six Largest (Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Columbia, Venezuela, Chile)	498 980	8 625 193	17

Professor John Trimble 2018

The point I want to stress here is that the enslavement and appropriation of colonial territories that underpinned the accumulation of untold wealth during the Western European Slave Trade Era and slave economics, did not end with emancipation. The wealth from slavery laid the ground work for modern capitalism and the second crime imperialism, the need to steal other people’s territories. This crime continues today with neo-colonialism. The indirect foreign control over global resources through an internal neo-colonial class in Africa. Neo-colonialism is a forcibly imposed economic system like, the slave trade and drug trade, etc. That is to say, that the superstructure of the African economy is not internal but external. This is to proclaim that the exploitation of Africans and Africa’s resources has not stopped. So, the first question is: how do you assess damages when they are still occurring?

The mining sector in Africa is still dominated by foreign financial sectors that trace their origins back to the likes of Cecil Rhodes and J.P. Morgan in the 1800’s. The control of corporations like Anglo-American and DeBeers are ever present whether they evolve into Anglo Gold Ashanti and Chase Bank or not. The controlling shares and overwhelming profit from the extractive industries still go to foreign corporations. The only difference is today is the competition is increased by the emerging investment blocks like Brazil, China, Russia, India and South Africa (BRICS). Here in Ghana, 85% of the mining industry is foreign owed. Yet Ghana has perhaps the second largest gold deposits in Africa.

The Ghanaian interest in the Obuasi Gold mine is now 10 percent or less at a time when gold is 1300-1350 USD per ounce. Ninety percent of the profits of this mine is going overseas. What if the government owned the mine and simply minted gold coins. They could do what Gaddafi was trying to do, change the monetary system of Africa and create the “Bank of the South” (<http://empirestrikesblack.com/2011/05/gaddafis-refusal-of-the-world-bank-imf-western-multinationals-africom-the-real-casus-belli-obscured-by-natos-humanitarian-deceit/>) The truth is Africa’s reparations struggles must be part and parcel of a struggle against neo-colonial control of our resources. Capitalism and imperialism entail the privatization of public resources. Capitalism and imperialism today are only possible, as stated earlier, as a result of the enslavement of African people and the colonization of their land. By far, the majority extraction of our resources is done by foreign companies who use violence to steal our wealth. Our continent is still occupied militarily by AFRICOM

and NATO (<https://aaprp-intl.org/africas-biggest-terrorist-threat-africom-nato/>). More than 203 billion U.S. Dollars leave the continent annually (<https://www.africa.com/africa-is-not-poor-we-are-stealing-its-wealth/>). Nationalization of our resources is part of the process of restorative justice. Nationalization of resources cannot be confused with indigenization, giving dominant shares of our resources to neocolonial elements in the state and private sector. We are talking state control of industry in the interest of the people.

During the Presidency of Kwame Nkrumah here in Ghana, many of State-owned enterprises and institutions were built, the process was one of nationalization and socialization of the human and material resources of Ghana.

“But the exceptional pace of development Prof. Adu Boahen spoke about did not only result from developmental and planned economy, but it was also due to Nkrumah’s philosophy of self-determination and self-reliance (by taking over the country’s natural resources). As a matter of fact, Nkrumah’s holistic achievement (in the areas of educational, socio-economic and industrial developments) has been recorded as one of the fastest in a post-colonial history. Sad to say that these principles of self-determination, self-reliance and human-centered policies are what have been lacking in Ghana’s public policies since the CIA sponsored military coup of February 24, 1966.” Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, PHD

Nkrumah and Conventional People’s Party grew out of the revolutionary character of the 5th Pan-Africanist Congress calling for a unified continent and socialism. During the period of the 5th PAC in 1945 and the All African People’s Conference in 1958 that we commemorate today, mass parties were built throughout the continent. The 1958 Conference brought together more than 62 organizations, labor unions, resistance movements, national liberation parties (some involved in arm struggle) and some of the most important revolutionary nationalist and Pan-Africanist minds on the continent including Patrice Lumumba, France Fanon, Sam Nujoma and Kwame Nkrumah. The All African People’s Conference help to shape the mass energy of these parties into a coordinated Pan-African whole for anti-colonial struggle. These forces accelerated the anti-colonial struggle in Africa. The objective of National Liberation was best described by Amilcar Cabral as the restoration of control of our “productive forces”. Now as much as the struggle for reparations contributes to this process it is useful. Yet the forces of capitalism are violently against the restoration of African sovereignty over our land, resources and labor. The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah and assassination of Cabral are glaring examples of this.

As in the mass movement for national liberation and African Unity, there are right and left tendencies in the reparation movement. Restitution and material compensation, which all those oppressed by slavery and colonization deserve, is not the same as justice restored. More than any other aspect of harm to African and other oppressed people is the disruption in their development. Restorative justice, the restorative process for the oppressed begins with resistance, the fight to liberate those productive forces from the enemies of the people. Neo-colonialist forces in Africa and the Caribbean represent a class of collaboration with the enemy. Some talk about reparations while privatizing public resources and deepening military ties with the settler-colonial states of the United States and Israel. These neo-colonial collaborations with imperialists are in conflict with efforts of national liberation forces (ANC, AZAPO, PAC, MPLA, Frelimo, PAIGC, ZANU, ZAPO, etc. **) that led to political liberation from 1957-1994.

In this phase of the struggle, the analysis of those who call themselves progressives and revolutionaries must be clear as to which institutions are developed out of the people’s initiative and ones that simply responded to the people’s resistance. The United Nations (U.N.) in 1945 was founded dominantly by imperialist forces. These forces had colonies (Britain, France, the United States) and they supported settler-colonialism globally. This is why it was easy for the United Nations to vote for the settler

occupation of Palestine in 1948 (<https://aaprp-intl.org/zionism-racism/>). The U.N. evolved in response to the newly liberated countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas but the power in the institution remains the same. The Security Council's 5 countries hold veto power over all the rest. So, when a resolution is passed on reparations, who is likely to veto its implementation? Those who have to pay the tab.

What can we expect from an International Criminal Court (ICC) that has never convicted a Western power of acts of aggression in Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Iran, or Palestine? NATO's crimes during colonial era are clear to all. Yet not one colonial era despot from the West has been brought on charges. In my opinion, if they just arrested Henry Kissinger, he could be prosecuted for Vietnam, Chile and Angola. The racism and classism in these international courts has some Pan-Africanist defending our neo-colonial leaders when they are accused by the ICC.

The African Union (AU) grew out of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) founded in 1963. The institution was compromise between right and left tendencies in the struggle for independence in Africa. On one side there was the Casablanca Group (Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Egypt) who wanted the creation of one united continental government. On the other were those gradualist and neo-colonial forces in Francophone and Anglophone blocs that wanted to protect their individual nation-states. Stuck in the middle were those conducting armed resistance across the continent. Ultimately, the OAU, with an African Liberation Support Committee, was formed at a crucial point in the national liberation struggle. Recognizing that it was a political compromise, nonetheless, the organization was a response to people's struggle for independence. Today, the AU does not have the political will nor organizational or ideological capacity to exact reparations from the colonizers no more than its counter-part CARICOM in the neo-colonized Caribbean (https://www.alainet.org/images/Girvan_St-Vincent_paper.pdf).

The Conference (APC)

Demands the immediate and unconditional accession to independence of all the African peoples, and the total evacuation of the foreign forces of aggression and oppression stationed in Africa; Proclaims the absolute necessity, in order to resist the imperialist coalition more effectively and rapidly free all the dependent peoples from foreign oppression, of coordinating and uniting the forces of all the Africans, and recommends the African states not to neglect any form of co-operation in the interest of all the African peoples; Denounces vigorously the policy of racial discrimination applied by colonialist and race-conscious minorities in South and East and Central Africa, and demands the abolition of racial domination in South Africa, the suppression of the Federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, and the immediate independence of these countries; Proclaims equality of rights for all the citizens of the free countries of Africa and the close association of the masses for the building up and administration of a free and prosperous Africa; Calls on the peoples of Africa to intensify the struggle for independence, and insists on the urgent obligation on the independent nations of Africa to assure them of the necessary aid and support;...[2] Excerpts from the All African Peoples Conference (<https://www.revolvy.com/page/All%252DAfrican-Peoples%27-Conference>)

These institutions in some ways represent an antithesis to 5th Pan-African Congress, the All African People's Conference, All African Workers Conference, the Pan-African Women's Conference of 1962 and the international forums, Organization for the Solidarity of Africa, Asia and Latin America, (OSPAAL), and the Non-Aligned Movement (<https://www.thetricontinental.org/about/>). The anti-colonial discourse and resolutions found in these conferences are rarely found in the dialogue of institutions heavily financed

by the foreign neo-colonial forces. To date, these institutions have failed to achieve the most fundamental objective: to unify the land bases of Africa and the Caribbean. We must continue to highlight the institutional contradictions through mass struggle if we want justice restored. The AU, CARICOM and the UN, as much as they provide a space for the moral debate, they should be utilized. Yet, the institutions of self-actualization must be built on the field of battle, in confrontation and agitation for power.

“The total liberation of the African continent, the elimination of apartheid, and the institution of a joint justice as human beings became their priority. Thus, on the 31st July 1962, the Conference of African Women (CAF) was created at Dar es Salaam in Tanganyika now known as Tanzania, the first African Women Organization which became “Pan – African Women’s Organization” (PAWO) after the Congress of Dakar (Senegal) in July 1974 where the 31st July was designated African Women Day. The Constitutive congress comprises 14 independent countries and 10 national liberation movements”. Pan-African Women’s Organization (Brief History)

The political and ideological successor to the All African People’s Conference can be found in the Handbook of Revolutionary struggle written by Kwame Nkrumah 50 years ago in 1968. This book captured on its pages the logical progression of the armed phase of the African revolution as it unfolded in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Azania/South Africa, and Namibia, and the organizational framework for achieving one, unified socialist Africa. The book calls for an All African People’s Committee for Political Coordination (AACPC) for the coordination of an All African Peoples Revolutionary Army and the development of a All African People’s Revolutionary Party, for the whole continent. Our job, if we want progress, is to move forward with rebuilding mass based revolutionary parties, movements and organizations of youth, women and workers. The task of this generation is to complete the task of unifying these institutions on a Pan-African scale through positive action. This task cannot be abstract. Reparations in this context must be restorative. Any successful revolutionary movement must have clear and concise demands that are self-determined.

The two areas we can restore is the control of our land and resources, and our labor. The land reclamation struggle in Zimbabwe has helped accelerate the struggle in Azania/South Africa being called for by political parties, the labor movement and the students. These land and labor struggles are tied together (<https://aaprp-intl.org/student-wars-are-worker-wars-and-worker-wars-are-land-wars/>). The mass pressure from the people is putting pressure on the neo-colonial elements in the African National Congress (ANC) leadership. All the international forces for reparations and restorative justice must join the call. Our victory in Azania/South Africa will do two things: 1) it will consolidate the struggle in the region for land reclamation and weaken neo-colonialism; and, 2) it will increase the attack on the international imperialist forces that control Azania/South Africa. The question is, are the reparations and restorative justice movements prepared to go on the offense?

This paper is not challenging the legitimate reparations work of NCOBRA in the United States, CARICOM in the Caribbean, or Jubilee 2000 and its derivatives in Africa. But, as in the struggle against Apartheid, the bigger question of settler-colonialism: the struggle for land and resources and mass Pan-African organization must be part of the discourse. The struggle for justice in Palestine is a land struggle. The call for Boycotts, Divestiture and Sanctions (BDS) is a tactic in a strategy for the liberation of Palestine. BDS is a mass action that is meant to complement the actions of the mass struggle on the ground in Palestine. Reparations, likewise, must be a tactic in the struggle for land reclamation and Pan-African organization.

The reparation movements if separated from a strategy of power for the masses of African people become a liberal exercise that even with success, will only prolong the class struggle between working

masses and their neo-colonial leadership. Let's take, for example, the struggle for cancellation or reduction of debt called for in the 1980's and 90's. With the restructuring of debt to the IMF and World Bank came structural adjustment programs throughout the continent that lead to the further privatization of vital resources and the cutting of social services to the African masses. This was the exact opposite effect of the intentions of the debt cancellation movement.

The African neo-colonial leaders in their isolated silos complied to the demands of the IMF and World Bank with disastrous results. The privatizing of water in Azania/South Africa resulted in a massive Cholera outbreak (www.thehealthculture.com/2010/11/water-privatization-in-south-africa-prepaid-meters/).

The AU responded to the suffering masses by creating the development agency New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which asked for 63 billion more in outside financing for development projects to address the mass suffering. Not once was the discussion of nationalization of the trillions of dollars in land and resources discussed in the AU. There is no commission or committee on land reclamation or restorative justice in the AU. Even the OAU with all its flaws had the African Liberation Support Committee. We need mass pressure on these institutions to take up the liberation of our land, resources and labor. Part of liberating our labor is elimination of colonial borders for free movement of Africans across the continent and the right of return for diasporic Africans. (See AAPRP Petition to the AU {Appendix})

What Are Our Weapons in this Struggle in A Self-Determined Reparations and Restorative Justice Movement

Call for:

Joining the All-African People's Revolutionary Party or any Pan-African Socialist Party working to fulfill Nkrumah's call in the Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare to build a continent-wide revolutionary coordinating committee (AACPC).

Joining the World-Wide Pan-African Movement (WWPAM) founded in Azania/South Africa a Unifying Pan- African Movement Organization with common goals and objectives that adopts the strategy of land reclamation and debt cancellation as self-determining organizational principles.

Joining with Pan-African Reparation Organizations with Self-Restorative Positive Action Campaigns, Organizing with Pan-African Political Parties, Indigenous Rights Organizations, Pan-African Youth, Women and Workers using all means necessary such as:

- Strikes
- Boycotts, Sanctions and Divestiture
- Mass Demonstrations
- Electoral Politics (consolidation)
- Petitions

The challenge of this generation, of restorative justice activist, is to transform this movement from one of reform to one of revolution. This requires revolutionary ideology, organization and positive action. Revolution is always self-determinative. Just as the Pan-African movement went from requesting the colonial powers to give them their freedom, to developing a revolutionary ideology for self-

emancipation at the 5th Pan-African Congress, so must the reparations movement accept that the height of restorative justice is the total liberation and unification of Africa Under Scientific Socialism. On this sacred space 60 years ago freedom fighters and mass movements of workers, women and youth committed to the task of liberating our land and resources. If indeed our intentions this weekend are to regain our focus on the unfinished task of the All African People's Conference, then it's clear the biggest fight of African people today is for the reclamation of our land and minerals. Where we stand on the land question will determine the class nature of all our movements, fronts, organizations and political parties. The question for the reparations movement is: is it part of the African Revolution or not?

Forward to Land Reclamation Forward to Revolutionary Pan-Africanism Forward to People's Power

*Capitalism and Slavery by Eric Williams

** African National Congress, Azanian People's Organization, Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Angolan People's Liberation Movement, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, African Party for the Liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde, Zimbabwe African National Union, and Zimbabwe African People's Union.

References:

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa by Walter Rodney

Capitalism and Slavery by Eric Williams

Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare by Kwame Nkrumah

Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism by Kwame Nkrumah

Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution by Sekou Toure

<https://aaprp-intl.org/>

<http://www.focusonland.com/countries/a-brief-history-of-land-in-zimbabwe1890today/>

<http://wwpam.org/>

APPENDIX

Positive Action Campaign Petition

We recognize the insidious role of the former colonial and current imperialist powers as the primary implementers, and beneficiaries of the rape and pillage of Africa and African People and they owe us much more than an apology for the damage done. We also realize we can and must control our destiny through our organized positive action as Africans.

We the Sons and Daughters of Africa, Call on the African Union and the governments of the countries of Africa to assist in repairing the damage done to Africa and African people by the slave trade, slavery, colonization and neo-colonialism by implementing the following practices.

- 1. The land reclamation process initiated in Zimbabwe must be expanded to address the return of land in all of Africa.** Agricultural land reform will bring about the conditions where Africa can feed Africans. This land reclamation process must be expanded to address the theft of Africa's mineral resources. The profits from the extraction of minerals from Africa must be used for Africa's development. The colonial occupation of Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries resulted in the theft of the best land. This land must be returned to the rightful owners, the poor and the landless Africans.
- 2. Africa's debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must be cancelled and the IMF and World Bank dismantled.** These institutions have only served to disrupt the development of Africa, playing a significant role in creating this debt. In light of the crimes committed against African people and the theft of Africa's resources, we claim the cancellation of this bogus debt as a down payment on reparations due Africa and African people.
- 3. All African, whether born in Africa or outside of Africa and wherever they live in Africa or outside of Africa, must be viewed as citizens of Africa and should be allowed to live and travel anywhere in Africa.** The elimination of the boundaries established by colonialism is a prerequisite toward the building of true Pan-Africanism (an Africa under one union government where people contribute based on their ability and receive based on their contribution).
- 4. All foreign military bases on African soil must be closed immediately and mercenary forces disbanded.** An Africa-wide peacekeeping force must be established to end all internal conflict in Africa and focus on the security of women and children." [5]