



FINAL DECLARATION OF THE NINTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN LOMÉ

8–12 December 2025

WE, representatives of participating African States, nations hosting communities of African descent, organisations and associations of the African diaspora in the Americas, Europe and Asia, regional institutions, civil society, women and young people, academia and international organisations, gathered in Lomé from **8 to 12 December 2025** on the occasion of the 9th Pan-African Congress, under the theme: **"The renewal of Pan-Africanism and Africa's role in the reform of multilateral institutions: mobilising resources and reinventing ourselves to take action"**;

Recalling the historical and normative foundations of Pan-Africanism, a movement that promotes freedom, dignity and justice for African peoples and people of African descent, as well as its decisive role in anti-colonial struggles and contemporary battles for the reform of the international system, the restitution of cultural property and restorative justice;

Encouraged by the renewed vitality of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century, supported by political elites, peoples and representatives of various socio-professional groups;

Noting that the architecture of international relations that emerged from the Second World War continues to perpetuate relationships of political, economic, military and financial dependence to the detriment of Africa and other formerly colonised peoples;

Reaffirming the imperative of a fairer, more balanced and representative world order based on respect for the sovereignty of peoples, social justice, equity, peace and shared prosperity;

Bearing in mind the African Union's Agenda 2063 as a guiding framework for an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa based on Pan-Africanism, good governance, justice, the promotion of endogenous knowledge and the central role of youth and women;

Recalling the relevant decisions of the African Union, in particular Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.807(XXXIV) establishing the **2021–2031 decade as the "Decade of African Roots and the African Diaspora"**; Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.848(XXXVI) entrusting the organisation of the 9th Pan-African Congress to Togo and Decision Assembly/AU/Dec.913(XXXVIII), which postponed the holding of the said Congress to 2025, as it could not take place in 2024;

Recalling also the theme of the African Union's 2025 Year of Restorative Justice, namely **"Justice for Africans and People of African Descent through Reparations"**;

Aware that Africa, in order to meet the challenges of the 21st century, cannot do without the contribution of people of African descent around the world, whose role is essential in the struggles for justice, respect for sovereignty, self-centred development and the transformation of the international system;

Emphasising that the struggle for the reform of international institutions requires the establishment of a united pan-African front that brings together the African Union, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and representatives of the peoples of the world;

Upholding the spirit of United Nations initiatives in favour of African peoples, in particular the International Decades for People of African Descent (2015-2024; 2025-2034), which aim to help create the conditions for the preservation and consolidation of the human, political and economic rights of Africa and its peoples;

Noting with satisfaction the holding of the six pre-congresses of the^{9th}Pan-African Congress in the six regions of Africa, including the diaspora;

Whereas the declarations and reports of the six pre-congresses, organised as follows, form an integral part of the work of the^{9th}Pan-African Congress: on 4 and 5 December 2023 in South Africa on the theme "*Pan-Africanism, science, knowledge and technology*"; on 14 and 15 March 2024 in Mali on the theme "*Diasporas, Afro-descendants and development*"; on 18 April 2024 by Morocco on the theme "*Pan-Africanism and migration*"; on 24 May 2024 by Congo on the theme "*Economic Pan-Africanism and African emergence*"; on 6 July 2024 by Tanzania on the theme "*Africanophony, cultures, education and pan-African identity*"; and from 29 to 31 August 2024 in Bahia, Brazil, on the theme "*Pan-Africanism, memories, restitution, reparations, reconstruction*";

Concerned about the persistent effects of colonial legacies, including external interference, unsuitable economic models, structural inequalities, and racial and systemic discrimination, including in digital and algorithmic environments;

Emphasising the need to fully restore the place of Africa and its diasporas in the multilateral system, in accordance with the spirit of the **Ezulwini Consensus** and the **Sirte Declaration**, which affirm the continent's right to equitable representation in international decision-making bodies;

Reaffirming the leading role of women, young people, intellectuals, social movements, African cultures, the **Ubuntu** philosophy and other endogenous systems of thought in building a renewed, inclusive and emancipatory Pan-Africanism;

Determined to join forces to contribute to the emergence of a new world, bringing African values of solidarity, humanity, resilience, innovation and dignity;

Agree, in line with the thematic areas that guided the deliberations of the 9th Pan-African Congress, as follows:

I. RENEWED VISION OF PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

- 1. To reaffirm** Pan-Africanism as the strategic framework for unity, consultation and the struggle for sovereignty and emancipation of Africans and people and communities of African descent throughout the world.
- 2. To note** that the renewed vision of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century must be rooted in endogenous African values and the Ubuntu philosophy, which promote interdependence, solidarity, a humanistic conception of development and international relations.

3. **To call** on African states and nations home to communities of African descent to form a united front rooted in Pan-Africanism in the struggle for reparation and reform of multilateral institutions, and to create permanent mechanisms for Pan-African coordination and decolonisation of public spaces, paying tribute to the figures who championed the Pan-African cause.
4. **To invite** African and Afro-descendant peoples, as well as their representative communities and institutions, to build a Pan-African alliance capable of defending their collective interests, asserting their increased and coherent presence on the international stage, and promoting a fairer, more inclusive and representative multilateralism.
5. **To emphasise** that the contemporary revival of Pan-Africanism must be accompanied by enhanced strategic coherence, visionary leadership and greater participation by the younger generations, in order to enable Africa and its diasporas to collectively address global challenges – such as health, climate, security and economic crises – which no state or community can tackle in isolation.
6. **To reaffirm** that Africa and its diaspora form a community of destiny whose unity is an essential condition for increasing Africa's political, cultural and economic influence in the world, and to call for the consolidation of lasting transnational ties based on solidarity, shared memory and commitment to a common future between the two entities.
7. **To recall** the imperative need for Africa and people of African descent to speak with a strong and concerted voice in international fora in order to have a greater say in decisions affecting the future of humanity and to promote a world order based on justice, equity, human dignity and recognition of African contributions to universal civilisation.

II. REPARATIONS, RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

8. **To reaffirm** that the recognition of historical crimes – slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, deportation, colonisation, genocide, apartheid and systematic looting – is an essential foundation for restorative justice, and to call for the adoption of a common African position demanding official apologies, formal recognition of these crimes and the initiation of reparation processes in accordance with the decisions of the African Union and the standards of international law.
9. **To affirm** the resolute support of the 9th Pan-African Congress for the joint initiatives of the African Union and CARICOM on restorative justice, and to call for enhanced synergy between African States, Afro-descendant nations and regional institutions engaged in this process.
10. **To emphasise** the central importance of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (2001), notably in the context of the commemoration of its 25th anniversary, as a global framework for combating racism, and invite States, institutions and relevant

actors to ensure its full implementation, including through education, the transmission of the true history of Africa, the reform of public policies and the elimination of structural discrimination, including its contemporary forms such as algorithmic racism.

- 11. To call** for the establishment of a Pan-African Observatory for Restorative Justice and the Fight against Racism – tasked with documenting historical and current violations, monitoring commitments made by States and informing mobilisation, advocacy and education efforts.
- 12. To call** on African countries, communities of African descent, justice-seeking peoples and relevant institutions to strengthen a united front against all old and new forms of racism, to support the restitution of looted African cultural property, and promote structural reforms that guarantee the dignity, equality and fundamental rights of Africans and people of African descent around the world.
- 13. To call on** the African Union, African states and nations with communities of African descent to submit a formal request to the United Nations and its relevant agencies to correct disproportionate cartographic representations of the continent, in particular the Mercator projection, as an act of cognitive justice and symbolic reparation, which are essential to restoring Africa's true place in the global imagination.

III. THE REFORM OF MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

- 14. To reaffirm** the need for a profound and urgent reform of the multilateral system as an imperative of restorative justice and equity so that it reflects the realities of a multipolar world and corrects the imbalances inherited from the post-war international order, which have permanently marginalised Africa and people of African descent.
- 15. To reiterate** the commitment of African and Afro-descendant peoples to the full implementation of **the Ezulwini Consensus** and the **Sirte Declaration**, which call for two permanent seats with veto power and five non-permanent seats for Africa on the United Nations Security Council, in order to ensure representation commensurate with the continent's demographic, geopolitical and historical weight.
- 16. To call** on States and African and Afro-descendant communities to strengthen political and diplomatic consultation mechanisms, in particular by creating a permanent African multilateral coordination mechanism responsible for harmonising positions ahead of major international negotiations and defending the continent's strategic interests.
- 17. To encourage** the creation of transregional alliances – notably Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Latin and South-South alliances – as well as enhanced dialogue with groups such as the BRICS and the G20, in order to increase the collective weight of Africa and its diasporas in global decision-making processes.
- 18. To call** on international institutions to take concrete measures to eliminate persistent racial discrimination, including its contemporary forms such as algorithmic racism,

and to promote multilateralism based on the sovereign equality of States, transparency and the inclusive participation of peoples.

IV. DECOLONISING THE MIND AND REINVENTING ONESELF

- 19. To reaffirm that** the decolonisation of the mind is an essential condition for African renaissance, calling for critical, endogenous education rooted in African knowledge, languages, philosophies and heritage, in order to rebuild individual and collective self-esteem and to fully unleash the creative, intellectual and spiritual potential of African peoples and people of African descent.
- 20. To encourage** African States, the African Union, CARICOM, CELAC and educational and cultural institutions to promote intellectual and cultural sovereignty based on African epistemologies – notably Maat, Maaya, Ubuntu and Oumah – to support research on the psychological impacts of slavery and colonialism and to strengthen spaces for creation, artistic expression and dialogue on identity.
- 21. To invite** governments, universities, media and cultural institutions in African states and nations with communities of African descent to develop communication and knowledge production tools that promote African thought, correct colonial narratives and restore the role of African civilisations in universal history, thereby contributing to the construction of a peaceful and valued collective memory.

V. AFRICA'S SELF-CENTRED AND ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE DIASPORA

- 22. To call** on African states, as well as peoples and communities of African descent, to build a truly self-centred development model based on the priority mobilisation of endogenous resources, the consolidation of a sovereign African financial system, and the increased contribution of domestic and diaspora savings to development financing, in line with the aspirations of Agenda 2063.
- 23. To encourage** concerted and sovereign control of the continent's strategic resources, to accelerate local processing of raw materials, and establish Pan-African tools – a continental resource control mechanism, Pan-African solidarity tax, African rating agencies, African commodity exchange – to support structural transformation, to strengthen Africa's productive autonomy and reduce its external vulnerabilities.
- 24. To promote** the full mobilisation of African and diaspora skills by facilitating the movement of talent, supporting the emergence of African industrial champions, strengthening entrepreneurship and banking services for communities of African descent, and moving towards the creation of a common African currency and a Pan-African Development Bank dedicated to energy, industrialisation and infrastructure.
- 25. To call for** enhanced South-South cooperation, including the establishment of economic, educational, scientific and cultural bridges with countries in the Caribbean, the Americas, the Indian Ocean and Europe where populations of African descent reside, and promote the free movement of people, ideas and economic initiatives

between Africa and its diaspora in order to build a fully integrated Pan-African economic and human space.

VI. CULTURE, IDENTITY AND EDUCATION

- 26. To reaffirm** the urgency of decolonising African education systems by adopting Afrocentric and Pan-Africanist curricula based on African paradigms and epistemologies, so that education once again becomes an instrument of emancipation, intellectual sovereignty and unity.
- 27. To emphasise** the central role of African culture, identity and knowledge in achieving a contemporary Pan-Africanism, calling for the promotion of African languages, endogenous intellectual traditions and artistic expressions that strengthen cohesion, collective self-esteem and the historical continuity of African and Afro-descendant peoples.
- 28. To encourage** African states and nations home to communities of African descent to thoroughly reform their education systems to incorporate African history, Pan-African epistemologies, the values of Maat, Maaya and Ubuntu, as well as the contributions of women, young people and the diaspora, so that education becomes a lever for emancipation, creativity and intellectual sovereignty.
- 29. To call** for the strengthening of educational and cultural cooperation between Africa and its diaspora, including academic mobility, the creation of Pan-African chairs, the development of unified digital archives, the professionalisation of cultural industries and the , and the implementation of initiatives to structure the Pan-African educational landscape, including Pan-African virtual university projects or platforms designed to serve as hubs of knowledge, innovation and intercultural dialogue.

VII. THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ROLE OF WOMEN IN PAN-AFRICANISM AND LIBERATION STRUGGLES

- 30. To pay** tribute to the women of Africa and the diaspora whose struggles have been decisive in the fight against slavery, colonisation, apartheid and all forms of domination, and to emphasise the need to strengthen research, memory and documentation efforts in order to fully restore their contribution to the history of Pan-Africanism and African independence.
- 31. To encourage** greater visibility of female figures in educational programmes, the media, cultural institutions and public spaces, in order to promote their heritage, inspire current and future generations, and consolidate an inclusive Pan-African culture in keeping with historical reality.
- 32. To urge** the full and effective integration of women and young people into political, economic, social and cultural decision-making processes as an indispensable condition for the African Renaissance, and to call on governments, regional institutions and the civil society to promote women's leadership at all levels of governance.

VIII. DECISIONS, FOLLOW-UP, COORDINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF 9TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

- 33. To emphasise** the importance of an inclusive and representative follow-up mechanism, involving the African Union, African States, communities of African descent, and countries engaged in Pan-African dynamics, in order to ensure the continuity, consistency and operationalisation of the recommendations of the 9th Pan-African Congress.
- 34. To entrust** the Togolese Republic, in its capacity as host country and co-organiser of the Congress, with the task of coordinating, in collaboration with the African Union Commission, African States and nations hosting communities of African descent, as well as with institutions representing the diaspora, following-up on the implementation of the commitments and decisions made at the 9th Pan-African Congress.
- 35. To decide** to establish a committee to monitor the implementation of the recommendations and decisions made at the 9th Pan-African Congress.
- 36. To support** the initiative to institutionalise a Pan-African Day in memory of the deportees and victims of slavery and colonisation and to invite African States, the African Union, CARICOM and its member states, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and all other fora and platforms engaging with the African diaspora on the various continents, to undertake consultations as soon as possible to set a specific annual date for the commemoration of the Day.
- 37. To request** the Togolese Republic to refer the matter to the United Nations General Assembly with a view to adopting a resolution on the institutionalisation of an International Day of Reparations and Restitutions.
- 38. To decide** to organise a Pan-African Congress every five (05) years and to establish a permanent office for the Pan-African Congress, the host country and/or institution to be determined after consultations between States and with the various stakeholders.
- 39. To also decide** to officially forward this Declaration to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union for consideration and incorporation into the relevant bodies, mechanisms and processes of the Union, as well as to regional and international partner organisations that are committed to the promotion of Pan-African objectives.
- 40. To invite** African States and nations hosting communities and persons of African descent to domesticate the recommendations of the 9th Pan-African Congress into their national, regional and diplomatic policies.

Done at Lomé, 12 December 2025

THE 9TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS