

THE BLACK AGENDA,UPDATED FROM 1992 IN 2001 BY NAIWU OSAHON

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AGENDA**

By

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The inaugural meeting of the BLACK THINK TANK, now as a concession known as THE THINK TANK OF THE BLACK WORLD (TTB), an on-going department of the Pan African Movement,

took place from 1 - 8 August, 1992, at ASCON, Topo, Badagry, Lagos, Nigeria.

The TTB was attended by Black leaders and intellectuals representing all the regions of the Black world. They examined the issues: “Why are we not benefitting as a people from the

civilization we pioneered and what are we to do to get back on our feet again as one family ? “

THE BLACK AGENDA is the product of their deliberations and it lays down the rules to guide the activities of Black governments, individuals, organisations, communities, family units, institutions from now on.

Instead of setting up congresses, conferences, workshops and gatherings to repeat what the Black Agenda already contains (or to try to re-invent the wheel, so to speak), the Black world is invited to concentrate on implimenting the the Black Agenda because ‘doing time’ has come for us. Some of the resolutions have been achieved already but many more have not been visited at all. There is much still to do before the morning.

The Black Agenda is constantly being updated at the Regional and National conferences of the Pan African Movement.

The word Black is used in the Agenda interchangeably with Pan African and African in conformity with their current usage by the Pan African Movement. Black is considered the simplest most all embracing descriptive word because it accommodates the objections of, for instance, Blacks in the South Pacific region who do not consider themselves Africans.

Black helps overcome the current tendency by African associations or countries to call themselves Pan African simply by forming links across two or so ethnic or national borders. Pan African is the favourite name also for most institutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or as now called (AU), thus creating a need to differentiate between, at least, major AU and PAM institutions.

Pan African is retained when it attracts no controversy or double meaning and

particularly when it provides historical link such as in the Pan African Movement.

PAM's definition of a Pan Africanist is a Black person who, regardless of sex, age, politics, religion or profession, passionately loves the race, demonstrates such love in his or her every day behaviour and actions and is actively involved on an on-going basis in efforts to promote our self-esteem, unity and ascendancy as a family.

The Pan African Movement's creed does not recognize any limitation to legitimate Black aspirations in commerce, religion, politics etc, whether collectively or individually and calls on all Blacks to go out there to conquer, excel and lead the world in whatever field of human endeavours they are involved in.

REPATRIATION AND DUAL CITIZENSHIP

1. Every Black person in the Diaspora has the right of repatriation, the right to return and settle in the homeland, in any African country of their choice. African governments are to reach out to them, set up programs to make their return as comfortable and fruitful as possible, and accord them full opportunity to fulfil their talents and expertise in service to the motherland.

2. Every Black person in the Diaspora has the right of citizenship in any African country of his or her choice. US officials have usually discouraged African-Americans from seeking dual citizenship on the false excuse that African governments are opposed to it. African governments which have not already done so are, as a matter of urgency, to work out the necessary protocols to accord dual citizenship to Blacks from the Diaspora. As Marcus Garvey said, it is "Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad."

3. Every Black person in the Diaspora has a right to enter any African country on the continent without a visa. African governments not already done so, should adjust their laws to accommodate this requirement immediately.

4. The Black Diaspora constitutes a large reservoir of talent and skilled manpower waiting to be tapped and put to use in developing the motherland. African countries are to take advantage of this Black reservoir instead of their usual recourse to Whites, most of whom are not sympathetic to our progress.

5. For their part, Blacks in the Diaspora are to organize a massive "invasion" of the continent by experts of all sorts - teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, technicians, manufacturers, farmers, entrepreneurs, etc. An "invasion" larger and more sophisticated than the Peace Corps, a fresh, revitalized and vastly expanded Operation Crossroads Africa. They should not wait to be invited.

6. The AU to evolve a continental citizenship scheme to guarantee the possession of a Black Passport as both a right and a privilege.

PILGRIMAGES

7. Blacks in the Diaspora are to make annual work and leisure pilgrimages to their encesstral roots, Africa, as a way of establishing strong family ties across the Atlantic and transferring funds, skills and ideas to develop Africa.

ECONOMICS

8. The Lagos Plan of Action to be fully operational within the next five years.

9. The AU to:

(a) Shorten the proposed period of economic integration throughout Africa from between 20 and 35 years to only 10 years.

(b) Establish an elected African Parliament and African Supreme Court without delay.

10. IMF and World Bank policies which have served to disrupt and further impoverish Black societies, are to be scrapped immediately by all Black governments operating them and to be replaced by African (home-grown) economic strategies.

11. All Black governments of the the world are to come together to establish the African World Bank (AWB), and the African Monetary Fund (AMF), to monitor all funds received from reparations, contributions from Black countries and communities. AWE/AWF to set up a Pan-African currency to be used to promote and regulate trade between Blacks world-wide.

12. Existing African banks to establish branches in large African-American communities to enable African-Americans recycle their wealth within their communities and the African continent.

13. To facilitate good sisterly and brotherly relationships among Blacks world-wide, Black governments are to assist Black indigenous companies to take control of the commanding heights of their national economies and expand activities into other Black countries.

14. Black leaders and governments are to stop receiving foreign aids and loans designed for the destruction of African economies through impossible conditionalities.

15. Black governments to seek out and give to African-American and other Black companies those contracts, consultancies and business opportunities which are presently being given to White-owned companies.

16. Blacks from the Diaspora to be patient in their business or other relationships with Africa because facilities and systems in Africa are not generally top class yet and mistakes are not impossible in the learning and adjustment process currently common place all over Africa.

17. The Pan African Movement to produce a Pan-African Development Plan (PADP) to rescue the Black world economically.

18. Blacks to go into manufacturing and distribution of products needed by Africans and to invest in Africa as a priority.

19. Black governments, institutions and organizations to initiate training facilities in research and development, teach and promote self employment as a career, create business models, practices, Afrocentric business links and set up well-informed investment groups.

20. Black individuals, groups and institutions in Europe, North America, the Pacific region and North Africa to protest against biased and discriminatory practices, develop alternative strategies to enhance Black business fortunes, lobby their governments to back bank and credit union projects for Black owned businesses experiencing difficulties raising loans from mainstream financial insitutions.

21. "Buy Black" is the best policy yesterday, today and tomorrow. Black individuals and companies all over the world are to deliberately seek out one another, establish a network of commercial and business contacts, and buy and sell goods and services to one another to develop the economic power of the Black race.

22. Black nations are to repudiate their foreign debts. They are to come together to form a debtors cartel to resist further servicing of their bad and doubtful debts. These debts arose mostly from the collusion between the creditors and our corrupt military

juntas and irresponsible civilian dictators who promptly deposited the stolen monies in the creditors' foreign banks. Why should the masses of Black people who did not benefit from these dubious loans be forced to pay twice?

23. Black communities and people throughout the world to be more assertive and creative in their various lines of business and commerce, to be conducted with integrity and full regard for the principles of ethics, morality, collective responsibility and professionalism.

24. The African Development Bank to be completely re-organized and restructured, in view of the infiltrations, intrusions and machinations of foreign capital and control in its systems, in order to empower interested Black businessmen, both in Africa and the Diaspora, to take their economic destiny in their own hands.

25. Regional Black groups in the Pan-African world, such as the CARICOM, ECOWAS, SADC and ECCAS to attain political integration within the next five years and maximize cooperation with similar blocs all over the Black world.

26. As the African, Caribbean and Pacific world remain unequal and exploited partners in such multi-lateral arrangements as the ACP-EEC conventions, and in view of the evolution of the African Economic Community (AEC), the CARICOM and such bodies, the ACP countries are to gradually withdraw from such lopsided organisations in favour of stronger South-South ties, and the AEC to deal only on equal footing with the EEC.

27. A Black world trade fair to be staged once every five years in rotation around the Black world, or along with the five-yearly Pan-African Congress.

REPARATIONS

28. All Blacks are owed by the colonial powers for colonialism, neocolonialism, slavery and the death of millions of Blacks and the physical and mental anguish suffered in the process.

Since African free labour built the wealth of the developed world, one half of the gross wealth of the colonial powers is to be transferred by them to the Black world in compensation for the general and special damages for the wrongs done to African people.

29. In the USA and the Caribbean, reparation for African descendants is to take the form of monetary payment to individuals who are free to decide to re-locate to Africa with the money. Ten percent of each individual's entitlement is to be put into a United Black Fund (UBF) in the USA, or the Caribbean African Fund (CAF). The UBF and CAF are to be managed each by a board representing the youth, women, professionals, business persons, religious leaders, community leaders, etc, of the Black world. Both Funds are to be disbursed for the promotion of Black trade and development programs.

30. The Pan-African Movement recognizes the efforts and energies of individuals and organisations labouring on the issues of Reparations on behalf of the African people world-wide, and encourages those operating from the USA and other countries in the Diaspora to coordinate their efforts with African nations who are also fighting debt-slavery created by such institutions as the IMF and the World Bank.

31. Black legislators in the USA, Britain and France to recruit White legislators to fight jointly through their parliaments for monetary and other compensations to the Black race. Such reparations to be forced to the top of political agendas, nationally

and internationally.

32. AU to champion the campaign for full Reparations globally through the UN General assembly, the UN Security Council, the World Court and direct negotiations with Arab and Western enslavers and colonizers.

33. Compensation received universally, on behalf of Africa to go into funding aspects of the Black World's Pan-African Development Plan.

34. Black world media to mount continuous publicity and pressure to draw attention, to the Black world's demand for Reparations.

35. The Pan-African Movement to assist all reparations efforts around the world and to design appropriate sanctions to be applied against insensitive White and Arab powers in the form of mass withdrawal of services, as and when necessary, to provoke compliance.

(a) The Pan-African Movement to establish an institution to use and manage investigations

and documentations to create strategies for the execution of reparations to the citizens of Africa and its Diaspora.

(b) The institution to hold legal and actuarial responsibilities for negotiating the quality and

quantity of reparations to be sought from the enslavers and colonizers.

(c) The institution to be managed by experts including in the field of politics, history, finance,

law and administration.

(d) The institution to act in protest against current forms of enslavement in which multinationals profit through the blatant exploitation of the labour of minorities, youths,

women and indigenous people.

HUNGER

36. Black leaders to combat hunger through the elimination of wars and the improvement of farming methods through research in agriculture and appropriate government policies.

37. Rural dwellers are to be educated by government agencies and NGOs to reduce their need to destroy their natural environment in order to feed themselves and supply their basic needs.

38. The Pan African Foundation is to inspire the emergence of indigenous NGO structures throughout Africa and the Diaspora to combat hunger by instigating self-help and other similar schemes.

REFUGEES

40. The refugee is a socially, politically, economically and culturally dislocated and traumatized person. Steps are to be taken by countries of their refuge and the entire Black world to end or minimize the causes of population displacements such as drought, natural disasters and wars usually sponsored, backed or instigated by the industrialized countries.

41. Black governments and people to promptly go to the aid of other Blacks in distress because their widow's mite could make a valuable difference.

DRUGS

42. Major drug-producing countries not fighting the menace of dangerous drugs to be

ostracized, and sanctions imposed against them by the Black world and through the United Nations.

43. Any Black person known to be on drugs to be denied leadership positions at all levels of society.

44. The Pan-African Foundation (PANAF) to encourage Black NGOs to establish drug rehabilitation centres with a strong bias for Pan-Africanist education in Black communities where needed.

CONFLICTS

45. The Pan-African Movement to set up a Conflict Commission to resolve Black conflicts and impose decisions through sanctions.

The Pan-African Movement to recruit, healthy, disciplined, young women and men into the envisaged one million strong Black army. The army is expected to reach its full strength in a couple of years. The purpose of the army is to prevent or stop all wars in Africa and the Black world. Where ever conflict rears its head in the Black world, the Black army (BA) would intervene by any means necessary to restore order and save innocent lives. The BA would, in fact, be a very sophisticated, lethal, crisis prevention, management and termination force.

LIBERATION

46. The Pan-African Movement to collaborate with relevant local groups to achieve independence by any means necessary (including focusing on their plight and assisting financially and physically) in Anguilla, Dutch Antilles, Bermuda, East Timor, French Guyana, Guadeloupe, Guam, Martinique, Moluccas, New Caledonia, Pilao and Yep, Puerto Rico, Saba, St. Maarten, St. Thomas and Caicos Islands, Irian Java and West Papua.

MILITARY

47. As a matter of urgency, all national armies in Africa and the Caribbean are to be abolished forthwith, to be replaced by a continental army (for Africa and a regional army for the Caribbean) committed to the political, economic and social interests of the entire Black world.

48. All civil and religious wars in Africa to stop immediately. All conflicts to be tabled before the AU Arbitration Commission for resolution. The aggressor, or the first to strike, to be condemned by the entire world, isolated and starved of any form of support, including funds, arms supplies and the use of neighbouring country's land and facilities.

49. Black people in the police and the armed forces of the White or Arab dominated countries to henceforth refuse to be sent to fight in any Black community or country whether locally or internationally.

50. The USA and other industrialized nations to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Haiti, Cuba, and Panama, and to cease interfering in their internal affairs and those of other Black states.

ENVIRONMENT

51. Rural Blacks to stop destroying their environment, whether by burning and cutting down trees indiscriminately, or by allowing the industrial world to dispose of toxic waste in their backyards.

52. Rural Blacks are to seek alternative energy sources, for example, the use of kerosene and gas in place of firewood.

53. Black governments are to develop and use alternative sources of energy such as solar energy, gas or the harnessing of ocean power.

BLACK NGOs

54. Community-minded Blacks to come together to form local and international NGOs to introduce and promote simple self-help techniques, ideas and tools to relieve Black rural dwellers of tedious and unnecessary work and hardships in areas such as:

(a) Access to good clean water, electricity and roads.

(b) Provision of simple functional housing programs using local building materials and

conforming to traditional norms and habits.

(c) Construction of post-offices, police posts, school facilities, banks, clinics, markets, portable

telephone systems, and recreation centres.

(d) Education in tree planting rather than indiscriminate tree cutting and the use of alternative

non-ligneous energy sources that are cheap, practical, clean and protective of the environment.

(e) Vigilance against the dumping of toxic waste, and early warning systems against drought

desertification and how to minimize their effect on rural communities.

(f) The setting up of small-scale industries and co-operatives for cassava cultivation and harvest,

honey collection and bottling, fish-farming, cash-crop farming: oranges, cashew trees, pineapples,

etc; animal husbandry: chicken, goats and cows, in semi-intensive farming.

(g) Peculiar arts and crafts workshops with outlets in every Black rural community.

EDUCATION

55. PANAF to set up an international task force of African scholars for the purpose of defining a Pan-African canon of cultural literacy as a framework of curriculum planning at all levels of the educational system in African communities and countries.

56. PANAF to set up an international committee of African writers, literary scholars and educators for the purpose of defining a Pan-African literary canon.

57. PANAF to promote exchange and cooperation among African post-secondary institutions and also academics world-wide. For this purpose, PANAF would take the initial step of preparing a directory of African colleges, technical institutes, universities, teachers and scholars.

58. PANAF to promote exchange and cooperation among African colleges and university students world-wide, through such mechanisms as scholarships at African institutions, exchange programs and organized trips.

59. PANAF to promote the use of specific African languages as languages of instruction at African institutions.

60. PANAF to assist and encourage Black publishers in the development of adapted and affordable textbooks for use by African students.

61. PANAF to encourage greater numbers of African students to specialize in the scientific disciplines through scholarships and preparatory programs.

62. PANAF to create a system of scholarships and fellowships that would enable

African students and academics study and conduct research at Black institutions world-wide.

63. PANAF to encourage Black communities and governments to look into alternatives to traditional post-secondary institutions in order to meet the educational needs of their young people. We are referring to such alternatives as apprenticeship programs, cooperative education, etc.

64. PANAF to set up an international agency of academics, professionals and community leaders to launch an international and multinational Pan-African University in an African country to serve as a pool to excellence to attract African students, teachers and researchers from every part of the world. The Pan-African University to eventually have campuses in various African communities and countries.

65. (a) Early childhood education to begin at age 3 to 4 years old. There should be major emphasis on cultural awareness using a variety of our traditional songs and games to teach and help develop the readiness skills in the areas of numeracy and literacy.

(b) PANAF to collect and distribute such materials world-wide. Where necessary, to provide

translations to facilitate accessibility particularly for children in the metropolitan Diaspora

who are losing out on those home and community based manipulative activities that facilitate early development of fine motor skills.

66. Black educational authorities to work with and set up strike committees or working groups of nurses, teachers, culturally literate others, etc. to establish early intervention programs combining areas of health, cultural values and education to address the needs of teenage mothers. Such parental education programs to provide support during pre-and-post natal periods.

67. Black educational authorities to ensure proper initial training and sensitivity to our needs, and to provide on-going assessment tools to allow corrections as well as transference of ideas to other locations.

68. Black governments, communities and families to push for literacy for all our people and to the highest levels. Place cultural literacy at the centre of the education of our kids. Set up monitoring systems for children, teens of college age, apprentices and professionals working with young people. Put Black educators to work in Diaspora penal institutions and establish parallel educational institutions with Afrocentric focus for the recuperation of our drop-out Diaspora kids.

69. All conference agendas of the Pan-African Movement to involve participation of youths. Local youths to be exposed to all facets of the conferences.

70. Black educational institution, organizations and individuals to support the modernization of the Black Research Agenda, especially by updating its various aspects of traditional research and culture, in such cultural areas as alternative medicine, physiotherapy, orthopaedics, psychology, psycho-analyses and geriatrics/gerontology, so as to promote the people's general well-being and longevity.

71. Every Black child to be compulsorily educated from the age of five right through

the secondary school level. All retrogressive principles, practices and policies derogating from the attainment of this educational objective are to be immediately discarded. Prominent among such retrogressive practices is forced marriage (i.e marriage against the consent of one or both parties), which usually involves marriage of a child under-age, resulting in the disruption and curtailment of the child's education. The victims are mostly girls, and the girls often end up with the horrendous affliction known as VVF - which is the loss of control of the urinary and excretory functions due to the tearing up of the pelvic muscles during difficult childbirth by the physically unripe child-bride.

72. Every Black parent or guardian to ensure the participation of their children in the Pan-African youth leadership program. Rites of passage classes to be introduced throughout the Black Diaspora.

73. The Pan-African Foundation Education Committee to institute a comprehensive leadership training program for all African people.

74. Black governments to stop their indiscriminate closure of educational institutions and instead concentrate on providing such institutions with adequate funding to create the ideal environment for qualitative teaching, learning, scholarship and research.

75. All the regions of the Pan-African Movement to review and reformulate all existing pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary educational curricula from an entirely African and Afrocentric view-point, in order to achieve a balanced development of the personalities of all Black children, and to inculcate in them such virtues as patriotism, courage and selfless service through the institution of "Love Africa" and "Love Black" campaigns.

76. Black communities and families the world over to promote educational and family visitation exchange programs to culminate in the mutual adoption of families, children and young persons by both social institutions and other families.

77. Africa, as a continent and other nations of Black control, have a moral obligation to assist African-American children in combating the social and cultural conditions that are destroying them physically, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually. Black governments to set up educational programs and scholarships in Africa to assist and relocate Black kids with problems from the Diaspora, particularly from the USA.

COMMUNICATIONS

78. Black business people to establish, control or invest in the communications industry as it relates to the publication of books, magazines and newspapers, and the dissemination of general information and its urgent accessibility, so as to ensure the affordability of such materials to the Black people and to enhance their positive image and international credibility.

79. The Pan-African Foundation Telecommunications network to set up an exchange of programs, personnel and ideas among media agencies around the Black world.

80. Black governments and countries to establish telephone, telex, fax and other communication links amongst themselves as a matter of priority.

81. Air, sea and road traffic to be strengthened where available or instituted to facilitate easy communication among the Black states of the world.

82. African governments, institutions and organizations to identify and support

African oriented communications businesses.

83. African entrepreneurs to go into the fabrication of communications tools and soft wares, address the need of Africans and establish local, national and international communications facilities.

84. African school authorities to introduce the importance, role and uses of communications into their curriculums and facilitate computer literacy.

85. African media and community organizations to urgently educate the masses on the role and the wide-ranging applications of modern communications technology and tools.

86. African governments to introduce policies and implement programs to make communications facilities accessible to the general populations.

87. African governments to upgrade communications infrastructure to world standards to facilitate world-wide communications.

88. PANAFA to create a distance education program through the use of multilingual television network and short and long wave radio stations. Also to introduce ham radio training and the provision of sets to facilitate individual communication to remote and not-so remote parts.

89. PANAFA to establish publications and newsletters to provide information sharing of workable ideas. This will facilitate replication of successful projects and transfer of know-how. Pen-pal system to be introduced through the newsletter, internet and radio programs for youths, adults and professionals across the world.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

90. Every Pan African Movement national branch to provide a list of all the science and technology laboratories in their country that can be of benefit to Black people and submit it to the 'Movement' for redistribution around the Black world.

91. Every Pan-African Movement branch to develop a Skills Bank by identifying all persons in science and technology who can be of service to the Pan-African world and to facilitate the sharing of scientific knowledge.

92. Sixty percent of all Black children in higher institutions of learning to major in science subjects.

93. Black entrepreneurs to go into manufacturing as a matter of priority and to borrow and adapt available technology or designs and produce more prototypes suitable for the expansion of Black industrial base and take-off.

94. The notion of waiting or begging for technology to be transferred is to be discarded immediately. The secret of every technology is in the libraries of the world and in the make-up of its product and can be bought, dismantled, studied and reassembled. Self-education and application are the surest and fastest ways to industrial revolution.

95. The Pan-African Foundation to sponsor annual national/regional and international science and technology exhibitions and award prizes to selected innovators and inventors, and to fund leading inventions to produce prototypes leading to mass production and distribution.

96. African governments and purchasers of technology to patronize and support African professionals and entrepreneurs and encourage the sharing of scientific knowledge around the Black world.

97. African entrepreneurs to improve the quality of their products and services to

compete with world's standards.

SELF-ASSERTION AND RACISM

98. All Black people to re-assert and re-affirm their inalienable faith in the principle that, irrespective of age, sex, profession, religion, location and other circumstances and accidents of life, they are naturally endowed and imbued with physical, mental and spiritual attributes and a sense of mission and accomplishment to embark upon every conceivable self-actualizing human endeavor, and to go forth into the world to conquer.

99. Blacks are a great race of people, the original, the first and are therefore born to lead. They taught the world what she knows, and despite all vicissitudes they have survived. They must continue to excel in every competitive endeavor, in sports, knowledge, ideas, technology, culture, spirituality, or commerce because they were the ones created in God's own image and likeness.

100. Pan-Africanism recognizes the evolving process of afrocentricity as the motivating spiritual force that is assisting African-Americans in North America to reconstruct and re-define themselves as an independently emerging group of African people with a unique African identity that should be recognized by all other Black people in the world.

101. It is Black people's inalienable right to defend themselves, their family and their interests, by any means necessary, against all acts of violence, aggression, humiliation, degradation and provocation from whatever source or quarter, especially from the Arabs and Europeans who enslaved, colonized, violated, vandalized and subjected us to the ravages of racism, apartheid and other continued forms of dislocation, oppression and victimization.

102. To attain political, economic and social independence, Black people all over the world to contribute maximally to the struggle against racism in Europe, South Africa, North and South America, North Africa, the Pacific region and everywhere else, as a sine qua non for the total attainment of respect for Pan African rights and freedoms.

103. Apartheid (i.e racism by legislation) to be completely wiped out of the face of the earth in the next five years by any means necessary.

104. Economic, sporting and diplomatic sanctions to continue against South Africa until it operates a one man, one vote constitution. Any reverse in the current political trend towards racial harmony and equality in South Africa, to be immediately answered with the rearming of Blacks and the end to Black-White negotiations.

105. Brazil to be isolated by the Black world. Attention to be focused globally on Brazil's vicious form of racism. Economic, sporting and diplomatic sanctions to be imposed upon Brazil until all races in that country have equal rights.

106. Slavery and marginalization of African's in North African states, from Mauritania to the Sudan, to be focused upon and brought to an end by the Black world at whatever cost in its relationship with the Arab perpetrators of this evil.

107. Arabs latter-day slavery by corrupting and retarding African economies in the name of business, and stealing and transferring to the Arab world, particularly to Afghanistan's cocaine farms and to Lebanon, hundreds of African kids as slave labour bound to a life of torture and servitude must stop immediately, otherwise all Arabs are to be branded as enemies of Africa and expelled from Black countries.

108. Aborigines and Maoris to be fully compensated for the callousness with which

their land has been appropriated by their ruling White regimes. Focus on racism in Australia and New Zealand to be intensified and economic, diplomatic and sporting sanctions imposed on the two governments by African governments.

109. The West and Japan to stop using the South Pacific as their nuclear testing ground and the dustbin of their nuclear waste immediately, otherwise grassroots Black world to take strike action against the interests of the nuclear merchants.

110. Blacks in Europe to work together in teams, form vigilante groups and reply their violence with violence in the light of the new wave of racism currently sweeping through Europe.

111. Racists must be forced to learn that no race of people has a monopoly of violence and that Blacks will not turn the other cheek anymore.

112. For every Black denied entry into Europe, or repatriated, or treated shabbily at European entry ports, the Black country of the victim to retaliate in commensurate measures against two natives of the offending country.

CULTURE

113. Because of the qualitative difference between slavery and indenture, in the course of which slave families which descended from Africa were deliberately and systematically destroyed, losing their languages, culture and other values, while the Indian indentured families retained their culture and identity, a 'Manual of Pan-African Cultural Ceremonies ' is to be produced by PANAF for adoption by Blacks in the Diaspora.

114. All African-American indigenous performing art forms, and those artists who use them for the empowerment of African people are to be recognized as powerful tools for educating all African people about Pan-Africanism and to be promoted and supported by the Pan-African Movement.

115. Rich Black people of the world are to recognize their responsibility to support and endow research in the arts, sciences and technology, as well as to grant aid to other projects designed to promote the Pan-African interest, outlook and heritage.

116. All stolen or confiscated Black artifacts and museum pieces found in other parts of the world to be returned to their original owners through their various governments.

117. Grenada's national records, which were stolen by Washington during the American invasion, to be returned to that country forthwith.

118. Skills in traditional African games, such as 'AYO' or 'WARRI ' and sports like 'NGBA ' (in Nigeria, wrestling) and martial arts like 'LANGA ' (in Nigeria) and 'CAPOEIRA ' (in Brazil), as well as other similar games and sports of the Black world, to be developed, organized, popularized, promoted, sponsored, marketed and taught at different levels for the honour and glory of the Black people and the enhancement of their lucid prowess and ingenuity.

119. The Pan-African Movement to put together a Pan-African sports and games every five years.

120. Black artists, especially the most successful, to recognize that the majority of their immediate communities, for economic reasons, do not have access to them, and therefore to undertake to stage free shows and benefit concerts for them from time to time to enable them to enjoy and be involved in their art or performance.

121. Black artists to recapture the grandeur and greatness of Pan-African traditional

arts (music, literature and the fine arts), developing and modernising them by experimentation and, if necessary, borrowing from external sources.

122. The best artifacts in the world were created by Africans. To perpetuate African leadership role in creativity, governments in Black countries and organizations of the Black world are to ensure the promotion and transmission of these skills from generation to generation.

123. The Black promoters of Pan-African arts (records companies, radio stations, book and magazine publishers and art galleries) to pay particular attention to and promote those art forms inspired by the traditional mode, by using such agencies as the media, festivals, competitions and sponsorships.

124. Every Black child born from now on in any part of the world to bear an African name as a way of rooting into African culture.

125. The Pan-African Movement to mount, at least, one joint cultural festival every ten years. Pan-African festivals in each discipline of the arts i.e the visual and plastic arts, cosmetics and fashion, literature, dance theatre, film, photography etc to be staged every two years in rotation around the Black world to promote African ideals and perspective and to influence the world.

FAMILY

126. All Blacks around the world to return to the extended family tradition of our ancestors.

127. Rites of passage traditions to be introduced in all Black communities of the world through big brother/sister mentor to youths and institutionally to all members of each community.

128. Respect for elders is a strong African tradition that has a stabilizing influence on the African family and home, and it is to be the norm throughout the Black world.

129. The tendency to replace African names, particularly surnames or family names, with Christian or Moslem names is anti-self-esteem, shows gross disrespect for African traditions, and is to be reversed immediately. All foreign surnames or family names are to be reversed to African names. All foreign names too late to change should be spelt with peculiar African literary flare and colouration.

130. The number of children per Black family to be kept to manageable proportions to enable them to be provided for adequately in education and development. Black families cannot do this if they let themselves have more children than they can afford.

131. Blacks all over the world are to begin to make more serious efforts to remain married to their spouses especially if there are children involved. Before a marriage becomes irretrievable, elders in both families are to be invited together to counsel the couple.

If separation is inevitable, partners must continue to carry their full responsibilities financially, physically and spiritually for the upkeep of the family so as to ensure a reasonably balanced development of their children.

132. All Black women are entitled to the opportunity regardless of religion, nationality or other considerations, to develop their skills and apply them to the limit of their abilities.

133. Children are not slaves just because they are weak and helpless. Child abuse in any form whatsoever is to stop and every child must be given the full support and flexibility to be educated formally and informally to the highest levels of

professionalism.

AESTHETICS AND FASHION

134. All Black people to reaffirm that Black is beautiful and a thing of great pride and joy, not to be disparaged, abused or decried in any way or retarded by the use of skin bleaching and hair relaxers of European cosmetics which compromise the radiance of Black beauty. Anything used to violate the Black person's physical being to be banned from the Black world by communities and governments.

135. African fashion is the most beautiful in the whole world, hence a well-dressed African is one who is truly turned out in the latest traditional vogue.

136. All formal attire or professional regalia such as wig and gown, vetments or canonicals, academicals or regimentals, are to be Africanized immediately.

CELEBRATIONS

137. The following list of days and months of every year are of great significance to Black people throughout the world (they are not exhaustive and are constantly being reviewed) and are to be celebrated or observed as public holidays:

(a) February: Black History Month

(b) 25th May; African Liberation Day. This date is to be declared a public holiday throughout the world.

(c) 11th November.: NAKUMBUKA DAY (Kiswahili for "I remember"). The date is to be observed

throughout the Black world to mourn the slavery holocaust and to declare: "Never Again." On

that day, every Black in the world to wear a medallion of the image of a Black in chains with the

words "I remember" surrounding the image. The medallion is being produced by the Pan-

African Movement to be sold around the world.

(d) 26th Dec. is Osiris' birthday and as the symbolic representative of our ancestors, the date is to be

celebrated around the Black world yearly with fasting. The date is to serve as the beginning of

the African New Year Celebration (i.e from the 26 Dec. to the 1st Jan.) called **KWANZA WEEK.**

Details of how to celebrate the week are already available in other documents.

LANGUAGE

138. The universal languages of all Black people are Yoruba and Kiswahili. Others are being modernised. They are to be learned by children with the co-operation of their parents or guardians and to be further developed and promoted for international communications by governments and non-governmental agencies and institutions.

139. Every African country is to adopt, at least, one indigenous lingua franca, and teach it in schools.

140. All Black people to abolish the use, and resist the imposition, implicit or explicit, of all forms of derogatory expressions, remarks, epithets or appellations which refer to Africans or Blacks, such as: "Third World" instead of "South," "Tribe,"

“Palop”(in Portuguese), instead of “ethnic groups” and also to absolutely discourage the use of such descriptive and pejorative words as ” nigger, ” “blackmail,” and “blackleg,” which should best be reversed, both in form and meaning, until they are completely expunged from international lexicography.

141. Every African street, road, lane or institution bearing unearned foreign names to be Africanized immediately.

142. At congresses, meetings and gatherings of the Pan-African Movement, participants are to relate to each other and refer in broad terms to one another as brothers and sisters.

HONORIFIC TITLES

143. Any Black person who, in fighting to defend, protect, unite or inspire his or her people, displays exceptional courage in confrontation with imperialist and racist forces, is to be accorded the title HERO of the people.

HALL OF FAME

144. The Pan-African Movement to establish the Black Achievement Awards in all fields of human endeavor to reward excellence in the Black world.

PAM FLAG

145. The flag of the Pan-African Movement is the Red, Black and Green as used by the Marcus Garvey Universal Negro Improvement Association.

RASTEFARIANISM

146. All Black people to counter any attack on the Rastafarians and their identity, as they are ambassadors of Pan-African culture and purveyors culturally and spiritually of its ideals. If there is anything they do that offends the tenets of the Black Agenda, they are to begin to clean up their acts immediately and occupy a leading role in our cultural offensive.

147. We salute the courage of the Maroons for holding their ground until now and invite all Black countries with Maroon settlements to assist them to be commercially, socially and spiritually viable as distinct communities representing a brilliant legacy.

RELIGION

148. As the Cradle of humankind and the epicentre and custodian of deep spirituality, Africa and Africans are to lead, as a matter of right and responsibility, in all the various religions to which they belong.

149. Black people all over the world to support the trend to re-Africanize all existing religions, resist all manner of religious domination and intolerance, and rediscover and respect the tenets of traditional African religions in their various manifestations.

150. The Pan-African Movement to evolve a spiritual dimension to Pan-Africanism incorporating a body of ideas, cutting across and welding together all the religions of Black people and instituting common leadership training programs, celebrations and ethos of co-operation and oneness among Blacks.

151. Every Black family and community, regardless of divergences in religious beliefs and practices, to celebrate KWANZA uninterrupted from December 26th of one year to January 1st of the next, to promote and extol spiritual unity, inculcate faith in self-determination, responsibility, collectivity and co-operation in work, and inspire purposeful creativity.

152. All marriages, naming ceremonies, house-warming, burial and similar ceremonies and celebrations to include a Pan-African ritual of pouring libation and

incantatory prayers invoking the ancestors.

153. All Black states to adopt the Pan-African spiritual canon as embodied in 'THE CRADLE FAMILY.'

POLITICS

154. Military regimes and dictatorships being an anachronism and an aberration, are outlawed outright in all Black countries for not being accountable to the people they claim to represent. From now on, all coups are to be stoutly resisted by mass uprisings and popular insurrections to counter such undemocratic interventions.

155. All Black dictators and Life Presidents to hand over power to multi-party democracies or be ostracized and taunted out of office by the Black world.

156. The Pan-African Movement to compile comprehensive annual reports on performance of Black leaders. Those found to be corrupt, inefficient, ineffective or to have violated basic human rights or rigged their elections, to be humiliated out of office.

157. Countries of the Pan-African world to withdraw unconditionally, as a matter of urgency, from the Commonwealth, the Conference of French and African Heads of State, the Conference of Francophone Countries, The organisation of Islamic Countries, the Arab League, and other such bodies which are anachronistic vestiges of imperialism and colonialism.

158. The Pan-African Movement to devise appropriate and effective programs of political leadership to groom potential leaders in Black countries and communities.

159. The Congressional Black Caucus in America, the NAACP, the SCLC and other such organizations to adopt a new political agenda and strategy based on an understanding of Blacks as an exploited and traumatized minority in the USA, and to admit that racism is the root of the monstrous system in which they themselves operate, and therefore to apply all their energies towards the democratization of property and economic rights for all Black people.

160. The Congressional Black Caucus, to seize immediately the initiative based on the Pan-African Agenda, of raising the political consciousness of the entire Black people, formulating appropriate educational strategies for the evolution of qualitative Black leadership, and sponsoring candidates for electoral office.

161. The Congressional Black Caucus and all the Black people of America to work together as one political family to produce the first Black president of the USA by the year 2000 or soon thereafter.

162. All Black governments of the world to support and strengthen the former Non-Aligned Movement, the South-South Commission and the G-15, to make them more effective in projecting and protecting Pan-African interests in the world.

163. All Black delegates to the UN to caucus on all issues and matters arising, determine a Pan-African position, and vote en-bloc accordingly.

164. The UN system to be further democratized; particularly, the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council which is to be scrapped .

165. The permanent membership of the UN Security Council to be expanded in the meantime to include Nigeria. African nations to insist on producing the first Black and African Secretary General of the UN immediately.

166. The United Nations, having been established for peace and peace-keeping operations throughout the world is to limit itself to this role and also to the arbitration

of conflicts. The UN to be positively neutral and not support or be a party to any aggression against any nation.

167. The OAU (AU now) to establish special membership status for Blacks in the USA and Brazil, (or at least bring their plight to the forefront of international politics), being so grossly marginalized, without governments of their own or representation on any international organization of nations to articulate and protect their interests.

168. Blacks in the US, Canada, Britain, France, Brazil, Arab dominated African countries, Australia and New Zealand and other White or Arab dominated countries are to seize the initiative immediately to control their communities through such institutions as schools, the Police force, the communications media, community development programs, churches, mosques and industrial projects.

Members of the Think Tank of the Black World (TTB) who first put the Black Agenda together in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1992, under the auspices of the Pan-African Movement were: Naiwu Osahon, Chairman; Charles C. Roach, Deputy Chair; Catherene Acholonu, Nigeria; Denese Bradford, USA; Duane Bradford, USA; Tom Dalgety, Guyana; Viola Davis, Barbados; C. M. Eya-Nchama, Equatorial Guinea; Diane Forte, USA; Malinali Meza Herrera, Mexico; Onwuchekwa Jemie, Nigeria; Owei Lakemfa, Nigeria; Olusegun Maiyegun, Nigeria; Rudy Mattai, USA; Lonja Mulegwa-Migabo, Zaire; T.C. Nwosu, Nigeria; Osagie Obayuwana, Nigeria; Yinka Ogunsulire, Nigeria; Yeye Akilimali Funua Olade, USA; Gbenga Sonuga, Nigeria; Andre Franco de Sousa, Angola; Amelia Ventura, Mozambique/Australia; Johnny Washington, USA who sat through meetings without making contributions. Two members who could not get to the venue of the TTB were: Joycelene Loncke, Guyana and G. Mawa-Kiese Mawawa, Congo. Logistic support team members included: Maria Adebisi; Wale Adeyemi; Yetunde Akerele; Marion Amanambu; Ngozi Amushie; Segun Esuruoso; Alex Iheanachor; Majisola Matti; Mr. and Mrs. Obi; David Odeghe; Alaba Oruwari; Ivy Oruwari. The Black Agenda was first comprehensively reviewed at the first ever Canadian Pan-African Conference chaired by Naiwu Osahon and held at the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada from 24 - 27, June, 1993, conveyed by the Deputy Chairman of the Pan African Movement, Charles C. Roach.

The Black Agenda is to be freely published, photocopied and distributed to all Black individuals, organisations, groups, institutions and governments world-wide. Do not break the Black world's mobilisation chain. Every recipient of this Agenda must immediately make, several copies to pass on to other Blacks. Every Black must begin to act on this Agenda right away.

- Naiwu Osahon, Chair,

The Pan-African Movement World-wide.

A brief description of the project goals and planned activities;
Information about the applicant organization and project partners;
An estimated overall budget and timeframe of the project.