

Looking back at 7th PAC: Reviews by participants

- 1: “A huge Jamboree”, by Kwesi Prah, Ghana
- 2: “Tanzanian Youths’ Perspective on the 7th PAC”, by Nsajigwa Isubha-Gwamaka, spokesman for Sisi Kwa Sisi, Mbeya, Tanzania.
3. “The Youth at 7th PAC: a mother’s report”, by Luzette King, UK
4. “Organizational lessons from the 7th PAC”, by Yvonne King, USA

1. A huge jamboree

by Kwesi Prah, Ghana.

It turned out to be a huge jamboree of “Pan-African church men and women” coming to a shrine to swear allegiance to a faith they vaguely adhere to (and unfortunately, for too many, in a millenarian fashion) without care for what they socially and substantially uphold. There were some very “spiritually” ecstatic moments but, unfortunately, these emotional lifts were not underscored in any historical sense by intellectual ballast. We had a great deal of “fine speeches”, name-dropping and stage management. There was an inability to advance the course of the emancipation of people of African descent in any sensible or theoretically enlightening way. This was largely because, from a very early and preparatory stage, the whole project -- or if you like jamboree -- was hijacked by elements and minds which were more concerned with the dramatics of seeing the “7th Pan-African Congress” than with midwifing a qualitative development in the intellectual underpinnings of the struggle for the emancipation of people of African descent. I hope the next chapter of this process delivers more gold. We cannot go back to that sort of “nigger heaven” and political posturing.

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2. Tanzanian Youth’s Perspective on the 7th PAC

by Nsajigwa Isubha-Gwamaka, spokesman for Sisi Kwa Sisi, Mbeya, Tanzania.

SISI KWA SISI youth perspective of the 7th PAC.

Well Mzee, If you go through our constitution, you perceive our (SISI KWA SISI) outlook, for the same was written in part against the background of the 7th PAC. But again, I will meet your request by writing some more of our perspectives, after having discussed with my other SISI KWA SISI brothers living in the city (Dar-es-Salaam) where I happen to be right now. So I decided to discuss with my SISI KWA SISI brothers here so as to meet your condition of having the memories fresh in the mind... though I thought that through collective flashing back it would be easier for us all to recall those events than for me alone. Because we of SISI KWA SISI were also involved in preparing for the mini-congress here-TZ- for the 7th PAC...I will start from that one.

The (SISI KWA SISI) perspective of the mini-congress-TZ for the 7th PAC:

(1) There was a total disregard for the Naiwu Osahon's Black agenda principle that... No non-Black individuals, organisations, agencies etc. should be involved in organizing, mobilizing and popularizing the 7th PAC. In Tanzania, the national committee for the 7th PAC invited even non-Blacks to... attend the seminar. They asked them to donate charity money towards making the 7th PAC a success.

In fact they went begging for money from many prominent Asian businessmen as from European and Arab ambassadors, from UN agencies, European/white NGOs etc. These people were also invited to the seminar: Americans, Scandinavians, Arabs, Koreans etc. . . . Thus the Black Agenda principle was totally compromised and contradicted. In fact one of the people who formed the 7th PAC steering committee of TZ was not a Blackman but a Palestinian "Marxist intellectual" and lawyer by the name of KARIM ESSACK. It is unfortunate that this very non-black was the busiest, (seemingly) the most "concerned" and most likely the architect and sole steering force for the 7th PAC mobilization and popularization in Tanzania.

He seemed to be the only one...(together with me later on) doing the work for Pan-Afrikan revivalism FULL time. Karim Essack is a close friend of Mzee A.M. Babu. They are all Marxists, thus they're from the integrationist branch of the Pan-Afrikanism, as a matter of fact it was this non-Black mzee who made it financially possible for about six to eight youths to attend the congress.

(2) The Tanzanian National Preparatory Committee for the 7th PAC did very little to mobilize people especially the youth (even within Dar-es-Salaam itself). This is directly from the fact that Mzee Karim Essack was the only one working full time. Thus very few people were aware of the congress. I traveled all the way from Mbeya to Kampala and then came back to DSM to inform others who were right here in DSM who knew nothing about the congress. Only the journalists knew about it and it happened that most of those who formed the 7th PAC ad hoc committee of TZ were journalists. None was a youth.

I personally took the task of popularizing and mobilizing for the same in DSM city and then in Mbeya region. There, I visited many secondary schools with a Pan-Afrikan message. We used the Black agenda to spread the news. The response was most positive. Thus very few people indeed attended the mobilizing classes in Mbeya. Very few youths in DSM attended that congress. It was in fact a great pity, almost a shame. There were many unoccupied seats. Therefore youth representation in particular, like all other people's representation in general, was shamefully poor. As there were very few folks from the other (non-university) walks of life, the intellectuals: I mean university intellectuals and lecturers dominated the mini-congress.

(3) English medium of communication in a country where Kiswahili is the language of everyone except foreigners, the explanation for this is obvious...English was preferred so that those foreign (European and Arabic)"friends of ours" could understand what we **/2/** were discussing, even at the expense of our own fellow Black people. In TZ, the majority of our Black people can't speak or understand the English language unlike, for example, in Kenya.

(4) The mini-congress did not take a stance on the basic definition of who is an Afrikan; who is the one to be "Pan"-Afrikanizing. During this seminar, historical foes of the Black race, apart from Europeans, (Arabs, Persians, Lebanese, etc.) were never attacked or condemned. In fact, the Europeans who were attacked were those of the IMF, World

Bank, Euro-American "capitalism" and it was done very much from a class rather than a race perspective.

(5) The Tanzanian government, through its ruling party (CCM) became involved in preparing for the 7th PAC. In fact during the last stage they provided the mini-bus with which we traveled all the way to Kampala. Again this was in breach of the Black agenda that was against any Afrikan government involvement to avoid "politicizing" the matter or "high-jacking" the movement for their own "power interests"....

(6) Presence of many and almost all European NGOs and/ or their extensions during the seminar and in contrast, the lack of Black NGOs. Those were our SISI KWA SISI observations. We then boarded a bus, going to Kampala with these things in mind, to learn what would be there. From Kampala itself we drew the following lessons:

Observations on the Kampala 7th PAC itself

1] Who is an Afrikan?

The 7th PAC Congress failed to clarify who is (or for that matter was...) an Afrikan. This issue was brushed aside and ignored despite the knowledge that there were two factions: that of Kampala and the other one of Nigeria. Decisive difference between them being their very different definitions of an Afrikan. Instead, a personal definition of an Afrikan was provided by the 7th PAC patron--President Museveni. His definition was an integrationist one. He included the Arabs and even the Boers. Could you imagine that! I personally was very shocked by such an inclusion. I remember I did not sleep well that night. How on earth could we say and accept that Boers are Afrikans too? Are they not whites and Europeans, alien Aryans who happen to live in Afrika? Any way President Museveni's definition was also controversial. It needed more debate, more reasoning. But there was no time made out for that. It could have been that the international preparatory committee--most of whom are socialist, Marxist and communist "universalists"-- had "advised" or influenced President Museveni to give out such an integrationist almost miscegenationistic, universalist, and colour-blind definition of an Afrikan. And so President Museveni gave us an integrationist definition of who was an Afrikan with no objection from participants.

[2] Excessive openness

The invitation "come one, come all" was also integrationist. Thus even the historical enemies of the Black race whose historical genocidal behavior and treatment of the Black race catalyzed the growth and emergence of Pan-Afrikanist concept, theory and philosophy were invited and were present in full force --some just listening attentively and others participating fully, like those Arabs from Khaddafi's Libya. Actually Khaddafi himself was to participate as the chief guest of honor (on equal footing with no one but Museveni only) through a speech by satellite, but the satellite jammed. We of SISI KWA SISI feel that the invitation could have been "come one, come all BLACKS". That could have encouraged any member of the "melanin-high race" to attend while discouraging any non-Black members. That is, any Blackman whether Marxist, Black Communist, Black universalist, Black Jacobanite, Black Muslim, Black Christian, Black Atheist, Black Pagan (the correct term being Black traditionalist), Black Nationalist and Black anything could have been invited to the congress to discuss our common black problems and produce a Black agenda to guide our Black destiny in this race-conscious world in which we of the Black race have historically suffered the worst at the hands of all white people--whether Europeans or Arabs. The slogan "Come one, come all" could have

articulated our Blacks-only intergrationism-intergration within the race (Ultra-gration)- which should be foremost on our agenda. We should not be pushing for, **[3]** especially miscegenationistic values where our Afrikan culture, values and being have always been undermined.

I don't have any objection say for Blacks even integrating so-called multi-nationals (which in actual facts are Euro-multi-nationals) like the UN and all its agencies, the so-called South-Southism organization, non-aligned movement etc. I have no objection to that. I only object strongly and vehemently to the idea of wanting (almost seemingly forcing) us Blacks to integrate with whites in Pan-Afrikanism. Why? Simple: this was born as a reaction to the oppression, suppression, exploitation and humiliation of Black people by the whites. It started as an "all Blacks only" movement to counteract racism (white racism) against Blacks. It started as our Black self-definition and self-determination against our historical bitter enemies and oppressors; the whites, all whites as a group (race) of people.

Thus Pan-Afrikanism started as a body for blacks only. Just as there are numerous bodies for whites only (excluding us Blacks) there are bodies for Europeans only... Asians only... Arabs only... Japanese, Chinese... Indo Asians only etc. It started as a "Negro" only body... and don't tell me that Negro was inclusive of Arabs and European Marxists and Liberals. Yes, Black Marxists could mix with their non-Black ideological counterparts in Marxism-communism. I don't object to that too. Yes. Black universalists could mix with Asians in Theosophy and I don't object to that either. But for God's sake Blacks should never and ought never to mix with non-Blacks in Pan-Afrikanism. The integration of Blacks and whites in Pan-Afrikanism makes the latter lose its meaning and purpose of existing in the very first place. This is decisive, and so, let it be so understood.

[3] Rushed and hectic

There was limited time for most things. One felt that in order that the congress could meet its proposed schedule and programme, a lot of things were done hastily almost in a "fire fighting" commandist fashion. It became obvious that finishing up everything by 8th of April was more important than the debate and all the questions that emerge therefrom. The 7th PACongress was most hectic, as if we were in an examination room finishing up before or on time pupils/students. Anyway, I think too deadline conscious. Yet there were a lot of things to talk about, reason about and strategize about. There were many important and sensitive questions that went unanswered. Many more critical questions could have emerged but again time seemed to be too short.

Marcus Garvey's UNIA convened thousands more people, fifteen times those 1,500 individuals who attended Kampala, and had its convention from 1st to 31st August; and that was 1920! Why should the Black World fail to match that 70 years after? And yet, we have apparently made historical progress through winning political sovereignty, civil rights and even some of our human rights!

[4] Bad scheduling

The arrangement of having various workshops taking place at the same time limited people's participation and contribution in other equally important areas of their interests. For example, I particularly wanted to participate in the workshop on Reparation and the workshop on Education and Culture, but at the same time I was to be a "resource person" at the workshop on "the Youth and the future of Pan-Afrikanism" so I missed the above

ones. By the time I managed to attend the workshop on Reparation I found that they had just concluded and were packing to leave. This had the effect of limiting very much the delegates' participation and contribution in other areas.

[5] Marginalization of the youth's participation.

Also as a result of limited time, many youths were not allowed to speak during the question and answer phase despite our constant hand-raising. This frustrated the youth including me. It is also worthy to note that while Tanzanian youth were included in the congress itself, we became side-stepped. We had to fight-back strongly to retain that arrangement, that is, to have our chance to speak. It seemed that those allowed to speak during the response from the floor were prominents; the well-knowns; the already established; the famous, the "over dogs" and not the under-dogs, the unknowns, most of these being the youths. Truly we were marginalized. This is not mere sentiment. Many of us were frustrated by that favouritism against us. But what is easily forgotten here is that throughout its history, the Pan-Afrikanist vision has been spearheaded by the same. The pre-1945 Pan Afrikan Congresses were almost Black Youth congresses. So was the 1945 one. Without falling back to its youth to give it strength, Pan-Afrikanism loses vigour and potency just as without the Black colour (race question) it loses its meaning and reason for being. The **[4]** great Honourable Garvey had expectations for the trust of the youth. So was militant martyr Omowale Malcolm X who maintained that "our accents will be to the youth". So was Dr. Chancellor Williams' research covering 6000 years of our Black history (please refer to his powerful book **The Destruction of Black Civilization-Race Issue from 4000 BC to 2000 AD**). It led him to propose a master-plan for the race survival and salvation in which he put the whole historical challenges to the youth who should be the ones to start such a great race movement for our Black renaissance. So Wazee, you have to trust us, the youth, and give us (or rather accept us onto) higher responsibilities for we are the ones who have the energy necessary for spearheading the cause right now.

[6] The 7th PAC's failure to breakaway from the "talented 10th" -- the academic, the scholar intellectuals, the professors the Ph.D.s.

This was an obvious side result of marginalizing the youth and wanting to meet the deadline. Thus despite the promise that the 7th PAC would be All-inclusive, the same PhDs and prominent persons, thus the elderly, dominated the congress as main speakers from the establishment side of Pan-Afrikanism. This explains why we got the same 'anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism' analysis, the same pro-Third Worldism, "South-Southism, non-Alignmentalism", and the newly established (by Khaddafi) International Popular Front. The latter body has actually gone to the extent (so soon after its birth) of regarding Pan-Afrikanist congress and movement as its subset despite Pan-Afrikanism's existence many years before the former! So in most cases, we got the same Marxist-oriented "analysis" and "objectivity". We were left out and thirsty for the emotive aspect of Pan-Afrikanism. Why have most of our intellectuals, scholars, professors and doctors (PhDs) fallen into the whiteman's trap of objectivity and "universalism"? Thus our learned personnel (mis-learned?) have been hiding their emotional feelings a part of themselves? Thus of all the analysis we got, only one PhD gave us the thinking aspect of our black problems with its rightful emotive side. That one happened to be yourself, Chinweizu only. Of course this your "telling it like it is" analysis was "unpopular", even regarded as "controversial" but was to the point. Thank you for choosing to be emotive (thus non-objective and non-universalistic) professor.

[7] Iconical reverence of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah alone:

During the congress, we observed that wherever there were posters about Pan-Afrikanism, there was the photograph of Nkrumah. Now, we of SISI KWA SISI do not object to that. But why him alone? Surely there are other equally great Pan-Afrikanist figures that needed to be remembered iconically together with Kwame Nkrumah. The list is long like Marcus Garvey (Nkrumah's own mentor), Patrice Lumumba, Malcolm X, Sobukwe, Steve Biko, A. Cabral, Samora Machel, Du Bois, Sarah Mugabe, Muthoni, Kimbaveta, Angela Davis, Mzee A.A.Karume, Cheick Anta Diop, Mzee Yousef Ben Jochanan and so on. I believe that those who had arranged the Kampala congress were mostly integrationist Marxist Socialists, and they preferred that particular icon only because Nkrumah ended up his intellectual journey by embracing Marxism-Leninism. Thus the Nkrumah icon was to show us the younger generation that his Marxism socialism is the only way forward for Afrika. Am I not to realize that because my Osagyefo had set an example (mis-example) of miscegenation of Blacks and Arabs through his own personal marriage to equally Aryan Arabic daughter--Fathia, such an icon was being used to enforce the concept of Blacks and Arabs natural and historical alliances of which the new Libyan/ Khaddafi formed I.P.F. is striving to reap the fruits of? But then, why Nkrumah alone as an icon? Is it to show us of the younger generation that in Pan-Afrikanism, race is no longer the issue, or if, then a minor-secondary one, the main issue is class ideology?

[8] **The Arabs**

Have Arabs, through Islamism now become our historical allies and not historical enemies any longer? Through experience with militant Pan-Afrikanist Blacks from UK in particular and also from USA, we of SISI KWA SISI came to learn from some of our militant diasporan brothers and sisters (from the reaction of the speech we delivered, as well as during various discussions) that whenever we pointed the evil of the white/5/ Europeans particularly the Anglo Saxons, these our diasporan kith and kin were in full agreement but surprisingly when we extended the same analysis to include the Arabs our diasporan kith and kin would either experience a shock or become stupefied and traumatized. We of SISI KWA SISI came to learn later that it was because most of these militants from the diaspora were moslem converts: that means that they share that religion and belief with the Arabs, and that way religious alliance has them to perceive the Arabs as being friendly to them. They are no longer our Black historical bitter enemies, no longer the foes; that between the two white devils (the Europeans and the Arabs) the latter are less evil if not the devil at all. Our militant diasporan brothers and sisters have become so "anti-European", so "anti-Christian", so "anti-Capitalist" that they had to jump out of the Eurocentric frying pan but only to fall into the Arabic fire. Thus most of them would argue that only Europeans are our main and major race problem; that the Arabs are not a problem any longer but actually our natural allies against the West, against capitalism, imperialism, Anglo Saxonism. So there are some otherwise "militant" pro-Black brothers and sisters who think that between our historically bitter and deadly enemies--the Europeans and the Arabs--the former are more fatal than the latter. And so we should join forces with the Arabs to fight the Europeans. It is like choosing between the mosquito and the housefly. Which of these two small insects is more dangerous to mankind? Mosquito causes malaria but does that mean that the housefly's side effects could be ignored by mankind? No! And even so do you fight mosquitoes and malaria by siding with the houseflies? The answer is still no. So why fight one devil by aligning with the other who is equally our historical enemy? Only total confusion could result from this phenomenon. The same attitude by our diasporan kith and kin means that we are now reaping the fruits of 1960s to 1970s concept of "Third Worldism", the myth was

promoted by Black progressive protest and militant organisations like the Black Panther Party. About people of colour joining forces against a common enemy-- the white European system in general and bourgeoisie capitalists in particular. This idea has spread into young Pan-Afrikanists especially those of the diaspora.

[9] Eurocentric mannerism at the Pan-African congress.

Europe won the day in mannerism, dress fashion, beauty parameters (hair curling and straightening) and values. Any way Pan-African vision has so far failed to develop its ethics, values, style and fashion for its members to embrace. Thus there is no Pan-Afrikan identity. No Pan-Afrikan mufti, no Pan-Afrikan culture, no Pan-Afrikan way of life. Consider this fact: we start the session every day without even Pan-Afrikan prayers for our Pan-Afrikan ancestors. Thus Pan-Afrikanism is so far seemingly an ideological but cultureless vision. It needs to develop its authentic Afrikan, pro-Black values, styles and a way of life, which is Afrocentric. Pan-Afrikanism needs to be Afrocentric and project its value to the level of an individual along the street, so let it be.

[10] Lack of the cultural dimensions of Pan-Afrikanism at the congress.

Similarly, we missed the cultural festival part of Pan-Africanism. Only lectures and speeches dominated the Congress. There were even no poetry readings. Yet this cultural aspect is very important for expressing and developing ourselves as a race. Culture, we should not forget, is (among other things) a people's dramatization, through symbolism, of their collective social aspirations. Cultural dramatization makes a psychological impact on its observers and participants in a way that speeches and lectures alone cannot. We should not adopt the Marxist, Eurocentric fallacy that culture is not important for our liberation; that ideology has to come first. This is especially important for the young and emerging Pan-Africanists.

[11] Non-Anglophone participation

Few participants attended (so it seems) from non-English speaking, non-Anglophone Afrikan countries. Francophone and Portuguese speaking countries were poorly represented. Why so? Is Pan-Afrikanism only a black Anglophone affair?

(12) Drinking party that caused some youth to become too drunk and undisciplined.

While it was good of the president, as PAC patron, to provide free for all drinking and entertaining party after the hard debating work, the drinking proved to be a problem. Some youths, being exposed to free beers, drank too much and became drunk--this manifested itself during the get-together, familiarization and socialization for youths only. There, indiscipline was obvious and led to chaos. There was no order and most of the young PAC-Afrikanists became frustrated and left the meeting. The few remaining ones started again [and] proceeded successfully! Actually we came to realise that most of those **/6/** who had left were those who were too drunk and actually became a problem to the deliberations. And ("telling it like it is") most of those who were too drunk and out of control happened to be the young Pan-Afrikanists from the host country--Uganda. This whole experience was very discouraging, a shame, but those of us who remained (the hard core) turned it into something constructive, something worthwhile, after all "Black Consciousness" is all about making the best out of the bad or even the worst Black Condition; creating hope where there is none; creating sanity where there is insanity; creating sobriety where there is drunkenness; creating direction where there is disillusionment. And so it came to pass.

[13] Diaspora offers of help

Afrikans from the diaspora's (USA and UK) promise of help and assistance to us Afrikans in the continent. During the sessions, the Afro-Americans and Afrikans from the UK time and again kept giving us promises of help in so many different ways: technologically, financially, resource wise and so on. Time will tell. It is to be seen if they really are WILLING and able when put to the first test.

[14] Young white blondes

And lastly, the presence of young White blondes amidst us, especially those who came with the young Black males, was damaging. It gave the impression that integrationism was all right in the sight of Pan-Africanism; that color was not an issue at all; that Pan-Africanism keeps an open door for Whites who are liberal enough to be sympathetic or empathetic to us of the Black race. Obviously, their very presence must have had a psychological effect of attracting the black young Pan-Afrikan minds to them and in that way misdirecting, misorienting and ultimately confusing them. . . . The presence of those white blondes amidst young black Pan-Afrikanists, particularly those young still intellectually evolving Pan-Afrikanists who still haven't known Garvey (yet) or those still not "Garveyite" enough; those young Black Pan-Afrikanist oriented minds who still don't know separatism, Afrikan fundamentalism, in the lines the great Marcus Garvey, Mzee Yosef Ben Jochanan (Dr Ben), Mzee John Henrick Clarke, The Diopian "Dr, J", Bantu Steve Biko, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Chinweizu, Carlos Moore, Dr. Asante, Maulana Karenga, Haki Madhubuti, Obata Shaka, Jitu Weusi, Chief Nangoli, Dr Barbara Dean Williams Jackson (Queen Hatshepsut Nzingha), Queen Mother Moore, Dada Shawna Maglanbayan and Dr. Chancellor Williams, for those who have not yet come across or studied his book **The Destruction of Black Civilisation**, the presence of those young blondes was dangerous, damaging, deviating and diverting. It was giving the impression that integrationism was all right in vision of Pan-Afrikanism; that colour was not an issue at all; that the problem is "the system" but not (never) racism; that more than race, class was the main issue. Obviously, some young one (Black male) might have been confused by those white blonde trap. Obviously, some may have made amity with one of those young European blondes. Someone might even have gotten a white blonde blue-eyed, European, aryan girl friend in the spirit of Pan-Afrikanism. Imagine that extreme misorientation! Surely someone, some potentially best Black young mind, will end up being another Fanonite why? Because of the 7th PAC young European white trap someone has already been affected (for good?) towards universalism, if not miscegenationism. The presence of those blondes was detrimental to the Black autonomy; truly so.

Now, having observed and analysed that, we (of SISI KWA SISI) recommend the following:

General Recommendations

(1) The need to define who is an Afrikan. There should be a one-day long debate and workshop solely on this subject in any Pan Afrikan congress following this one. We suggest that brother Naiwu Osabon's PAM should make this arrangement possible. This definition should not be a product of one man's view point. The final definition must be a product of consensus agreement by all the participants, even through popular voting if need be. The definition of who is an Afrikan is very important matter in Pan-Afrikanism.

(2) Five days was too short a period of time for the congress. Marcus Garvey's UNIA convened thousands more people, 15 times those 1,500 individuals who attended Kampala, and had his convention from 1st to the 31st of August; and that was 1920! **171** Why should the Black world fail to match him 70 years after during which we have apparently made historical progress through winning black political sovereignty, our civil rights and even some of our human rights. Why brother Naiwu Osahon's plan of 15 days is fair. If he could get all the Black world's support to extend the same that would be better for us.

(3) Youths' full participation should never be ignored. Youths' full participation, hand in hand with elders and veterans and women's full participation in a complimentary (not a competitive nor even supplementitive) basis is highly needed. The Pan-Afrikan vision needs the energy and vitality of the new blood-- the youth (male and female and brothers and sisters and boys and girls and men and women) as well as the experience and wisdom of the elders and veterans.

(4) Pan-Afrikanism should as of now, break away from its tradition of the "talented 10th -ism", the Dubois elitist Blacks approach and become an all Blacks-only mass movement in the line of Marcus M. Garvey's UNIA.

(5) The need to eliminate disunity, distrust and disloyalty among ourselves and strive hard to create in its stead, collective supportive teamwork style of organizing ourselves. Between the veterans and young emerging potential leadership, let there be a coach-to-players kind of relationship. The coach advises, teaches, warns, corrects and shows the way, but ultimately it is the players' final business to play the right way in their own personal styles. So, should the team win, both sides become happy and successful. However, I object to such a relationship being on religious path; that is deifying someone as divine, inhuman, infallible as Malcom X did his mentor. **No one man has the solution to the multitude of problems that confront us as a race of people.** Yet I will canonize my race's great ones in a spiritual line but not religious way. So, the veterans should take up their positions and lead from behind, leading by advising while leaving the new Pan-Afrikanists led by [. . .?]. A.M.Babu should have joined forces in supporting younger Naiwu Osahon, instead of organizing a splinter group parallel to in competition with that of Osahon, and in that way splitting the Black world and frustrating the "emerging Garvey of our times".

(6) The need to discuss clearly and openly our Black relationship with the Arabs. Are they now our allies? Why? Are they no longer a problem to us? Before all are they now Afrikans too? Where does Islamism end and Arabism begin? Should the reparation demand include them not? Why? Why are the Arabs seemingly opposed to our forming a Blacks-only organisation whereas they have their Arab League? Has religionism and theocratic universalism through Islamism and Christianity too, become a divisive factor for Blacks in Pan-Afrikanism?

(7) The need to have an equally open discussion between Black Separatist nationalists and the Black universalists and integrationist Marxist-socialists. The dialogue between these two camps is necessary. Why is it that the Black Marxists always fight so hard to insist that their white friends and allies, comrades, counterparts or partners should attend the Pan-Afrikan Congress by all means necessary? Why? Do they think that we Black nationalists do not have some white people whom we have equally befriended but whom

we would not accommodate in our Pan-Afrikanism, it being a Blacks-only affair? Why has ideology become a divisive factor in Pan-Afrikanism in exactly the same way as religion has been?

(8) Pan-Afrikanism must be made Afrocentric . It must be firm in developing its Afrocentric cultural values, style, taste and so on. Thanks to an Afrikan god (Ptah Amen-Ra) that someone dressed "wild" during the 7th Pan-African Congress. I came to know later that he was Garveyite chief Nagoli. Many thanks to him for being unashamed to put on Afrikan authentic outfit. His example of authentic self-confidence has to be emulated by other Pan-Afrikanists especially us the youth.

(9) The need to mobilize more Blacks for Pan-Afrikanism, not only Anglophone Black Afrikans but also Francophone and Portuguese-speaking Afrikans and others. /8/

(10) The cultural aspect of Pan-Afrikanism (FESTAC) should never be ignored. FESTAC should be staged hand in hand with any PAC congress that will follow this. Culture we should not forget is (among other definitions) a people's dramatization through the symbolization of their collective-social aspirations. Cultural dramatization leaves a more lasting psychological impact for its observers and participants in a way that speeches and lectures alone cannot. The cultural aspect is so important for seeing and then developing our potentials within ourselves as a race. This is very important for the young and emerging Pan-Afrikanist minded Blacks. We should not follow (never) a Marxist (equally Eurocentric) fallacy which is actually a trap, that culture is not important for our liberation; that ideology has to come first. Which ideology? Scientism? Dialectical materialism? That Afrikan ancient and traditional culture has no role to play now but in its stead, we develop a new revolutionary guerrilla gun-carrying culture which, according to them, (Marxists) is the only way for attaining millenarianism rather than Black renaissance. Psychology and spirit rather than of presenting us with those white young blondes whose presence only leads to the alienation of our minds and encourages our inferiority complex. It encourages our thinking in terms of integration as the only solution to improve the race.

(11) Drinking problem within the race: It was a sad experience that even the potential Pan-Afrikanist latter days leaders and 'crusaders' were highly affected by the alcohol trap as it came to manifest in the youth in Kampala. Such ones, when they became leaders later on, could be easily bought off by the race enemies, the whites, through beer parties if not white women or through both ways. Thus the need to develop a Jainistic-Buddhistic Spartan naturalistic, Afrocentric teetolistic, Black-simplistic, highly cost-conscious, "Karmicistic" way and style of life which deprecates pomposity, squandermania and so on. Garvey himself admonished about this that if the Blackman is not careful he will drink in all the poison of modern civilisation and die from the effects of it. He also admonished us to abstain from intoxicating liquor, as it makes us morbid and sometimes drunk. He continued "must I flatter you when I find all peoples preparing themselves for the struggle to survive, and you still smiling, eating, dancing, drinking and sleeping away your time, as if yesterday were the beginning of the age of pleasure?" (from Marcus Garvey speech delivered during the 4th International Convention, August 1, 1924, refer to the book: **Philosophy and opinion of Marcus Garvey** page 101 of part 1). I personally call for the Pan-Afrikan minded youth in particular, and for all Black youths generally, to abstain from such vices as drinking, smoking and "womanization". These three are good historically proven traps to catch the otherwise uncompromising forward thinking individuals-leaders and visionaries. Instead of those same vices, the

youths should be taught the art of free meditation in the Buddhist monk style as it was in ancient Egypt (Kemet).

(12) The frank talk dialogue is needed as between Blacks in the continent and our kith and kin of the diaspora. More than anywhere else, it is in Pan-Afrikanist movement that such a dialogue should be held. Why is each side interested in Pan-Afrikanism? What is the Black continent's agenda? What is the Afro-diasporan agenda? What do we (Afrikans in the continent) need, want and expect from them? What do Afrikans in the diaspora need, want, and expect from Mama Afrika? Thus, frank talk and dialogue that would lead to immediate action is needed here more than semantics, emotionalism, speech militancism, eloquencism (though all those are rightly justified) all being, so far vehicles for political compromise of some sort. We need to move beyond that. Everything we talk about must be geared towards immediate action. Doctor Chancellor Williams, Doctor Ben and others have to be discussed openly, frankly and critically in the spirit of Pan-Afrikanism.

(13) We recommend that brother Naiwu Osahon should continue to mobilise and organise for another PAC as he had envisaged before. We (of SISI KWA SISI) believe that Naiwu Osahon-led PAM Black agenda is timely, prophetic and foremost ground for **/9/** the reincarnation of the Pan-Afrikan vision at the grassroot level once again. The point here is to wake up and get over the brand of (bastard) Pan-Afrikanism that has become for us Blacks, no longer the vehicle for self-expression, self-determination, self-analysis; no longer a means to our final freedom (Black renaissance) but a dangerous trap to lead us to our ultimate ruin through integrationism, universalism, scientism, third-worldism, Bandung-ism, group 77-ism, south-southism, Islam brotherhoodism and one international popular frontism in which the white people's interests (whether Europeans, Arabs, Asians, Chinese etc.) and agenda are tactfully forced onto us and our own Black interests and Black agenda are made secondary, a means to an end and not (never!) the end in itself.

Mzee, it is time we Black nationalists, Garveyites and Pan-Afrikanists started to organise ourselves internally before going forward to attract other Blacks on our side. Why is it that we leave Black Marxists, Black integrationists to lead and determine our affair and destiny? We of SISI KWA SISI put up this challenge, calling all Garveyite Black nationalists to support brother Naiwu Osahon in his bold and brave foundation and efforts towards an all Blacks only movement globally.

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3. The Youth at 7th PAC: a mother's report

by Luzette King, UK

My experience of the 7th PAC in Kampala in April 1994 left me with an ambiguous feeling. On the one hand, I was quite disturbed by the President of Uganda's definition of an African; on the other hand, I was glad that the youths who attended the Congress were much more focused on Pan-Africanism and the issues that affect Africans on the continent and across the diaspora.

In his keynote address, President Yoweri Museveni defined Africans as the black Africans on the continent of Africa, the Arabs in Africa, the South African whites, and the blacks in the diaspora. I was particularly disturbed by the notion that Afrikaners, as some South African whites are better known, were on his list of Africans and, worse still, that Africans from the diaspora were at the bottom of his list.

I became very curious to know whether this was the view of ordinary Africans, especially the youths. Therefore, I set myself a task to talk to any young man or woman that I came across. I soon became very interested in their views about this historic event and what they perceived to be the problems facing Africans both on the continent and the diaspora.

It is important to note that there were youths from all over Africa and the USA. Their views were unanimous but in total contrast to those of the older participants and especially to those of the organizers of the Congress. This situation was highlighted during a discussion in the workshop on “Youth and the Future of Pan-Africanism”. I stated there that African youths, in London especially, wanted to come back to what they consider to be home -- that is Africa. In response to this, one youth said, “Mama, we know what you are going through in the Caribbean, London and all over. Your enemies are the IMF, World Bank, United Nations, African governments and the organizers of this Congress. Come home! We have enough land. You don’t have to have any qualification. Come to Dar-es-Salaam with a one-way ticket, no passport and don’t move.” For me, this meant that, as an African woman, I should have no restrictions placed upon me if I wished to return home; and if there were any, I should resist them, in the assurance that the support of the youths was guaranteed. In fact, one of their resolutions states that “All African governments must take concrete steps to enable the African peoples in the diaspora to return to Africa without restrictions, i.e. visas, money or skills. Youth in Africa must campaign for and facilitate the repatriation of African peoples in the diaspora.”

One youth drew an analogy between colonialism and the laundering of clothes. He explained that the Holy Trinity is not in heaven but on earth, in the form of the church, the colonial administration and the judicial system which, together, are meant to mend your ways and cultural ideas. He compared the church’s work with the soaking of clothes. To remove any residual stubborn stains, you are introduced into the colonial administrative system and then rinsed thoroughly through the judicial system. If this process failed to change you, then you faced execution and then heaven.

I was drawn closer to these youths as most of them were in their early to mid-twenties, which is around the same age as my son. I was curious about their age because it was stated in the workshop that African youths always had a different agenda from that of those in power. They also gave me the impression that they had confidence in me when they shared with me their anxieties and concerns. Some of their anxieties were to do with what they saw as Arab domination in Africa and, more especially, of the Congress. They could not understand why Arabs played such an important role in the Congress, and did not agree with the idea of their doing so. They saw the come-one-come-all call to the Congress as a sham which only served to cover up the Arab influence.

To some degree, the youths felt betrayed in that the aims and objectives of the Congress were not fulfilled. They were among the list of invited guests and one of the

objectives of the Congress was that delegates would have an equal voice regardless of whether they represented governments or Non-Governmental Organisations such as opposition political parties, pressure groups and other popular forces. Yet, the youths were unable to have their views debated in the main Congress. Apart from the Arab domination, there were other serious issues that they wanted debated: for example, the banning and harassment of the Rastafari community in particular, and student movements generally; the exploitation of the youths and the mortgaging of their future. One youth expressed their sentiment when he said: “These guys have to do and say what the Western world wants them to say because they have had their hands soiled; we are young and have nothing to lose. We were not consulted before they went to borrow money from the World Bank and IMF.”

Out of such disenchantment with their elders, the youths expressed a need for an International Pan-African Youth Congress prior to the 8th Pan-African Congress. This led to several fringe meetings of the youths with Pan-Africanists whom they felt they could trust. One of these meetings was held with me. There, I was asked to assist in organising a youth conference where the agenda would be set by the participants themselves. It was recognized that there might be financial constraints. However, I was asked to give an undertaking that I was not going to seek the assistance of any Arab government. They felt very strongly about this because they believed the financial and economic strengths which Arab governments and their people enjoy have led to the Arab enslavement of some parts of Africa.

I also had some interesting lectures from students outside the Congress, in the hotel and university campus where I stayed. Some of these youths were not even aware of the Congress. Having been born of displaced Africans, and having lived in the West all my life, I was pleasantly surprised by the wealth of knowledge, and the analytical and critical skills of the youths. My “dream-come-true” first visit to Africa left me with an impression which contrasted with that which the Western World and its media portray -- that Africans are a hungry and ignorant people who are always in need of aid. It also opened my eyes to how much more the African peoples need to learn about one another’s experience in the West, especially when I told them that there were children in the Caribbean, and indeed in London, whose parents could not afford adequate clothing and food. They had the impression that Africans in the West were all rich.

These sessions were reminiscent of my youthful days in the Caribbean, especially in the run-up to general elections, when we, as youths, had our own discussions and debates about local, national and international issues. These were also held in similar surroundings -- sitting or standing for long hours at night, with very little light. I found myself reliving those days. I also, for the first time, understood how my mother used to feel when listening to us. She used to be totally enchanted by these debates and discussions.

My trip to Africa was not soon enough, and I would encourage every displaced African, especially those living in the Caribbean, to take a trip back. The main requirement is to have your mind purged of any preconceived ideas and to plan your own itinerary.

In her official opening speech to the Women’s Pre-Congress Meeting which preceded the main Congress, Mrs Janet Museveni stated that women are cultural guardians and a symbol of continuity in society although, historically, their role was not

the subject of great acclaim. She also stressed that there is a need for a specific forum for women within the Pan-African context. The same could be, and should be, said for the African youth. They are a symbol of hope for those who felt uneasy with the overgenerous definition of an African.

I have since had correspondence from some of those youths. They have informed me that the 7th PAC has made them even more committed. Therefore, the time to involve the youths is now. This would not only narrow the wide gap between the youths and the custodians of power, but it would also . . . thoughts to the Movement and safeguard the future of Africans. To this end, there is an urgent need for an open debate on the real issues that affect Africans on the continent and the rest of the world, and for consultation on the definition of an African. There is also a need to bridge the gap between the youths and the custodians of power in Africa. The custodians of power should assist in setting up a Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM) with a constitution along the lines of that commissioned for itself by the 7th Pan-African Congress.

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Luzette King was born in a Dutch colony in the Caribbean, called Curacao, where she spent the first eight years of her life. Her parents, who are Vincentians, returned home to St. Vincent which was a British colony. She emigrated to London in 1974 where she started a career in nursing in the National Health Service. After fourteen years, when she could not cope with racism any more, she left to start a career in local government. She also served for one term as an elected member in a London local authority where she challenged racism at all levels in the community and became more aware of her African identity.

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4. Organizational lessons from the 7th PAC

by Yvonne King, USA

Although the 7th PAC did not resolve the wars in Africa, abolish racism in the Diaspora, or eliminate imperialism, it brought together Africans from many parts of the Pan-African world who raised and clarified issues, adopted resolutions, and reaffirmed our commitment to the needed second liberation of Africa. Ultimately, we decided to “Resist Recolonisation” and to “Organise, Don’t Agonise!”

Sudan and Somalia took centre-stage and maintained it even after the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda were assassinated on April 6, 1994. Other 7th PAC participants will be analysing the papers presented and the resolutions adopted, but I have decided to reflect on issues related to planning, funding, participation and women. These reflections might be useful in organizing subsequent Pan-African Congresses. And they are, specifically, a contribution to the Constitution Committee, created at 7th PAC, on which I agreed to serve.

The 7th PAC was initiated by a number of Pan-Africanists -- A. M. Babu, Karim Essack, Akrassi Sarpong, Victor Sabelo-Phama, Sabiti Mutengese, Kahinda Otafiire, Rosie Douglas, Kwame Toure and others -- at a 1990 international conference in Tripoli.

An International Preparatory Committee (IPC) was then formed to plan, raise funds for, and publicize the 7th PAC.

However, during the planning period, the IPC was beset by communications and financial problems. It often had insufficient information to make meaningful decisions. Inquiries from members went unanswered: the secretariat had no fax machine before December 1993; telecommunication lines in Kampala were not always reliable and mail moved slowly, particularly to other parts of Africa. Moreover, most questions from the field could only be answered by the General-Secretary who, understandably, was not always available.

The IPC aimed for broad-based participation and invited “all people on the African continent and people of African descent in the diaspora, irrespective of orientation, beliefs and ideology . . .” (1) This included governments and governmental organizations; people’s and non-governmental organizations; as well as individuals. A feature which distinguished 7th PAC from 6th PAC was that governments had no greater voice than other organizations. For example, the Sudanese government sent a delegation; other delegations were sent by Sudanese opposition organizations -- SPLM/SPLA. SPLM/SPLA-United, and the Umma Party; yet others came from such non-governmental organizations as the Sudanese Islamic Medical Association. At 6th PAC, governments, particularly in the Caribbean, headed country delegations that included government officials, NGOs and individuals. This resulted in non-participation by many Pan-Africanists who opposed their home governments, including the author of the 6th PAC Call, C. L. R. James.

One inherent weakness in the 7th PAC approach was that governments interested in influencing the proceedings might sponsor a number of individuals favorable to their position and create organizations through which their nominees would be able to serve as PAC delegates. Such opportunism can also be employed by non-governmental organizations. Nevertheless, instituting a mechanism to give equal voice to participating organizations, including governments, was a qualitative departure from the 6th PAC.

The IPC charged its Regional Coordinators with organizing National Committees which were to be vehicles for mobilizing board-based participation at 7th PAC. The “National Committee Guidelines”, published by the 7th PAC secretariat and circulated in February 1994, asked them to organize the following sub-committees: (a) women, (b) students/youth, (c) culture, (d) fundraising, and (e) publicity. The National Committees in each region were to liaise regularly with the Regional Coordinators and work towards holding a regional mini-Congress.

Organizing National Committees was a good idea but, too often, this was not done because Regional Coordinators lacked vital resources: time, money, communications facilities. In West Africa, for example, regional coordination was made primarily by mail. This proved inefficient because of the incessant delays in African postal systems. Considering that a letter posted in Nigeria could take 2 to 3 weeks to arrive at its destination within Nigeria; and sometimes more than 3 weeks to reach Ghana, a neighboring country, it was not until the third quarter of 1993 that direct contacts were established in some Francophone countries. And most Anglophone countries were never visited by the West African Regional Coordinators due to lack of money. The Convener visited Nigeria twice-- once in November 1993 and once in January 1994 -- but the Regional Coordinator who was based in Nigeria did not see him.

She subsequently learned about the visits through the Ugandan High Commissioner and through *The Guardian* newspaper, a Nigerian national daily. Consequently, the visits did not achieve maximum mobilizing mileage. It is clear that resources for sending information by express mail, courier service, international phone calls and fax should be made available, especially in Africa.

The IPC was unable to raise funds early enough to enable some Regional Coordinators to mobilize in their areas. Even in the Southern Africa region, where a mini-Congress was organized in the first quarter of 1994, no National Committees had been organized by December 1993. However, a combination of other factors (institutional resources accessible to some IPC members in the region, a visit by the Convener in 1993, and relative proximity to the 7th PAC venue) resulted in substantial participation at the Congress from the Southern Africa Region.

Based on this general background, let us look at some of the organizational issues which were highlighted by the 7th PAC, and see what might be done about them for the 8th PAC.

A: Planning

I: The IPC It is essential that we look at the International Preparatory Committee in our review of how 7th PAC was planned. First of all, what were the criteria for selecting the IPC members? Although there is no written document stating the criteria, it appears that the initial composition of the IPC was based on participation at an ad hoc meeting during the 1990 Tripoli Conference. Considering that IPC members included people like A. M. Babu, Horace Campbell, Victor Sabelo-Phama and Kwame Ture, clearly, commitment to Pan-Africanism must have been the paramount criterion. Others, like Gorkeh Nkrumah, may also have been valuable for fundraising. The two national liberation movements in South Africa (PAC and ANC), understandably, were represented. Most global regions, with the exception of Asia, were also represented. Although the original letterhead suggests that the Regional Coordinators and the IPC were separate entities, the Coordinators, and others, were later incorporated into the IPC.

In future, membership of the IPC must be based on criteria distilled from the collective experiences of previous Pan-African Congresses. These criteria should aim to involve only committed and resourceful Pan-Africanists who are willing to organize PACs. Instead of selecting Pan-Africanists merely by name recognition, we must consider their political openness, competence, experience, availability and accessibility. This means that we should select persons who will not exclude people and ideas that are different from their own; persons who have experience in, or abilities that will aid in mobilizing, publicizing and organizing a PAC; persons who are not so preoccupied with other commitments that they will fail to invest the required time to effectively serve on the IPC; and persons who can be reached readily via telecommunications or correspondence.

Secondly, what were the powers and procedures of the IPC? Throughout the life of the 7th PAC's IPC, its decision-making capacity was unclear. Voting was discouraged; consensus was the order of the day. After the venue was confirmed in 1992, there were only three IPC meetings, excluding those held a few days before and during the Congress in March and April 1994. The infrequency of meetings did not encourage

accountability by those who were charged with implementing the IPC's decisions.

Instead of being merely an advisory body, the IPC should be given decision-making authority in order to ensure that the PAC will be independent of the host government or any other sponsoring organization. The IPC would have to meet frequently to be effective. However, because funding would rarely be available to convene sufficient meetings of the entire IPC membership, which may be more than 15 people residing in numerous global regions, the IPC should select an Executive Committee of no more than 5 people, including the Chairman.

This Executive Committee should make interim decisions that would bind the IPC and direct the Secretariat. Without an Executive Committee which is regularly accessible by phone or fax, and available for meetings, granting decision-making authority to the IPC is meaningless. The 7th PAC's IPC erroneously believed that it had such authority, but its weakness in organization and insufficient funding restrained such authority.

II: The Chairman-Convener The roles of Convener-Chairman must be reviewed due to their importance. I suggest that they be carried out by two persons: one as Convener and one as IPC Chairman. Careful thought must be given to their functions, as well as the criteria for selecting individuals to serve in the positions.

III: Regional Coordinators and National Committees Without effective mobilization, future PACs will not have the invaluable input from the various interest groups which are active at the grassroots level. I therefore support the mobilizing framework of National Committees. Regional Coordinators are all right for those regions that have effective communications infrastructures; otherwise this element of our organizing system is ambitious. And until the PAC Secretariat has the necessary funds, we might consider eliminating Regional Coordinators and relying solely on National Committees.

Considering the importance of Regional Coordinators and National Committees for mobilization, the IPC and the PAC Secretariat have to give priority to providing information and clarifying issues for them. In particular, they should provide them with contacts in order to discourage their confinement to their pre-existing networks and political interests. For the 7th PAC, this kind of assistance was insufficient for West Africa. However, the General-Secretary's contacts in his home country, Nigeria, proved to be quite useful.

We have also to establish criteria for selecting Regional Coordinators. Clearly, our experience with 7th Pac has alerted us to some key considerations. The criteria suggested for IPC members should also apply to Regional Coordinators. And if adequate funds are not available, then those selected must be capable of generating sufficient funds to make them effective coordinators.

B Participation

Who should make the decisions for the Pan-African Movement? I don't intend to discuss the fundamental issue of who is an African, just the enabling framework for decision-making at a Pan-African Congress.

In this regard, the 7th PAC made a significant contribution to representativeness by providing all organizations, whether governmental or non-governmental, with equal

opportunities to influence its decisions. Those present were to be classified into delegates, participants and observers. However, due to security concerns and poor planning by the Credentials Committee, the registration staff were not supplied with clear classification criteria, and made designations indiscriminately, thus causing some confusion. A belated effort was made by the Credentials Committee, just before the voting on resolutions, to compel each organization to identify a maximum of two delegates. These individuals then sat in a section separate from the “participants” and “observers”, permitting them to engage in debates and to vote on the resolutions. That last-minute credentialing was cumbersome and time-consuming, and greatly delayed the final proceedings. Ideally, the Credentials Committee should publish the list of delegates before the plenary where resolutions are debated and adopted.

C. Funding

Money often determines priorities and dictates outcomes. Pan-African Congresses have not been able to escape this reality. The 7th PAC’s IPC incorporated “self-reliance” as one of its organizing principles, hoping that people would pay their own way to the Congress. However, at the end of the day, airline tickets to Kampala were provided for many in order to ensure broad-based representation and the attendance of certain personalities, including those invited to present papers.

Considering the enormous expenses involved in holding a Pan-African Congress, and considering also the resources needed to publish its proceedings and implement its decisions, fundraising is critical. Therefore, I wish to propose that future IPCs develop a three-phase budget: 1) Planning; 2) Conducting the Congress; and 3) Implementing the Congress’ decisions. They should also make a commitment to adhere to this framework.

This budget would guide the fundraisers and enable them to solicit financial contributions as well as commitments for “in-kind” contributions, e.g. printing of the proceedings or translating workshop papers into the working languages of the Congress. Our search for resources must go beyond asking governments for money and relying on the host government’s contributions. While at 7th PAC, I met a man from the USA who said that he could have brought a photocopier to assist the Secretariat during the Congress. Such commitments should be solicited.

In order for such an approach to succeed, competent and committed individuals must be “employed”, and given resources to obtain and implement the three-phase budget.

D. Women and Pan-African Congresses

The participation of women in the 7th PAC was a clear success, as demonstrated by the achievements of the Pre-Congress Women’s Meeting and, particularly, by the establishment of the Pan-African Women’s Liberation Organization (PAWLO). Nevertheless, for future PACs, the IPC will have to invest more resources -- money, time and people -- in women’s participation. Funding, specially earmarked for women’s participation, is essential.

The Women’s Desk in the PAC Secretariat and PAWLO should raise funds for the Pre-Congress Women’s Meeting of 8th PAC independently of the general fundraising

efforts for 8th PAC. Women's participation in 8th PAC must be seen as a priority and not an afterthought. Consequently, planning for the Pre-Congress Women's Meeting must begin when planning for other 8th PAC activities starts. The decision to hold the Women's Meeting at 7th PAC was made in September 1993, only two-and-a-half months before the initial date for 7th PAC, and only six months before the Pre-Congress Meeting. Now that PAWLO exists, its international network of women should result in a broader representation, both geographically and in interest areas.

Furthermore, women must be more involved in planning all Congress-related activities. It is imperative that women are represented on various committees, but this becomes ineffective when the same women are spread too thinly and have too many responsibilities. To avoid a situation where gender-balance is achieved at the expense of quality performance, there should be more women in the IPC.

E. Translation of Congress Proceedings

The 7th PAC was organized predominantly by Anglophone Africans, and little sensitivity was shown to the need to facilitate the participation of non-English speakers. This was evident in the limited resources applied to translating documents into the Congress' working languages. The IPC must include non-Anglophone Africans in its membership. And it must find translators who are willing to assist for only their expenses or for expenses and a modest fee.

F. Post Congress Activities: Implementation of resolutions

(How? Who by? etc.)

Conclusion

It is essential that the 8th PAC's IPC establish and adhere to guidelines for making decisions; raises funds for planning, conducting and then implementing the results of the 8th PAC; obtains, commits and applies the necessary resources to ensure the desired participation; and assures meaningful, not token participation by women.

We must strive for the development of a leadership that is accountable to the Pan-African Movement and not to host or other governments. The planning processes and, ultimately, the resolutions adopted at PACs, must serve the interests of a Movement that represents the African masses, as opposed to the diplomatic and political interests of governments that too often fail to serve the people.

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Yvonne King was one of the Regional Coordinators for West Africa, and a member of the IPC.