



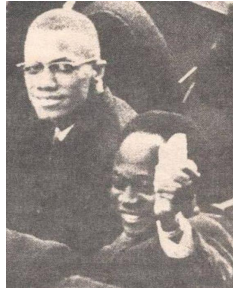
Our Motto: Service Sacrifice and Solidarity

Pan-African Improvement Association Movement Orientation Brochure



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

PAN-AFRICAN IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION



Malcolm x and Kwame Nkrumah

ORIENTATION PROCESS

ORGANIZATION IS THE WEAPON OF THE OPPRESSED AFRICAN MASSES!

The Pan-African Improvement Association is a mass organization that seeks to organize over 1.6 billion Africans worldwide for the sole purpose of liberating and uniting Africa. The orientation process is the single step in the march of a thousand miles to achieve this gigantic objective. The eight orientation sessions should take 2 months and are designed to familiarize new recruits about the aims, objectives, structure, strategy and ideology of the Pan-African Improvement Association. The orientations should produce Africans who will be prepared to function on committee assignments with proper education to eventually become trained Responsibles of the organization. At the Responsible level of the process, each member should be able to set up a regional structure of PANIA anywhere in the African world. Only African people are allowed to join PANIA Movement, and each member is expected to adhere to PANIA's code of conduct, policies, and guidelines. Orientations should be held every week and not more than two hours. To conduct an orientation there should be at least 5 people who want to join.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FACILITATION OF ORIENTATIONS

The facilitators should have a thorough knowledge of Pan-Africanism, slavery, capitalism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Facilitation should be done collectively and by at least 4 experienced members of PANIA Movement. The Facilitators may consist of PANIA Movement members from the various committees, or those who are competent as deemed necessary by the Education and Culture Committee. They should have a good grasp of PANIA's organizational structure, policies, code of conduct, objectives, strategies, and ideology. The Facilitators must have a good understanding of the ideology of Kwame Nkrumah, and ideas of Sekou Toure, Amilcar Cabral, Cheikh Anta Diop, and Marcus Garvey their policies and books because their writings and practices make up the core concepts and values PANIA's Movement. If there is only one or a few members of PANIA that can conduct an orientation in a region, then they will be allowed

to do so. If there is no member of PANIA available to conduct an orientation a Responsible will be assigned to the Region for its execution or those interested can



Marcus Garvey

orientate themselves in conjunction with Responsibles or Leadership of another Region online access of various platforms such as Zoom, What's App, or Google Meet

All reading materials should be provided for and purchased by potential recruits before the orientation sessions. Additional recruits can join the orientation sessions up to the 5th meeting and are required to apprise themselves of all previous discussed information. After the eighth and last orientation session, each new recruit will begin to pay monthly dues of \$20.00 and be given a membership card notating their current dues status. The Fundraising and Financing Committee will maintain an updated record on members in good standing. Independence of our people will never be achieved if we expect our enemy to finance our revolutionary organization. In order to maintain our independence of thought and action of our organization, we have to provide resources ourselves for self-sufficiency so we will not be under the control of outside forces..

GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR ORIENTATION SESSIONS

- A) Who are we and what do we Africans want?
- B) What is Freedom?
- C) What is Pan-Africanism?
- D) What is power?
- E) How do we obtain power?
- F) Who are the enemies of Africa and African people?
- G) What is Repatriation?
- H) Who are some of the major personalities in the Repatriation and Pan-African Movements?
- I) Why is the control of our Land and resources important?

J) What and who has suppressed the Repatriation and Pan-African Movements?

K) What is capitalism and neo-colonialism, and why are these systems the enemy of African people?



Henry Sylvester Williams

M) Why must we have an independent political education process for the masses of African people that is independent and reflective of African history and culture?

These questions can be raised throughout the orientation session and certain excerpts can be taken out of the reading to help answer the questions. New recruits should be encouraged to bring questions based on the reading. The Facilitators should be able to provide new recruits with current information about progressive political developments in the world, in Africa, the African world, and as they pertain to our alliances. This information can be acquired from magazines, newspapers, or the internet.

The facilitators should document the orientations until someone is among the new recruits who can be assigned to the Documentation and Communication Committee. At the end of the orientation session, a report should be sent to the Chairman at the international level of PANIA Movement, and another to the National People's Committee (NPC) level. The report form ensures accountability and provides a record of our membership. The report form is inclusive in this packet.

1st MEETING

Agenda

1. Introduction members of PANIA and new recruits
2. What is the Pan-African Improvement Association?
3. PANIA's Booklist and Education Process
4. Code of Conduct and Leadership Criteria
5. Critique and Assessment of the meeting*
6. Purchase book for the following orientation sessions

*This part of the meeting should be conducted to correct faults and ought not be used to debase individuals. The discussion should be based on how work can be more positively and effectively carried out so as to unify African people and members of

PANIA. Even if negative occurrences are discussed, the discourse should be guided by maturity and with an attitude of turning a negative into a positive by critically assessing the meeting. Under no circumstance should problems or contradictions be shied away from or left unresolved, on the contrary they should be addressed but handled in a non antagonistic manner starting from the conception of unity-critique and assess-unity. Consequently at the end of each session we should emerge with greater strength as a



W.E.B. DuBois

unified body. This method should be used throughout PANIA Movement's programs, projects and meetings.

2nd Meeting

Agenda

1. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements Chapter 1 - **"What Makes Africans in America Think They Are Americans"**
2. If a Region is established: Introduction of leadership in the region and a brief introduction of each committee and wings
3. Discussion of PANIA Movement International Structure
4. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

3rd Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting
2. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements Chapter 2 - **"Comparing Repatriation and Pan-Africanism: A Critical Path"**
3. Current Affairs/the world Geo-Politically
4. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

4th Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting
2. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements
Chapter 3 - “**Pan-Africanist Resist Colonialism**”



Ahmed Sekou Toure

3. Discussion of PANIA Movement National Structure
4. Current Affairs/The World Geo-Politically
5. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

5th Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting
2. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements
Chapter 4 - “**Pan-Africanism Takes Root in Africa’s Soil**”
3. Discussion of PANIA Movement Regional Structure
3. Current Affairs/The World Geo-Politically
4. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

6th Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting
2. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements
Chapter 5 - “**Suppression and the Irreconcilable Contradiction**”

3. Discussion of PANIA Movement Committee Structure, the inter-relationship between committees and leadership at all levels.
4. Current Affairs/The World Geo-Politically
5. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

7th Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting



Martin Delaney

2. Discussion of Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements
Chapter 5 - **“Libya: The Last Pan-African State Destroyed”**
3. Discussion on Leadership and Responsibles
4. Current Affairs/The World Geo-Politically
- 5.. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

8th Meeting

Agenda

1. Distribution and reading of minutes from previous meeting
2. Discussion of Cooperatives
3. Current Affairs/The World Geo-Politically
4. New recruits will decide which Committee they would like to join. African women are automatically a part of the African Women’s Organization. In addition, the new recruits should be divided evenly among each committee including the African women.
4. All new recruits will be asked to join the All African People’s Education Sessions and collectively recite PANIA’s Oath of Allegiance with their right hand over their hearts and their left fist in the air. The new recruits joined the orientation process after it began several weeks prior, they are responsible for reading all materials at the point of their

current education discussion in the orientation. Members should pay \$20.00 or an equivalent amount according to the rate of exchange with currencies in other countries. Members should be reminded to stay current with dues status so as to participate in PANIA's All African People's Education Session and on their committees. Whenever there is a need to merge new recruits with an existing All African People's Education Session, Education and Cultural Committee, in accordance with the All African People's Education Sessions and new recruits will decide if it is necessary to keep the new recruits separate until they familiarize themselves with previous readings. If a decision cannot be made, then the Regional People's Committee will decide. Ultimately, the new recruits will be incorporated with the existing All African People's Education Session in the region. The PANIA Movement is a mass organization, and although people are at different levels of



Amilcar Cabral

development, we expect learning to be a collective process. It is also incumbent upon individuals to be responsible for collective development of the group. Therefore, no one should be left behind. **Every human being is capable of learning, and thus come to know what any other human being knows. We “seek to promote individual development, but in such a way that for the development of all become the conditions for the development of each...”Kwame Nkrumah Consciencism pg. 98**

5.. Unity-Critique and Assessment- Unity

African Women of the African Revolution!



Shirley Graham DuBois



Winnie Mandela



Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe

OUR MOTTO: SERVICE SACRIFICE AND SOLIDARITY

WHAT IS THE PAN-AFRICAN IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT?

The Pan-African Improvement Association (PANIA) Movement is a mass independent association of African people and organizations designed to work for the realization of Pan-Africanism (the total freedom and liberation of Africa in which the working African masses own and control the means for producing wealth under an All African Union Socialist Government). The purpose of the organization is to help bring about self-sufficiency for Africa and the African masses and to build working relationships with all African organizations for the liberation of Africa and African people worldwide. PANIA Movement is a product of the historical struggles within the Pan-African movement that functions to raise the consciousness of African people in the anti-neo-colonial fight to free the entire continent of Africa, which in turn will free Africans worldwide. Our mission is to build a united front of organizations of over 1.5 billion Africans worldwide into a fighting force to defeat neo-colonialism for the unification and independence of Africa.

Neo-colonialism is an economic system that replaced the old form of colonialism whereby European countries dominated, in every aspect, an African country's politics, economy and social systems. These European powers were expelled during the national independence movement, but they left in place a system that financially strangles the economy, dominates the military and forces the leadership of African countries to sign loans, exploit the people's labor, and take the natural resources of

each country in Africa. This new form of colonialism (neo-colonialism) enriches a small class of Europeans in the former colonizing countries (all who are members of the



George Padmore

European Union) and America. Neo-colonialism is the international stage of capitalism-both systems are one in the same, which exploits and oppress Africans worldwide, and Africans in America with the extra added dimension of racism and white supremacy. Since the time capitalism entered Africa and raided the continent for slaves, it has been exploitative because the Africans who were enslaved and worked did not enjoy the fruits of their labor. A small class of Europeans accumulated the profits from the labor of Africans during slavery. As of today, Africans worldwide are oppressed and exploited by capitalism or neo-colonialism-excluding Africans born in Cuba.

However, neo-colonialism in Africa, gives the illusion of independence through the election of African Presidents by multi-party democracy, but in reality the economic system of each African country and thus their government is directed from outside European capitalist countries.

HOW NEO-COLONIALISM OPERATES

Neo-colonialism operates by forcing each African country to create separate economic policies, which makes it impossible to fight or compete against the combined powers of the European Union and the U.S. Similarly, the European neo-colonialist depress Africa's economy by paying low prices for African made products on the international market, erecting trade barriers in European countries and the U.S. and coercing African countries to take loans at high interest rates. Their African puppets in government, in many cases, illegally take a portion of the money for personal consumption. In turn, these puppets receive pay offs from foreign investors to establish businesses for the extraction of Africa's natural resources. European businesses exploit the labour of the masses of Africans by paying low wages and making high profits. This small class of European businessmen also sells inferior products in Africa at four times the price paid for them in Europe and the U.S.

In order to defeat neo-colonialism, we feel it necessary to create a society in Africa free from all exploitation, oppression and domination in which the natural resources can be transformed industrially for the welfare of the masses of African people. We want to bring an end to the rape of Africa. Indeed, we must stop our

resources (gold, diamonds, oil, bauxite, manganese, timber, titanium, copper, rubber, cocoa and other agricultural products and minerals) from being stolen, and put on ships and sent to America and Europe to make a few individual European capitalist rich.



Franz Fanon

MEANS TO FIGHT NEO-COLONIALISM

The Pan-African Movement has been in an ongoing fight against European capitalism. Since 1900, the Pan-African Movement has organized one conference, six conventions (by Marcus Garvey) eight congresses, and three All African People's Conferences (AAPC). However, it was only the 3rd AAPC in Cairo, Egypt in 1961 that precisely defined neocolonialism as Africa's main enemy, named the perpetrators of the oppressive system, and provided the means by which to fight it. The 3rd (AAPC) was attended by 200 delegates (heads of state, liberation movements, revolutionary Pan-African political parties, and African Trade Unions throughout Africa). The countries they condemned responsible for Africa's exploitation were, "the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, and France (as) the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism." The AAPC also resolved and gave specific means to fight neo-colonialism such as:

- Mobilization of the masses for the liberation of Africa.
- A call for political, syndical, youth and women's organizations to wage struggle against neo-colonial puppets.
- To fight opportunism.
- To liquidate all foreign military and para-military bases in independent African states.
- To denounce aid with expressed or unexpressed strings attached.
- To create an All African Trade Union Federation.

- To accelerate the achievement of the material and moral conditions of the African peoples by a rational and equitable repartition of their resources in the interest of the masses by an appropriate planning of the national economy.
- To create a common economic policy in order to promote and consolidate political unity.
- To promote authentic African culture.
- To create a common African market.
- To organize an African joint defence in order to contribute to the total liberation of African dependent countries or to the consolidation and protection of African countries subjected to foreign pressure

THE SOLUTION IS AFRICA'S UNITY

Kwame Nkrumah during his Independence Day speech on 6th March, 1957 stated, "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent." The unity and liberation of Africa can only take place when neo-colonialism is completely destroyed and the masses of Africans are organized with the intent of building permanent and sustaining institutions for farming, education and technological development under a people's controlled All African Union Government. The African Diaspora has a responsibility to put an end to capitalism in countries dominated by Europeans, and tear down neo-colonialism in countries where they are in the majority. In turn, this will accelerate the construction of an All African Union Government.

PANIA Movement is a continental and international organization whose base is in Ghana, West Africa in which Malcolm X called the "fountain head of Pan-Africanism". We seek to create a movement for all Africans to actively participate in the effort to unify Africa. Kwame Nkrumah said our efforts must:

"Include Africans who have dissociated themselves from the ideology connected with their class origin and men and women of African descent living overseas...There is room for all these people in our great struggle. For our objective remains the same throughout, to mobilize all the human forces at our disposal in order to create a decisive, revolutionary, flexible and multiform striking force."

Part of the strategy of the PANIA Movement is to integrate Africans in the Diaspora with Africans at home. This strategy recognizes the freedom of Africa will produce freedom for Africans worldwide.

Our Aims and Objectives are:

- To fight neo-colonialism (as prescribed by the 3rd All African Peoples Conference in 1961 held in Cairo, Egypt)
- To promote unity, education, culture, political and economic advancement among Ghanaians, peoples of West Africa, Africa and of Africans in the diaspora.
- To work for Pan-Africanism - an All African Union Socialist Government

These objectives and resolutions can only be achieved by developing a sense of organization, responsibility, discipline and consciousness among African people. This



Edward Wilmot Blyden

requires the correct education based on the values of African culture and progressive ideas in which Africans must be committed. The ideas that guide our organization come from historical struggle of African people for justice, and the convergence of the writings, policies, and practices of the leading advocates of Pan-Africanism Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure', Amilcar Cabral, Cheikh Anta Diop, Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey. We understand that the quality of one's life is determined by sacrificing individual desires for principles and objectives that free the people. The greatest accomplishment as an African one can achieve is by serving the oppressed masses of African people with humility. It is only by acting in solidarity with the masses of African people for liberation and freedom loving people worldwide, the higher purpose of existence as a human being can be fulfilled. It is from this philosophy and adherence to our principles that PANIA Movement is assured of a free, liberated and unified Africa.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF OUR IDEOLOGY

The ideas that guide our organization, come from Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Amilcar Cabral, Cheikh Anta Diop, Marcus Garvey, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Malcolm X and all of the great individuals of the Pan-African Movement, as well as the historical struggles for freedom of African people worldwide, but our ideology is concisely embedded in Nkrumahism and is based on principles that lead us toward our objectives. They should be incorporated into our lives, and used as tools to help us in our analysis of social phenomena that affect African people, as it relates to the education process. the following are some principles of our ideology:

1. Collective Work and Responsibility - Work should be done on a collective basis, and a single person should not be made to do all the work, but individuals will be held

accountable and responsible to fulfill their duty and role in the collective. Development can only occur, determined and measured by the advancement of the collective.

2. Unity and Struggle - There are differences and contradictions that exist among African people, and it's only through struggle in understanding the opposing forces in these contradictions that unity can come about especially by discussion of ideas and consistency in revolutionary practice.

3. Participatory Democracy and Adherence to Decision by Leadership - It's only through participation in work that the majority of the people's voice will be heard. And once the information is gathered from the won the collective comes to a consensus and



Patrice Lumumba

a decision is made, it's binding, and action must be carried through even the minority that descent. Leadership must ensure that all decisions from acquired information from the masses are carried out to the letter. All members and structures must adhere and implement decisions as directed by leadership.

4. Nation/Working Mass Analysis - Analyze all thought and action from an African and workers perspective the African nation comes first, but the interest of the African working masses is primary.

5. Objective Dialectical Materialism - Look for the opposing forces in all things (positive and negative), the application of science for the understanding of universal laws to determine their inter-connectedness within a thing, is the determining factors for change.

6. Historical Materialism - the engine of history is driven by the internal contradiction of class in society, which are internal contradictions that create the conditions for human beings to produce what they need to sustain themselves. Thus in general human beings have evolved economically, according to their mode of production, from communal to slavery, to fuedalism, to capitalism and eventually arriving at socialism. Africa's path, however, was different in that it evolved from communism to the slave raid to colonilalism, presently neo-colonislism to eventually arriving at socialism. In essence Africa's economic development was retarded by European imperialism.

7. Revolutionary Spirituality of the People - The fundamental aspect of culture for all African people is spiritual. If culture is used as a weapon in the liberation struggle, then

the principles of justice within the spirit of the people must be used to fight oppression. Other than this, all perversions of spirituality and religious practices that contribute to the class exploitation and oppression of the people should be discarded. Our traditional African experience in regards to spirituality must be placed in an egalitarian context that moves the people to a higher level of collective development for the benefit of all who work.

8. Mass Action and Thought Through Mass Organization - Only the people permanently organized can free themselves. Kwame Nkrumah states, "Organization decides Everything."

9. Humanism - Affirming the dignity of human beings by respecting their interest based on the collective need of the people.



Julius Nyerere

10. Egalitarianism - The recognition of differences in people, but dispensations of rights, justice and treatment of human beings and their needs are equal.

PANIA BOOKLIST AND EDUCATION PROCESS

The purpose of the outlined booklist for study is to familiarize all PANIA Movement members about the historical struggle for freedom of African people. It is arranged to instill pride and raise the level of consciousness among African people. It has been developed to illustrate the various civilizations Africans have created, and remind the masses of their historical contribution to human progress.

The aim is to educate and motivate Africans to bring into existence a society inside of Africa free from exploitation and oppression, and simultaneously expose the enemies of Africa and African people. Those enemies are: capitalism, imperialism, zionism, colonialism, settler colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

The education process is therefore revolutionary and is designed to develop the acquisition of knowledge and skills, and the application of that which is learned to enhance one's environment. It is also structured for the execution of sound and critical thinking and action in order to liberate African people. In this sense, Africans that join and become members will be able to shape their environment so that he or she can serve the needs of his or her fellow human being.

ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SESSIONS

The All African People's Sessions are the base by which the PANIA Movement is built upon. The People's Sessions is the single most important means members of PANIA can raise their consciousness about our history, understand the forces that are arrayed against the African masses and acquire the tools to apply for their own liberation. All African People's Educational Sessions should be conducted in a cyclical manner. Although facilitation of the People's Educational Sessions is the responsibility of members of the Education and Cultural Committee, the information should not be presented in a linear fashion, which suggests that members are empty containers waiting to be filled with information. The education sessions are people centered and



Cheikh Anta Diop

created to produce independence of thought. The sessions should be interactive, should involve everyone and last for a minimum of two hours. Likewise everyone should come prepared to teach and learn. And all information should have some revolutionary practical relevance, to our projects, industries, programs, and political relationship with the masses of African people to move them forward toward liberation. It is not only proper to teach someone about a tool, but they must be able to apply that tool effectively in their everyday lives. Every member of PANIA Movement must attend and participate in the All African People's Education Sessions with the exception of members of the People's Committees who will conduct their own means for politically educating themselves. The time frame for meetings is as follows:

- a) Reading of previous meetings minutes - 5%
- b) Discussion of education materials - 45%
- c) Current Events and/or the World Geo-Politically - 20%
- d) Committee and our two wings reports - 20%
- e) Positive criticism should critique our actions and ideas, be solution oriented, and expressed to bring about growth, development and unity -10%

LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT TO BECOME RESPONSIBLES

In essence, the booklist and educational process should produce ideological sound **Responsibles** fully knowledgeable of the ideology of Kwame Nkrumah, along

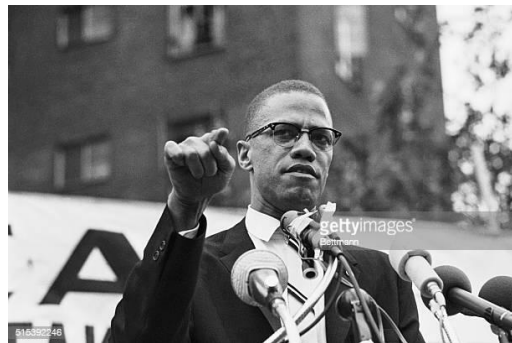
with the ideas of Marcus Garvey, Sekou Toure, Amilcar Cabral, and Chiekh Anta Diop that are prepared for revolutionary action.

The booklist is based upon three levels;

A Level - Training for Responsible Status.

Advanced Level - Responsibles are capable of organizing PANIA Movement on a regional level.

Supreme Responsible - Responsibles will be capable of organizing PANIA Movement on a national level anywhere in the African world. All members on the People's Committee are Supreme Responsibles.



Malcolm X

A LEVEL

Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements by Sekou Nkrumah

Ghana the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah by Kwame Nkrumah

Garvey and Garveyism by Amy Jacques Garvey

Return to the Source by Amilcar Cabral

Black Africa The Economic and Cultural Basis for A Federated State by Cheikh Anta Diop

Dialectical Approach to Culture by Sekou Toure

ADVANCED LEVEL

Malcolm X Speaks

Class Struggle in Africa by Kwame Nkrumah

Philosophy and Opinions by Marcus Garvey

Unity and Struggle by Amilcar Cabral

Civilization or Barbarism by Cheikh Anta Diop

Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution by Sekou Toure

SUPREME RESPONSIBLE

The Responsibles at this point may read any books by the authors above, or about Pan-Africanist, or progressive revolutionaries such as:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| W.E.B. DuBois | Kwame Ture | Malcolm X |
| George Padmore | Fidel Castro | Frantz Fanon |
| C.L.R. James | VI. Lenin | Abdia do Nascimento |
| Walter Rodney | Ho Chi Minh | Julius Nyerere |
| Robert Sobukwe | Mao Tse Tung | John Henry Clark |
| Eric Williams Capitalism and Slavery | Che Guevara | Dr. ben-Jochannan |

PAN-AFRICAN IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT CODE OF CONDUCT AND LEADERSHIP CRITERIA MOTTO: SERVICE SACRIFICE AND SOLIDARITY

Objective: Pan-Africanism the total freedom and liberation of Africa in which the working African masses own and control the means for producing wealth under an All African Union Socialist Government.



Kwame Ture

Aims: To fight and destroy capitalism and neo-colonialism in Africa (as prescribed by the 3rd All African Peoples Conference in 1961 held in Cairo, Egypt).

To promote an association of unity, education, African culture, political and economic advancement and self-reliance among African people at home and abroad.

Strategy: To organize the African masses worldwide in association with community organizations, the revolutionary intelligentsia/student groups, youth affiliations and

alliances with all organizations that have common goals and objectives that are willing to fight and struggle for the success of the Pan-African Movement..

CODE OF CONDUCT

1. Follow all orders and directives from the leadership effectively and efficiently
2. Do not steal from the masses
3. Always serve the people with humility
4. If you borrow something from the people return it
5. Pay for damaged items if it is your fault
6. Know the enemy from within and stay on guard against the external enemy
7. Do not take liberties with women, and women should not use men for money
8. Guide, protect and recruit the African youth
9. Always be alert
10. Always be on time, and come prepared to meetings with your assignments completed.

LEADERSHIP

A) Leadership in PANIA Movement at any level cannot be a part of leadership in another organization. Leadership at all levels of PANIA become Responsibles.

B) Responsibles are dedicated members of PANIA Movement that have maintained their membership for four consecutive years, who have a thorough understanding of PANIA's policies, ideology, objectives, and Code of Conduct. They should have consistently worked on a PANIA project, and or on their committee and are capable of collectively organizing a Region of PANIA anywhere in the African world. Responsibles are fundamentally the core of our Movement. Without Responsibles and their cohesiveness our organization would collapse.

C) If the Chairman of the People's Committee (PC) needs to be replaced, the Chairman of the Security Committee will become Chair. The new Chairman will select one of the Chairs at the national level to replace him/her at the international level within one



Modibo Keita

month. If the Chairman of the Security Committee needs to be replaced, the Chairman of the PC will decide by selecting a chair from the national level of the Security Committee who will represent PANIA at the international level. If a Chair from other committees needs to be replaced, the entire People's Committee will decide from the various national leadership who should replace that Chair at the international level within two months. Each level of leadership in PANIA will follow this protocol as it relates to lower levels of leadership.

Without African Women There Is No African Revolution!



Jeane Martin Cisse



Amy Jacques Garvey

INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE

The International Structure will consist of the 10 chairpersons of the People's Committee, the People's Congress, the People's General Assembly, and all committees organized throughout PANIA on an international level. The eight PANIA Movement committees and two wings at all levels are: Security, Fundraising & Finance, Education & Culture, Farming & Agriculture, Program, Propaganda & Research, Documentation & Communication, Industrial & Technology, African Women's Wing, and Pan-African Youth Movement.



PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE (PC): The People's Committee will coordinate the day-to-day functions of PANIA on an international level, and is the highest body of authority in the interim of the People's Congress. It will consist of 10 people who will sit as Chairs of the 8 committees and two wings that will meet twice a year for education sessions to discuss any book or author on the booklist and to ensure the smooth running of the organization internationally. The People's Committee members will only participate in an All African People's Session of a region upon request of a majority of its members for clarity of PANIA's policies and ideological points in the educational sessions. The PC is responsible for making alliances, coalitions, fronts with African organizations and organizations of various nationalities. The Chairman of the People's Committee will chair the PC meetings and represent PANIA internationally. The



Muammar Qathafi

Chairman of the People's Committee will decide when the People's Congress will meet, or when conditions have been met as determined by the People's Congress. The People's Committee is responsible for developing a 5 year plan for PANIA Movement on an international level. Any additional committees, projects, programs, youth wings, or women's organizations must be approved by the People's Committee. All members of the People's Committee must reside in Africa or Repatriate to any part of Africa within 4 years upon assuming the position.

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (PECON): The People's Congress is the highest policy making body of PANIA Movement and are elected members from the Regional General Assembly. Each member must be a dues paying member for 5 consecutive years and be in good standing within the organization and work on one of PANIA's committees consistently for 5 years. Delegates should be chosen based on their ability to carry out PANIA's ideas, objectives and programs. Chairpersons at the national level, Chairpersons that represent PANIA at the regional level, and Responsibles are automatic delegates to the People's Congress. The People's Congress will be chaired by the Chairperson of the People's Committee. The number of delegates to the People's Congress can also be determined by the number of members per region i.e. 100 members will be represented by one delegate. The People's Congress will meet once every 5 years after PANIA has been organized on a national level in the majority of the

African Women on the Frontline of the Struggle for Pan-Africanism



Amy Ashwood Garvey

African world. The People's Congress will elect members of the People's Committee. Reports obtained from the General Assembly and plans from PANIA at the national level will be assessed by the People's Congress and facilitated through the Chair as input to the People's Committee for overall planning of PANIA. An overall 5 year report should be given based on the information acquired from the People's General Assembly. This report should be made available to every member of PANIA.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY (GA): The General Assembly will be made up of all current card carrying members of PANIA and will meet once every 5 years to assess the progress of the organization and its various projects. Each national body shall give an annual report, as input to the People's Congress. The chair of the General Assembly will be determined by the caucus of National People's Committee Chairpersons throughout PANIA. In addition, Eight Supreme Responsibles will be elected from the caucus of the NPC chairs that will meet with all committees at the international level to develop plans and input to the People's Congress.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE COMMITTEE (ECC): The Education and Culture Committee is responsible for the overall education of PANIA members and schools for African youth. The schools of PANIA should meet the curriculum guidelines as set forth by the Education and Culture Committee. All meetings and programs of PANIA must be guided by Pan-Africanist ideas and the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure,

Amilcar Cabral, Marcus Garvey, and Cheikh Anta Diop as well as other Pan-Africanist not listed and revolutionary African historians. There should also be a strong emphasis on African history, and our ideology Nkrumahism, critical thinking, math, science and technology. All General, National and Regional Assemblies, and PANIA internal leadership committee meetings at all levels should have a section based on educational materials from a Pan-Africanist perspective. The Education Committee should provide educational materials for orientating new members of PANIA and for People's Sessions and Current Affairs. The Education and Culture Committee will create a department that will highlight all aspects of African culture. The Cultural Department will organize concerts, African language classes (wherever possible) sell of African art, African clothing etc. The ECC should make sure African culture is paramount throughout PANIA's program and act as a basis for liberation.

FUNDRAISING AND FINANCE COMMITTEE (FFC): The Fundraising and Financing Committee will be responsible for raising funds for PANIA and finding avenues to finance PANIA's projects. The FFC should include a department for the development of cooperative enterprises, which help to sustain the independence of PANIA. All funds must be documented and submitted to the People's Committee monthly including: salaries, revenues raised from PANIA projects, cooperative enterprises and dues. The FFC must develop a yearly budget for the organization and all of its operations. The expenditures of all monies must be approved by the FFC Chairperson and the majority vote of Chairperson on the People's Committee at the international level. All revenues and expenditures will be submitted to PANIA's FFC yearly. The FFC will have a direct relationship with PANIA LLC with regard to planning, budgeting, raising funds, and financing projects, which will be approved by the People's Committee International Chairpersons majority vote.

SECURITY COMMITTEE (SC): The Security Committee will make sure all meetings, projects and programs of PANIA Movement are secure with trained personnel in the art of self-defense, hand to hand combat and armed weaponry. The Committee should be equipped with all the latest technology to prevent infiltrators and the enemy. Security will be a priority throughout PANIA's meetings, programs and projects.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE (PROC): The Program Committee is responsible for recruiting members with PANIA's programmatic thrust and encouraging the African masses to participate on one of the Committees. The PROC is responsible for all alliances, united fronts and associations of all African groups to build a Pan-African Movement among the masses to our objectives. The PROC is responsible for reaching out to all non-African allies who share our position of a united Africa and the fight against injustice. The PROC is responsible for retention of all new recruits with follow up calls and visits to new members' homes for retention in the organization. The Program Committee should be able to convince all members of the success of PANIA's

programs for building the entire organization and its projects. The programs will take the form of progressive films, videos, DVDs, panel discussions, guest lecturers, rallies, lectures, workshops, conferences, teach-ins and special events inside the African community, and on university and college campuses for the recruitment of our youth and African intelligentsia or wherever Africans are located. It is from these programs that African people will be recruited. PROC must work closely with the Education and Culture Committee to ensure orientations follow the guidelines and ideas of the organization. PROC will form an Ad Hoc Hospitality Committee whenever necessary to host guest lecturers, speakers, dignitaries etc for programs. In the diaspora, PROC will also organize tours to Africa as a basis to encourage Africans to Repatriate. PROC must work closely with PANIA LLC to ensure this aspect of PANIA is executed successfully. The PROC is responsible for transportation and all logistics, programs, events and meetings of PANIA. The PROC is responsible for purchasing or rental of spaces for PANIA to meet at all levels.

PROPAGANDA AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE (PRC): The Propaganda and Research Committee will be responsible for dissemination of information throughout the African community. They must ensure that every organizer has a stockpile of PANIA literature and develop norms for its distribution. The Propaganda and Research Committee will develop a newspaper, educational brochures and a research department to inform African people worldwide about all relevant issues pertaining to the liberation of Africa and African people. The PRC will create a publishing company for books, films, DVDs CDs etc. A department for promotion and tours of speakers will be created by the PRC. The PRC must propagate the goals, objectives, ideals and programs of PANIA Movement.

DOCUMENTATION AND COMMUNICATION COMMITTEE (DCC): The Documentation and Communication Committee will be responsible for taking minutes at all meetings, distributing all memos internally, corresponding externally through mailings, e-mails, telephone calls and overall communications with organizations, members, and potential members informing them to participate in our orientations, meetings, programs and projects. The DCC will function as the administrative and secretarial arm of PANIA. The Documentation and Communication Committee must document all programs with videotapes, minutes, tape recordings and keep a record and file on every activity of PANIA. The DCC must reproduce all information for PANIA meetings and programs. The DCC will be responsible for developing communication centers throughout the African world for telecasting, internet and radio broadcasting, podcast, you tube channels, instagrams, facebook pages, and function as a library to provide information for African people. The DCC is responsible for establishing a P.O. Box and e-mail address at the regional, national and international level of PANIA, and maintaining a website for PANIA which should be checked daily.

FARMING AND AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE (FAC): The Farming and Agriculture Committee will facilitate cooperative farming projects in Africa primarily and throughout the African world with an emphasis of organizing the African agricultural laborer. The agricultural laborer is the main element inside the working masses, and the empowerment, advancement, and development of this sector of Africans is the most

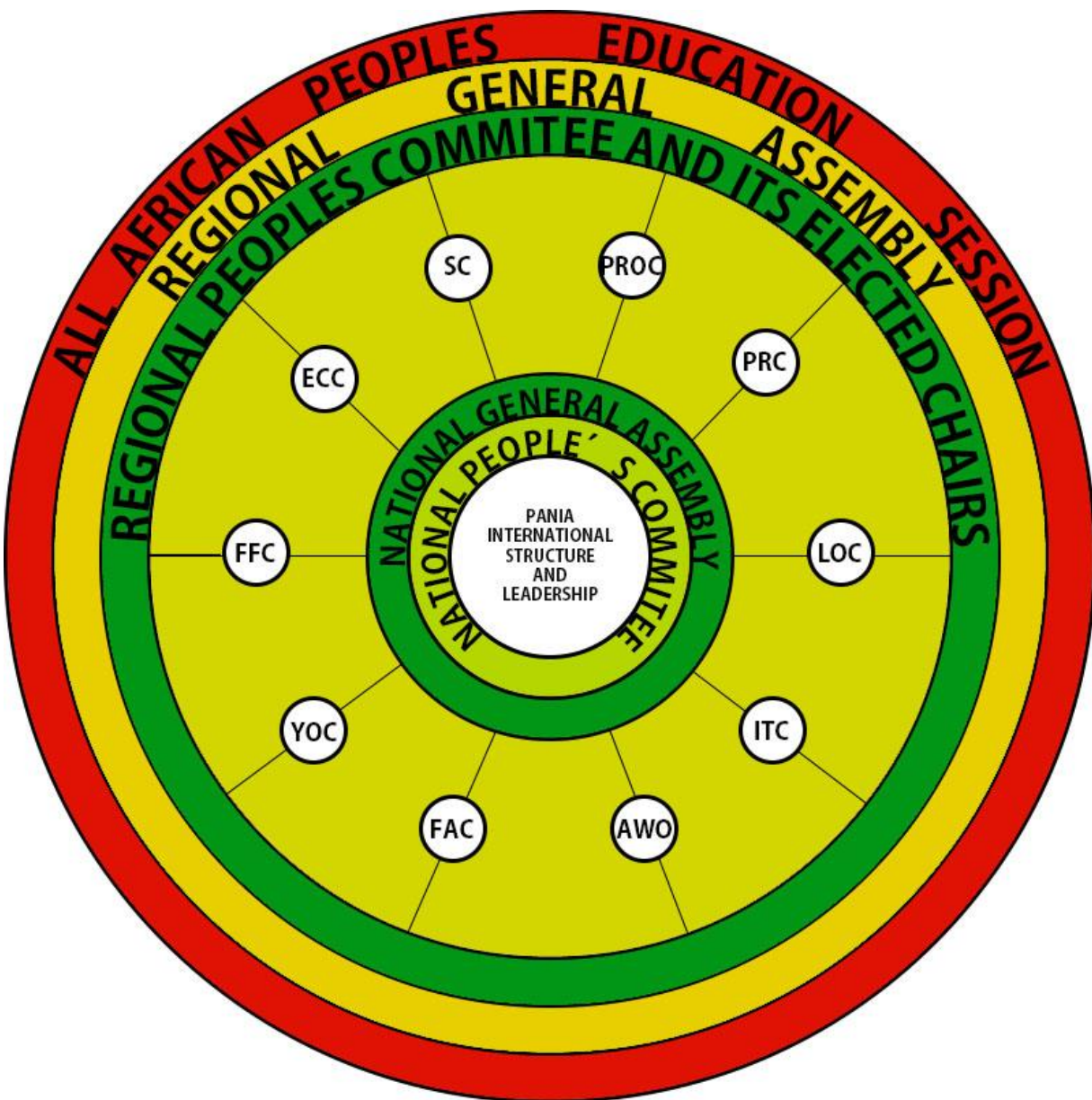
important for PANIA and Africa to progress. The FAC will be responsible for exporting agricultural products, which will be used as a basis for feeding African people, PANIA members and raising funds from exports to Africans worldwide.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE (ITC): The Industrial Technology Committee will be responsible for setting up cooperative factories, enterprises and industries especially inside of Africa to sustain the needs of the masses. ITC is also designed to eventually create the conditions inside of Africa to become self-sufficient and independent by looking for alternative energy sources as prescribed by Chiekh Anta Diop in his book Black Africa. ITC will ultimately create an organization to take control of Africa's resources and use them for the internal industrialization of Africa.

AFRICAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION (AWO): The African Women's Organization (AWO) is an interdependent organization within the structure of PANIA Movement. The AWO will be organized at every level of the PANIA Movement, which should function to educate the entire organization about the frontline struggle of African women against sexism, racism and class oppression. Within the PANIA Movement African women will always be a part of the leadership to express their views and perspectives in the context of our ideology, policies, projects and programs. However, the AWO will also be able to establish its own programs, education process for women and the entire organization, create its own budget and reach out to other African women's organizations, women's organizations of our alliances, as well as revolutionary, Pan-Africanist and socialist organizations to execute PANIA's overall plans, policies and objectives.

PAN-AFRICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT (PAYMO): The Pan-African Youth Movement is an interdependent wing of PANIA Movement. PAYMO will be organized at every level of the PANIA Movement. Its sole purpose is to reach out to progress African Youth organizations across the globe to spark change and a Pan-African movement among African youth and simultaneously among the mass of African people. PAYMO will organize among the youth in the African community and give special attention to college and university students because they possess the necessary skills to enhance our program and serve the needs of people. Therefore, PAYMO's programs will be organized both in the African community and on university campuses. They will have power to organize youth conferences and various activities in line with our aims and objectives. Its members will range from 18-30. PAYMO will adhere to PANIA's structure, policies, plans and ideology of the PANIA Movement.

**PAN-AFRICAN IMPROVEMENT
ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COMMITTEE
STRUCTURE**



The Contribution of African Women to Our Freedom is Immeasurable!



Fannie Lou Hamer



Ella Baker

The national structure is subordinate to the international leadership and will consist of the same committees as the international structure with the exception that there is no People's Congress at the national level. The national structure will also encompass all of the regions within its national boundaries. The Chairman of each committee must submit yearly reports to the Chairman of the People's Committee at the international level. Each committee will be responsible for carrying out the same duties and responsibilities, as described at the international level, within its national borders wherever PANIA Movement is organized. The committees will meet once every two years to discuss and assess their work which will be given to the National People's Committee to develop a plan for the upcoming four years.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE (NPC): The National People's Committee must coordinate all work of the committees, education, communications, projects and programs of the regions within its national jurisdictions. The NPC is the leadership of PANIA at the national level and will elect a chairman from its body that will chair their meeting and report directly to the People's Committee chair at the international level. The Chair of the NPC will represent PANIA at the national level. The NPC should meet once a year at the minimum, or however many times necessary to conduct the affairs of PANIA on a national level.

NATIONAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY (NGA): The National General Assembly will meet every four years and will consist of the current dues paying membership in the national territory. The NGA will be chaired by the National People's Committee

chairperson, and an overall report will be given to the general body as to the progress made by PANIA as a national and international organization. The report, in turn, will be given to the PC by the NPC for overall planning of PANIA. The NGA will elect the NPC every four years.

REGIONAL STRUCTURE

The regional structure is subordinate to international and national structure and will duplicate its committees, and its leadership will consist of 10 Chairpersons of each committee that will coordinate PANIA work and responsibilities at a regional mass level. The regional structure will not consist of a People's Congress. Every member of PANIA will be required to study and participate in People Sessions. The People's Sessions will be facilitated by the Education and Culture Committee. People's Sessions will be held twice a month and can only be attended by members and new recruits that have been orientated. Wherever necessary, the People Sessions can be broken down into smaller divisions to discuss the educational materials. This should be decided by the Regional People's Committee. The size of a region and its boundaries will be determined by a majority vote of dues paying members after it exceeds 100 members. Regional Committees will meet once every two years to develop a plan for their committees in the region. The plan should be submitted to the Regional People's Committee for planning of the entire region.

REGIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE (RPC): The Regional People's Committee is responsible for the overall coordination of each committee in the region. The RPC will provide the leadership for the region and will elect a chairman to represent PANIA in the region. The chair of PANIA at the regional level will report directly to the chair at the national level. The RPC is responsible for developing a 4 year plan for the region. The RPC chairs will submit bi-monthly reports to each chair of their committee at the national level. The RPC will meet once a week to ensure the coordination of PANIA activity at the regional level.

REGIONAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY (RGA): The Regional General Assembly will be required to meet yearly, and every four years to elect its leadership and delegates to represent their region at the People's Congress. The RGA will assess PANIA's regional committees, projects, programs, schools, cooperative enterprises, fundraising, and overall committee work. The facilitator of the RGA will be elected from the RPC.

ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SESSIONS (PS): People Sessions can be conducted in a variety of ways (lectures, roundtable discussions, videotape or DVD viewing, power point presentations, guest speakers etc. Large groups can be broken down into smaller

units depending on the reality of the facilities and the resources available. The decision should be made by the RPC in the region. All information speakers etc. must have some practical relevance to the discussion of the reading material for that meeting. Questions and discussions should be encouraged regardless of the format used, and the ECC is ultimately responsible for each session's content and the questions for the session-making sure that all discussions are reflective of the ideology of the organization. Members should come prepared by reading the material outlined for meeting, underline passages that are not understood, or points that need to be made, and write down questions for discussions The information will be recorded by the DCC to be turned over to the PRC in the region to compile the information for the development of educational brochures at the regional level for masses.

The Organization of African Women is the Key to the Success of the African Revolution!



Angela Davis

SUSPENSIONS

The following are cause for suspension:

1. Giving information to the enemy
2. Physically harming, injuring, or killing a PANIA member
3. Substance abuse while carrying out PANIA work and study
4. Purposely disrupting PANIA meetings on a consistent basis
5. Sabotaging PANIA's projects
6. Nonpayment of dues for 3 months
7. Stealing from PANIA's project and programs
8. Contravening the code of conduct, directives and orders from leadership after repeated discussions of how this action may stifle the organization and its ability to move forward
9. Illegal usage or distribution of drugs
10. Consciously acting contrary to ideology, principles, code of conduct, objectives and aims of PANIA Movement

Only leadership bodies as a collective have the power to suspend a member or members. Proof, evidence and a sound rationale must be provided in writing for suspension of any member to take place in PANIA. All suspensions must be made in writing, and can be appealed at the Regional People's Committee level. If the person who is suspended is not satisfied with the decision of the RPC, they can appeal all the way to the National People's Committee and People's Committee. However, the People's Committee decisions are final. In order to appeal a suspension a person will need a written statement from three active dues paying PANIA members as to why he/she should not be suspended. A grace period of one month is required before a PANIA member may be reinstated after a suspension is overturned. Resignations should be submitted in writing, and if a member decides to rejoin PANIA afterwards, he or she can only obtain membership six months following a notice of their return.

THE COOPERATIVE ECONOMIC PROCESS

Each class has its own characteristic institutions and organizations. For example cooperatives and trade unions are organizations of the working class. Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle In Africa pg. 23

Africans that Repatriate and Africans that live in Africa must first of all acquire the correct education politically. This helps to analyze various forces that are oppressing Africans worldwide and in Africa, and it also provides the solution for the problems of African people as well. This is why we have outlined an educational program for all PANIA members. One's ideological orientation will determine which class one associates with when they Repatriate or engage in struggle for the freedom of African people. To align oneself with the petty bourgeoisie in Africa that is facilitating European foreign domination, does not solve Africa's problems but only exacerbates them. We've learned through scientific research that the relationship to the productive process determines how a person thinks. If we are working under capitalist production relations it still gives many African workers a capitalist perspective and a dependent mentality because of the domination of capital over labor. However, if cooperatives are formed in the process of developing a revolutionary society it breaks the dependency on the capitalist enemy, gives the people a cooperative perspective and prepares the African worker for a socialist society.

Eventually, the working masses will take power in Africa, so it's best to develop institutions that are associated with them to prepare for that type of society. Therefore, consciousness and the correct education must be incorporated in the process of building the Pan-African Improvement Organization. This means Africans should have a good understanding of the Repatriation and Pan-African Movements, working mass struggle, as well as the history of Africa and African people. They should also be aware of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, zionism, neo-colonialism, and how these systems are the enemy of African people.

Since Africa's economy in general is 80% rural based, farming cooperatives should be given top priority, especially given the fact that our projects will benefit the community, and provide jobs for local residents. But for Africans who live in the diaspora that are planning to Repatriate, PANIA Movement is also designed to set up cooperatives to serve our people's needs until they are ready to make that transition. We are an international organization that will embark upon building cooperatives wherever African people live to facilitate trade and commerce among African people until we have a society in Africa in which the African working masses own and control the means for producing wealth in society, which leads us toward socialism.

STARTING A COOPERATIVE

A cooperative is a jointly and collectively owned enterprise by its members, with revenues shared. A cooperative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs through jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprises. Money generated from a cooperative enterprise is revenue as opposed to profits accrued from capitalist investments. This is because a cooperative is collectively owned, which eliminates exploitation of workers in the transitional period to a society in which the working masses own and control the means for producing wealth in society (socialism). This is opposed to private investment for profits, which enhances capitalism—a system that has historically and is presently exploiting and oppressing Africans throughout the world.

Cooperatives connote collectivism, and capitalism promotes individualism. Working together in a collective is more in line with African culture. When the oppressive system of European capitalism entered Africa and imposed individualism on the masses, it produced behavior, which has many of our people operating like "crabs in a barrel".

The reason we are suggesting cooperatives is that it's imperative that Africans who Repatriate and Africans born on the continent work together within an organizational structure, because as in the case of colonialism one must be careful not to create an oppressive class relationship. Furthermore, we do not want to duplicate neo-colonialism which is presently exploiting Africa, we want to destroy it. The domination of capital over labor has been a cardinal principle that the Pan-African and Repatriation movements has been against since its inception. In the second through fourth orientation sessions you should have read the book Repatriation and Pan-Africanism The Suppression of Two Movements, which outlined how the historical development of the two movements were anti-slavery, anti-capitalism, anti-colonialism, and anti-neo-colonialism.

Secondly, because Repatriation is intricately tied into Pan-Africanism, which is anti-capitalism, it allows workers and farmers on a collective level to share in the revenues from their ability to produce without necessarily having on produce without necessarily having government control within PANIA's framework. This will help the masses become self-sufficient and self-sustaining. Since we are a mass organization, we understand it is important for us to take care of the needs of our people at a collective level without exploitation until we can make a revolutionary change in African society where the working masses own and control the means for producing wealth.

The maximum operational capacity of cooperatives can only be achieved with a progressive government in power This prevents agricultural workers from being manipulated by neo-colonialist, and averts the rural bourgeoisie control and exploitation of the same class of workers in a system, which is designed to serve the foreign capitalist interest.

Kwame Ture, in the 1960s, then known as Stokely Carmichael stated "we want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see (African residents) demand that an exploiting landlord or store keeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively"... Dubois founded a Negro Cooperative League in 1919."

Kwame Nkrumah was able to practically implement the concept of cooperatives as one of the integral organizations which primarily combine[d] to form the Convention People's Party (and it) consisted of: The Cooperative Movement Nkrumah encouraged the masses to shun foreign investment and invest in cooperatives. He stated, "On the contrary, we shall encourage our people with savings to invest in the State sector and cooperative undertakings.** He also points out, "market cooperatives operate in many African countries with great success...But by far the highest form of cooperation in agriculture is the production cooperative, which organizes the administration and

mechanism of agricultural production. Kwame Nkrumah was driving the economy of Ghana toward socialism.

According to the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), the world's largest non-governmental organization, there are more than 760 million people who are members of cooperatives. The ICA represents more than 250 national and international organizations. There are 47,000 cooperatives in the National Cooperatives Business Association serving 100 million people in the United States.

It is the responsibility for the Farming and Agricultural Committee (FAC) and the Industrial Technology Committee (ITC) to set up cooperatives, and the Fundraising and Finance Committee to help fund them. They must develop a feasibility plan and submit them to the leadership bodies at the regional, national and international level. A feasibility plan only describes the practicality of the cooperative and the necessary steps that have to be taken to make it work. The topics that should be covered in the plan should include: a description of the cooperative and its products and services; the location and who are the targeted customers; what we charge for products and services; the need and cost of advertising; the cost to start and the salaries of the workers; what are the skills needed to work in the cooperative; how much the organization and the people themselves will contribute to the cooperative, and the percentage of the revenue each person will receive as well as the organization. Percentages will be based on the amount the organization and each individual contributes. For example, if five individuals in PANIA contribute \$1,000 to a cooperative and the organization contributes \$5,000, the individuals would receive 50% of the revenues and the organization would receive 50%. All members of PANIA should be supportive of our cooperatives because it helps to build self-sufficiency for our people and organization.

There are some points that should be considered when starting a cooperative in Africa. The group should decide if the cooperative will be based on manufacturing, industry or agriculture. A manufacture based cooperative means that you will take raw materials and transform them into finish products. Research by the Propaganda and Research Committee can help people within the organization set up the kind of cooperative that fits within the context of the African community we are organizing in. Here are some of the points that are to be taken into account:

- 1 Purchase of machinery and equipment
- 2 Acquisition of plant and office space
- 3 Purchase of office equipment
- 4 Staffing
- 5 Technical research and development
- 6 Market research and development
- 7 Development of a feasibility study and plan
- 8 Make sure it fulfills a need for the people in the community and in Africa, and the location is reasonable for marketing the product

9 Set clear aims and objectives

10 Ensure the involvement of all members and make decisions based on consensus

11 Leadership and Responsibles on the FARC and ITC must have good management skills in developing a cooperative to ensure accountability to the organization and of all members involved.

Since Africa is 80% agriculturally based, if a cooperative is formed in regards to farming, here are some factors that have to be considered:

1. Purchasing of land and its cost or form cooperatives with Africans in the area that already own land
2. The type of crops you want to grow
3. Will the crops be for consumption in Africa or export abroad
4. Cost of transportation to market or to the harbor for export
5. The cost per acre of the crops you want to grow
6. The amount of money that the crops yield per acre
7. What are the lucrative and off seasons
8. Can the produce be processed in Africa and sold
9. Equipment, machinery that is needed tractors etc.
10. Hiring of laborers and working as a cooperative
11. Development of a feasibility study and plan

Farming cooperatives allow the participants to pool their resources, purchase inputs, and store market produce and eliminates the middleman who buys produce from the farmer at a cheap rate and sells it in the city for a higher profit. Cooperatives organized by PANIA will ensure that revenue is equitably distributed among the members involved in the cooperative and the organization there will be no profit accumulated by individuals. One of the major benefits of the cooperative system is that it allows for the purchasing of farm equipment, which may not be possible to purchase by individual farmers. The principle of collective work and responsibility must be paramount in developing a PANIA cooperative.

There are many areas of the economy wherever Africans are located to form cooperatives. With the correct education, proper organization and planning, and financial stability, a cooperative in Africa will not only sustain our individual members, but will maintain the independence and self-sufficiency of our organization...

Kwame Nkrumah outlines some immediate needs of Africa that can be developed in to cooperatives.

"Among immediate needs are the manufacturing in Africa of agricultural machinery of all kinds to speed up the modernization of agriculture. We

need supplies of electrical equipment for use in the growing electric power production essential for industrial growth. Mining and industrial machinery must be produced in Africa to lower the costs of developing our mineral resources. Construction machinery and supplies, chemicals, fertilizers, plastics, are all urgently required, and Africa must produce them for her own requirements.

He goes on to state:

...different regions in Africa suggest the production of iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, engineering supplies, chemicals and fertilizers, cement, paper and textiles should be developed..."

Three major areas that PANIA will look into in forming cooperatives are factories (especially shoe and textiles), clinics and schools. These areas will not only be helpful to the organization, but are beneficial to the surrounding community as well. What must be done is that each region must study and research, and find the suitable cooperative enterprise for that location to raise funds for the members and the organization.

The main point, however, is that we must shed the mindset of being a consumer, and think in terms of being a collective producer, while being a service provider in the areas we live. It is only by forming cooperatives within an organizational framework that will allow the masses of Africans to become truly self-sufficient world-wide.

Therefore, preparation is everything! As Africans, if you don't have a skill it is very important that you acquire one. Applicable skills which are needed to help develop our organization along these lines are: engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, professors, welders, electricians, draftsmen, computer technicians, architects, auto mechanics, printers, carpenters, masons, or obtaining knowledge of farming as well as other skills. These are the type of skills Africa needs at a very basic level that will help African people and the organization in general. In other words, it doesn't matter the type of skill one has whether it's vocational, technical, or intellectual Africa and African people need everything. In addition, within the organization, the more skills Africans within the organization have, the more dynamic we become as an organization in our capacity for self-sufficiency.

These skills can be used to start a cooperative to help employ people within our communities at home and abroad. One of the most important aspects of our struggle for Africans is to move from the mindset of being a consumer to understanding the ability of having power to become a producer on your own land. This means that the psychological impairments imposed by U.S. and European capitalism must be discarded, which is the most difficult aspect of Repatriation. That is, to overcome the inferiority complex inbred inside of many Africans, which says, "we are incapable of development on our own or living in Africa without the white man"-which is utter nonsense! PANIA cooperatives will break the level of dependency Africans in the diaspora have on European capitalism, and prepare them ideologically to repatriate,

and inside Africa cooperatives will function to make us self-sufficient and break the neo-colonial ties that bind us to that same European capitalist class and move us toward socialism.

In retrospect, the degree of commitment to freedom and Pan-Africanism is what will make the entire process of cooperatives possible. And, it is only the correct education and proper ideological orientation that will solidify these objectives (Repatriation and Pan-Africanism) and make it whole.

¹Stokely Carmichael, The Black Power Revolt pg. 75 ?

²Theodore G. Harding, Black Power and the Garvey Movement

³Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path pg. 175 *

⁴Ibid pg. 203

⁵Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle in Africa pg. 78

⁶Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism The Last Stage Of Imperialism pg. 28

⁷Ibid pg. 29

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

On my honor, I solemnly pledge I shall live up to the aims and objectives of the Pan-African Improvement Association Movement. I shall never, under any circumstances, divulge any secrets, or plans of the organization to the enemy, nor betray my brother or sister. I will forever endeavor to carry out my individual duties and collective responsibilities in the Pan-African Improvement Association Movement. I will serve and sacrifice in solidarity with the African masses to uphold the ideas and principles for which the Pan-African Improvement Association stands in order to bring about a **UNITED AFRICA** in which the working masses own and control our resources under socialism.



PAN-AFRICAN IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

MINUTE/REPORT FORM

1. Date of meeting_____
2. Venue of meeting_____
3. Name of recorder_____
4. Number of Women in attendance_____
5. Total Number in attendance_____
6. Time of meeting: start_____ end_____

7. Attendance:

| First Name | Last Name | Time Arrived |
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8. Discussion of reading material. List the form of educational process: Speaker, audio visual, video, information from the internet etc. State the main concepts in the discussion, consensus, and minority disagreements.

9. Current Affairs/World Geo-politically

10. Committee Reports : (State only the major decision by the Committee)

a) Education and Culture Committee:

b) Fundraising and Finance Committee:

c) Security Committee

d) Program Committee:

e) Propaganda and Research Committee:

f) Documentation and Communication Committee:

g) Farming and Agriculture Committee:

h) Industrial Technology Committee:

i) African Women's Organization:

j) Pan-African Youth Movement:

11. Unity-Critique and Assessment-Unity

(Please use an additional blank page to complete the report if necessary)