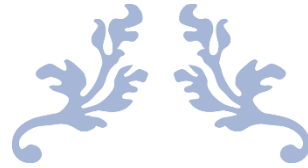


STRATEGIC PLAN 2020-2024

FOR PROMOTING AND ENHANCING THE
SITUATION OF AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS
IN GUYANA.



**International Decade for People of
African Descent Assembly - Guyana
(IDPADA-G)**



STRATEGIC PLAN FOR PROMOTING AND ENHANCING THE SITUATION OF AFRICAN- DESCENDANTS IN GUYANA

International Decade for People of African Descent Assembly – Guyana
(IDPADA-G)



DECEMBER 1, 2019

PREPARED BY CONSULTANTS: THOMAS W. GITTENS; HUBERT ROBERTS; MICHAEL COHANE LEVI

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.0. Background:

This **Strategic Plan 2020 – 2024** for promoting and enhancing the situation of African-Guyanese was developed within the framework of the United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent, under the theme of **Recognition, Justice and Development**. The plan was developed by a Team of consultants at the instance of the **International Decade for People of African Descent Assembly – Guyana (IDPADA-G)**. It utilizes a blended methodology of Regional Consultations focusing on Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10 in which the majority of African-Guyanese reside; meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations; meetings with policy-making entities such as Government Ministries, Agencies and Commissions; and an extensive Literature Review on the historical processes and structural forces that have shaped and conditioned African-Descendants in Guyana from the period of African enslavement to the contemporary period.

2.0. Structure of the Strategic Plan:

The **Strategic Plan** is divided into Six Sections as follows:

- 1.0 INTRODUCTION
- 2.0 THE STRATEGIC PLAN 2020-2024
- 3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SITUATION OF AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS IN GUYANA
- 4.0 COLLATION OF THE RESULTS FO THE REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS – IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES, PROGRAMMES, AND PROJECTS
- 5.0 STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, OUTCOMES, OUTPUTS AND ACTIVITIES UNDER THE STRATEGIC PLAN
- 6.0: MANAGEMENT, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION ARRANGEMENTS

The plan contains ten ANNEXES that include, Regional Consultations; Meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations; Meetings with Government Ministries and Commissions; Findings and Recommendations from the Regional Consultations and Meetings that focused on the sectoral areas such as **Economy, Employment, Education, Equity/Equality, and Expiation (the 5 Es)**; an ANNEX titled **RESTORING HOPE THROUGH EDUCATION** submitted by the Hebrew Family of Guyana; and another ANNEX titled **SUBMISSION BY THE EQUITY COMMITTEE, IDPADA-G**.

3.0. The Foundations of the Strategic Plan:

The elucidation of the struggles, trends, processes, and forces that shaped the historical evolution and contemporary situation of African-Descendants in Guyana as outlined in **Section 3.0: Literature Review**; and the current reality of their existence as outlined in **Section 4.0** that analyzed the results of the **Regional Consultations** and **Meetings** with IDPADA-G Member Organizations, together provide both the context as well as the content and thrust of the Strategic Objectives, Outcomes, Outputs and Activities, of the **Strategic Plan**. Thus the **Literature Review** established some recurring trends, processes and forces such as the reality of economic exploitation, racial discrimination, cultural dispossession, and

social and familial degradation that characterized the institution of slavery and underpinned the subjugation and dehumanization of the enslaved African. The post-emancipation period gave rise to new and continuing forms of discrimination and dispossession even as the ex-slaves sought to build an independent existence away from the plantations and to develop their own agency through peasant agriculture away from the plantations, and wage labour in the towns and interior settlements. These processes seeded the emergence of an African-Guyanese working class of peasant producers, laborers and artisans, and a middle class of teachers, civil servants, lawyers, doctors and other professionals.

The pre-independence period saw the emergence of an African-Guyanese consciousness, first under the leadership of the BGLU and later under the leadership of the original PPP and then the PNC. This period was characterized both by continuing economic exploitation and discrimination, continued denigration of their culture and forms of social organization, denial of political rights, and reflexive struggles by the awakening African-Guyanese collective to assert their humanity, claim their civil and political rights, and carve out a sustainable path to socio-economic emancipation and empowerment. The post-independence period under Burnham's PNC was one of promise fueled by the newly-won right to control the socio-economic and political destiny of the independent state of Guyana. Advances in education and health care, leadership and managerial jobs in Government and the State Corporations, and expanded opportunities and entry into the independent professions, were all hallmarks of this period. But alas, the internal contradictions of Cooperative Socialism, compounded by external economic and political forces led to reversal of this promise and the strident African-Guyanese consciousness that accompanied it. The PPP years saw the return of socio-economic discrimination and exclusion, political domination, and a socio-cultural reversal amidst conditions of increasing poverty, unemployment especially among the youth, curtailment of job opportunities in the state sector, and neglect of African-Guyanese inner city and rural communities.

The **Regional Consultations** and **Meetings** with IDPADA-G Member Organizations sought to examine the current situation of African-Guyanese based on the five **Response Areas** of Economy, Employment, Education, Equity/Equality and Expiation, that have been determined as the focus of the **Strategic Plan**. The data collected reflect the return of some historical trends, processes and forces that characterized the pre-Independence era, including systemic and structural racism and discrimination, economic dispossession, political domination, denial of equal opportunities for jobs and earning an income, curtailment of socio-economic emancipation due to restrictions in access to bank financing, education and training, and compromised socio-cultural expression through the emergent pathologies and self-doubt in the African-Guyanese social and family structures.

These consultations and meetings did not only elucidate what has gone wrong and the pathos of the African-Guyanese condition in contemporary Guyana; but also produced recommendations in terms of policy, programmes and actions that can be taken to address if not reverse this situation. While policy is admittedly the preserve of the state, those in control of the Local Government system, the private sector and organized labour, and those who impact on these through civil society actions and advocacy, many of the programmes and actions emanating from the consultations and meetings also spoke to the agency of African-Guyanese individuals, families, communities and Afro-centric organizations in undertaking purposeful and collective actions to address these deficits, deficiencies and pathologies, and reverse the current condition of the African-Guyanese collective. It is these policies, programmes and actions that lay in the realm of the state, those in control of the Local Government system, the private sector and organized labour, and those who impact on these through civil society actions and advocacy; and equally so, those programmes and actions that speak to and are dependent on the

agency of African-Guyanese individuals, families, communities and Afro-centric organizations, that have informed and provide the contextual framework and content of this **Strategic Plan**.

4.0. Strategic Objectives, Outcomes, Outputs and Activities of the Strategic Plan:

The **Strategic Objectives** of the plan have been developed and presented sectorally reflecting the sectoral focus of “the 5 Es” as outlined above. The operational section of the plan (**Section 5**) is organized under 6 **Strategic Objectives** as follows:

- i. Promote economic advancement and empowerment, **economic agency** and self-confidence; expand access to business and entrepreneurial training, access to investment capital, and capital accumulation and wealth and assets creation; organize African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, construction, trades and service providers in cooperative networks; rebuild and strengthen African-Guyanese businesses and producer organizations; reduce poverty; and ensure a sustainable socio-economic future for the African-Guyanese collective;
- ii. Create sustainable jobs and **employment** opportunities for African-Guyanese; enhance employability through access to education and training institutions; enhance appropriate skill levels through skills training and life-long learning; increase access to tertiary and professional education and training and expand access to high-paying professional and technology-based occupations; reduce poverty; and inculcate appropriate workplace attitudes and behaviours towards producing a skilled and productive African-Guyanese workforce;
- iii. Re-build the capacity of the African-Guyanese collective for learning and self-improvement through **education** and training; promote the fashioning of an education system and curricula that include and recognize the history and culture of Africa and African-Guyanese; institute policies, programmes and actions that contribute to a rounded socio-cultural and science-based education for the youth including instilling appropriate attitudes, behaviours, and values; and build a cadre of African-Guyanese educators, trainers, and technical level instructors, for sustainable inter-generational learning and advancement of the African-Guyanese collective;
- iv. Reduce systemic and structural inequalities in access to socio-economic opportunities and goods and services; address and remove inequities and inequalities in access to **justice** and treatment by the courts, law enforcement, and prison officials; restore conditions of equity and equality in relations between African-Guyanese and other ethnic groups; combat racial profiling and negative stereotyping of African-Guyanese; promote equity and equality in the expression of religion in public meetings and spaces; and restore hope and confidence in the African-Guyanese collective, and youth in particular, through the realization of **equity, justice and development**;
- v. Support demands by the African-Guyanese collective, the Caribbean and Latin American Diaspora, and the independent nations of Africa, for an **apology** and reparations for the injustices and deprivations of African trans-Atlantic slavery; advocate for the full embracing by the former colonial powers and others complicit in African enslavement of the UN Decade for People of African Descent and the calls for justice, recognition, and development; promote a similar embracing and admission by other ethnic groups in contemporary Guyana who may have benefited from, or been complicit in, the subjugation, oppression, exploitation, and dispossession of African-Guyanese historically and into the contemporary period; and support **healing** from the cross-generational impacts of centuries

- of oppression and psychological deformation, and recovery of the spirit, ethos, and creativity of the African-Descendant collective; and
- vi. Promote capacity building in Afro-centric umbrella organizations in the five Response Areas of the **Strategic Plan**; strengthen the capacity of the IDPADA-G Secretariat to provide capacity building and organizational support to such Afro-centric umbrella organizations; provide an institutional framework and operational capacity to coordinate and support the programmes of such organizations in pursuance of the goals for justice, recognition and development; promote the maintenance, preservation, and observance of African and African-Guyanese culture, languages, art, music, dance, dress and other forms of expression and the teaching of African history; and strengthen operational capacity to coordinate and monitor implementation of the **Strategic Plan**.

The **Outcomes, Outputs and Activities** are presented under each corresponding **Strategic Objective**, and collectively constitute the programmatic and operational component of the plan. These are presented in great detail with the intention of providing specific guidance on the Outcomes to be achieved and the Outputs and Activities required to achieve each Outcome.

The **Strategic Plan** is complemented by two companion documents viz. the **Implementation Plan (IP)** that presents the Strategic Objectives, Outcomes, Outputs and Activities together with Indicators, Lead and Supporting Entities, and Indicative Budget, all in a tabular form; and the **Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Plan** that outlines the monitoring and evaluation framework, including benchmarks, indicator framework, timelines, and responsible parties.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACDA – African Cultural and Development Association

ABR – African Business Roundtable

BGAA - British Guiana African Association

BGEIA - British Guiana East Indian Association

BGLU - British Guiana Labour Union

BGTA - British Guiana Teachers Association

BIT – Board of Industrial Training

BOG – Bank of Guyana

CAGI – Consultative Association of Guyanese Industry

CCM - Country Coordinating Mechanism

CDC – Community Development Council

CIC – Community Improvement Committee

D&I – Drainage and Irrigation

ERP – Economic Recovery Programme

GAPE – Guyana Association of Professional Engineers

GAIBANK - Guyana Agricultural and Industrial Bank

GBA – Guyana Bar Association

GCCI – Georgetown Chamber of Commerce and Industry

GCIS - Guyana Cooperative Insurance Service

GLSC – Guyana Lands and Surveys Commission

GMFB - Guyana Mortgage Finance Bank

GMSA – Guyana Manufacturing and Services Association

GNCB - Guyana National Cooperative Bank

GNS - Guyana National Service

GOG – Government of Guyana

GPF – Guyana Police Force

GPHC – Georgetown Public Hospital Corporation

GPS – Guyana Prison Service

GRA – Guyana Revenue Authority
GuySuCo – Guyana Sugar Corporation
GWLA – Guyana Women Lawyers Association
IDPADA-G - International Decade for People of African Descent Assembly – Guyana
IMF - International Monetary Facility
IPED – Institute of Private Enterprise Development
LCP - League of Colored Peoples
LSMS - Living Standards Measurement Survey
MOA – Ministry of Agriculture
MOB – Ministry of Business
MOC – Ministry of Communities
MOE – Ministry of Education
MOF – Ministry of Finance
MOLA – Ministry of Legal Affairs
MOPH – Ministry of Public Health
MOPI – Ministry of Public Infrastructure
MOPS – Ministry of Public Security
MOSCCYS – Ministry of Social Cohesion with responsibility for Culture, Youth and Sports
MOPS – Ministry of Social Protection
MPCA - Manpower Citizens Association
NPTAB – National Procurement and Tender Administration Board
M & E – Monitoring and Evaluation
NAREI – National Agricultural Research and Extension Institute
NDC – Neighbourhood Democratic Council
NDIA – National Drainage and Irrigation Authority
NGMC – New Guyana Marketing Corporation
NIEO - New International Economic Order
NIS – National Insurance Scheme
OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

PAC - Political Affairs Committee
PAD – People of African Descent
PADFARMA – People of African Descent Farmers Association
PNC – Peoples National Congress
PPP – Peoples Progressive Party
PSC – Private Sector Commission
PTSSD – Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome Disorder
RDC – Regional Democratic Council
SBA – Small Business Association
SBB – Small Business Bureau
TUC - Trades Union Congress
UF – United Force
UG - University of Guyana
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN IDPAD – United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent
US – United States of America
VAT – Value Added Tax
WPA - Working Peoples’ Alliance

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Section</u>	<u>Page</u>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i-iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	v-vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii-x
1.0 <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1-2
2.0 <u>THE STRATEGIC PLAN 2020-202</u>	2-6
2.1: Context	2-3
2.2: The Strategic Planning Process	3
2.2.1: Methodology.....	3-5
2.2.2: The Team	5
2.2.3: Timeline for Preparing the Strategic Plan	5-6

PART 1

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS OF REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND OTHER MEETINGS.

3.0 <u>LITERATURE REVIEW: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SITUATION OF AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS IN GUYANA</u>	7-30
3.1 Content and Purpose	7-8
3.2 Pre- 1834	8-10
3.3 The Differentiation of the Post-Slavery Economy and Emergence of an Enlarged System of Domination – 1838 – 1928	10-11
3.3.1: The Development of the “African Village Movement” after Apprenticeship.....	11-14
3.3.2: The Development of the African-Guyanese Middle Class	14-17
3.4 The Rise of Organized Labor, the Beginnings of the Nationalist Movement, the Rise of African and Indian Guianese Political Leaders and the Independence Movement – 1928 – 1966	18
3.4.1: The Struggles of the Urban and Rural Working Classes and the Growth of the Labour Movement	18-20
3.5: The Nationalist Movement, the Politics of Race, and Political Independence – 1946 – 1966	20-23
3.6: Post-Independence Guyana under Forbes Burnham and Desmond Hoyte – 1966 – 1985; 1985 – 1992	23-27
3.7: Post October 1992: Guyana under Presidents Cheddi Jagan and Janet Jagan – 1992 – 1999; and Bharrat Jagdeo and Donald Ramotar – 1999 – 2015	27-30

4.0:	<u>COLLATION OF THE RESULTS FO THE REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS – IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES, PROGRAMMES, AND PROJECTS</u>	30-46
4.1:	Method of Analysis	30
4.2:	Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Economy	30-34
4.3:	Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Employment	34-37
4.4:	Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations: Education	37-40
4.5:	Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Equity/Equality	40-43
4.6:	Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Expiation	43-46

PART 2

5.0:	<u>STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, OUTCOMES, OUTPUTS AND ACTIVITIES UNDER THE STRATEGIC PLAN</u>	47-70
5.1:	Contextual and Organizational Framework	47-49
5.2:	Strategic Objectives	49-50
5.2.1:	Strategic Objective 1	50-53
5.2.2:	Strategic Objective 2	54-57
5.2.3:	Strategic Objective 3	57-60
5.2.4:	Strategic Objective 4	60-65
5.2.5:	Strategic Objective 5	65-68
5.2.6:	Strategic Objective 6	68-71
6.0:	<u>MANAGEMENT, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION ARRANGEMENTS</u>	71-73
6.1:	Management Arrangement	71
6.2:	Implementation Arrangements	72
6.3:	Evaluation Arrangements	72-73

ANNEXES	74-102
ANNEX I: SCHEDULE OF REGIONAL STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS	74
ANNEX II: MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS	75
ANNEX III: POLICY MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND COMMISSIONS	76
ANNEX IV: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES CONSULTED FOR THE LITERATURE REVIEW	77-78
ANNEX V: FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: ECONOMY	79-83
ANNEX VI: FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: EMPLOYMENT	84-87
ANNEX VII: FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: EDUCATION	88-91
ANNEX VIII: FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: EQUITY/EQUALITY	92-95
ANNEX IX: FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: EXPIATION	96-98
ANNEX X: RESTORING HOPE THROUGH EDUCATION	99-100
ANNEX XI: SUBMISSION FROM THE EQUITY COMMITTEE, IDPADA-G	101-102

STRATEGIC PLAN 2020-2024

for

PROMOTING AND ENHANCING THE SITUATION OF AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS IN GUYANA

prepared for

THE INTERNATIONAL DECADE FOR PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT ASSEMBLY-GUYANA

(IDPADA-G)

(Prepared and submitted by Consultant Dr. Thomas W. Gittens, Team Leader, 5th December 2019)

1.0. INTRODUCTION:

This proposal was prepared in response to a request from the **International Decade for People of African Descent Assembly – Guyana (IDPADA-G)** to support their efforts to prepare a **Strategic Plan 2020-2024** for implementing activities in Guyana towards realizing the objectives of the **International Decade**. The Decade, which began on 1 January 2015 and will end on 31 December 2024, was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 68/237, with the theme **“People of African descent: recognition, justice and development”**. By its resolution 69/16, the Assembly adopted a programme of activities for the implementation of the Decade.

The overall objective of the Decade is to promote respect, protection and fulfilment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of people of African descent. The General Assembly also identified the following specific objectives:

- (a) To strengthen national, regional and international action and cooperation in relation to the full enjoyment of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights by people of African descent and their full and equal participation in all aspects of society;
- (b) To promote a greater knowledge of and respect for the diverse heritage, culture and contribution of people of African descent to the development of societies;
- (c) To adopt and strengthen national, regional and international legal frameworks in accordance with the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and to ensure their full and effective implementation.

In addition to those objectives, the General Assembly recommended activities to be carried out, in particular by Member States. In the **Programme of Activities for Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent**, relevant United Nations programmes, funds, specialized agencies and other bodies, in particular the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), regional organizations, financial and development institutions, national human rights institutions and civil society are requested to take specific actions. The General Assembly appointed the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to act as

coordinator of the Decade in order to follow up on the implementation of activities in the framework of the Decade.

The **Report of the Secretary-General 21st August 2015**, elaborated progress achieved under the **Programme of Activities for Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent**, in the following areas: Legislative measures; National action plans and other policies; Monitoring bodies and complaint mechanisms; Awareness-raising and education; Research; and Data Collection. The **Report** also contained sections on Challenges; and Conclusions and Recommendations. (The preceding sections were extracted from the **Report of the Secretary-General 21st August 2015**).

In his **Address at the Symposium Organized by the Cuffy 250 Organisation**, August 9, 2016, His Excellency President David Arthur Granger, enjoined attendees to “**Organise and mobilise, don’t agonise**”, and outlined five areas which should form the basis and focus of a Strategic Plan to achieve the objectives of the Decade in Guyana. These are: Expiation; Education; Equality; Economy; and Employment. His Excellency’s Charge led to the formation of a Core Group which eventually morphed into the “International Decade for the People of African Descent Assembly (Guyana) – Country Coordination Mechanism. On November 6, 2016, His Excellency was apprised of, by way of letter, “... a machinery ... to be established and a process to be initiated for the crafting of the Plan.” (Extracted from the **Background Document** prepared by the Core Group, December 2017).

2.0. THE STRATEGIC PLAN 2020-2024:

2.1. Context:

The **CHARTER** of IDPADA-G outlines its goal as follows:

“The Goal of IDPADA, Guyana is to craft the Guyana plan for the International Decade for People of African Descent, in keeping with the provisions of the UN’s Resolution; and as mandated by His Excellency the President at the Cuffy 250 Committee Annual Forum on August 07[sic], 2016, inclusive of mechanisms for implementing, superintending and monitoring the plan, as may be deemed necessary”. (**CHARTER**, paragraph 2).

The five Response Areas outlined by his Excellency were adopted by **IDPADA-G** and enshrined in paragraph 9 of its **CHARTER**.

According to the planning document titled “**IDPADA-G STRATEGIC PLAN TO RECLAIM, REVITALIZE. RESTORE: PROPOSED PROCESS:**

“The development of the IDPADA-G Strategic Plan should be approached within a contextual framework that recognizes that the current socio-economic position of African-Guyanese can only be improved by a comprehensive programme that is centrally-planned and executed. IDPADA-G, under the aegis of the UN Decade for People of African Descent can serve in that capacity – bringing together the experts and developing a parallel bureaucracy that can address the complex nexus of issues that confront and hinder progress in our community”.

It is in that context that IDPADA-G articulated its **VISION** as:

“The realization of recognition and justice, and the achievement of sustainable development for Guyanese of African Descent”.

This vision statement is intended to serve as the focus and organizing framework for the work that it will pursue for the remainder of the Decade for People of African Descent in Guyana. The **Mission Statement** for IDPADA-G is to:

- 1) **Advocate** at the national level for policies and programmes that advance the interests and condition of Guyanese of African Descent in the five Response Areas of Economy, Employment, Education, Equity/Equality and Expiation;
- 2) **Provide guidance and support** to member organizations for developing and undertaking projects that respond to the needs of Guyanese of African Descent;
- 3) **Provide capacity building and organizational support** to member organizations;
- 4) **Implement demonstration projects** by the Secretariat that can be replicated by member organizations; and
- 5) **Provide leadership, coordination, monitoring and reporting** on the achievements of the Decade in Guyana.

This **Strategic Plan** was prepared in the throes of a period of great stress for African-Guyanese. Nearly two hundred years after the emancipation of enslaved Africans, and over fifty years after the granting of formal political independence from British colonial domination, the situation of Guyanese of African Descent is less than acceptable and cries out for **recognition, justice, and development**. Much of this history and contemporary reality are outlined in some detail in **Sections 3.0** and **4.0** of this **Strategic Plan**. It is a history of economic exploitation, political domination, social and racial discrimination, and cultural and spiritual despoliation. It is also a proud history of struggle, survival, and ultimately one of redemption. This plan follows in the wake of what was attempted with much success in the immediate aftermath of Emancipation and Apprenticeship, when freed Africans pooled their resources, bought villages from their erstwhile captors, moved away from the plantation, and with some initial success built the foundations of a thriving African-Guyanese village and peasant economy. This story is briefly recounted in **Section 3.3.1** of this **Strategic Plan**. That effort of largely unschooled and unlettered freed Africans to establish villages with all the characteristics of a settled and civilized community, including schools, places of worship, houses and homesteads, commercial and production activities, took much planning, and indubitable skills and perseverance to accomplish. That it was stymied and stunted by brute force and the weight of a discriminatory legal and political system, renders the successes of the village movement that much more worthy of emulation. That is why this later effort at strategic planning to promote and enhance the situation of African-Guyanese in contemporary Guyana, has been dubbed as **Strategic Plan 2.0** in recognition and commemoration of the superlative and heroic planning that underpinned the Village Movement in the first decades after the end of Apprenticeship.

2.2. The Strategic Planning Process:

2.2.1. Methodology:

The framework for preparing the Strategic Plan has been guided by the **Proclamation of the International Decade for People of African Descent** as per the **Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 23 December 2013**; and the **Programme of activities for the implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent**. In that regard, the three objectives of the decade as outlined in the **INTRODUCTION** above, will, in the context of the challenges facing, and aspirations of Guyanese of African Descent, also inform the specific objectives, activities and outcomes of this Strategic Plan.

The Strategic Planning process was undertaken in an iterative and interactive manner, including regular review meetings with the IDPADA-G Secretariat and the Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM). It also involved some twenty (20) Regional Consultations in African-Guyanese communities and villages in Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10 undertaken in May – July 2019, attended by approximately 400 persons. This was intended to solicit the views, perspectives and recommendations of ordinary African-Guyanese structured along the five Response Areas identified by IDPADA-G as the focus and organizing framework for the Strategic Plan. The Strategic Planning process also involved meetings with some fifteen (15) of the more active Member Organizations of IDPADA-G with the objective of obtaining their inputs based on their work and perspectives in the five Response Areas, including recommendations for policies, programmes and projects for inclusion in the **Strategic Plan**. This was followed by meetings with Government Ministries and Agencies, Rights Commissions, umbrella Private Sector and Labour Organizations, and other stakeholders, to obtain feedback, validate, and sharpen the policy and programmatic recommendations coming out of the Regional Consultations and other meetings towards ensuring relevance and practicality, and for ultimate inclusion in the Strategic Plan. The list of Regional Consultations, meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations, meetings with Government Ministries and Agencies, Rights Commissions, umbrella Private Sector and Labour Organizations, and other stakeholders, is attached hereto as **ANNEX 1**.

This Strategic Plan is not intended to be a document that reflects the perspectives and idiosyncrasies of the drafters, but rather the needs, ideas, perspectives, and actions as identified and expressed by its ultimate target group, Guyanese of African Descent and supporting organizations, during the fulsome consultation process as outlined above. In that regard, a key component and first methodological step in preparing the plan was a series of engagements and meetings with key stakeholders including:

- IDPADA-G General Assembly, Coordinating Council and sub-committees;
- Experts: economists, social scientists, political scientists, engineers, agronomists, geologists;
- Government Agency representatives e.g. Lands and Surveys Commission, Ethnic Relations Commission, University of Guyana, Ministries of Education, Social Protection, Finance, Business, Communities, Public Health, Legal Affairs, Social Cohesion, Agriculture;
- Religious leaders of traditional, Rastafarian, and Africanist faiths and persuasion;
- African-Guyanese business and farming community;
- African-Guyanese teachers and other professional groups.

The Local Government Symposium organized by IDPADA-G on 19th May 2019, brought together Afro-centric organizations and their representatives from all regions of Guyana, and constituted an opportunity to present the Strategic Planning process and seek the buy-in and involvement of its major stakeholders. As such, the Strategic Planning Team made a presentation at the symposium that outlined the process and solicited preliminary feedback from participants on the methodology, and logistical issues in the regions.

Inputs were solicited from stakeholders and participants in the consultations and other meetings through a set of generic questions derived from and intended to solicit perspectives, ideas, inputs, solutions, and action points under the five Response Areas embraced by IDPADA-G and as outlined by President Granger. Reports were prepared after each regional consultation, meeting, and engagement outlining the responses to the questions raised and any additional inputs or contributions from the respondents. These Reports were then collated and form the basis for preparing the Strategic Objectives, Actions, Outputs and Outcomes of the **Strategic Plan**.

The first draft Strategic Plan 2020 – 2024 was prepared during the period late July to September 2019. This involved an extensive literature review based on the research and writings of prominent Guyanese scholars and researchers; Caribbean and international experts on the historical and contemporary situation of African-Guyanese and the wider African Diaspora; and official reports and documents prepared by UN and other international actors on the contemporary situation of African-Descendants in Guyana. This literature review is presented below in the chapter titled **Historical and Contemporary Situation of African-Descendants in Guyana**, and is intended to highlight and present those historical processes and structural forces that have formed, informed, or contributed to the present day condition and challenges facing African-Descendants in Guyana. A listing of sources consulted for this literature review is attached hereto as **ANNEX 11**.

The next step in preparing the first draft Strategic Plan was to collate the inputs and responses received during the consultation and data collection process. This collation of inputs, responses and recommendations is presented in the chapter below titled **Analysis of Inputs and Recommendations from the Regional Consultations, and Meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations and other Stakeholders**. The strategic objectives of the Strategic Plan, and the actions, outputs and outcomes under each strategic objective were then formulated based on these inputs and responses consistent with the overall objectives of the UN Decade. This was further refined based on inputs and feedback from the meetings with Government Ministries and Agencies, Rights Commissions, umbrella Private Sector and Labour Organizations, and other stakeholders, that was used to validate, and sharpen the policy and programmatic recommendations coming out of the Regional Consultations and other meetings with IDPADA-G stakeholders, and ultimately the actions, outputs and outcomes under each strategic objective of the **draft Strategic Plan**.

2.2.2. The Team:

The preparation of the **Strategic Plan**, including background research, meetings and the consultation process, and preparation of the draft and final **Strategic Plan** and accompanying Implementation Plan, was undertaken by a three-person team consisting of:

Dr. Thomas W. Gittens – Team Leader

Mr. Hubert Robertson – Team Member

Brother Cohane Michael Levi – Team Member

The Team Leader was responsible for preparing the Proposal, drafting the questions for the consultation process, and the draft and final Strategic Plan and Implementation Plan, with support and inputs from the other two Team Members.

The Team Members were responsible for conducting assigned consultations, meetings and focus group discussions, and reviewing reports on such meetings to ensure accuracy and representativeness.

The Team Members also supported the Team Leader through reviewing and providing inputs on drafts of the Strategic Plan and the Implementation Plan prior to submission to the IDPADA-G Secretariat.

2.2.3. Timeline for Preparing the Strategic Plan:

The Strategic Planning process was undertaken over a six-months period beginning mid-May and ending mid-November 2019. The following activities/outputs were undertaken over the six-months period based on the attached dates and timelines:

1. Submission of a Proposal for undertaking the consultancy – Friday 10 May;
2. Presentation on the process at the Local Government Symposium organized by IDPADA-G – 19th May;
3. Meetings, Regional Consultations, other Stakeholder meetings – 20th May – early September;
4. Presentation on 1st draft Strategic Plan to the IDPADA-G Annual General Meeting – 22nd September;
5. Submission of 1st draft Strategic Plan – 6th October;
6. Detailed feedback on 1st draft Strategic Plan from IDPADA-G Secretariat and other Stakeholders –end-October;
7. Submission of Final Strategic Plan, Implementation Plan, and M & E Plan – end-November 2019.

PART 1

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS OF REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND OTHER MEETINGS.

3.0. LITERATURE REVIEW: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SITUATION OF AFRICAN- DESCENDANTS IN GUYANA:

3.1: Content and Purpose:

Any attempt to understand the current situation and challenges facing African-Descendants in Guyana, as elsewhere, must start with an understanding of the historical processes and structural forces that have formed, informed and still determine to a great extent how African-Descendants have evolved, have been integrated into the Guyana mosaic over time, how they have been negatively impacted, and in turn have been conditioned by those historical and continuing contemporary forces. This in turn must begin with an understanding of the experience of being brought as enslaved persons from Africa to the Guiana coast; how they were integrated into the slave and plantation economy from the 1600s; how they worked, struggled and survived the horrors of the plantation economy as unpaid labor; how they contributed to building that plantation economy, otherwise characterized as the slave mode of production; and how their labor was extracted for the benefit of the slave and plantation owners, and the material benefits exported to Europe to develop the emerging capitalist empires and societies in Europe. As many researchers and writers have well-documented, that system of exploitation, at bottom based on race, was perpetuated after the formal end of slavery in 1834 and under the Apprenticeship System; and further entrenched in different forms in the period after 1838 when other sources of labor were introduced from Madeira, other Caribbean colonies, India and China; and how these new and layered conditions of repression were introduced and provided the historical dynamic for the evolution of British Guiana, in economic, political, and socio-cultural terms, well into the 20th Century and to this day.

The **Background Document** prepared by the Core Group in December 2017, in characterizing “The Guyana Reparations Story” lists fifteen state facilitated actions which have contributed to “... the derecognition, denial of justice, and the denial of the path of sustainable development which the Africans had embarked upon in the country now called Guyana”. (**Background Document**, p.8). These fifteen actions will be returned to later in this section, but what is important in this characterization is the division of the period from slavery to the present day into discrete historical periods as follows:

- Pre – 1834 [African slavery was formally abolished in 1834];
- 1834 – 1838 [the period of Apprenticeship of the freed Africans];
- 1838 – 1917 [spanning introduction of other immigrant races and the end of Indian Indentureship];
- 1917 – 1966 [post-Indian Indentureship to political independence];
- 1966 – 1985 [post-Independence and the period of Cooperative Socialism under President Forbes Burnham];
- 1985 – 1992 [the period of the Economic Recovery Programme introduced by President Desmond Hoyte];
- Post October 1992 divided into:
 - (i) 1992 – 1999 [the return of the Peoples’ Progressive Party (PPP) to government and the period under President Cheddi Jagan]; and

(ii) 1999 – 2015 [The Jagdeo-Ramoutar era].

The above periodization is in part useful in that it charts and chronicles the various structural and other forces operating at different moments that allow for a deeper understanding of the African-Guyanese experience from slavery to the contemporary period. The academic and analytical literature that will be reviewed in this section covers the various periods as outlined above, and in some instances introduces some slight differences in how the historical periods are demarcated. What that literature does in the aggregate is to explore and give meaning to distinct processes, themes, theoretical constructs, and concepts that help to organize and give analytical meaning to the African-Guyanese experience over this extensive period; and in some instances treats with discrete moments in that long history based on the academic interest of the writer.

This Literature Review is not intended to be an exercise in story-telling or an historical narrative, but to extract and highlight those forces that have shaped the African-Guyanese experience and have informed the contemporary and enduring challenges facing African-Descendants in Guyana from early settlement and through the colonial period that formally ended with Political Independence in 1966. This Literature Review is intended to explore three main questions:

- i. What major features of the period of colonial domination persisted over time and have been carried over into the contemporary period?
- ii. What processes, forces and impulses have shaped the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese in the immediate pre- and post-Independence Guyana? And
- iii. What contemporary and ongoing processes and forces have led to the relative weakening of the position of African-Guyanese vis-à-vis other races, and the conditions of economic deprivation, social dysfunction, and cultural decline that characterize African-Descendant people of Guyana?

Having explored the above questions, the next step was to determine what policies, programmes, and actions can and should be taken to address the contemporary challenges facing African-Descendants in Guyana. This task was further informed by the inputs, perspectives and recommendations that have been collated from the Regional Consultations, meetings with IDPADA-G member organizations, and meetings with other stakeholders as outlined in section 2.2.1 above.

3.2: Pre- 1834:

The Core Group **Background Document** referenced above characterizes this period as follows:

1. The criminal enslavement of the African in Guyana from the 1600s to 1834.
2. The complete denial of the human rights of the African for over 200 years.
3. The purposeful creation by Europeans of the institution of racism to justify slavery.
4. The annihilation of African culture and the Christianization of Africans and African culture.
5. African pauperization through free enslaved labor for over 200 years.

Kimani Nehusi characterized this period of Dutch and later English rule during which Africans were brought to Guyana and elsewhere as follows:

“For generations the enslaved Afrikans, and later Afrikan, Indian, Portuguese and Chinese indentured workers, had toiled to produce abundant wealth through the creative and transforming application of their physical and intellectual labour to the environment in the process of production. And for just as many generations, expatriates from Europe, the owners of the means of production, had appropriated almost all the wealth produced and shipped it off to Europe. Those who numbered less than a tenth of the population had therefore subjugated and exploited those who numbered more than nine tenths of the population”. Kimani Nehusi, **A People’s Political History of Guyana 1838 – 1964**, p. 36).

In seeking to account for how this tiny minority was able to maintain the vast majority in subjugation for so long, Nehusi argued that this was the result of:

“... organized physical and mental violence as *superior military technology* and *miseducation*, a corresponding *greater capacity for violence*, a notable propensity to employ such violence, the resulting *mass terrorism*, *cultural genocide*, *enforced historical amnesia* and therefore varying levels of *self-ignorance*, *psychological trauma*, *self-hate*, *inferiority complex* and the consequence of these in profound *confusion*, *disunity*, *disempowerment* and *disablement* in different degrees within the ranks of the that majority”. (Nehusi, p. 36).

The period of slavery up to 1834, was marked by the construction of the colonial state as the guarantor of the socio-economic order based on control of the instruments of domination and oppression including coercive power in the form of militias; legal domination through draconian slave laws; political domination through the privileged position of the plantocracy in the legislative organs under the control of the governors; social power through the imposition of the slave-owners’ religion and culture, and a consequent destruction of that of the slave majority; and psychological dehumanization through daily acts of violence, inhumane treatment, deprivation, denial of rights and avenues for intellectual development, all buttressed by the coercive arm of the colonial state to maintain the status quo.

The enslaved Africans often sought to exercise agency and rebel against these harsh conditions, as evidenced by the interminable slave uprisings and rebellions over this long period, the most notable being in 1763 and 1823; or sought to escape the plantation as did the maroons in Jamaica and neighbouring Suriname. But these revolts were harshly quashed by use of superior military forces; or the escaped slaves were recaptured with the help of the Indigenous populations in the forests. Many of these processes, structural forces and features were continued into the post Emancipation period and beyond.

Kean Gibson has also sought to deconstruct this period of slavery and oppression (and succeeding periods up to contemporary times) in an interesting, albeit provocative monograph titled **The Cycle of Racial Oppression in Guyana**. Speaking of Dutch and later English exploitation beginning with enslavement of Africans, Gibson argues that “They saw the country not as an area of settlement but one of exploitation ...” and that:

“The notion of “exploitation” set up a cycle of oppression based essentially on race, which is still manifest today, and thus we see the continued underdevelopment of Guyana. There has been “European oppression”, “African oppression” [Referring to the immediate post-Independence period under the PNC], and currently “East Indian oppression.” It has been a cycle of oppression motivated by the desire to obtain and retain power, avariciousness and the emotion of fear –

fear of losing life, power and wealth. The cycle of oppression has been motivated by human beings primordial instinct of self-preservation". (Kean Gibson, pp. 3-4).

In speaking of the use of language and naming by the slave owners and other dominant classes through history, to dehumanize, devalue, and justify holding others in subjugation. Gibson further notes that:

"The view of Africans as physically repulsive, morally depraved and mentally retarded was generally accepted by Whites in the New World Societies"; and that

"It is the linguistic dehumanization of African that precluded [sic] and justified their enslavement in the Americas ...". (Gibson, pp. 8 and 9).

Gibson's characterization of racial oppression during slavery and the ways in which enslavement of Africans was justified on the basis of racial superiority of European Whites, is useful in that it establishes the relation of whiteness or nearness to white as a justification for domination, oppression and a privileged socio-economic position throughout the history of colonial Guyana; and in the immediate pre- and post-independence periods. Pre-Emancipation Guyana was essentially differentiated between the minority white hegemonic class and the majority African enslaved class. The emergence of a small category of freed ex-slaves and mixed race population, did not significantly impact the social order based on race, or diminish the relation between race and class, or the powerful and the powerless.

In concluding this brief section, we must return to the first of the three questions posed above on how the history of African-Descendants in Guyana has shaped their contemporary reality. The question posed was what major features of the period of colonial domination persisted over time and have been carried over into the contemporary period and the answer is in part summarized below.

For purposes of this Strategic Plan that seeks to enhance and advance the situation of African-Descendants in contemporary Guyana, this early period is significant in that it laid the basis for the exploitation and oppression of Africans based on discredited theories of racial superiority; it reproduced that exploitation and oppression through linguistic and cultural dispossession; it perpetuated this system of exploitation and oppression through naked coercion based on control of the instruments of violence in the form of militias or the military; it resulted in enduring psychological and psycho-social deformations that have remained with African-Descendants into the contemporary period; and reproduced the system of domination and disempowerment of the African masses through control and use of the colonial state and its economic, political, legislative, and administrative processes. This architecture of oppression, psychological deformation, and exploitation was reproduced in succeeding periods as will be outlined below.

3.3. The Differentiation of the Post-Slavery Economy and Emergence of an Enlarged System of Domination – 1838 – 1928:

This socio-economic situation of African-Descendants changed significantly in the period after Emancipation and with the formation of the African-Guyanese peasantry through the Village Movement; the introduction of other races as cheap indentured labour for the plantation economy; the evolution of the Portuguese and Chinese indentured labourers into an intermediate class of peasant farmers, traders and shop keepers; the differentiation of the colonial economy based on race, occupation and residency; and the eventual development of consciousness and awakening of these incipient classes.

In addition to the works quoted above by Kimani Nehusi and Kean Gibson, a number of well-known writers, historians and researchers, have produced a large, complex and informative body of work on the period between 1838 and 1928. Alan H. Adamson, **Sugar Without Slaves**; Walter Rodney, **A History of the Guyanese Working People**; Alvin O. Thompson, **The Haunting Past, Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life**; and Winston F. McGowan et al., **Themes in African-Guyanese History**, offer accounts and analyses of the various processes and structural forces at play during that period. It was still a period of “European [White] oppression” to borrow Gibson’s characterization, but one in which the post-slavery economy and society experienced significant differentiation and growing complexity, overlaid by various new and constantly evolving forms of struggles and conflict, both between the still dominant minority white ruling class and the emerging Portuguese, Chinese, Black/Mixed/Colored, and East Indian middle strata or class; and also increasingly among themselves.

The Core Group **Background Document** referenced above, identified a number of ‘state facilitated actions’ in the periods 1834 – 1838; and 1838 – 1917, that directly bore on the conditions experienced by the formerly enslaved Africans and Apprentices, and later by the emerging African-Guyanese peasantry as it valiantly strove to secure its livelihood and sustenance, and to carve out a socio-economic space in the new post-slavery dispensation. The **Background Document** lists the following ‘state facilitated actions’:

1834 - 1838

1. The denial of justice and reparations to freed Africans in 1838 while empowering Europeans through a reparation payment of Pounds Sterling 47 M [sic].

1838 – 1917

1. The refusal to pay freed Africans fair wages after Emancipation.
2. The importation of Indentured labour to destroy the bargaining power and generational wealth creation of freed Africans who were left to fend for themselves.
3. An unrelenting attack on the “Village Movement” to destroy African wealth creation potential.
4. The granting of free lands to indentured Indians and not granting any lands to Africans while financing Indians in the rice industry.
5. Forcing Africans to sell their produce at low prices to the Portuguese who would then resell to the British at great profit.
6. Licensing Portuguese merchants, who were financially helped by Madeira, to operate in the African villages.
7. The splitting of Africa among the European powers in 1885 at the Berlin Conference and the subsequent Colonization of Africa for more than 100 years.

For purposes of this **Strategic Plan**, we have carved out the period 1838 – 1928 into a discrete historical period in the history of African-Descendants in Guyana. This period was characterized by a number of significant processes that charted successes and reversals for the African-Descendants, some of which will be explored below.

3.3.1: The Development of the “African Village Movement” after Apprenticeship:

In his seminal work, **Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838 – 1904**, Alan Adamson offered an exhaustive recounting of post-emancipation society and political economy, that

dwelt extensively with **the emergence and development of the “African Village Movement” after Apprenticeship**. This period saw the emergence and development of the African-Guyanese peasantry, through the purchase of sugar plantations using wages earned during the period of Apprenticeship, and the challenges they faced during this period to develop an independent economic and production base in agriculture notwithstanding the machinations of the colonial state to stymie if not sabotage such a development. Adamson notes that:

“Aside from Plantation North Brook [the first such estate bought in 1839], the following large purchases were made between 1838 and 1844: 500 acres of Plantation Friendship, purchased by 168 laborers for \$80,000; 500 acres of Plantation New Orange Nassau by 128 laborers in common for \$50,000 (this is the beginning of what later became Buxton village); 400 acres of Plantation Beterverwagting by 145 laborers for \$22,000; and 300 acres of Plantation Plaisance by 88 laborers for \$39,000”. (Adamson, pp. 36-37).

Without going into the detailed historical records, it should be noted that this process of establishing autonomous villages away from the plantations was neither smooth nor without its setbacks. Problems of drainage and irrigation, sea defenses, roads and drainage maintenance, capital for developing their agricultural plots, fragmentation through sub-division among the original buyers and inheritance into small non-viable plots, and excessive taxation to support immigration and other public purposes severely challenged the viability of these villages. The planters used every trick in the book to stifle and demoralize the emergence of this peasant producing class. In essence, they saw this development as inimical to their interests of maintaining a stable flow of cheap labour for plantation sugar production. Adamson describes the conflict as follows:

“Peasant subsistence and plantation monoculture collided head-on. The history of the fifteen years between 1838 and 1853 is in large part the history of that clash and the ultimate victory of the sugar planters ... “. (Adamson, p. 40).

The period after 1850 saw **a steady migration of African-descendants out of plantation labour and from the newly developed villages**, into the towns and urban settlements, and in small numbers up the rivers and creeks, and the emergence of an African-Guyanese lower or laboring class, of carpenters, joiners, cartmen, porters, stevedores (or dock workers), handy men, and other forms of employment that provided the labour force and helped to develop the emerging commercial and other occupations that underpinned the urban economy. This process of development of an African-Descendant laboring class would gain further momentum with the employment of significant numbers of African-Descendants in gold production after 1860 and more so in the last decades of the 19th century. Walter Rodney, in his path-breaking text, **A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881 – 1905**, chronicled the differentiation of the colonial economy and the pull of many new occupations away from the coastal villages and the plantation economy. Thus he noted the rise of economic activities in the areas of balata production, logging and forestry, charcoal production and export, shingles and furniture making, and gold production especially in the forests and interior regions. Rodney noted as follows:

“The balata industry, for instance began as the province of African Creoles and Bovianders [persons of mixed African-Amerindian ancestry], on the upper reaches of the Canje, but it soon proved an attraction to plantation workers.... Unemployed “peasant-laborers” moved seasonally from the coastlands and made their way into the hinterland of Berbice or Suriname to tap balata on behalf of local and foreign capitalist companies. The timber industry proper also drew laborers from the coastlands in addition to exploiting Amerindian laborers. In the 1860s and

1880s, the best laborers in the timber industry were the Kru from the West African Coast, who were already familiar with boats and with logging". (Rodney, p. 97).

Rodney wrote about the development of the gold industry after 1890 as a response in part to the changes in plantation sugar production as follows:

'[T]he short crop season was becoming the norm during the last decade of the nineteenth century. This forced Creole African Labor to develop in a many-sided fashion. They were accustomed to artisan work, day labor on the sea defenses or the village roads, provision farming, the making and selling of cassava bread, and the huckstering of foodstuffs – in addition to their days of estate labor. Into this typical labor cycle, many villagers resident on the coast integrated gold and diamond seeking or the collection of balata. For many others who were already driven to the towns, the trip to the bush supplemented a precarious existence on casual employment opportunities". (Rodney, p. 101).

Adamson also noted the development of African villages and settlements away from the coastal villages of the post-Apprenticeship periods up the Demerara River, up the Canje Creek, on the Essequibo coast, and up the Pomeroon River. He wrote approvingly of the "Remote Settlements", along the right bank of the Essequibo River; along the Pomeroon River; in the North West District on the Amakura and Barima Rivers; along the coast between Mahaica and New Amsterdam and on the upper Demerara River; at Soesdyk Village and Supply Village on the Demerara River; up the Canje Creek in Berbice; and at Better Success at the northwestern extremity of Essequibo. (Adamson, pp. 100 – 102). In summarizing the experience with these settlements, he notes that:

"[W]ithdrawal from the sugar economy did not necessarily entail, as was so often stated, a decline into sloth and barbarism; [and] ... apathy tended to decline and initiative and self-reliance to expand when smallholders could liberate themselves from the influence of the estates and the levies connected with the various government ordinances, while at the same time maintaining their connection with the market". (Adamson, p, 103).

In chapter 6 of the volume titled **Themes in African-Guyanese History**, edited by Winston McGowan et al, Brian L. Moore, "*The Social and Economic Subordination of the Guyanese Creole after Emancipation*", charts both the rapid development of African villages in the immediate post-Apprenticeship period as well as the largely successful efforts by the planter class and the colonial state to stifle this development in order to compel the former slaves to continue providing a modicum of labour to the plantations; as well as to thwart any competing economic and production activities that could challenge the lofty position of the white planter class and their commercial acolytes in the towns. This led to the migration into the towns; as well as up the rivers and into the hinterland areas as previously chronicled based on the works of Alan Adamson and Walter Rodney.

Brian Moore also traced the unsuccessful attempts by Creoles or African-Guyanese to break into the retail trade noting that this was thwarted both by the requirement of an expensive license as well as the favoring of the Portuguese by the White importers in order to set them up as intermediaries in preference to allowing African-Descendants to occupy that position. Moore noted the use of taxation policy to enforce the economic subordination of the Creoles (p. 144) and that the planters who controlled the Combined Court ensured that " ... the greater burden fell on the ex-slaves by a system of indirect taxation on articles of common consumption". By contrast plantation supplies were exempt from taxation. (pp. 144-145). Thus Moore writes as follows:

“More sinisterly, however, the huckster and shop licenses were calculated to hinder the Creoles from engaging profitably in the lucrative retail trade to accumulate wealth and thus become relatively independent of the plantation sector”. (Moore, p. 145).

In recounting the rise of the Portuguese in the retail trade, at the expense of the Creoles, it is worth quoting Moore extensively:

“[T]he practice of the merchants to grant Portuguese traders goods on credit while denying same to the Creoles further enabled them to out-compete the Creoles in the retail trade. By the 1850s, therefore, this very lucrative sector of the economy was dominated by the Portuguese who in turn contributed further to the impoverishment of the Creoles by overcharging and other fraudulent practices (e.g. short weights and measurements)”. (Moore, p. 146).

The dismal situation in the villages and the blocking of other avenues for economic advancement led to migration away from the villages as previously noted. However, this did not provide a satisfactory solution. As Moore further noted:

“Many Creoles, however, moved from their villages to the urban centers of Georgetown and New Amsterdam in search of better jobs and an improved way of life.... In the towns, they worked as porters, stevedores, domestics, seamstresses, coal-women, artisans and craftsmen, tram drivers and conductors, railwaymen, teachers, dispensers, policemen, clerks, parsons etc.”. (More, pp. 147-148).

Again, we must return to the three questions posed at the beginning of this Literature Review, and specifically to the question of what major features of the period of colonial domination persisted over time and have been carried over into the contemporary period. The above recounting of the experience of the village movement, attempts by African-Descendants to move away from the vicious pull of the plantation economy, and their efforts to enter into retail trade, all point to a number of historical forces and processes that stymied the development of African-Descendants from that early post-emancipation period onto the contemporary period.

Among these were, the use of taxation of consumer goods to force them to continue as a source of cheap labor; the strangulation of the village economy and curtailing the development of an African peasantry through control of land policy, taxation of village lands for public purposes including immigration, and neglect of drainage, irrigation, and roads in African villages that would have rendered them economically viable; the imposition of high costs for trade licenses that many African-Descendants found unaffordable, the deliberate favoring of the Portuguese as a middle stratum of traders and shopkeepers, and discriminatory practices by large importers in not affording credit to Africans in preference to the Portuguese, and banking institutions in not providing loans to Africans, which led to the stifling of business initiative and the derailing of emergence of an African-Descendant trading and business stratum; efforts of African-Descendants to move to the towns and perform jobs supportive of the growing business and small manufacturing sector, and as artisans, that saw the transformation of large numbers of previously rural-dwelling African-Guyanese into urban dwellers existing on the fringes of the urban colonial economy, who would later through ‘historical selection’ become the base of the urban working class in the colony and into the contemporary period; the movement of African-Descendants up the rivers and creeks to establish settlements and engage in own-account farming and other activities as a means of escaping the coastal plantation economy that increasingly through the 19th century seemingly had no positive role for them in the colonial economy;

and the movement into the interior regions as a source of labor in balata, timber and gold production, again both as a means of escaping the coastal plantation economy as well as to seek other forms of employment in the colonial economy.

Thus this period solidified the pattern of denial of opportunities, discrimination in favor of other race groups, movement to the urban centers to later form the majority of the urban working class, and movement into the interior to work in balata bleeding, timber, quarrying and gold production, which pattern continues in large measure into the contemporary period.

3.3.2: The Development of the African-Guyanese Middle Class:

The period spanning 1838-1928 also witnessed the simultaneous and progressive **development of an African-Guyanese middle stratum** (comprising of teachers, lawyers, medical personnel, religious leaders and other professionals) increasingly, but especially in the last decades of the 1800s and more so in the early 1900s, thrown up by the progressive differentiation of the plantation economy in Guyana and the upward mobility of the sons and daughters of freed slaves, who sought to carve out a niche for themselves in the colonial society and economy. This in time led to the progressive development of a middle stratum of Creole urban dwellers, who despite continued racial prejudice and discrimination would become junior level civil servants and store clerks, barely subsisting on the fringes of white society, employed on year to year contracts as ‘supernumerary officers’ without job security or any other benefits, including pensions. Others in time and at considerable expense went to study abroad and qualified as lawyers and doctors. Thus, “... with considerable sacrifice, most of the lawyers and doctors in the colony by the end of the century were creoles ...”. (Moore, p. 149). This was the embryo that grew into the African and Colored middle class. Kimani Nehusi, **A People’s Political History of Guyana 1838 – 1964**, noted that:

“The middle class has its origins mainly among the working people of the land. Its differentiation from the mass of the population was the result of several developments within the non-plantation sector of the political economy. Initially, these included the acquisition of academic and professional qualifications, especially among the Afrikans born in the country. The wages and salaries earned because of these qualifications immediately differentiated such persons from the mass of workers”. (Kimani, p. 113).

Thus, by the last decades of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, this middle class of lawyers, doctors, teachers, clergymen, etc. embraced the **British Guiana African Association**, formed since 1842, and began to form associations and to use these to agitate for change. (Nehusi, pp. 97 -108).p

Bryan Moore, in part, chronicles the transformation of the amorphous African-Descendant urban laboring class into a middle stratum, as part of the process of upward mobility and differentiation of the colonial social order:

“Skilled white collar jobs were greatly sought after but, because they conferred higher social status they were very difficult to obtain. At first, even jobs as store clerks were denied the Creoles, although that changed later in the century when the pool of White competitors declined”. (Moore, p. 148).

Moore offers an illuminating glimpse of the entry into, challenges and ultimate location of African-Descendants in the colonial civil service that continued into the contemporary period.

“In a way, the Creoles used the civil service as an index of their social progress and constantly pressured the colonial authorities to appoint more of them to its ranks.... This sort of pressure was ... maintained for the rest of the middle-class Creole press, although successive Governors were at pains to deny that race and colour played any role in public appointments”.

And that:

“It was no secret that appointments and promotions in the Civil Service, were made through patronage, family connections, and social standing based on race/colour and class”. (Moore, p. 148).

As with Kean Gibson, Moore argued that the “most pervading problem” faced by Creoles in colonial British Guiana was White racism, and that this to a large extent determined how they were allowed to operate in the colonial system. Moore offers a biting characterization of the emerging African-Descendant middle class that is worth quoting at length:

“Yet, in spite of such deep-seated racial prejudices, some Creoles managed by dint of hard work and great sacrifice to achieve some measure of upward social mobility. By the end of the century, there were lawyers, doctors, priests, civil servants, teachers, and even some plantation managers among the Creole population. But such social advancement was often accompanied by a denial of their Afro-Creole cultural roots as many sought to acquire the attitudes, airs and graces, beliefs, customs and values of the White colonial elites in order to prove that they had arrived socially”. (Moore, p. 152).

In what he labels “the new politics”, Nehusi offers a most compelling and intricate account of the emergence and development of class consciousness among the various race groups during the last decade of the 19th and early 20th centuries. He notes the emergence of the Portuguese middle class of merchants and owners of gold, diamond, timber and other economic ventures, who engage in struggles with the colonial state controlled by and acting in the interests of the White planter class. The Portuguese middle class was often joined by the colored and mixed middle class professionals, with a smattering of African Guianese professionals who numbered among the lawyers, doctors, teachers and preachers. In time they were also joined by the rising Chinese and East Indian middle classes. This amorphous group that in the period 1901 – 1928, engaged in political struggle through exercise of the then-limited franchise and election to the Legislative Council in elections held in 1901 and 1916. Theirs was a quest for a share in the politics of the colony, commensurate with their growing economic stake. It was not a class struggle in the classic Marxist sense since their objective was not to overthrow the colonial state and system of domination, but to assume what they saw as their rightful place in this firmament. It was this growing middle class agitation and political action, itself seen as a threat to the privileged position of the planter class, that led to the suspension of the ‘quasi-representative’ British Guiana constitution in 1928 and the reinstitution of understanding of the role and the positioning of the African-Descendant Guianese during this period, is the role played by what Nehusi characterizes as the lower middle class of African-Descendants. These were the lawyers, doctors, teachers, religious leaders, village leaders and others, whom we discussed above. However, Nehusi gives pride of place to the role of teachers in the continued struggles of the African-Descendant population in the last decades of the 19th and into the early 20th centuries. He writes:

“Inside the popular forces, primary school teachers continued to be the most organized, militant and articulate group of workers in this period. They were usually the most certified workers – and often among the most educated too”. (Nehusi, p. 216).

He continues:

“By 1900, teachers were one of the most informed, aware, conscious and organized professional groups in the country. They were in the vanguard of the struggle. At that juncture, teachers possessed a quasi-union in the British Guiana Teachers Association, a well-organized Women’s Section called the Women’s Auxiliary, and a mouthpiece, the *Teachers Guide*, when most other workers had not one of these organizational assets”. (Nehusi, p. 217).

Kimani also notes that other African-Descendant leaders who came to prominence during this period as lawyers, doctors and other professionals often started their professional careers as teachers. He noted that the law was “ ... conspicuous as the ultimate professional destination of many who began in teaching”. (p. 221).

What the above clearly demonstrates is the ambition, successes, and struggles of African-Descendants in the century after Emancipation and Apprenticeship, to improve their socio-economic status and standing, to lead creative and productive lives, and to contribute their talents and energies towards the evolution and develop of then British Guiana, where they had been brought as slave labour since the mid-1600s. What it also demonstrated are the ways in which this ambition and effort were strangled, distorted and denied by the White planter class and the White colonial state, both as a means of continued oppression of the African-Guyanese population and also of privileging other race and ethnic groups in the colonial society and political economy as a buttress against this African-Guyanese insurgency. This was indeed the application of the tactic and strategy of ‘divide and rule’.

Returning to the three questions posed at the beginning of this Literature Review, and specifically to the question of what major features of the period of colonial domination persisted over time and have been carried over into the contemporary period, we can identify the following that characterized this early period of the rise of the African Guianese middle class. **Firstly, it emerged out of the urban African-Descendant and mixed-blood urban working and artisanal classes, and through dint of hard work and a desire for socio-economic advancement many secured an education and entered professions such as the civil service, teaching, law, medicine, lay preaching and other middle class occupations. Secondly, this ‘class’ at that time did not constitute a revolutionary force and often did not see itself as the vanguard of resistance to colonial domination on behalf of the struggling masses, but rather as the fortunate few who were able to escape this condition. Thirdly, the African-Descendant middle class often joined the more advanced Portuguese and White creole middle classes anchored in commerce, and gold, diamond, and timber production in their struggles for a share in colonial politics, commensurate with their growing economic status outside of the formal plantation sugar economy. Finally, as often was the case, this early African-Descendant middle class, remained firmly anchored in the ‘service’ sector of the colonial political economy, albeit playing important roles in colonial administration, law enforcement, education, medicine, local (village) government, and cultural life.**

3.4: The Rise of Organized Labor, the Beginnings of the Nationalist Movement, the Rise of African and Indian Guianese Political Leaders and the Independence Movement – 1928 – 1966:

The periodization adopted for purposes of this **Strategic Plan** (1928 – 1966) differs slightly from that utilized in the previously-quoted Core Group document which begins in 1917. However, there is agreement that this period end with the granting of political independence from Britain in 1966. This period marks a particularly important era in Guyana’s modern political history and in essence marked the emergence of organized labor as the champion of the economic interests of the increasingly strident African-Descendant urban working class, and the East Indian working class based in plantation sugar and peasant agriculture; attempts by both the African-Descendant as well as the East Indian middle classes to mobilize their respective working class race groups in their struggles, against the planter and capitalist classes and for political rights of the majority African-Descendant and East Indian populations in the colony; and ends with the all-too-brief period of unified, radical nationalist politics led by Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham in the ‘original PPP’, the decline into racial competition and race-based violence of the early 1960s, and political independence in 1966. This period is perhaps one of the most heavily researched and written period in the history of colonial British Guiana, especially the period from the formation of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) in 1946 to the granting of political independence in 1966.

This **Literature Review** will not attempt to retell the history of this period. Rather, it will attempt to illustrate the role played by African-Descendants in these processes, and how those efforts resulted in the positioning of African-Descendants in the decades just prior to, and after Independence. In essence, it will attempt to address the second question posed at the beginning of this Literature Review, i.e. what processes, forces and impulses have shaped the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese in the immediate pre- and post-Independence Guyana?

3.4.1: The Struggles of the Urban and Rural Working Classes and the Growth of the Labour Movement:

As Nehusi notes, the institution of Crown Colony Government in 1928 in essence led to a relative ‘shut down’ of electoral politics and efforts by the then middle class led by the Portuguese, White Creoles, and Mixed-race groups to secure a role in colonial governance commensurate with their growing economic status. This led to the emergence of extra-parliamentary action as the arena of struggles to secure first economic and later political rights for the lower classes, progressively joined by the African-Descendant middle class and the rising East Indian middle class. The 1930s were a period of labour unrest fueled by the Great Depression in the West that saw a decline in the fortunes of most Western European countries, Britain included, and a commensurate decline in the fortunes of the British Guiana colonial economy still predominantly based on plantation sugar. However, it was the urban, largely African-Descendant laboring classes that bore the brunt of the financial hardships of the 1930s depression years and it was they who often carried the struggle, progressively mobilized by labor leaders such as Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, who came to prominence during and after the strike of 1905; and energized by the African Nationalist teachings of Diaspora leaders such as Marcus Garvey.

The British Guiana Labour Union (BGLU) was formed in 1919, with Critchlow as one of its foremost leaders. Its nucleus during the 1920s and beyond was embedded in the mostly African-Descendant urban working classes, especially the dock workers, although it attempted to mobilize in the rural areas

and among the sugar plantation workers. Hazel M. Woolford, in a chapter titled, *The Origins of the Labour Movement*, in the afore-referenced edited work by McGowan et al, notes the following:

“From the inception, the BGLU, although deriving its strongest support from the waterfront workers in Georgetown, was a general union, representing all workers irrespective of occupation, location, or race. In addition to waterfront workers, its members included porters, labourers, tradesmen, sea defence and road workers, railway employees, and some estate workers”. (Woolford, in McGowan et al, p. 281).

Woolford further notes that the BGLU’s ambition was to represent all workers including in the rural plantation economy:

“[I]t championed the cause of East Indian sugar estate workers especially on the East Coast and East Bank of Demerara, particularly from 1924. It collaborated with the British Guiana East Indian Association (BGEIA) in seeking better wages for these workers and in providing leadership and direction to them”. (Woolford, in McGowan et al, p. 293).

Writing about the activities of the BGLU in the period up to 1947, Kimani Nehusi notes that “The BGLU orchestrated the most determined struggle for a wide range of workers’s rights throughout this period”. (Nehusi, p. 284).

He added:

“The BGLU had semi-formal links with the Negro Progress Convention and the BG Workers League. The NPC was formed in 1922 by a Buxtonian, E.F. Fredericks, a practicing barrister. Remarkably like the early Guianese proto-parties and many of the other country-wide cultural organizations, and unlike the BGLU to some extent, the NPC leadership was always the upper section of the Afrikan middle class, and its membership the Afrikan lower middle class and working people throughout Guiana”. (Nehusi, p. 285).

In essence, this was an attempt by Critchlow to enter into an alliance that would afford the BGLU some political punch and enhance its ability to influence policy in the British Guiana colonial polity.

Nehusi complements this assessment of the BGLU with what was happening among the largely East Indian sugar workers in the 1930s and 1940s, and the role of the Manpower Citizens Association (MPCA) in their struggles. He notes that:

“The MPCA was formed in 1937 to represent sugar workers. Its leadership, always middle class, was at the inception, dominated by a single family. It was formed by Ayube Mohammed Edun, a jeweler, and Charles Ramkisson Jacob, a lawyer and member of the Legislative Council.... In 1939 its demands included, constitutional reform, adult suffrage, an elected majority in the Legislature, and payment of political representatives. In the 1940s it developed a thrust into formal politics. At the head of its political arm was John Lucie Griffith, an Afrikan Guianese, who embodied a long personal tradition of agitation among workers dating back to the second decade of the twentieth century”. (Nehusi, p. 286).

This brief recounting of the formation and role of labour unions in the period from the 1920s to the 1940s, brings out several important trends that would later crystallize in the immediate pre- and post-independence Guyana. In essence, some of these would become determinant processes, forces and

impulses that shaped the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese in the immediate pre- and post-Independence Guyana.

Firstly, this period marked the emergence of organized labour as a force to press the demands and interests of the largely African-Descendant urban working class against the exploitative and oppressive conditions of the 1930s and 1940s. Secondly, it witnessed an emerging alliance between the African-Descendant middle class and the largely African-Descendant urban working class. In this process, the African-Descendant middle class, over time, assumed leadership (or became part the leadership) of the labour movement and used it as a means of propelling itself onto the colonial political stage. Thirdly, this early period of formation of labour unions saw a tenuous unity between the African-Descendant urban working class and the East Indian rural working class located in plantation sugar. This tenuous unity would last into the mid-1950s under the political direction of the 'original' Peoples' Progressive Party; and lose much of its promise, if not dissolve, in the struggles between the African and East Indian political leaders in the late 1950s and the decades thereafter. Finally, this period portended the opportunistic organization and leadership of the largely urban African-Descendant working class and other elements of the African-Descendant collective based in the peasant/village economy and those in mining and forestry, by the progressively strident and ambitious African-Descendant urban middle class. In this process, the African-Descendant laboring classes would become the foot soldiers of the urban African-Descendant middle class, in the struggles for domination between the African and East Indian factions of the middle class, that came to prominence in the nationalist movement of the 1950s and led the independence movement.

3.5: The Nationalist Movement, the Politics of Race, and Political Independence – 1946 – 1966:

The history of Guyana in the period 1946 – 1966 has been heavily researched and debated, and this **Literature Review** will not attempt to re-tell that history. There are many well-researched, if sometimes polemic works, both by contemporary actors and later researchers, that have pronounced on this period. In essence, it was a period that began in 1946 with the formation of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC), under the leadership of the US-trained East Indian Dentist, Dr. Cheddi Jagan and his US-born wife Janet Jagan that brought together many of the leading lights of the era, from both major races and the Black and Colored professional middle classes. The PAC was distinguished from earlier political instruments by its deeper understanding of the origins of the oppressive and disempowering situation in British Guiana as a product of colonial domination; the need to embrace a radical ideology of struggle that would provide intellectual leadership for the movement; and the importance of a broad multi-racial and multi-class coalition of progressive forces to wage the struggle against colonial domination. Changes in the franchise in the late 1940s facilitated this political movement, led by the now radicalized middle classes and as a mobilizing force for the urban and rural working classes. Nehusi summed up the situation as follows:

“By 1949 the leaders of the PAC had already gained valuable political experience, raised the consciousness of the masses, and established an important working partnership with them. From its beginning, PAC had recognized the necessity for a qualitative change in the people’s struggle against capitalism, and committed itself to the politicization of the working people to be expressed in a single political organization. By 1950 the work of the PAC had consciously prepared both these leaders and sections of the masses for this national task”. (Nehusi, p. 363).

As is well-known, the PAC metamorphosed into the Peoples' Progressive Party (PPP) in 1950, with Forbes Burnham, a young African-Descendant UK-trained lawyer, as Chairman, and Cheddi Jagan, as leader. Together they forged a political unity of the largely urban-based African-Descendant population and the predominantly rural-based East Indian population, that for the next five years or so, raised expectations of proletarian unity in the struggle against the colonial capitalist state; and ultimately dissolved by the last years of the 1950s into two political parties, the PPP and the People's National Congress (PNC) formed by Burnham in 1956 after the split with Jagan. During the early 1950s the PPP led a spirited campaign against British imperialism and the domination of foreign and local capital, and soon displaced the pre-existing leadership by more traditional African-Descendant groups such as the League of Colored Peoples (LCP) that was absorbed into the PNC; and similarly displaced the East Indian-led MPCA that had sought to mobilize the rural East Indian sugar workers from the late 1930s. In this process, the PPP enjoyed much electoral support and soon became the largest political party in the Legislature. It became progressively more radical and leftist almost from the very beginning, that in the context of the cold war era earned it the distrust and opposition of the colonial administrators and the colonial ruling classes.

Nehusi describes the PPP that won the elections in 1953 as follows:

"On assuming office, the PPP was in the strongest position ever achieved by a Guianese political organization. Theoretically the party's strength was in its control of eighteen of twenty four elected seats in the lower house of the legislature, its capture of six ministries in the policymaking Executive Council, and its overall majority of twenty of thirty six votes in the combined houses ...". (Nehusi, p. 404).

As is well-known, the constitution was suspended in 1953, many of the PPP leaders thrown into detention, and the first PPP led government was overthrown. The elections of 1957 saw the first contestation for power between the PPP and the PNC, in which the former prevailed and was returned to office. The ensuing four years saw the consolidation of the PPP's electoral dominance that would see it returned to power in the elections of 1961. For a number of complex reasons that will not detain this narrative, the period between 1955 and 1961 saw an inexorable racialization of the population and politics in then British Guiana. To quote Nehusi:

"Immediately after the 1955 split Burnham was supported mainly by the Georgetown middle class and some of the urban masses. The 1957 split added the radical Guianese intellectuals, now disillusioned by the ethnic politics within the PPP, to the increasingly Afrikan dominated PPP (Burnham), soon to be PNC. It pushed the issue of race onto political center stage in a negative way and simultaneously and dramatically provided evidence of growing political discord based on race as well increased the risk of furthering such discord". (Nehusi, p. 599).

According to Nehusi, in commenting on the elections of 1961, that were won by the PPP racial polarization already existed in 1961, or began around that time (p. 601). He argues:

"The acute state reached in the racialisation of politics in the country is indicated by the dominant facts on the ground at that juncture. The PPP was no longer the multi-racial original PPP; it was now an Indian-dominated party. The PNC was an Afrikan dominated party even though it could claim a wider mix of Guianese people. The United Force was essentially a Portuguese dominated party". (Nehusi, p. 602).

He continues:

“Nineteen sixty-one was pivotal in the descent into racial politics and other forms of racial violence. Trust and accommodation among the races in Guiana had been ailing for some while. The 1961 PPP victory motorcade accelerated racial division in Guiana, weakened the progressive forces, and handed imperialism both the means and the opportunity for further intervention”. (Nehusi, p. 603).

This portended the disintegration of the earlier inter-racial unity if not alliance, that would later descend into violence, if not a race war between African-Descendants and East Indians, in the period between 1962-1964.

Gibson provides a graphic recounting of the riots, violence and racial strife of this period that is worth quoting at length:

“On February 16, 1962, disturbances in the city culminated with 6 persons being killed and another 80 wounded. The protest was instigated by the PNC, the UF and the TUC (Trades Union Congress) against the budget designed by the foreign economist Nicholas Kaldor which imposed new measures on both business and workers and which allowed the various forces to combine. These same forces launched the disturbances of 1963. They objected to a Labor Relations Bill proposed by the government ... seen as an attempt by communists to control the labor movement and thus opposed on that ground”. (Gibson, p. 32).

Gibson continues:

“The 1964 riots were centered around Jagan’s refusal to accept the electoral system of Proportional Representation imposed by the British, although it was Jagan himself who the British the right to arbitrate in the dispute.... By the time the violence subsided in August 1964, 176 people had been killed, 920 injured, 1,400 homes destroyed by fire and about 15,000 persons had been forced to move their homes to settle in communities where their own ethnic group predominated”. (Gibson, p. 33).

It is worth noting that the Kaldor budget of 1962, while defensible as a means of diversifying the country’s agricultural base and developing the productivity of the rural population, was seen in essence as a budget that catered to the economic interests of the East Indian rural peasantry and against the interests of the urban capitalist classes and the urban middle and lower classes that depended on that sector for their livelihoods. In similar vein, the Labour Relations Bill of 1963 was seen as against the interests of the urban African-Descendant working classes, and the urban based business and middle classes. Thus, economic policy pursued by the PPP government became the battleground for both class struggles between labour and capital, the latter championed by the UF; and antagonistic relations between the rural-based East Indian peasantry and laboring classes, and the urban African-Descendant working class organized and led by the PNC.

As is known, the PNC in coalition with the United Force assumed control of the government of then British Guiana based on the results of the elections of 1964, conducted under Proportional Representation. The PPP won a plurality, but the majority PNC-UF coalition were invited to form the government. This of course embittered the PPP, and as is well known a campaign of violence ensued in late 1964 and into 1965. To quote Gibson:

“Following the 1964 general elections the PPP embarked on a bombing campaign which climaxed in the bombing of the US consulate in June 1965.... There were 8 instances of burning

of sugar cane, 14 instances of damage to property in which explosives were used in 5 cases, telecommunications infrastructure and educational institutions, 24 cases of the finding of illegal arms and ammunition and 6 occasions when explosives were found. The result of the violent campaign was that several PPP activists were arrested and a specific Detention Act was passed in early 1966 to deal with threats to national security". (Gibson, p. 35).

This brief recounting of the nationalist struggle, and the descent into race war in the pre-independence period, brings out several important trends that would later crystallize in post-independence Guyana. In essence, some of these have become determinant processes, forces and impulses that continue to shape the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese in post-Independence Guyana.

Firstly, given their relatively weak and dependent positions as wage and salaried workers, the African-Descendant working and lower middle classes, were susceptible to being organized (and perhaps saw their salvation) by the African-Descendant middle class intellectuals of the PNC with Forbes Burnham seen as their natural leader. Secondly, contestation for political office became increasingly and perhaps irreversibly so between the PPP, seen as an East Indian-dominated party representing the interests of the East Indian population; and the PNC now seeing itself as the champion and leader of the largely urban African-Descendant working and middle classes. Thirdly, due to the historical and contemporary location of the African-Descendant population in the urban-based administrative, manufacturing and service sectors and the location of the East Indian laboring classes in plantation agriculture and the rural peasantry, economic policy that seemed to favor the rural sector over the urban sector, or vice versa, inevitably assumed a racial character if not agenda. Fourthly, the period from 1961 – 1964, saw race-based politics degenerating into racial violence, and suspicion and distrust between the African-Descendant and the East Indian populations, that continue to color and inform their interactions with each other, especially during elections time. And finally, the history of violence, death and destruction during that period and beyond, and the resultant feelings of hurt afflicting both race groups, have been reproduced and are expressed in their socio-economic and political relations and interactions. Thus historical and more recent conflicts and antagonisms, and ‘the almost-to-the-death’ contestation for political power from the early 1960s, have in turn engendered the urge (if not necessity) for domination of one race over the other, and the discriminatory practices, exclusion and inequalities that this brings.

3.6: Post-Independence Guyana under Forbes Burnham and Desmond Hoyte – 1966 – 1985; 1985 – 1992:

The almost three decades during which Presidents Burnham and Hoyte led successive governments in the immediate pre- and post-independence Guyana, have been characterized as the period of African-Guyanese political control and domination. First under the coalition with the UF and then from the elections of 1968, the PNC formed the government until 1992, and presided over a period of significant domestic and international change that transformed the politics and to a lesser extent the economy of Guyana. On the domestic front, this period saw the stabilization of the country in the aftermath of the race riots and violence of the 1961 – 1964 period; the granting of independence in 1966; the declaration of the Cooperative Socialist Republic in 1970; the nationalization of bauxite, sugar, banking, shipping, and other commercial and industrial concerns from 1970 to the end of the decade; the implementation of the 1972 – 1976 Development Plan with the slogan to feed, clothe and house (FCH plan) the nation;

the introduction of free education from nursery to university; the nationalization of the previous church-controlled schools and the control of the education system by the state; the diminution of the independent media and the use of the state-controlled media as a means of conveying the official reportage on national developments; the controversial elections in 1968, 1973, and the equally controversial referendum of 1978; the promulgation of the 1980 constitution and the elections of 1980 under the new constitution; the declaration of the paramountcy of the (PNC) party over all of the state institutions; and elections in 1985, again disputed by the opposition and observers. On the external front, this was the period of the dramatic rise in oil prices after 1972; the increase in some commodity prices on the global markets; and the rising stridency of emerging Third World and Non-Aligned countries clamoring for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The dramatic rise of sugar prices in the mid-1970s, portended a brief period of economic buoyancy. In this context, the rhetoric of cooperative socialism under Burnham became even more strident and his control over the economy and society reached its high point in the mid to late 1970s. The equally dramatic collapse of the prices of all of its major domestic exports after 1978, led to falling government revenues, balance of payments crises, and a severe economic downturn that would last throughout the decade of the 1980s.

Clive Thomas has characterized this period of nationalizations, state control of production in sugar, bauxite, timber, banking, shipping and other commercial concerns as the period of State Capitalism in Guyana. Thomas argued in his chapter titled *State Capitalism in Guyana*, in McGowan et al that:

“ [T]he Burnham administration used the state to promote a base in the system of production for the class that it represented. In pursuance of this goal, it contributed much to the destruction of the productive capability of the traditionally dominant industries which underlined the economic crisis which faced Guyana”. (Thomas, p. 381).

In essence, Thomas' thesis is that Cooperative Socialism in Guyana was not intended to benefit the masses, since it was authoritarian and anti-democratic in its practice, but instead was the ideology used by Burnham and his PNC to facilitate the emergence and consolidate the dominance of a new ruling class, still based on a capitalist foundation - hence state capitalism. “In Guyana, as elsewhere in the capitalist periphery, ... political power is being used as an instrument for the consolidation of a developing ruling class”. (Thomas, p. 374).

Kean Gibson, **The Cycle of Racial Oppression in Guyana**, offers a less 'ideological' and more pragmatic interpretation of Cooperative Socialism under Burnham.

“With the dissolving of the PNC-UF coalition and the knowledge that even with Proportional Representation he would not be able to retain political power due to the fact that East Indians made up about 50% of the population and the reality of voting along ethnic lines, Burnham proceeded to make changes to the Electoral Laws that would enable him to rig elections”. (Gibson, p. 36).

Most commentaries on this period in Guyana have argued that the authoritarian bent of the PNC under Burnham led to the emergence of a more left-leaning response and popular movement. This gave rise to the period of agitation led by Walter Rodney and what became the Working Peoples' Alliance (WPA) that preached a multi-racial, working class response to what they saw as the growing dictatorship. Rodney's (and the WPA's) appeal was broad-based bringing together African-Descendant urban workers in the towns and the bauxite belt in Linden and the upper Berbice river, university intellectuals and other professionals (drawn from both the African-Descendant and East Indian middle classes), and some

rural-based East Indian sugar workers and peasant producers. As in the 1950s under the original PPP, this was an attempt to unite the urban and rural working and middle classes, in opposition to what Thomas characterized as state capitalism under Burnham. But this was not the only form of domestic opposition to the growing authoritarianism under Burnham's PNC. The PPP under Cheddi Jagan offered 'critical support' to Burnham's cooperative socialism in 1976, some argued, at the instigation of Cuba and other radical socialist leaning countries of that era. However, according to Gibson, this strategy changed in the late 1970s and into the 1980s:

"Jagan and the PPP's response to the dictatorship was to oppose and sabotage anything undertaken by the PNC – a policy for which the country paid a heavy price with regard to missed opportunities and failed national programmes and targets. There was destruction of infrastructure, sugar workers strikes, exorbitant wage demands by sugar workers, arson in the sugarcane and rice fields The PPP also joined forces with the church establishment, led by the Anglican and Catholic Bishops ... who were angered by the PNC takeover of denominational schools and their property without compensation, the murder of Father Darke, and deteriorating human rights". (Gibson, pp. 37-38).

Gibson summarized the period under Burnham's cooperative socialism, as follows:

"Burnham's instinct for self-preservation led to his self-destruction and the declining fortunes of Guyana. His experience and knowledge of the PPP's racism meant that he felt justified in reducing the power of the PPP, but he went too far. His tenure in office became inhumane in that by trying to get rid of racism he not only created another form of oppression, but he reaffirmed that which he was attempting to eradicate". (Gibson, p. 38).

Thomas offered a different interpretation of the phenomenon of Burnham's cooperative socialism grounded in his theory of class formation and the role of the post-colonial state in the capitalist periphery:

"Given the colonial forms of domination that have historically prevailed, the location of the petty bourgeoisie in the system of economic reproduction in Guyana was initially somewhat tenuous. Consequently, ... the state was used as the principal instrument to secure the material basis for the extended social reproduction of this class. As the process developed, however, the class character of the state became more and more obvious, and the state capitalist form which 'cooperative socialism' took degenerated into openly authoritarian forms of rule". (Thomas, pp. 397-398).

In essence, this state capitalist model degenerated on account of the "structural crisis of world capitalism" and the internal crisis in Guyana degenerated into "authoritarian forms of rule ...". (Thomas, p. 398).

President Desmond Hoyte presidency lasted from Burnham's death in 1985 to the elections of 1992. The rapidly deteriorating economic situation and the significant decline in state revenues led to bankruptcy both of the state treasury and the economic model labeled 'cooperative socialism' by the mid-1980s. Hoyte was forced to resort to the International Monetary Facility (IMF) for balance of payments support. This led to the adoption of economic policies conforming to standard IMF prescriptions for structural adjustment, enshrined in the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), that he initiated in 1989. In this process and in exchange for IMF support, Hoyte was forced to further devalue the Guyana dollar; reduce state expenditures on social services; reduce the size of the state bureaucracy

through retrenchment of (largely African-Descendant) state sector workers; roll back some of the nationalizations of the 1970s and 1980s and initiate an aggressive privatization/divestment programme; court direct foreign investment in telecommunications, bauxite, sugar and other forms of production; and provide large subsidies and concessions to the local private sector. Many of the above policies were seen as anti-working class, and specifically against the interests of the largely African-Descendant urban and industrial working class.

Gibson summarized the Hoyte presidency as follows:

“Importantly, he freed up the press, did not interfere in the judicial process, and was brave enough to implement many changes which benefited East Indians and harmed Africans and Amerindians”. (Gibson, p. 38).

Gibson continues:

“Under Hoyte’s tenure the winners and losers according to Ferguson were:

WINNERS: Business, Agriculture/East Indians, Portuguese/Rural/Private/Opposition.

LOSERS: Public Sector, Labor/African, Amerindian/Urban, Hinterland/Public/Ruling Party. In the history of Guyana, Desmond Hoyte’s tenure may have been the only interlude in the continuous cycle of racism”. (Gibson, p. 39).

Paradoxically, the ERP as continued under the post-1992 PPP-led governments, would lead to a favoring of private sector investments that saw rapid capital accumulation in the East Indian dominated urban commercial and large scale rural agricultural production in rice and timber, and in time the expansion of the now-privatized enterprises as significant sources of accumulation and state patronage under the PPP.

This brief recounting of the period from the 1966 - 1985, brings out several important trends and processes that have shaped the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese in the period after 1992 to the present. Among them are the following:

Firstly, this was a period of African-Descendant ascendancy and domination of socio-economic and political processes, but from which the majority of the African-Descendant laboring classes did not emerge in a significantly enhanced economic situation. Secondly, the ideology of ‘Cooperative Socialism’ embraced by Burnham’s PNC based on nationalization and state control of the economy and society, did not lead to the salvation of the working classes and less so the African-Descendant urban, commercial, state sector, and industrial working classes. Put differently, for a number of reasons having much to do with how it was implemented and difficult headwinds from the international system, state domination and control of the economy did not prove to be the salvation that the African-Descendant masses craved.

Thirdly, paradoxically, free education from nursery to university led to the acquisition of significant skills by scions of the African-Descendant laboring classes, as well as other race groups who took advantage of this state largesse. This led to the expansion of the African-Descendant middle class as many used education as a means of elevating themselves socially and economically, and thus constituted a significant portion of the managerial class spawned by the expansion of public corporations, the bourgeoning of the state bureaucracy, the expansion of the tertiary education sector centered on the University of Guyana and the Teachers Training College, that were the

hallmarks of cooperative socialism. However, despite championing of cooperative over private sector ownership, state policies and control of the finance and banking system (Guyana National Cooperative Bank (GNCB), Guyana Agricultural and Industrial Bank (GAIBANK), Guyana Cooperative Insurance Service (GCIS), Guyana Mortgage Finance Bank among others), did not lead to the development of a thriving African-Descendant peasantry and producer class in industry, manufacturing and construction. Thus, by the end of the period, the African-Descendant population had not achieved a self-perpetuating capacity for capital accumulation. This was even further weakened by President Hoyte's retrenchment of state sector employees under the ERP and divestment of state corporations that were acquired by elements, foreign and domestic, with the capital to buy these privatized entities.

Finally, the capitalist accumulation model favored by international capital, in conjunction with the state-sponsored development of the local private sector including large scale agriculture, left the fledgling African-Descendant farmers and producer class incapable of surviving in the new dispensation. After the PNC lost control of the government, they were actively squeezed by the accumulation model implemented by the PPP governments from 1992, focused on the rural sector which favored its own supporters, and weakened and displaced by others through the dismantling and privatization of many of the state corporations in which they had gained advancement and dominance under Burnham's PNC. This is perhaps a salient lesson for those promoting justice and development for African-Descendants in Guyana, and that is the importance of control of the state and the adoption of state policies not only to foster human (higher education and skills) and financial capital formation, but of ensuring a level playing field and access to the opportunities for growth and expansion, based on non-discrimination, on the same footing as other races and groups.

3.7: Post October 1992: Guyana under Presidents Cheddi Jagan and Janet Jagan – 1992 – 1999; and Bharrat Jagdeo and Donald Ramotar – 1999 - 2015

The history of Guyana under recent PPP administrations (post October 1992-2015) is still to be written and as such the full depth and consequences of the PPP's actions in government and their impacts on African-Descendants is still to be assessed. What is clear is that through control of state policies, patronage, and of the coercive arms of the state, the PPP regimes were able to dismantle much of the institutional infrastructure constructed during the preceding PNC era, entrench their rule, and enforce their socio-economic and political dominance of Guyana, including the seeding, fostering and empowerment of a new dominant economic class based on capital accumulation in the import/export business, commerce and merchandising, agricultural production mainly in rice and cash crops, mining, and to a lesser extent in manufacturing. This process involved the use of control of the state machinery including economic planning and implementation of state-sponsored development projects to entrench members of its support base in the management of these processes. In this process, the benefits of this period of growth and expansion went largely to its domestic and foreign-based supporters and those able to take advantage of the opportunities thereby available, through patronage and closed networks. This was truly state-sponsored capitalism, to paraphrase Clive Thomas, in which the state presided over the expansion and entrenchment of the largely East Indian petty bourgeoisie, who in turn were transformed into the new dominant economic class, in a close political alliance with the ruling PPP.

As previously noted, this process was facilitated significantly through the dismantling of much of the state-owned enterprises and the institutional mechanisms implemented by the previous PNC administration. As Gibson noted, writing in the early 2000s:

“There has also been the systematic destruction of Cooperatives which were created by Burnham with the aim of organizing and unifying the people and giving loans for development. Since attaining political office the PPP has starved the Cooperatives of administrative support, buildings and funds, pushing them to the point of extinction”. (Gibson, pp. 47-48).

With respect to the consequences of dismantling the Guyana National Service (GNS), that was created under President Forbes Burnham, Gibson notes:

“[T]he GNS programs were geared towards ensuring the achievement of national benefit by developing skills, fostering unity, democracy, full equality based on hard work and cooperation thus erasing all race prejudice”... The destruction of the GNS, which in fact began with the Hoyte administration in 1985, means that there is no entity which can absorb and train unemployed youths and the number of unemployed youths has been rising since then ...”. (Gibson. P. 48).

Clive Thomas, “The Situation of African-Guyanese in the Economy”, in McGowan et al, provides a statistical analysis of the positioning of African-Guyanese terms of employment, education, an economic/poverty data in the first years of the post-1992 PPP era. He argues that:

“While the contraction of state employment appears to have had a most calamitous impact on employment opportunities generally, its impact on African-Guyanese youth appears to have been particularly marked. This reinforces the importance of ethnic balance in the promotion of economic activities, and a focus on youth in the population. The contraction of state employment ... seems to have also narrowed the range of occupational opportunities for the entire work force”. (Thomas, in McGowan et al, p. 408).

With respect to economic growth and the sharing of the benefits of such growth, Thomas notes that:

“Between 1988 and 1996, overall GDP (in constant 1988 prices) increased by 40%. Measured on the same basis we find that:

- sugar expanded by 65 per cent;
- rice expanded by 154 per cent;
- forestry expanded by 186 per cent;
- distribution and services expanded by 42 per cent;
- Government’s growth was zero per cent;
- mining and quarrying expanded by 52 per cent.

Much of the growth, especially in rice, sugar and services, has occurred since 1991. There is a striking contrast, therefore, in the performance of the ethnic group predominantly in the Government and the economic gains obtained by that group, before and after the 1992 elections”. (Thomas, in McGowan et al, pp. 410-411).

Poverty statistics that emerged from the Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) 1998, revealed that:

“For African-Guyanese the proportion below the poverty line is the same as the national average (43 per cent). However, for the Amerindians, the figure reaches a staggering 88% of their total population. For East Indians, the figure is 34 per cent and for the mixed group, 44 per cent”. (Thomas, in McGowan et al, p. 410).

In addition to the above developments documented in the literature, there were other areas where anecdotal and indirect evidence suggest that state policies under the PPP were fashioned or at least implemented in ways favorable to their support base. There have been many charges of favoritism, if not discrimination, in the allocation/sale of state and GuySuCo lands for housing and agricultural uses. There have also been charges of appropriation and dispossession of ancestral lands aback of the villages bought by formerly enslaved Africans in the 1840s and 1850s, facilitated by PPP control of the National Democratic Councils (NDCs) and Regional Democratic Councils (RDCs), and allocation/sale of such lands to supporters of the ruling party.

In the education and health sectors, the re-introduction of fees and charges for students attending the University of Guyana; and cost-recovery for medicaments issued through the GPHC and the public health system, have imposed more financial burdens on those least able to bear such costs. As noted previously, the free education policy from nursery to university implemented under the PNC, had seen many persons from the African-Guyanese laboring classes gain access to tertiary education and enter the professional class. With the re-introduction of university fees under the PPP, this not only restricted access of African-Guyanese to higher education, especially in law and medicine where fees were higher than other disciplines, but also exacerbated inequalities in access to such high-paying professions to the scions of the emerging state-sponsored bourgeoisie better able to pay such higher fees. This process was further exacerbated by the establishment of primary and secondary educational institutions by the private sector, in competition with the public education system, that catered for the needs of scions of the emergent business and commercial classes, the growing professional class, and the well-paid state sector workers. Disparities in payment between teachers and administrators in the public and private sector educational institutions exacerbated inequalities between workers in the education sector, that mirrored and reproduced the growing disparities in access based on race and class as mentioned above.

In similar fashion, the re-introduction of charges for medicaments issued through the public health system meant that such basic health care was rendered almost inaccessible to the lower laboring classes. At the same time, as in education, the establishment of a number of hospitals, clinics and pharmacies by the private sector re-introduced inequalities in access to such services and restricted such access to those in the emergent business, commercial, and professional classes, and state functionaries who could afford to pay for such services available through the private sector. Indeed, inasmuch as considerable donor and budgetary resources were expended on the public health sector during the PPP era, this did not seemingly lead to a commensurate improvement in the level of care and services, as most of these funds were spent on physical plant and infrastructure. Public sector health workers including doctors and nurses, were not afforded the level of emoluments as with those in the private sector, which introduced inequalities in emoluments and conditions of employment that seemingly mirrored the income disparities based on race and ethnicity previously noted by Clive Thomas.

Many of these disparities and discriminatory policies and practices as outlined above, were confirmed in the responses elicited through the Regional Consultations and the meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations that are outlined and collated in the following section of this **Strategic Plan**.

This brief recounting of the period from the 1992 - 2015, brings out several important trends and processes that have shaped the conditions of existence and the contemporary situation of African-Guyanese. Among them are the following:

Firstly, the contraction in state sector employment that had previously been the modality for socio-economic advancement and economic security among African-Guyanese, now meant a relative decline in their position vis-à-vis the majority East Indian population. Secondly, exclusion and discriminatory practices in accessing state-owned or controlled lands for housing and agricultural purposes, meant a commensurate diminution in the ability of African-Guyanese to accumulate assets and improve their socio-economic situation vis-à-vis other emergent sections of the population. Coupled with contraction in public sector employment, this led to an increase in unemployment among African-Guyanese youth and many of the social pathologies with which they are currently afflicted. Thirdly, the re-introduction of fees for university education against the growing lack of economic means as outlined above, led to the inability of African-Guyanese especially from the laboring classes to access higher education and enter high paying professions and occupations. This in turn led to a relative decline in their ability to accumulate and enhance their socio-economic situation vis-à-vis those better able or facilitated in accessing advanced education and entry into the high paying professions. Fourthly, disparities in access to health care through re-introduction of charges for medicaments, further impacted especially the laboring classes in the African-Guyanese population, which for the reasons previously adduced, were unable to afford such charges. Finally, disparities in income and conditions of employment between state and private sector workers in the education and health sectors, led to the reproduction of growing inequalities vis-a-vis other ethnic groups. As previously noted, the latter were better positioned and often favored in accessing private sector jobs created by the emergent business, commercial, and professional classes, who as previously noted, were sponsored and supported through state patronage and facilitation under the post-1992 PPP governments.

4.0: COLLATION OF THE RESULTS FO THE REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS – IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES, PROGRAMMES, AND PROJECTS:

4.1: Method of Analysis:

The data collection process for this section was undertaken using a standard set of questions in each of the five (5) Response Areas identified as the focus of the **Strategic Plan**. These are: **Economy/Economics, Employment, Education, Equality/Equity, and Expiation**. Each Question Sheet contained ten (10) questions, that sought to obtain information/data for each Response Area: on problems and challenges facing the African-Descendant population at national, regional and local levels; policy, programmatic, and project responses to address such problems and challenges; actions that the African-Descendant population themselves can take to address their situation; and changes in attitudes and ways of organizing themselves that would advance and enhance their situation. Responses from the various communities and organizations on each set of questions were sorted and consolidated as appropriate, and then entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Based on this collation, tables were generated for each of the ten questions in each Response Area, indicating, inter alia, the responses from

respondents by percentages, in descending order of magnitude. These collations titled **FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS** are attached hereto as ANNEXES III, IV, V, VI, and VII.

4.2: Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Economy:

The Question Sheet for the **Economy Response Area** contained ten (10) sets of questions clustered as follows on: (i) the current macro or national situation and macro-level policy, programmatic and project responses; (ii) the situation at the Regional and Local levels and micro-level policy, programmatic and project responses; (iii) enhanced positioning of People of African Descent (PAD) to benefit from economic activities at national and local levels; (iv) private sector constraints and capacity gaps facing the African-Descendant population and policy, programmatic and project responses; (v) the problems facing the African-Descendant Village Economy and changes in the region or community that would lead to a vibrant African village economy; and (vi) changes in attitudes and ways of organizing themselves that would advance and enhance their situation.

With respect to cluster (i), question **1.0 Examples of how national level policies and programmes, and the way central government agencies operate, deny equal opportunities to African-Guyanese to participate and benefit from economic expansion and development**, the top six responses ranged from “Too many requirements for contractors” **23.5%**; “Jobs are awarded based on ethnicity. Practices in advertising exclude African-Guyanese” **23.5%**; “Excessive interest rates and collateral security being demanded by these financial institutions. Inadequate access for farmers” **17.6%**; “Resuscitating of cooperatives and ensuring effective functioning. Policy and requirements for forming cooperatives” **17.6%**; “Africans should benefit from grants the same way indigenous people e.g. stipends to attend school” **17.6%**; “Barriers to development of small businesses. Lack of information on opportunities available to Black villages” **17.6%**. This represented a mix of policy, financial/operational, structural/discriminatory factors. With respect to question **2.0 What actions, programmes or policies should be implemented by central government to change this situation**, the top five responses ranged from “Implement policies for easier access to business loans. Re-open agri. bank. Legal aid. More favorable loan requirements focusing on qualifications and experience. GOG should engage in equity funding to support small African businesses”. **47.1%**; “Providing skilled trainers, small business training. Relax compliance requirements for small businesses” **41.2%**; “Deliberate actions to ensure small contractors access 20% procurement, MOF needs to modify tendering procedures” **35.3%**; “Cost, processing time and application fees for small business license” **17.6%**. These were followed by a cluster of seven additional responses each with a value of **11.8%** covering recommendations such as land should be given to graduating students to allow them to remain in Guyana; access to farm land, land distribution, and length of time to acquire land; courses with job attachment when completed; sensitization on opportunities available and Government and Ethnic Relations Committee should play a role in promoting economic equity; central government needs to work through Afro centric organizations and modify method of allocation of resources to Black communities; a fixed percentage of land at the national level should be earmarked for People of African Descent (PAD). These policy recommendations covered areas such as finance, training or capacity development, affirmative actions to support African-Descendants, equity and access to land, and allocation of resources and support to PAD.

With respect to cluster (ii), question **3.0 What practices at the regional or community level deny African-Guyanese the opportunity to participate in and benefit equally from local development activities**, the top four responses were “Biased development of access roads, inadequate D&I and other necessary infrastructure in African farming communities. Regional level least interested in African villages. Neglect” **70.6%**; “Friends and families are favored above general/qualified members of the community, poor communication” **29.4%**; “NDCs often denied funds due to political affiliation, and distribute funds to communities supporting their party” **23.5%**. These were followed by a cluster of four additional practices each with a value of **11.8%** covering PAD being denied access to state lands by the regional system; corruption at the Regional Tender Board, and more inclusion of PAD in local government contracts; a fix percentage of land at the regional and community levels should be earmarked for PAD; and lack of access to finance for leased lands. These practices covered areas such as discrimination in the access to infrastructure; favoring non-PAD communities based on political affiliation in the allocation of funds by NDCs; denial and discrimination in access to state lands at the regional level; corruption in the allocation of contracts for works at the local government level; and lack of access to funds to develop leased lands.

With respect to question **4.0 Actions or changes which should be put in place to promote equal benefit of African-Guyanese from the regional or local economy**, the top five responses were “Monitoring systems should be developed and implemented to ensure citizens have equal access to resources, accountability, awareness of the law. National policy on equal access to D & I irrespective of race” **41.2%**; “More emphasis on education and training of the youths, focus on passion, preference and ability of students. Training in agro-processing for youth” **35.3%**; Funding for small/large business (Grants). **23.5%**; Better management of state funds regardless of which political party you belong to, record keeping. **17.6%**; “Encourage formation of cooperatives, e.g. marketing. More orgs serving the African-Guyanese community” **17.6%**. These were followed by three additional actions or changes each with a value of **11.8%**. These actions or changes covered areas such as reactivation of village councils and that the current system does not fairly deal with ancestral lands; establish more resource centers with business incubators; and more monitoring of activities of central government agencies to ensure better response to the needs of African-Descendant communities and that national authorities need to be on the ground to understand their problems. In aggregate, the actions or changes recommended covered better monitoring at the regional and central government levels to ensure equitable access to resources and infrastructural services; funding for small and large businesses; operational support to businesses; education and training for youth; formation of cooperatives and organizations to better serve PAD; and institutional changes with respect to the reactivation of village councils.

With respect to cluster (iii), question **5.0 Ways in which African-Guyanese contractors, producers, and trades persons can better position themselves to benefit from economic activities at the national and local levels**, the top five responses were “Cooperate with each other and establish linkages, advertise on TV or social media” **64.7%**; “Develop the capacity to function as contractors, small contractors to have a large % of national level with relaxed red tape. Better knowledge of market demands and where the markets are” **47.1%**; “Establish African Chambers of Commerce and services; enhanced marketing skills to expand local production” **23.5%**; “Training and skills building e.g. excavator operators” **23.5%**; and “Form producers coops to buy inputs and market products and farm to market transportation coops” **17.6%**. These responses covered improving their ability to cooperate and support each other; capacity building and strengthening their ability to function as contractors including access to public sector

contracts; organizational development through forming chambers of commerce and services for PAD; and formation of producer, marketing and transportation cooperatives.

With respect to cluster (iv), question **6.0 What changes are desired in the way private sector and business development entities operate that would enhance African-Guyanese participation and benefit from business opportunities**, the top three responses were “More material and financial resources for business creation and sustainability of African businesses, training opportunities. SBA does not have focus on empowering Black businesses” **35.3%**; “Programmes for citizens and business men to eradicate stigmatization. Remove unequal treat and discrimination based on colour/race” **29.4%**; “Assured % of market for African producers. Sharing of information on opportunities with small Black businesses” **23.5%**. These were followed by three additional responses each with a value of **17.6%** covering changes such as better cooperation among African businesses and re-introduction of cooperatives and cooperative banks for agriculture and finance/business; employing PAD in their communities when publicly funded works are being undertaken; and providing more assistance to local businesses through setting up processing units, supporting campaigns to buy local produce, and networked marketing system among PAD. These point to changes in the business environment which is seen as unfavorable to PAD, in the areas of finance and empowerment; removal of discriminatory treatment against PAD businesses; increased market share for PAD businesses; improved access and cooperative banking in the areas of agriculture and finance/commerce; employing PAD in local projects; and setting up of processing facilities especially at the local level.

Still on cluster (iv), question **7.0 Actions or programmes that can promote and enhance entrepreneurship and business skills among African-Guyanese**, the top four responses were “Capacity Building for small businesses - marketing, accounting, managing, business planning, entrepreneurial training, also in schools” **70.6%**; “Training in business skills, customer relations, attitude, use of IT to promote businesses” **70.6%**; “Start-up capital and technical support for students graduating from business streams” **35.3%**; “Organizing exhibitions and fairs. Outreach from larger successful businesses to motivate communities and small businesses. National symposium on economic development where African businessmen are involved” **17.6%**. These were followed by three additional actions or programmes including easier access to land and equipment; revitalization of cooperative movement, including buyers, producers and marketing cooperatives; and recreation of financing institutions. Thus, as with the previous question, the capacity building needs for PAD businesses included development of small businesses in marketing, accounting, managing, business planning, entrepreneurial training; skills training for entry into the business arena; start-up capital especially for persons graduating from business streams; business facilitation through fairs and outreaches; and easier access to land and equipment to increase their output capacity.

With respect to cluster (v) on the African-Guyanese Village Economy, question **8.0 Actions and policies that currently restrict the development of African-Guyanese village economies in region or community**, the top five responses were “Little access to funding, for small scale enterprises, collateral requirements. Access to financing for startups” **52.9%**; “Programmes to promote small business development, skills training and support for villagers” **29.4%**; “Inadequate roads and D & I, poor communication” **23.5%**; “Regional level does not see the need to assist African villages. Lack of small businesses and employment opportunities in villages” **17.6%**; “Racial/political dominance in decision making. Favoritism, discrimination, corruption against village-based small contractors” **17.6%**. These were followed by one additional action or policy with a value of **11.8%**, that dealt with compliance requirements for small businesses, and other requirements for submitting bids for publicly-funded

projects including financial, years of experience and jobs done. In aggregate the actions and policies restricting the development of the African Village Economies covered access to funding for small village businesses; lack of opportunities for businesses and employment in the villages; discriminatory practices, corruption and favoritism negatively affecting small village contractors and service providers; and onerous compliance and bidding requirements for small businesses.

Still on cluster (v), question **9.0 Changes respondents would like to see implemented in region or community that would lead to a vibrant African-Guyanese village economy**, the top four responses were “Establish more businesses, cottage industries, market days e.g. bakery” **41.2%**; “Unity and cooperation, more responsive community, community development centers” **35.3%**; “Support from the Diaspora. Established African-Guyanese business persons need to invest/give back in villages” **17.6%**. These were followed by two additional recommended changes each with a value of **11.8%** “Youth involvement in all development programmes and decision-making”; and “Revamp the regional system and the RDC, stronger leadership. These responses all point to the need for PAD to become more involved in businesses at the village level, more unity and cooperation, establishing community centers as the focal point for enhanced community activities, the diaspora and established businesses giving back to their communities in acts of mutual upliftment, stronger leadership, and involving the youth as integral members of the village economy.

Finally, with respect to cluster (vi), question **10.0 Changes in attitudes and ways of organizing themselves among African-Guyanese that would promote and enhance their benefit from economic activities in their communities and villages**, the top six responses were “Programmes for pooling resources and investing collectively, cooperation among villages, proper accountability. Networking and info sharing” **58.2%**; “Recognition of the values of cohesion, cooperation and unity among ourselves, respect for leadership/law, honesty, trust. Self-help to improve infrastructure and establish activities” **52.9%**; “Love and buy the things we make, be more supportive of each other's business and institutions” **41.2%**; “Develop high self-esteem, optimism, self-sufficient, openness, raise consciousness as African-Guyanese. See ourselves as a nation” **29.4%**; Support local enterprise and enhancement of creative products, community markets. Need to understand how to start businesses” **29.4%**; and “Form groups and training in cooking, craft and sewing classes so that our African youths can benefit” **23.5%**. These responses all underpin the recognition that pooling resources, cooperation in small businesses, networking, information sharing, cohesion, cooperation, unity, mutual support in business ventures, self-confidence, optimism, consciousness as African-Guyanese, and gainfully involving the youth in economic activities are all critical for enhancing and benefiting from a vibrant village economy.

4.3: Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Employment:

The Question Sheet for the **Employment Response Area** contained ten (10) sets of questions clustered as follows on: (i) factors responsible for the high rate of unemployment among African-Guyanese youth and adults, and actions and programmes that can be implemented at the national and local level to address this situation; (ii) policy, programmatic, and regulatory constraints that restrict their participation in the workforce or creating jobs for themselves and others at national and local levels; (iii) actions, programmes, or policies which should be implemented by the Government to increase the number of African-Guyanese creating jobs for themselves and others in contracting, trades and services sectors; (iv) how the private and commercial sector prevent African-Guyanese from entering, growing

businesses and creating jobs for themselves and others, and how this blocking manifests at the regional or local community level; and (v) examples of how African-Guyanese business and community organizations can assist job creation, and what additional actions can be taken individually or in communities to increase self-employment, empowerment and development.

With respect to cluster (i), question **1.0 Factors responsible for the high rate of unemployment among African-Guyanese youth and adults in region or community**, the top six responses were clustered as follows: “School dropout/Lack of education/lack of motivation” **70.6%**; “Youths who are unqualified for the needs of the regions in which they live. Lack of skills base to fit regional or community requirements” **29.4%**; “Qualified but not getting opportunities, closure of LBI and other industries” **29.4%**; “Race based employment practices of businesses” **23.5%**; “Lack of Experience/lack of role model/support system lacking” **23.5%**; “Racial discrimination, discrimination in giving out land” **17.6%**. There was an additional four responses each with a value of **11.8%** covering factors such as irrelevant or unsuitable school curriculum; stigmatization of youths coming from certain areas; teenage pregnancies; and juvenile delinquents/laziness. Thus the responses spoke of lack of education, lack of skills to fit the job market, lack of job opportunities, race-based employment and land distribution practices, absence of role models and support systems, unsuitable school curriculum, stigmatization, teenage pregnancy and delinquency.

Still on cluster (i), question **2.0 Actions and programmes which should be implemented nationally to prepare African-Guyanese young men and women for available private and public sector jobs**, the top six responses at the national or macro level were: “Skills based education programmes from nursery level upwards” **64.7%**; “Entrepreneurial training in mechanisms such as the youth corps” **35.3 %**; “Initiating youth groups - training and mentoring them” **35.3%**; “National Service/Counselling programmes” **29.4%**; “Creating of factories and industries in regions and communities, LBI for agro-processing and rewinding workshop. **17.6%**, and “Employment fairs should be held, guaranteed work for local youth” **11.8%**. These macro level responses focused on skills-based education and training, entrepreneurial training, youth training programmes, reintroduction of national service and counselling programmes, job creation in agro-processing in the contracting sugar belt, and job fairs and guaranteed jobs for youth.

Question **3.0 Actions and programmes should be implemented at the local, church, school and community levels to prepare young African-Guyanese with the attitude and discipline to be successful in the workplace**, which focused on the local level, the top six responses were: “Churches should train youth in moral standards required for business, and be more vocal in advocating change in attitudes, particularly in relation to public relations, customer relations, basic respect for people and discipline” **47.1%**; “Accessible Training programmes in Anger Management, Team Building and Leadership, Character Building, motivational programmes” **35.3%**; “Churches must give back to their members – in relevance to equipping youths with employment skills” **17.6%**; “Churches should introduce regular entrepreneurship training programmes, music programmes” **17.6%**; “Sports in the community, more recreational facilities” **17.6%**; and “More youth groups” **17.6%**. There were two additional responses that included elders setting examples for the youth, career guidance, and work study opportunities leading to certification. Again, at the local community level these responses spoke of the role of the church, religious bodies and schools to act as change agents, training in moral education and appropriate workplace attitudes, training in life skills such as anger management, leadership skills, team building, training in entrepreneurial skills, sports facilities for the youth, and formation of youth groups.

With respect to cluster (ii), question **4.0 National policies, programmes or regulations that prevent African-Guyanese from fully participating in the workforce or otherwise creating employment for themselves and others**, the top four responses at the macro or national level were: “The culture of racial discrimination, land allocation policies” **35.3%**; “The banking sector loan policies are discriminatory against public servants, who are of course Africans with low salaries (Low salaries guarantee that the African employee won’t qualify for a loan)” **23.5%**; “High collateral security requirements of the financial institutions. This is true of even the SBB which should be geared to assist small businesses” **17.6%**; and “SBB policy debar public servants from even acquiring a loan or grant through that facility” **17.6%**. Thus the major issues were in the areas of discrimination in land allocation policies, discrimination against public servants in accessing loans from the banking sector, high collateral requirements for small businesses, and public servants debarred from accessing loans from the Small Business Bureau (SBB).

Still on cluster (ii), question **5.0 Factors at the local or community level prevent African-Guyanese from starting businesses or creating employment for themselves and others in trades and services sector**, the top seven responses were: “Lack of Startup Capital, high interest rates at banks, lack of collateral” **76.5%**; “Lack of business relations (networking)” **41.2%**; “Lack of knowledge/experience” **29.4%**; “Africans do not support African businesses” **29.4%**; “Lack of land for farming, equipment, access roads” **23.5%**; “Lack of local content regionally or at the community level. Contractors, tradesmen are imported from other regions to perform contracts where the capacity and skills existing in the area” **17.6%**; and “Lack of markets” **11.8%**. These responses covered factors such as lack of startup capital and the challenges in accessing the banking sector, lack of knowledge and experience, low support by African-Guyanese for African-Guyanese businesses, local contractors not being able to secure contracts in their communities, and lack of markets for local produce.

With respect to cluster (iii), question **6.0 Actions, programmes or policies in areas such as financing, equipment and other support which should be implemented by the Government at the national and regional levels to increase the number of African-Guyanese creating jobs for themselves and others in the contracting, trades and services sector**, the top seven responses were: “Banking system where finance is accessible” **41.2%**; “Easy access to machinery for rental, plant-hire facilities under government control” **35.3%**; “Programmes to empower communities e.g. apprenticeship training” **29.4%**; “Forming cooperatives and buying clubs so that they can buy and sell collectively” **29.4%**; “Small business training in schools” **23.5%**; “Need an organization which embraces all black businesses, e.g. Nile Valley for African Business Collective....similar to the ABR” **17.6%**; and “Document preparation assistance” **11.8%**. These responses spoke to the need for support and facilitation of African-Guyanese businesses by central Government in areas such as access to financing, access to equipment for rental, formation of marketing and other cooperatives, representation by African-Guyanese business organization, and assistance with paper work and other documentation requirements.

With respect to cluster (iv), question **7.0 Ways in which established businesses and their networks actively are observed to be preventing African-Guyanese from entering, growing businesses and creating employment for themselves and others**, the top four responses at the macro or national level were: “7.1 Discriminatory and race-based pricing. Other races sell black businesses at a higher price” **52.9%**; “Chinese businesses are unfairly competing with community businesses. They are opening up in all communities and are able to import collectively and to sell at low prices. They are thus closing down small African based businesses” **23.5%**; “The established businesses have networks through which they pass information” **23.5%**; and “Competitive prices, underselling African businesses” **11.8%**. These

responses all point to a perception of discriminatory practices, an uneven playing field, hoarding of market information among closed networks, and unfair competition, which disadvantage African-Guyanese businesses vis-a-vis other ethnic groups. Still on cluster (iv), question **8.0 How this blocking of African-Guyanese employment creation operates at the regional or local community level**, the top five responses were: “Victimization and discrimination, labour laws not observed” **35.3%**; “The information on opportunities is kept within closed circles” **23.5%**; “Contracts are given to East Indian contractors who then only employ their own” **17.6%**; “Disparity in salary between government and private sectors, low wages” **11.8%**; and “Lack of job facilities” **11.8%**. Once again, this time at the regional or local community level, there is the perception that victimization, discrimination including in application of labor laws, hoarding of information in closed networks, an uneven playing field where contracts are allocated to other ethnic groups, salary disparities between public and private sectors, and lack of job facilities inordinately and negatively impact African-Guyanese.

With respect to cluster (v), question **9.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese business and community organizations can assist and support other African-Guyanese in creating self-employment and jobs for others in the trades and services sector**, the top four responses were: “Invest in startup businesses, create banking and lending institutions for Africans” **41.2%**; “Cooperate with small businesses and share information” **29.4%**; “Employ Africans” **23.5%**; and “Financial support to students at university” **23.5%**. There were three additional responses each with a value of **11.8%** covering purchase from their own as much as possible; set up skills training organizations; and sponsoring students to attend the Essequibo Technical Institute (ETI). These responses cover financial support among PAD to set up small businesses, cooperation and sharing market information, employing fellow African-Guyanese, solidarity, mutual support, and measures by the more fortunate to assist less fortunate PAD, including support for students to attend university and technical schools.

Still on cluster (v), question **10.0 Actions African-Guyanese themselves can take individually, or in their communities to increase self-employment, empowerment, and development**, the top five responses were: “Form and use networks for business, information sharing, and self-help” **41.2%**; “Educate themselves in business practices” **23.5%**; “Rather than small shops, African vendors should pool their resources in communities and open a single cooperative supermarket to compete with the Chinese and others” **17.6%**; “Increase self-confidence, being a leader/role model” **17.6%**; and “Lack of unity” **17.6%**. There were four additional responses each with a value of **11.8%** covering increased involvement in farming and agriculture enterprises, and producing value added products; the need to be more disciplined in managing businesses; opening workshops and manufacturing products; and purchasing in bulk in buying cooperatives. These actions complement those suggested immediately above and speak to practical actions at the local level involving African-Guyanese, including more networking, information sharing and self-help, pooling resources and opening cooperative supermarkets, leadership and unity, forming agricultural cooperatives for both buying inputs and selling the produce, and cooperating in opening community workshops.

4.4: Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations: Education:

The Question Sheet for the **Education Response Area** contained ten (10) sets of questions clustered as follows on: (i) Factors responsible for African-Guyanese children not performing better at primary and secondary levels, not completing the full course, and what can be done to improve school, attendance,

discipline and performance; (ii) Changes in the school curriculum and in the home, church and local community to build a sense of pride in their history and culture among African-Guyanese of all ages; (iii) Factors preventing African-Guyanese adults from attending and completing skill training programmes and what can be done at the national or local level to increase the number of African-Guyanese adults graduating from such institutions; (iv) Factors preventing young African-Guyanese adults from attending advanced training institutions, and from becoming professionals in high-paying occupations; and (v) Actions which African-Guyanese can take individually or collectively to lift their school attendance, education levels and professional development.

With respect to cluster (i), question **1.0 Factors responsible for African-Guyanese children not performing better at the primary and secondary levels**, the top six responses were clustered as follows: “Lack of parental guidance, poor/bad parenting” **63.2%**; “Negative Peer Pressure – They see themselves as not being expected to perform well. No sense of direction from home, school, community to keep them engaged” **57.9%**; “Financial issues, lack of resources” **57.9%**; “Negative home influences, child abuse. Parents too young and children left on their own” **36.8%**; “Undernourishment -Some children go to school hungry; re-introduce school feeding progs” **31.6%**; and “Negative expectations of society. No one expects them to do well. Poor performance. Inappropriate role models not reflective of our society. Distractions from media” **21.1%**. These responses ranged over issues such as lack of or poor parental guidance, negative peer pressure, lack of finances and other resources, negative home influences and child abuse, and negative expectations from the society and inappropriate role models.

Still on cluster (i), question **2.0 Factors responsible for children dropping out of school before completing the full course in community or region**, the top six responses were as follows: “Lack of Finance, poverty” **57.9%**; “Teenage pregnancy” **31.6%**; “Demotivation and Hopelessness. They cannot see themselves in their own future. They see nothing in the future for them nor reflected in how society is moving” **26.3%**; “Poor or struggling parents - Their parents may have education but no proper paying job. ... So why complete school?” **26.3%**; “Being bullied which leads to them joining gangs, peer pressure” **26.3%**; and “Domestic Abuse” **21.1%**. These responses ranged over issues such as lack of financial and other resources, teenage pregnancy, demotivation and hopelessness, poor role models in their parents and peers, and bullying and domestic abuse.

With respect to question **3.1.0 Actions, programmes or policies which should be implemented at the national or local level to improve school attendance, discipline, and performance of African-Guyanese children**, the top six responses were as follows: “Motivational programs for parent & child, awards for good performance” **31.6%**; “More school progs for boys, cricket teams, football and steel pan, recreational facilities” **31.6%**; “Parent Teachers and Children Association, teach children self-love and to love others. Publicly posted messages on appropriate behavior for school children from nursery level” **26.3%**; “Tutoring, after school programmes. Country wide school feeding programme through all levels and underserved urban communities. Communities responsible for bringing up children” **21.1%**; “Provide career guidance and technical education. Re-vamp ed policies and programmes to include disadvantaged children and communities” **15.8%**; and “More school inspectors to deal with discipline and attendance, and supervision of teachers. Train teachers in ethics, guidance and counselling and appropriate behaviors” **15.8%**. Thus the recommendations included the need for motivational programmes and recognition of good performance, more appropriate school and after-school programmes and activities for the boy child, tutoring, after school programmes and school feeding especially for underserved urban communities, career guidance and technical education, revamp education policies and programmes to include disadvantaged children and communities, and closer

supervision and discipline for teachers, and training teachers in ethics, guidance, counselling and appropriate behaviors.

With respect to cluster (ii), **4.0 Changes recommended in the primary and secondary school curriculum to build a sense of pride in their history and culture among African-Guyanese school-age children**, the top four responses were as follows: “African and diaspora History should be properly taught in schools- Students are now taught as if African history began with slavery and it was taught to foster dependency” **84.2%**; “More African programmes in schools e.g. Black History month should be implanted” **47.4%**; “African Culture and Spirituality must also be a feature of the curriculum” **42.1%**; and “Reintroduce guidance and counselling, discipline/skill training” **21.1%**. Still on cluster (ii), question **5.0 Actions or programmes which can be done in the home, church and local community to build pride in their history and culture among African-Guyanese of all ages**, the top six responses were as follows: “Promoting black awareness and being taught through programmes of upliftment, Black role models, debates on African history, culture groups” **47.4%**; “Multi-purpose centers, more community meetings. Return to the village or community raising the child” **31.6%**; “Heritage corner in church and school, concerts, African educational programmes” **26.3%**; “Positive Parenting, home/family discussion on tradition. Progs to enhance parenting skills” **21.1%**; “Africans should be taught the history of their faith, wherein they may learn that Christianity was utilized to oppress and depress the African identity. Christian names were forced upon slaves in order to destroy their identities and sense of belonging to a particular people” **15.8%**; and “More radio and television programmes and eat more African foods” **15.8%**. Taken collectively, the changes, actions and programmes recommended to build pride in their history included, teaching of diaspora and African history in schools and more programmes such as Black History Month, African culture and spirituality should be included in the school curriculum, re-introduce guidance, counselling, discipline and skills training, programmes at the community level to promote African-Guyanese awareness through upliftment programmes, role models, and debates on African history and culture, multi-purpose community centers and more community meetings to promote African-Guyanese history and culture, positive parenting and teaching about African-Guyanese history and culture in the home, and more radio and television programmes on African-Guyanese history and culture including foods and traditions.

With respect to cluster (iii), question **6.0 Factors preventing young African-Guyanese adults in region or community from attending and completing skills training programmes in technical institutions or trade schools**, the top three responses were as follows: “Lack of financial assist” **47.4%**; 6.5 “Lack of self-esteem, lack of basic education, illiteracy” **21.1%**; and “Not having the right attitude to progress in the learning environment, the ‘hussle’ and get rich quick mentality” **21.1%**. There were five additional responses each with a value of **15.8%** on factors including, lack of knowledge and disinterest in formal training institutions, lack of internships, apprenticeships and the need to focus on new technologies to service and provide employment in oil and gas, negative peer pressure, the need for more appropriate entrance requirements and eligibility tests, and geographical accessibility and transportation costs to attend such institutions. Thus the determinant factors were held to be lack of financial assistance, low self-esteem and basic educational qualifications, more appropriate entrance requirements, not having the appropriate attitude and an attachment to the ‘hussle’ and get-rich-quick mentality, lack of internships and apprenticeships, negative peer pressure, geographical accessibility and transportation costs.

Still on cluster (iii), question **7.0 Actions, programmes or policies that can be implemented at the national or local level to increase the numbers of young African adults graduating from such**

institutions, the top five responses were as follows: “Financial assistance, including for parents to adequately provide for their children” **36.8%**; “Create programmed opportunities for mentorship, apprenticeships and internships. Guaranteed employment. Post-graduation placement programmes” **21.1%**; “Create awareness of the importance of certain training programmes and where these opportunities exist. Appropriate entrance tests” **15.8%**; “Create motivational programmes, more encouragement from family/society” **15.8%**; and “Rehabilitation of education system, free education” **15.8%**. These recommendations are quite consistent with the constraints mentioned above, and focused on providing financial assistance including for the parents, mentorship, apprenticeships and internships, jobs and guaranteed employment upon graduation, motivation and encouragement from family and community, awareness of the importance of opportunities and more appropriate entrance tests, and reducing the costs of education and training.

With respect to cluster (iv), question **8.0 Factors preventing young African-Guyanese adults from attending advanced training institutions such as Teacher training colleges and universities**, the top six responses were as follows: “Lack of Finances” **57.9%**; “Lack of informed parental guidance on career. Parent’s lack of knowledge can adversely influence their decisions” **21.1%**; “Lack of appreciation of the importance of continued education and training, role models. No supportive family and community structure” **21.1%**; “Discrimination and discouragement” **15.8%**; “More accommodation” **15.8%**; and “Lack of foundational education, qualifications, fear of failure and rejection” **15.8%**. The constraining factors largely centered on financial and other resources, supportive family environment and lack of appreciation of the importance of education and training, discrimination and discouragement, and lack of appropriate formative education and qualifications leading to fear of failure and rejection.

Still on cluster (iv) question **9.1.0 Factors which are preventing African-Guyanese adults from becoming professionals such as engineers, doctors, architects, agriculture specialists, accountants, lawyers, private sector managers and other high-paying occupations**, the top five responses were as follows: “Accessibility of training opportunities – African young people may not be in a position to equally access training, due to location, finance and discrimination” **52.6%**; “Low educational levels and low trainability of some Young African-Guyanese” **31.6%**; “Self-motivation. Lack of suitable role models who return to community and give back” **21.1%**; “Marketability of the training as being a problem – Why learn a trade or profession with which you still struggle to get a job?” **10.5%**; and “High cost of tertiary education. Affordability” **10.5%**. Finally, for question **9.2.0 Actions, programmes or policies which should be implemented to increase the number of African-Guyanese adults in the high-paying professions**, the top four responses were as follows: “Conduct seminars and motivation events” **15.8%**; “Identify talent/potential and mentor them” **10.5%**; “Work study/apprenticeship schemes” **10.5%**; and “Access to agricultural lands. Teaching students the importance of land for self-sufficiency” **10.5%**.

The constraining factors were again broadly similar to those that impacted attending advanced training institutions and included, ability to take advantage of such training opportunities due to lack of financial and other resources, the high cost of attending advanced training institutions, low educational levels and entrance qualifications, and low motivation and lack of suitable role models. The recommended actions, policies and programmes were broadly consistent with these constraints and included, seminars and motivational events, identifying talented persons and mentoring them, work study and apprenticeship programmes, and providing agricultural lands and teaching students the importance of land for self-sufficiency.

With respect to cluster (v), question **10.0 Actions which African-Guyanese can take individually and collectively to lift their school attendance, education levels, and professional development**, the top five responses were as follows: “People need self-confidence, mentoring or motivation. Social clubs and other modalities for upliftment” **36.8%**; “They must recognize the importance of education and continued education and training. Be more committed. Make your voice heard and advocate for children and proper policies” **31.6%**; “Create awareness of the importance of certain training programmes and where these opportunities exist. Local discussion groups” **26.3%**; “Create programmed opportunities for mentorship, support by others, apprenticeships and internships. Community support mechanisms. Community members passing on knowledge. Publicizing the achievements of Guyanese studying and achieving” **21.1%**; and “Create more positive interaction with teacher and child, proper role models to motivate younger generation. More rounded education” **21.1%**. There were two additional responses each with a value of **15.8%**, that spoke to the need for African-Guyanese to recognize that they have a duty to themselves and to improve their situation, and specialized training, grants, and endowment programmes to provide scholarships for African-Guyanese. The recurring recommendations in this cluster focused on self-confidence, motivation and recognition for good performance, mentoring, commitment, awareness of training and other opportunities, apprenticeship and internships, community support mechanisms and positive role models, and a positive learning environment to motivate the younger generation.

4.5: Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Equity/Equality:

The Question Sheet for the **Equity/Equality Response Area** contained ten (10) sets of questions clustered as follows on: (i) Discriminatory practices against African-Guyanese by others at the regional or community level and actions and programmes to reduce such discrimination; (ii) Protection against discrimination and unequal treatment by the Rights Commissions; (iii) How the law courts operate to deny justice and equal protection, how the police and prison service discriminate against and criminalize African-Guyanese, and actions to reduce such discrimination and unequal treatment; (iv) How African-Guyanese have been discriminated against in accessing land for housing and agriculture, how contractors and trades persons have been denied equal opportunities, and actions that can foster equal opportunities for African-Guyanese; and (v) Practices in medical institutions that deny African-Guyanese equal access to health care and medicines and actions to improve such access.

With respect to cluster (i), question **1.0 Practices by other groups or organisations at the regional or community level that actively discriminate against African-Guyanese**, the top four responses were as follows: “Preference given to friends & family of those in authority” **37.5%**; “Law enforcement does not treat poor Africans equally” **37.5%**; “Lands were inaccessible in African Communities (thick vegetation) Poor drainage” **25.0%**; and “NDC poor or no provision or maintenance of black villages infrastructure – roads, light, water. Spending funds only on Indian villages” **25.0%**. There were seven additional responses each with a value of **12.5%**, that included unequal access to state lands, stereotyping of African-Guyanese by other races, business owners ill-treat African customers and employees, relief items distributed only to East Indians, bottom house meetings with only East Indians, limited employment by private sector, and biased perception by the law. With respect to question **2.0 Actions or programmes that could be put in place by religious groups, NGOs, and others to reduce discrimination against African-Guyanese**, the top five responses were as follows: “Engage in self-help

activities, form cooperatives” 50.0%; “Educate younger generation about their Rights” 25.0%; “Run educational and mentorship programmes to empower PAD” 25.0%; “Religious groups to advocate” 25.0%; and “Funding and facilities for sports, arts, crafts, music and other activities that fuel creativity, skill and self-respect” 25.0%. There were five additional recommendations each with a value of 12.5%, including family planning and good parenting workshops, economic projects: e.g. sewing, laundering, establish African cultural centers and night schools, establish harmony villages, and review the Eurocentric godhead being embraced by African-Guyanese. The discriminatory practices had much to do with access to land, resources, services, treatment by others, and unequal access to relief and other services. The actions and programmes responses under the auspices of religious groups, NGOs and others focused on forming cooperatives, education in their rights and mentorship programmes, economic ventures, education in good parenting, and setting up African cultural centers, night schools and harmony villages.

With respect to cluster (ii), question **3.0 How the Rights Commissions (Ethnic Relations, Human Rights, Women and Gender etc.) do not protect African-Guyanese from discrimination and unequal treatment compared to other races**, the top six responses were as follows: “African-Guyanese were never given a fair hearing” 50.0%; “Because of poverty opportunities were not given to African women to access Education” 25.0%; “No legal representation, hundreds of youth incarcerated” 25.0%; “Investigations are poor” 12.5%; “There was no action when over 200 black youths were killed extra-judicially” 12.5%; and “Women’s children are killed in accidents or by police and no action by these groups” 12.5%. The above responses point to a poor view of the functioning of such Commissions, which perhaps points to the need for a review of how they are functioning and the outcomes they are producing.

With respect to cluster (iii), question **4.0 Examples of how the laws, the courts, and the administration of justice, deny African-Guyanese equal access to justice and protection of the law**, the top seven responses were as follows: “A 'Once you Black you stay back' attitude to poor Africans, judges of different race deliver unfair sentences” 50.0%; “Those who know someone in authority can escape justice” 50.0%; “The rich others can bribe their way out of trouble” 50.0%; “Assumed guilty without trial, no fair hearing, poor investigation” 25.0%; “Lengthy cases which means Africans spend more time in remand” 25.0%; “Africans lack of knowledge about the laws” 12.5%; and “Litigation is promoted as against mediation, which can prove a cheaper solution to settling court matters” 12.5%. With respect to question **5.0 Examples of how the police, community policing groups, and prison service officers, discriminate against and criminalize African-Guyanese suspected, charged, or convicted of committing offenses**, the top six responses were as follows: “African youths are given no fair hearing, they're beaten and locked up” 62.5%; “Illegal searches, false charges” 25.0%; “Africans cannot afford to pay bribes” 25.0%; “African youths are treated based on their appearance. Profiling, arrested on suspicion” 25.0%; “Community police are mostly East Indians who deal racially with African suspects” 12.5%; and “Poor legal representation” 12.5%. Still on cluster (iii), question **6.0 Examples of actions, programmes and policies that can be put in place to reduce discrimination and unequal treatment of African-Guyanese in the administration of justice and by the police and prison systems**, the top four responses were as follows: “Education at all Levels” 25.0%; “Clamp down of bribery” 25.0%; “Implement programmes to reduce discrimination” 25.0%; and “In the case of injustice and discrimination towards Africans a legal Representative body should be created to give Legal advice and support” 25.0%. There were five additional responses with a value of 12.5%, including imposing more community work rather than custodial sentences for African-Guyanese youth, full and complete investigations and preservation

of forensic evidence, advocacy and vigilance by African organizations, sensitization training for police and prison service recruits, and a watchdog organization to monitor treatment of African-Guyanese youth arrested and incarcerated.

The responses in cluster (iii) with respect to the administration of justice and the functioning of the police and prison services vis-à-vis African-Guyanese point to a highly negative view of these bodies. These include race and class biases, poorly investigated cases and equally poor hearings, lengthy litigation, solicitation of bribes, discriminatory treatment of African-Guyanese youth, illegal searches and false charges, racial profiling of African-Guyanese, and discriminatory treatment by community policing groups. Such views are very much a part of popular lore. The actions, programmes and policies to address this situation included, (re-)education and training for officials, clamping down on corruption, programmes to reduce race and class discrimination, legal aid for African-Guyanese, non-custodial sentences, improved investigations, sensitization training for police and prison officers, advocacy and vigilance by African-Guyanese organizations, and a watchdog organization to monitor treatment of African-Guyanese youth. These are all quite useful recommendations, broadly consistent with the perceived injustices in the legal, policing and prison systems that will be incorporated in elaborating actions under the **Strategic Plan**.

With respect to cluster (iv), question **7.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese in region or community have been discriminated against in accessing lands for housing and agriculture, as compared with other race groups**, the top five responses were as follows: “Africans are discriminated against in land allocation” **62.5%**; “Lands for Africans have poor drainage, poor access roads and thick forest” **50.0%**; “Africans cannot get loans for purchasing land” **37.5%**; “The documentation required is prohibitive” **12.5%**; and “Price of land is too high for average African people” **12.5%**. With respect to question **8.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese contractors and trades persons have been denied equal opportunities in securing contracts and selling their services in business, trades, construction, and contracting**, the top five responses were as follows: “Denied through lack of finance” **62.5%**; “Contracts are awarded in a discriminatory manner” **50.0%**; “Lack of equipment, land and technical knowledge” **25.0%**; “Contracts awarded via bribery and other corruption” **25.0%**; and “Information is leaked to other race. Not Africans” **12.5%**. Still on cluster (iv) question **9.0 Actions, programmes or policies that can foster equal opportunities for African-Guyanese in securing contracts and selling their services in business, trades, construction, and contracting**, the top seven responses were as follows: “Implement transparency in contract awards, open bidding” **37.5%**; “Have an agency which provides financial assistance to small contractors” **25.0%**; “Allow cooperative approach to contracts. Africans must have more united approach” **25.0%**; “Establish an African Bank” **12.5%**; “Establish an African import and export market” **12.5%**; “Establish a GMC” **12.5%**; and “Allocate a certain amount of the contracts to small contractors” **12.5%**. The responses in this cluster with respect to access to land for farming and housing and access to contracts, followed the familiar pattern of discrimination, poor drainage and access roads, high prices and limited access to financing to purchase land, discrimination in awarding contracts, corruption and bribery in awarding contracts, lack of equipment, land and technical knowledge, and selective access to information on available opportunities. The recommendations for addressing this situation included transparency and open bidding for contracts, financial assistance to small contractors, establish an African-Guyanese bank, cooperative approach to bidding for contracts, import and export cooperatives, an improved Guyana Marketing Corporation (GMC), and allocate a fixed amount of contracts to small contractors. Once again, these are all quite useful and will be incorporated in the **Strategic Plan**.

With respect to cluster (v), question **10.1.0 Practices in medical institutions that deny African-Guyanese equal access to health care and medicines**, elicited seven responses each with value of **12.5%**. These included inadequate health education, language barriers in understanding foreign doctors, too few African-Guyanese doctors, poor medical emergency response, medication is too expensive, enquiries by private hospitals about place of work and source of income before persons are admitted, poor African-Guyanese are treated with disdain at the Georgetown Public Hospital Corporation (GPHC), and persons die because of callous treatment. Question **10.2.0 Policies, programmes or actions that can improve the situation**, produced eight responses each with a value of **12.5%**. Recommendations included the need for more African-Guyanese nurses and doctors, more state of the art hospitals, implement more effective health care laws, create more awareness of the situation, Government should guarantee health care payments for certain classes of African-Guyanese who need private or overseas treatment, a functioning complaints and action desk at the GPHC, thorough investigation and truthful reporting of medical breaches, and disciplinary action for deliberate breaches of medical protocols. The reported treatment of African-Guyanese in accessing health care and medicines is certainly worrying, indicating discrimination and disparities in access, inadequate numbers of Guyanese medical personnel, high costs of medications, and callous treatment at the GPHC. Many of these are indeed in the popular lore and clearly need to be addressed. In this regard, many of the above recommendations would seem consistent with the reported deficiencies, are worthy of further consideration, and will find expression in the **Strategic Plan**.

4.6: Findings from Regional Consultations and meetings with IDPADA-G Member Organizations – Expiation:

The Question Sheet for the **Expiation Response Area** contained ten (10) sets of questions clustered as follows on: (i) Ways in which slavery, emancipation and its aftermath negatively impacted the religious and cultural, and social and economic development of African-Guyanese, and the damage inflicted on family and community relations; (ii) Expiation for descendants of African slaves – which groups should apologize and pay, what form can reparations take, and who should receive redress on their behalf; (iii) Policies and programmes to correct how that history is told and how African-Guyanese are seen by others, to address the social, economic and development impacts of that history, and to address the religious and cultural impacts on current day African-Guyanese; (iv) Actions by African-Guyanese themselves to address the lingering effects of that history and how African-Guyanese groups and organizations can be strengthened to press for full and adequate expiation; and (v) Ways in which other race groups in Guyana can be made to understand and support the need for an apology and reparations.

With respect to cluster (i) question **Ways in which slavery and its aftermath negatively affected the religious and cultural development of African-Guyanese**, the top four responses were as follows: Imposed another religion. Left Africans confused about religion” **85.7%**; “Loss of culture, dress, language, names” **71.4%**; “We hate our own images and ourselves” **42.9%**; and “Lack of knowledge of our own culture” **28.6%**. There were seven additional responses each with a value of **14.3%** covering factors such as ‘no psychological rehabilitation of Africans’, Africans are more divided, separated from their God and religion, devoid of ‘holistic’ education and have instead imbibed Eurocentric teachings, disrespect for their women, lack of family orientation, and disrespect for African traditions and religious practices. With respect to question **2.0 Ways in which developments after Emancipation negatively affected the social and economic development of African-Guyanese**, the top five responses were as

follows: Africans were unpaid for their labour and thus did not get the same economic start as the other ethnic groups” **57.1%**; “Victimization/discrimination” **42.9%**; “Deliberate Damage to crops and livestock, sabotage of African lands by flooding” **42.9%**; “No access to natural resources of Guyana – forestry, Gold, etc.” **28.6%**; and “No fair access to land . We had to purchase at high cost” **28.6%**. There were seven additional responses each with a value of **14.3%** that included factors such as excessive church attendance, preference for white collar jobs rather than farming, preference for European rather than African foods, and no land, infrastructure or support services. With respect to question **3.0 Ways in which family and community relations among African-Guyanese were damaged from slavery to the present day**, the top eight responses were as follows: “Africans can’t do business with Africans because of distrust” **42.9%**; “Family structures were destroyed, families separated” **42.9%**; “White men raped and humiliated black men in front of their families, bringing disrespect for the father figure in the home. That disrespect continues onto this day” **28.6%**; “Separation of Family” **28.6%**; “Africans hate each other – Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” **14.3%**; “African culture of inter-dependency was ruptured” **14.3%**; “Poor cooperation” **14.3%**; and “Name change” **14.3%**. Many of the above are in the realm of perception, but as always such perception is a powerful driver of how people see and relate to their current situation. And perception if not grounded in truth and reality can be addressed through re-education and sensitization.

With respect to cluster (ii), question **4.0 Expiation to the descendants of African slaves. Who/which groups should apologize and pay**, the top four responses were as follows: “All European nations that were directly involved in slavery” **71.4%**; “All those directly and indirectly involved should pay. English, Dutch, French, Spanish. India” **28.6%**; “Guyanese East Indians” **28.6%**; and “Guyanese Amerindians” **14.3%**. With respect to question **4.2 What form can reparations take**, the top three responses were as follows: “Money” **71.4%**; “A public apology must be made by the contributing governments” **42.9%**; and “Amerindians got lands allocated to them. Lands should be allocated to Africans” **28.6%**. There were five additional responses each with a value of **14.3%** covering recommendations such as houses and model African communities, reclamation of ancestral lands by Africans, free education and scholarships for African-Descendants, and technology transfer. Still on cluster (ii) the final question **4.3 Who should receive redress on their behalf**, there were three responses as follows: “All African-Descendants should benefit” **71.4%**; “African communities/groups should receive” **28.6%**; and “Through a Reparations Council in every community” **14.3%**. The recommendations in this cluster are quite clear and concise and will doubtless provide useful guidance in crafting an expiation strategy and as inputs for the **IDPADA-G Strategic Plan**.

With respect to cluster (iii), question **5.0 Policies and programmes to correct how that history is told and how African-Guyanese are seen by other race groups**, the top four responses were as follows: “Teach the right African history through educational programmes” **85.7%**; “Promote more Afro-centric books” **42.9%**; “Conduct public sensitization programmes” **42.9%**; and “Promote in Guyana more books and movies on the African experience” **28.6%**. There were an additional eight responses each with a value of **14.3%**, with recommendations including, banning what was referred to as ‘derogatory’ dancehall music, use the media to promote consciousness, implement policies focusing on equity rather than equality, promote programmes that return their African heritage, preserve items of historical importance such as trees, historical sites and artifacts, promote African science, technology and arts, and create African forums and educate on African culture.

Still on cluster (iii), question **6.0 Policies and programmes to address the social, economic and development impacts of that history on current day African-Guyanese**, the top two responses were as

follows: “Enable exchange visits between African-Guyanese and Africa” **28.6%**; and “Include Business in the education curriculum” **28.6%**. There were eight additional responses each with a value of **14.3%** with recommendations covering promoting more village and town days, business linkages with Ghana, promoting African cooperation and self-reliance, promoting and supporting cooperatives, a country-wide sensitization programme for all Guyanese, allocation of lands to African communities free of cost, access to capital interest free or at low rates, and vocational skills programmes. With respect to question **7.0 Policies and programmes to address the religious and cultural impacts of that history on current day African-Guyanese**, the top three responses were as follows: “Initiate programmes that encourage African-Guyanese to take back their religion and culture, cultural exchanges” **42.9%**; “Govt. to fund repatriation to Africa, cultural exchanges” **28.6%**; and “Ensure that there is freedom of cultural and religious expression, including use of marijuana” **28.6%**. There were four additional recommendations each with a value of **14.3%** including, business studies in the school curriculum, Government and African based groups should build closer relationship with Africa, and African religious and cultural leaders should educate others on African history. Promoting stronger business, cultural and religious ties with Africa was a constant theme throughout this cluster.

With respect to cluster (iv), question **8.0 Actions that African-Guyanese need to take to address the lingering effects of that history of slavery, apprenticeship, discrimination and exploitation**, the top four responses were as follows: “Cooperate with and support each other in business and in villages” **71.4%**; “Africans must form groups and have continuous dialogues and interaction within their communities and between communities” **42.9%**; “Africans need to respect and trust each other” **28.6%**; and “Pool their resources and do joint undertakings, including self-help” **28.6%**. There were five additional responses each with a value of **14.3%**, including return to the adage that it takes a village to raise a child, form business cooperatives, introduce Guyanese to the “African Business Strategy” creating synergies and downstream production, and educate our families about our culture and what affects their social relationships. Again, there are some recurring themes in these recommended actions, including cooperation, mutual support, pooling resources and self-help, community action to raise the younger generation, formation of business cooperatives, and educating the family on their African history and culture. Still on cluster (iv), question **9.0 Areas in which African-Guyanese business, social and cultural groups and organizations need to be strengthened and capacity built to press for full and adequate expiation**, all twelve responses each carried a value of **14.3%**. Recommended actions included capacity building in advocacy, training in African history, training in business planning and management, media with full access and under the control of Africans, enforce intellectual property right laws on African ideas, poetry, songs etc., promote African self-consciousness, a help desk at IDPADA-G Secretariat to assist in preparation of business documentation, project write-ups etc., teambuilding, formation of one umbrella organization, and create more businesses, credit union, cooperative societies etc. These all collectively speak of recurring themes that are clearly critical for capacity building in African-Guyanese businesses, social and cultural groups and organizations.

With respect to cluster (v), question **10.0 Ways in which other race groups in Guyana can be made to understand and support the need for an apology and reparations**, the top six responses were as follows: “Create interracial forums for free and frank discussion and understanding” **57.1%**; “Teach African history in schools so children of other races understand what transpired” **28.6%**; “Create free spaces for racial melting pots, where all races can come together, discuss problems and propose common solutions” **28.6%**; “Writing and teaching of Guyanese history as a subject from Nursery to University” **14.3%**; “By social media” **14.3%**; and “Gifts such as lands and finance to develop the lands

for reparations” **14.3%**. These all point in the direction of more discussion, understanding, learning about the struggles of African-Descendants, more interaction, including through social media, that constitute the bases for building and enhancing social cohesion.

PART 2

5.0: STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, OUTCOMES, OUTPUTS AND ACTIVITIES UNDER THE STRATEGIC PLAN

5.1: Contextual and Organizational Framework:

The elucidation of the struggles, trends, processes, and forces that shaped the historical evolution and contemporary situation of African-Descendants in Guyana as outlined in the **Literature Review**; and the current reality of their existence as outlined in the previous section that analyzed the results of the **Regional Consultations** and **Meetings** with IDPADA-G Member Organizations, together provide both the context as well as the content and thrust of the Strategic Objectives, Outcomes, Outputs and Activities, of the **Strategic Plan**. Thus the **Literature Review** established some recurring trends, processes and forces such as the reality of economic exploitation, racial discrimination, cultural dispossession, and social and familial degradation that characterized the institution of slavery and underpinned the subjugation and dehumanization of the enslaved Africans. The post-emancipation period gave rise to new and continuing forms of discrimination and dispossession even as the ex-slaves sought to build an independent existence and to develop their own agency through peasant agriculture away from the plantations, and wage labour in the towns and interior settlements. These processes seeded the emergence of an African-Guyanese working class of peasant producers, laborers and artisans, and a middle class of teachers, civil servants, lawyers, doctors and other professionals.

The pre-independence period saw the emergence of an African-Guyanese consciousness, first under the leadership of the BGLU and later under the leadership of the original PPP and then the PNC. This period was characterized both by continuing economic exploitation and discrimination, continued denigration of their culture and forms of social organization, denial of political rights, and reflexive struggles by the awakening African-Guyanese collective to assert their humanity, claim their civil and political rights, and carve out a sustainable path to socio-economic emancipation and empowerment. The post-independence period under Burnham's PNC was one of promise fueled by the newly-won right to control the socio-economic and political destiny of the independent state of Guyana. Advances in education and health care, leadership and managerial jobs in Government and the State Corporations, and expanded opportunities and entry into the independent professions, were all hallmarks of this period. But alas, the internal contradictions of Cooperative Socialism, compounded by external economic and political forces led to reversal of this promise and the strident African-Guyanese consciousness that accompanied it. The PPP years saw the return of socio-economic discrimination and exclusion, political domination, and a socio-cultural reversal amidst conditions of increasing poverty, unemployment especially among the youth, curtailment of job opportunities in the state sector, and neglect of African-Guyanese inner city and rural communities.

The **Regional Consultations** and **Meetings** with IDPADA-G Member Organizations sought to examine the current situation of African-Guyanese based on the five **Response Areas** of Economy, Employment, Education, Equity/Equality and Expiation, that have been determined as the focus of the **Strategic Plan**. The data collected reflect the return of some historical trends, processes and forces that characterized the pre-Independence era, including systemic and structural racism and discrimination, economic dispossession, political domination, denial of equal opportunities for jobs and earning an income, curtailment of socio-economic emancipation due to restrictions in access to bank financing, education

and training, and compromised socio-cultural expression through the emergent pathologies and self-doubt in the African-Guyanese social and family structures.

These consultations and meetings did not only elucidate what has gone wrong and the pathos of the African-Guyanese condition in contemporary Guyana; but also produced recommendations in terms of policy, programmes and actions that can be taken to address if not reverse this situation. While policy is admittedly the preserve of the state, those in control of the Local Government system, the private sector and organized labour, and those who impact on these through civil society actions and advocacy, many of the programmes and actions emanating from the consultations and meetings also spoke to the agency of African-Guyanese individuals, families, communities and Afro-centric organizations in undertaking purposeful and collective actions to address these deficits, deficiencies and pathologies, and reverse the current condition of the African-Guyanese collective. It is these policies, programmes and actions that lay in the realm of the state, those in control of the Local Government system, the private sector and organized labour, and those who impact on these through civil society actions and advocacy; and equally so, those programmes and actions that speak to and are dependent on the agency of African-Guyanese individuals, families, communities and Afro-centric organizations, that have informed and provide the contextual framework and content of this **Strategic Plan**.

The concept of **Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome Disorder (PTSSD)**, has entered the discourse on African enslavement that seeks to give prominence and explanatory force to the enduring psychological, psycho-social, cultural, and behavioral deformations that accompanied African enslavement. As noted in an **Literature Review** section of the **Strategic Plan**, the period of African enslavement was one that left enduring impacts in that it laid the basis for the exploitation and oppression of Africans based on discredited theories of racial superiority; it reproduced that exploitation and oppression through linguistic and cultural dispossession; it perpetuated this system of exploitation and oppression through naked coercion based on control of the instruments of violence in the form of militias or the military; and reproduced the system of domination and disempowerment of the African masses through control and use of the colonial state and its economic, political, legislative, and administrative processes. These are in the realm of the socio-economic, political, cultural, and institutional impacts of African enslavement. To this complex, the concept of **PTSSD** adds the enduring psychological and psycho-social deformations generated during the period of African enslavement that have remained with the African-Descendants into the contemporary period.

The below definition of **PTSSD** is worth quoting at length:

“P.T.S.S. is a theory that explains the etiology of the adaptive survival p. behaviors in African American communities throughout the United States and the Diaspora. It is a condition that exists as a consequence of multigenerational oppression of Africans and their descendants resulting from centuries of chattel slavery. A form of slavery which was predicated on the belief that African (Americans) were inherently/genetically inferior to whites. This was then followed by institutionalized racism which continues to perpetuate injury.” (Extracted from paper by Miryom Levi titled “**Restoring Hope through Education**” p. 3, attached hereto as ANNEX VIII.

PTSSD would seem to have significant explanatory value and is therefore included in this **Strategic Plan**, particularly under **Strategic Objectives 5 and 6** below.

As will be readily observed in the ensuing elucidation of the **Strategic Objectives, Outcomes, Outputs and Activities** under this **Strategic Plan**, its main thrust is one of **capacity building**. Indeed, perhaps over 60% of the plan focuses on capacity building, whether it be with respect to strengthening the policy-making function, formulating and implementing programmes and projects, and of course developing skills and capacities within the African-Guyanese collective, including youth, women and girls. Thus, it may well be asked whether it would not have been more appropriate to structure the plan along thematic clusters such as capacity development, youth development, village economy, equality, culture etc., rather than the sectoral approach focusing on **Economics/Economy, Employment, Education, Equity/Equality, and Expiation**, (the 5 Es) that is utilized below to develop the strategic objectives and elucidate the plan. It was decided to keep the sectoral approach since “the 5 Es”, is the framework that was proposed and agreed at the instance of His Excellency President Granger, to pursue activities during the International Decade; it is already being used to organize the committees into which IDPADA-G Member Organizations are currently structured and are pursuing their work; most of the activities under the plan are in capacity building, and a thematic approach would likely lead to an unwieldy presentation with the other thematic areas occupying a much smaller place in the plan; Ministries and Agencies are more comfortable operating sectorally and would more readily recognize their role and responsibilities under the respective sectors as currently outlined; and it may cause some confusion to now switch organizationally and operationally from a sectoral to a thematic approach. This said, it was proposed that a matrix can be developed along thematic lines that would reflect Objectives, Outputs and Activities under discreet clusters such as capacity development, youth development, village economy, equality, culture etc..

5.2: Strategic Objectives:

The following are the **Strategic Objectives** under which the Outcomes, Programmes and Activities of the **Strategic Plan** will be elaborated:

- vii. Promote economic advancement and empowerment, **economic agency** and self-confidence; expand access to business and entrepreneurial training, access to investment capital, and capital accumulation and wealth and assets creation; organize African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, construction, trades and service providers in cooperative networks; rebuild and strengthen African-Guyanese businesses and producer organizations; reduce poverty; and ensure a sustainable socio-economic future for the African-Guyanese collective;
- viii. Create sustainable jobs and **employment** opportunities for African-Guyanese; enhance employability through access to education and training institutions; enhance appropriate skill levels through skills training and life-long learning; increase access to tertiary and professional education and training and expand access to high-paying professional and technology-based occupations; reduce poverty; and inculcate appropriate workplace attitudes and behaviours towards producing a skilled and productive African-Guyanese workforce;
- ix. Re-build the capacity of the African-Guyanese collective for learning and self-improvement through **education** and training; promote the fashioning of an education system and curricula that include and recognize the history and culture of Africa and African-Guyanese; institute policies, programmes and actions that contribute to a rounded socio-cultural and science-based education for the youth including instilling appropriate attitudes, behaviours, and values; and build a cadre of African-Guyanese educators, trainers, and technical level

- instructors, for sustainable inter-generational learning and advancement of the African-Guyanese collective;
- x. Reduce systemic and structural inequalities in access to socio-economic opportunities and goods and services; address and remove inequities and inequalities in access to **justice** and treatment by the courts, law enforcement, and prison officials; restore conditions of equity and equality in relations between African-Guyanese and other ethnic groups; combat racial profiling and negative stereotyping of African-Guyanese; promote equity and equality in the expression of religion in public meetings and spaces; and restore hope and confidence in the African-Guyanese collective, and youth in particular, through the realization of **equity, justice and development**;
 - xi. Support demands by the African-Guyanese collective, the Caribbean and Latin American Diaspora, and the independent nations of Africa, for an **apology** and reparations for the injustices and deprivations of African trans-Atlantic slavery; advocate for the full embracing by the former colonial powers and others complicit in African enslavement of the UN Decade for People of African Descent and the calls for justice, recognition, and development; promote a similar embracing and admission by other ethnic groups in contemporary Guyana who may have benefited from, or been complicit in, the subjugation, oppression, exploitation, and dispossession of African-Guyanese historically and into the contemporary period; and support **healing** from the cross-generational impacts of centuries of oppression and psychological deformation, and recovery of the spirit, ethos, and creativity of the African-Descendant collective.
 - xii. Promote capacity building in Afro-centric umbrella organizations in the five Response Areas of the **Strategic Plan**; strengthen the capacity of the IDPADA-G Secretariat to provide capacity building and organizational support to such Afro-centric umbrella organizations; provide an institutional framework and operational capacity to coordinate and support the programmes of such organizations in pursuance of the goals for justice, recognition and development; promote the maintenance, preservation, and observance of African and African-Guyanese culture, languages, art, music, dance, dress and other forms of expression and the teaching of African history; and strengthen operational capacity to coordinate and monitor implementation of the **Strategic Plan**.

5.2.1: Strategic Objective 1 - Promote economic advancement and empowerment, economic agency and self-confidence; expand access to business and entrepreneurial training, and access to investment capital; enhance capital accumulation and wealth and assets creation; organize African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, construction, trades and service providers in cooperative networks; rebuild and strengthen African-Guyanese businesses and producer organizations; and ensure a sustainable socio-economic future for the African-Guyanese collective.

Outcome 1.1 – A more enabling financial, fiscal, regulatory and operational environment for the nurturing and sustainability of African-Guyanese entrepreneurs and businesses.

Output 1.1.1 – African-Guyanese businesses, entrepreneurs and manufacturers afforded access to adequate and affordable financing.

Activities:

- i. Advocate for opening of financing windows in commercial banks accessible by African-Guyanese entrepreneurs;
- ii. Advocate for re-establishment of Government financing windows including agricultural and industrial banks with equal access for African-Guyanese business persons;
- iii. Establish the African-Guyanese Credit Union on a sound financial footing, grow its capital base, and ensure affordable and sustainable financial resources for African-Guyanese borrowers; and
- iv. Conduct workshops, training sessions, information sharing, and capacity building sessions for African-Guyanese business persons on accessing available financing windows.

Output 1.1.2 - African-Guyanese contractors and service providers benefit from a revised fiscal and regulatory regime governing access to Central and Local Government contracts, ensuring equal access and a level playing field.

Activities:

- i. Advocate for revision of applicable legislation and procedures at the Central, Ministerial, and Regional Tender and Procurement Boards to strengthen transparency, accessibility and reduce corruption and favoritism;
- ii. Advocate for full application of legal provision of 20% of Government contracts accessible to small-scale contractors and service providers;
- iii. Advocate for review and relaxation as needed, of requirements for GRA compliance, NIS compliance, licensing including costs, and VAT and other fiscal requirements with special attention to the needs of small African-Guyanese business and service providers; and
- iv. Conduct workshops, training sessions, information sharing, and capacity building sessions for African-Guyanese business persons and service providers on the applicable and revised regime and requirements for bidding, NIS and GRA compliance, licensing, and VAT.

Outcome 1.2 – Capacities built among African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, contractors and service providers in selected regions, for business planning, financial and operational management, and service delivery.

Output 1.2.1 – Appropriate training packages developed and at least two training events delivered annually per region for African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, contractors and service providers.

Activities:

- i. Develop roster of African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, contractors, and service providers to reach them and provide needed support focusing on Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10;
- ii. Conduct needs assessment on capacity deficits in the areas of business planning, financial and operational management;
- iii. Negotiate with business training institutions, (including the University of Guyana), technical institutes and schools, and other providers of business education for the design and delivery of appropriate capacity building packages;

- iv. Conduct short-term courses and seminars for new entrants to the business environment to build start-up skills and operational capacities; and
- v. Deliver short technical workshops, seminars, targeted training programmes, and refresher trainings, focusing on Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10, for African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, contractors, and service providers in business planning, quality control, customer relations, financial and operational management, and other relevant areas.

Output 1.2.2 - Enhanced and collaborative business and organizational structures for collective strengthening, networking and information sharing, efficiency, profitability, and sustainability of African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, businesses, contractors, and service providers.

Activities:

- i. Promote and support the establishment of African-Guyanese umbrella business organizations and associations such as the African Business Roundtable and others, in the regions and capital towns, for interest articulation and defense, networking and information sharing on business opportunities, and mutual benefit and support;
- ii. Promote and support the establishment of business cooperatives bringing together African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, contractors, and service providers for joint bidding for contracts, provision of contracting and other services, networking and information on business opportunities, and collective improvements in provision of goods and services;
- iii. Promote and support the establishment of equipment pools for African-Guyanese contractors, business incubators for start-ups, and mutual support modalities for the provision of works, goods and services, in the regions and capital towns;
- iv. Promote and implement mentoring, experience sharing, outreach and other such support programmes, in the regions and capital towns, whereby established African-Guyanese business persons, contractors and entrepreneurs can serve as role models and sponsors of young and aspirant African-Guyanese entrants into the business environment; and
- v. Promote and facilitate resource and financing cooperatives, including traditional savings schemes, among African-Guyanese entrepreneurs, business persons, contractors, and service providers, that serve as additional and more culturally-appropriate financing for start-ups and on-going financial support for African-Guyanese business persons.

Outcome 1.3 – Capacities built among African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers in selected regions in agricultural techniques, livestock and poultry rearing, processing, packaging, marketing, and financial management.

Output 1.3.1 - Appropriate training packages developed and at least two training events delivered annually in selected regions for African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers in agricultural techniques, livestock and poultry rearing, packaging and processing, marketing, and financial management.

Activities:

- i. Develop roster of African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers to reach them and provide needed support focusing on Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10;

- ii. Conduct needs assessment on capacity deficits in the areas of agricultural techniques, livestock and poultry rearing, processing, packaging and marketing;
- iii. Negotiate with agriculture, livestock rearing, and agro-processing training institutions, (including the University of Guyana, the Mon Repos Agricultural School, and the NAREI), for the design and delivery of appropriate capacity building packages;
- iv. Negotiate with the Ministry of Education and schools in selected regions for enhancing and delivery of agriculture and animal rearing programmes especially at the secondary level;
- v. Negotiate with the Ministries of Agriculture and Communities for the strengthening and equitable delivery of agricultural extension and other support services in Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10, ensuring equitable access to African-Guyanese; and
- vi. Deliver short technical workshops, seminars, targeted training programmes, and refresher trainings, focusing on Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10, for African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers in agricultural techniques, livestock and poultry husbandry, processing, packaging, marketing, and financial management.

Output 1.3.2 – Enhanced organizational and operational structures for collective and cooperative production, marketing, quality management arrangements, and mutual support benefiting African-Guyanese farmers, livestock producers, and agro-processors.

Activities:

- i. Promote and support the establishment of African-Guyanese umbrella farmers organizations and associations such as the People of African Descent Farmers Association (PADFARMA) and others, in the regions and capital towns, for interest articulation and defense, networking and information sharing on business opportunities, and mutual benefit and support;
- ii. Promote and support the establishment of farmers and agricultural producers cooperatives bringing together African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers, in agricultural techniques, livestock and poultry rearing, processing, packaging, marketing, financial management, networking and information on agri-business opportunities, and collective improvements in agricultural productivity and profitability;
- iii. Promote and support the establishment of equipment pools for African-Guyanese farmers and agricultural sector producers, technical support for start-ups farmers, and mutual support modalities for enhanced agricultural sector production, in selected regions and communities;
- iv. Promote and implement mentoring, experience sharing, outreach and other such support programmes, in the regions and communities, whereby established African-Guyanese farmers and agricultural sector producers can serve as role models and sponsors of young and aspirant African-Guyanese entrants into farming, agro-processing, and livestock rearing;
- v. Advocate for financing windows for small farmers and agro-processors through the re-establishment of a government-funded Agricultural Bank, and concessionary financing through the banking system, IPED and credit unions; and
- vi. Promote and facilitate resource and financing cooperatives, including traditional savings schemes, among African-Guyanese farmers, agro-processors, and livestock producers,

that serve as additional and more culturally-appropriate financing for start-ups and on-going financial support for African-Guyanese agricultural producers.

5.2.2: Strategic Objective 2 - Create sustainable jobs and employment opportunities for African-Guyanese and enhance employability through access to education and training institutions; enhance appropriate skill levels through skills training and life-long learning; increase access to tertiary and professional education and training and expand access to high-paying professional and technology-based occupations; reduce poverty; and inculcate appropriate workplace attitudes and behaviours towards producing a skilled and productive African-Guyanese workforce.

Outcome 2.1: Capacities built among African-Guyanese youth and adults for gainful and productive employment in all sectors of the economy.

Output 2.1.1 – African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, benefiting from upgraded trade schools, technical institutes, Youth Service programmes, and technical studies departments in all secondary schools.

Activities:

- i. Advocate for the establishment and improvement of at least one technical institute and/or trade school in each region and capital town, appropriate entrance qualifications for late starters, and remedial literacy and numeracy programmes for those who do not meet entry qualifications;
- ii. Advocate for and negotiate affirmative action in admission to such technical training programmes with the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Board of Industrial Training (BIT), and the management of technical training institutions, for African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, based on a pre-determined quota system;
- iii. Advocate with the MOE for the strengthening of technical and vocational education and training programmes in all secondary schools, and the provision of appropriate financial and teaching support, with a special focus on inner-city, depressed and underserved peri-urban areas, villages and communities;
- iv. Advocate for bursaries, scholarships, stipends, transportation and other support for persons attending technical institutes and trade schools from inner-city, depressed and underserved peri-urban areas, villages and communities, to ensure equitable access and ability to complete such programmes;
- v. Advocate for the re-introduction and/or expansion of a nation-wide Youth Service programme for early school leavers and young adults, towards imparting relevant skills, attitudes, discipline, and appropriate work habits that would benefit African-Guyanese youth;
- vi. Advocate and partner in the introduction of rites of passage programmes for African-Guyanese youth as an integral element of the education and socialization function of the Youth Service programme, towards instilling an appreciation of their African-Guyanese history, culture and ethos; and
- vii. Advocate and collaborate with African-Guyanese businesses, contractors, and service providers for the provision of scholarships, bursaries, internships, and mentoring

programmes for young and aspiring African-Guyanese attending such technical institutes and trade schools.

Output 2.1.2 – African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, having access to sustainable jobs and employment, and enjoying no less favorable and adequate emoluments and conditions of service than available to other ethnic groups.

Activities:

- i. Advocate and collaborate with trades and employers organizations, including Chambers of Industry and Commerce, the Guyana Manufacturers and Services Association (GMSA), Private Sector Commission (PSC), Small Business Bureau (SBB), Consultative Association of Guyanese Industry (CAGI) and others, to ensure equitable access of qualified African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, to available job opportunities;
- ii. Collaborate with the Ministry of Social Protection (Department of Labour and its Inspectorate Division), towards undertaking regular checks on employers and service providers and ensuring that adequate and agreed emoluments and conditions are enjoyed by African-Guyanese workers comparable to other employees;
- iii. Collaborate with African-Guyanese businesses and service providers to ensure that qualified African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, are employed by such enterprises, wherever possible, bearing in mind historical and continuing denial of opportunities suffered by the African-Guyanese workforce; and
- iv. Advocate and collaborate with established businesses and conglomerates in the oil and gas, mining and quarrying, construction and allied services sectors, for increased employment and placement of qualified African-Guyanese, and access to advanced training opportunities available through such enterprises.

Outcome 2.2: Revitalized African-Guyanese village economies, expanded employment opportunities, reduced unemployment, and job creation at village and community levels utilizing the local skills base and business/economic opportunities.

Output 2.2.1 – Increased numbers of African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, employed in village and community-based infrastructural works and maintenance.

Activities:

- i. Identify at least two (2) pilot African-Guyanese villages each in Regions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10, for dedicated support in improving their environment through village-level infrastructural projects using village labour;
- ii. Advocate and collaborate with the Ministry of Communities and support the creation of Community Improvement Committees (CIC) in selected African-Guyanese villages and communities;
- iii. Provide technical support to the CIC in identifying employment opportunities in the villages and communities and in preparing costed proposals for approaching regional and local government bodies;
- iv. Advocate and provide support to selected CIC in approaching the relevant NDCs and RDCs to undertake works such as road repairs, D & I, providing employment for their members; and
- v. Provide technical support to CIC in preparing well-costed proposals for accessing funds from community development funding windows (available through the Ministry of Communities,

NGOs such as Food for the Poor and Habitat for Humanity, and small grants windows available through UN and donor agencies) for community improvement projects providing cash or food assistance to villagers and community members in exchange for working on such projects.

Output 2.2.2 – Increased numbers of African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, employed in village and community-based businesses.

Activities:

- i. Provide technical support to selected CIC and villages to identify business opportunities and economic ventures such as bakeries, poultry and livestock farms, ground provision/cash crop farms, towards expanding the village economy and creating jobs for villagers, including women and girls;
- ii. Provide support to CIC in identifying training needs for villagers and community members that would equip them with the skills to start up or expand village-level businesses, in the trades, food processing, and personal care;
- iii. Advocate and provide support to CIC to approach and collaborate with churches, youth groups, sports and recreation clubs, women’s groups in delivering identified skills training programmes for villagers e.g. sewing, cake making, carpentry, hairdressing and personal care, plumbing, masonry, electrical works, appliance repairs;
- iv. Advocate and encourage established African-Guyanese businesses and enterprises to collaborate with CIC and communities in identifying business/investment opportunities and establish business ventures employing local community members and villagers; and
- v. Provide encouragement and support community members and villagers to form cooperatives and pool their financial and other resources to establish community and village-level businesses employing other community members, including women and girls.

Output 2.2.3 – Increased agricultural, livestock rearing, and agro-processing activities at community level leading to re-establishment of thriving village economies and employment in African-Guyanese villagers.

Activities:

- i. Provide support to selected CIC and villages in forming or strengthening agricultural producer cooperatives, and buying, transportation and marketing cooperatives, towards ensuring that the village economy benefits maximally from village-level agricultural and agro-processing production and sales;
- ii. Advocate and provide support to CIC in approaching the RDC, NDC, CDC with proposals to clear village backlands (ancestral) lands using village labour for communal or individual level farms and agricultural ventures;
- iii. Advocate for support from the Ministry of Agriculture (Rural Development Department, and D & I Department) and the Ministry of Communities, to provide support to village agricultural production in the areas of drainage and irrigation, extension services, farm management, and marketing;
- iv. Advocate for support from the Ministry of Business and New Guyana Marketing Corporation, to provide business training and other support to village agro-processing ventures in the areas of quality assurance, packaging, and domestic and export marketing;

- v. Provide technical support to CIC and villagers in preparing funding proposals, and facilitate access to small and micro-business financing windows such as IPED, and community economic development funds available through the Ministries of Communities and Business, to provide start-up and operational capital for businesses in selected African-Guyanese villages;
- vi. Provide technical and other support to the Rastafarian community for the establishment of plantain, banana, coconut and moringa plantations, macro cash crop farms, livestock rearing, and agro-processing facilities for preserving, packaging and marketing such products; and
- vii. Advocate and encourage outreach, financial support and mentoring by established African-Guyanese businesses and enterprises to support start-up community and village economic projects thereby creating employment and contributing to vibrant village economies.

5.2.3: Strategic Objective 3 - Re-build the capacity of the African-Guyanese collective for learning and self-improvement through education and training; promote the fashioning of an education system and curricula that include and recognize the history and culture of Africa and African-Guyanese; institute policies, programmes and actions that contribute to a rounded socio-cultural and science-based education for the youth including instilling appropriate attitudes, behaviours, and values; and build a cadre of African-Guyanese educators, trainers, and technical level instructors, for sustainable inter-generational learning and advancement of the African-Guyanese collective.

Outcome 3.1 – Improved school attendance, performance and graduation rates among African-Guyanese youth and enhanced success in Grade Six Assessment, CXC, and CSEC Examinations.

Output 3.1.1 – Increased school enrollment, attendance, completion and graduation rates among African-Guyanese students, especially the boy child.

Activities:

- i. Advocate with the MOE for full implementation and coverage of school feeding programmes, especially for inner-city, depressed, and under-served peri-urban and rural areas;
- ii. Advocate with the MOE for the provision of free or subsidized transportation to and from school especially for students from inner-city, depressed, and under-served peri-urban and rural areas;
- iii. Advocate and partner with the Ministry of Finance and MOE in developing conditional cash transfer and other social assistance programmes such as bursaries and scholarships, that would support families in difficult circumstances in ensuring attendance and completion by school age children;
- iv. Advocate and partner with the MOE for the establishment of Rastafari/Afro-centric early childhood development programmes;
- v. Advocate and partner with the MOE in providing appropriate counseling, mentoring, career guidance, and psycho-social programmes for in-school students and young adults on dealing with negative peer pressures, broken homes, and other negative environmental conditions;

- vi. Advocate for the design and implementation of sensitive school policies dealing with teenage pregnancy, for re-integrating teenage mothers, and their completion of the full school programme, graduation and certification;
- vii. Advocate and partner with the MOE in the design and implementation of appropriate programmes and interventions for school children and especially the boy child, addressing challenges including negative peer pressure, drugs, delinquency, dropping out, irregular attendance, and inappropriate attitudes and behaviours;
- viii. Partner with the MOE in delivering motivational talks, mentoring and career guidance to school children in selected schools especially in inner-city, depressed, and under-served peri-urban and rural areas, using mentors and role models from the African-Guyanese community; and
- ix. Encourage and promote participation of African-Guyanese in Parent Teachers Associations (PTA), management, sports and other committees involved in improving the content, quality and delivery of primary and secondary education at the individual school level, thereby ensuring that they have a voice and can influence the educational experience of their children, including monitoring the performance of teachers and school managers.

Outcome 3.2 – African-Guyanese school children and young adults, including young girls, provided with a well-rounded education and instilled with appropriate values of respect for peers and elders, love for self and community, and dedication to moral and social upliftment.

Output 3.2.1 - Expanded education curricula at primary and secondary levels to include more in-school and extra-curricular components in cultural studies and performances.

Activities:

- i. Advocate and collaborate with the MOE and the Ministry of Social Cohesion, Culture, Youth and Sports (MOSCCYS) for the inclusion of more in-depth cultural studies, including African-Guyanese history and culture in the school curricula;
- ii. Advocate and partner with the MOE and MOSCCYS in the delivery of extra-curricular/after school programmes in African and African-Guyanese dance, music, art, literature and other forms of cultural expression;
- iii. Organize and facilitate periodic performances by African-Guyanese musical bands (such as Yoruba Singers) and dance troupes including Cumfa and masquerade bands, and mini-exhibitions and tutorials by African-Guyanese artists to show-case their cultural productions and to instill a sense of pride among African-Guyanese students in their history and culture;
- iv. Partner with the MOE, MOSCCYS and school managers in organizing intra- and inter-school competitions with appropriate prizes and recognition for high performers, in the areas of African-Guyanese music, dance, art, sculpture, poetry, and creative writing;
- v. Partner with the MOE, MOSCCYS and school managers in organizing motivational talks by African-Guyanese spiritualists, religious and cultural leaders, including Rastafarians, towards instilling appropriate values in African-Guyanese school children such as respect for peers and elders, love for self and community, ethical behavior, and dedication to moral and social upliftment; and
- vi. Encourage and promote participation of parents in African-Guyanese villages and communities in the PTA and other and other activities for improving the content, quality and delivery of education in the village and community schools, including monitoring the

performance of teachers and school managers and disciplinary matters involving students, thereby giving life to the aphorism that “it takes a village to raise a child”.

Outcome 3.3 – African-Guyanese youth and adults, including women and girls, appropriately equipped with knowledge and understanding of their African-Guyanese roots, history and culture through programmes delivered via night schools, religious bodies, village and community organizations, and social, cultural and recreational clubs.

Output 3.3.1 - Reader and user-friendly packages on the history, culture, and experiences of African-Descendants in Guyana appropriate for all comprehension levels and general audiences.

Activities:

- i. Collaborate with African-Guyanese historians, researchers, and cultural workers, and sponsor or commission appropriate reader and user-friendly packages on the history, culture, and experiences of African-Descendants in Guyana, including Rastafarians, suitable for school children and general audiences;
- ii. Collaborate with African-Guyanese historians, researchers, and cultural workers, and sponsor or commission in video and other electronic forms, documentaries and short films on the history, culture, and experiences of African-Descendants in Guyana, including Rastafarians, suitable for school children and general audiences;
- iii. Collaborate with leaders in the Rastafarian community in the development and dissemination of afro-centric/Rastafari reading, story and textbooks;
- iv. Partner with the MOE and the MOSCCYS for placement and dissemination of such information packages, videos and documentaries in school libraries and resource centers, and for use by teachers in the cultural studies programmes;
- v. Collaborate with Afro-centric TV stations and other media outlets for serializing, broadcasting and publishing such packages, videos and documentaries to reach the widest possible audience, and in particular African-Guyanese;
- vi. Partner with and support religious bodies, village and community organizations, and social, cultural and recreational clubs, in accessing such packages, videos and documentaries for use in village and community meetings to sensitize the youth and adults on the history, culture, and experiences of African-Descendants in Guyana;
- vii. Organize and sponsor periodic performances by African-Guyanese musical bands (such as Yoruba Singers) and dance troupes including Cumfa and masquerade bands, and mini-exhibitions by African-Guyanese artists to disseminate and instill a sense of pride in African-Guyanese villages and communities, in their history and culture; and
- viii. Collaborate with African-Guyanese spiritual and traditional communities, including the Rastafarian, Jehovah’s Witness, African Spiritualists, and others, to record their rituals and practices for dissemination to the wider African-Guyanese collective, via radio, TV and other audio-visual media.

Outcome 3.4 – African-Guyanese, including women, enabled in larger numbers and increasingly so over time, to attend and graduate from advanced training institutions, and empowered with knowledge, expertise, skills and aptitude to enter the professions and other high-paying jobs.

Output 3.4.1 – Increased numbers of African-Guyanese graduating annually from the University of Guyana (UG), other tertiary and teacher training institutions, and filling managerial and pedagogic positions in the public and private sectors.

Activities:

- i. Advocate and partner with the MOE and the UG administration to ensure appreciable numbers of African-Guyanese applicants gain admission to such institutions, and that entry qualifications are appropriately set and remedial programmes implemented, in light of historical and contemporary disadvantages visited on African-Guyanese especially from inner-city, depressed and underserved peri-urban and rural areas;
- ii. Advocate and partner with the MOF and MOE for the discontinuation/abolition of all fees and other charges payable for pursuing certificate, diploma and degree programmes at UG;
- iii. In the absence of full abolition, advocate and partner with the MOF and MOE to ensure that fee levels and other charges, are significantly reduced for programmes at UG, especially programmes in law, medicine and engineering;
- iv. In the absence of reduced fees and other charges, advocate with the MOF for generous and equitably available student loans, with reasonable and less onerous repayment schedules thereby increasing access by African-Guyanese to university and higher education;
- v. Advocate with the MOE and the teacher training institutions for more bursaries and generous stipends for aspiring teachers, (including transportation and/or accommodation for students from distant regions and communities), towards increasing the number of African-Guyanese students entering and graduating with teaching qualifications from such institutions; and
- vi. Collaborate with established African-Guyanese businesses and other to provide bursaries, scholarships, financial and other assistance to high-performing and deserving African-Guyanese students attending such tertiary institutions, especially for students from inner-city, depressed, and underserved peri-urban and rural communities.

Output 3.4.2 – Increased numbers of African-Guyanese qualifying annually in disciplines such as medicine, law, engineering, accounting, and other high-paying professions, giving back to their communities, and serving as role models for others in the African-Guyanese collective.

Activities:

- i. Advocate and partner with local Professional Associations such as the Medical Council, Guyana Association of Professional Engineers, Guyana Bar Association, Guyana Women Lawyers Lawyers, and professional bodies for Accountants, Architects, Quantity Surveyors, and others, in establishing scholarships and bursaries for promising and well-deserving African-Guyanese students desirous of entering such fields;
- ii. Advocate and partner with the MOF, Ministry of Legal Affairs, and Ministry of Public Health for more scholarships and bursaries for well-qualified and deserving students desirous of attending law and medical schools in Trinidad and Jamaica, especially for students from poor family backgrounds who may not have the financial means to pursue such costly programmes;
- iii. Advocate and partner with African-Guyanese businesses, including law firms, medical practitioners, engineering, accounting, and construction firms, and other well-off

- sympathizers to provide full or partial scholarships and bursaries for well-qualified and deserving students desirous of pursuing professional qualifications in Guyana or abroad; and
- iv. Encourage and partner with established local and foreign-owned firms and conglomerates operating in Guyana, especially in oil and gas, mineral extraction, construction, agriculture and forestry, to establish generous scholarship and bursary programmes, equally and equitably available and accessible to promising and well-deserving African-Guyanese students desirous of pursuing higher and professional education and training.

5.2.4: Strategic Objective 4 - Reduce systemic and structural inequities and inequalities in access to socio-economic opportunities and goods and services; restore conditions of equity and equality in relations between African-Guyanese and other ethnic groups; address and remove inequities and inequalities in access to justice and treatment by the courts, law enforcement, and prison officials; combat racial profiling and negative stereotyping of African-Guyanese; promote equity and equality in the expression of religion in public meetings and spaces; and restore hope and confidence in the African-Guyanese collective, and youth in particular, through the realization of equity, justice and development.

Outcome 4.1 – African-Guyanese enjoy equality of access to socio-economic opportunities and services, and equity in their share of state assets and the benefits of national development vis-à-vis other races.

Output 4.1.1 – Policies, laws, programmes and actions implemented to expand access and reduce inequities in development benefits for African-Guyanese.

Activities:

- i. Partner with relevant Afro-centric organizations on enactment or strengthening of the following policies and programmes:
- Advocate with relevant government ministries and agencies for action-oriented policies and action plans, including affirmative action to ensure non-discrimination, particularly as regards to access to social services, employment, housing, education, healthcare etc.;
 - Advocate and partner with the Department of Labour (MOSP) for special attention when devising and implementing policies and legislation, to enhance protection of workers' rights, and issues of exploitation of vulnerable workers and communities;
 - Advocate and partner with the MOLA, and the Department of Public Service in developing and strengthening anti-racist and gender-sensitive human rights training for public officials;
 - Advocate and partner with MOLA for constitutional reform that protects Rastafari rights as stipulated in Article 145 page 68, of the 1980 Constitution of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana;
 - Advocate with the MOF, the National Procurement and Tender Administration Board (NPTAB), and Ministerial and RDC tender boards towards reform of tendering procedures, greater transparency in tendering and award processes, and removal of the complaints of favoritism and racial bias;

- Advocate with the MOF, the commercial banks, credit unions and other lending institutions for more favorable lending policies including collateral requirements, thereby increasing access of African-Guyanese business persons to loans and financing;
 - Advocate with the MOLA, MOF, MOB and other relevant agencies towards implementing the relevant legislation and regulations on reserving at least 20% of state contracts for small contractors, with special attention to African-Guyanese contractors;
 - Advocate with the MOPI, MOB, MOF and other relevant bodies for affirmative action legislation to enforce the allocation of an agreed percentage of publicly-funded contracts to qualified African-Guyanese contractors;
- ii. Advocate and partner with the MOC, MOF, MOA, Ministry of Social Protection (MOSP), Ministry of Public Infrastructure (MOPI), Ministry of Legal Affairs (MOLA), and other relevant agencies on policies and programmes to address challenges facing African-Guyanese communities, including:
- Developing and promoting a social policy to address the social and psycho-social problems specific to African-Guyanese communities;
 - Establishing an effective land distribution mechanism with appropriate and legitimate representation of PAD;
 - Operationalizing community-based social work programmes that can provide particularized responses to the problems in African-Guyanese communities;
 - Improving access roads, D & I, and irrigation canals serving African-Guyanese villages and communities;
 - Empowering local government bodies, including the establishment of village councils, and the provision of resources for their operations;
 - Devising and implementing support mechanisms to enhance the quality of life of the single parent family in African-Guyanese communities;
 - Decriminalizing the use of marijuana for medical and ritualistic purposes that currently weighs heavily on the African-Guyanese and Rastafarian populations, while regulating its production in commercial quantities;
- iii. Advocate and partner with the Ministry of Public Health on:
- Policy and legislation to ensure equal access to comprehensive, quality, and affordable primary health care accessible to poor and underserved African-Guyanese villages and communities;
 - Developing and strengthening anti-racist and gender-sensitive human rights training for public healthcare and education officials;
 - Training of a health workforce that is both diverse and motivated to work in underserved communities, including African-Guyanese villages and communities;
 - Increased diversity in the healthcare profession by recruiting on merit and potential;
 - Improving the status of marginalized communities, underserved African-Guyanese villages and communities, in conjunction with health care workers assigned to such areas;
 - Undertaking studies on the differential impacts of medical treatments and health strategies on various communities, including African-Guyanese villages and communities, in conjunction with healthcare professionals and researchers;

- Implementing programmes to improve HIV/AIDS and NCD prevention, care, treatment and other support services especially for high-risk, and underserved African-Guyanese villages and communities;
- Investment in health infrastructure tackling HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, diabetes, hypertension and other NCDs prevalent in the African-Guyanese community;
- Implementing public education and information programmes, and disseminating appropriate messages through mass media, to eliminate violence, stigmatization, discrimination, unemployment and other negative consequences arising from health epidemics;
- Implementing multi-media public education and awareness programmes designed to educate the general public on healthy lifestyles, disease prevention, foods and nutrition, infant and childcare, and accessing the public health system, including hospitals, health centers, and health posts, ensuring outreach to underserved urban, peri-urban and rural African-Guyanese communities.

Outcome 4.2 – African-Guyanese, especially youth, enjoy greater equity and equality of access to justice before the courts, and fair treatment by law enforcement and correction officials, consistent with national and human rights legislation and norms.

Output 4.2.1 – Effective measures implemented to address and remove inequities and inequalities in access to justice and treatment before the courts.

Activities:

- i. Advocate with the MOLA for revised legislation on equal rights and full implementation in an equitable manner;
- ii. Advocate and partner with MOLA to ensure human rights training for personnel in the administration of justice and the courts;
- iii. Advocate with MOLA and ERC for undertaking research to examine possible links between criminal prosecution, police violence and penal sanctions on the one hand, and racism, racial discrimination towards taking steps to eradicate such links and discriminatory practices;
- iv. Advocate with MOLA and the Court Administration for the state to ensure the right to equal treatment before the tribunals and other organs administering justice;
- v. Advocate with MOLA and the Court Administration for speedy trials for offenders, thereby reducing the excessive numbers of African-Guyanese on remand awaiting trial;
- vi. Partner with the Bar Association and African-Guyanese lawyers and law firms to ensure adequate legal representation for African-Guyanese, particularly young males, including free/or minimal costs for legal aid and representation before the courts;
- vii. Advocate and partner with the state to foster awareness among the various agents in the criminal justice system towards ensuring fair and impartial application of the law;
- viii. Partner with African-Guyanese lawyers, law firms, and others sympathetic to the challenges in navigating the legal system, towards delivering lectures, tutorials, and preparing information packages, on basic legal and human rights as citizens;
- ix. Access the best practices from Africa and the African Diaspora regarding criminality and other pathologies among PAD; and

- x. Advocate with the MOLA, MOPS, the Administration of the Courts, and other relevant actors for decriminalizing the possession of small quantities of marijuana and the removal of custodial sentences for persons, mostly African-Guyanese, convicted of possession.

Output 4.2.2 - Effective measures implemented to address and remove inequities and inequalities in treatment by law enforcement, community policing groups, and prison officials;

Activities:

- i. Advocate and partner with MOLA, Ministry of Public Security (MOPS), Guyana Police Force (GPF), and Guyana Prison Service (GPS) to ensure human rights training for personnel in law enforcement, community policing, correctional and security services;
- ii. Advocate for a more racially-balanced community policing patrols, and ensure more respect and responsiveness to the rights and concerns of African-Guyanese;
- iii. Advocate with MOLA, MOPS, GPS and other relevant agencies to establish a corrections programme, including reintroducing national service to address increasing delinquency and recidivism;
- iv. Advocate and partner with the MOPS and the administration of the GPF towards reducing the incidences of illegal searches and questionable charges, especially of young African-Guyanese males; and
- v. Advocate and partner with the MOPS and GPF towards ensuring more professional policing and the elimination of rogue practices such as shakedowns, soliciting bribes for non-prosecution, and profiling and targeting of young African-Guyanese males;

Outcome 4.3 – African-Guyanese encounter significantly reduced incidences and situations of racism, racial profiling and negative stereotyping.

Output 4.3.1 – Effective measures implemented and reduction in incidences and situations of racism, racial profiling and negative stereotyping.

Activities:

- i. Advocate with MOLA to establish, strengthen, review, and reinforce the effectiveness of independent national human rights institutions, particularly on issues of racism and racial discrimination;
- ii. Advocate with MOLA, MOF and relevant agencies to provide human rights institutions dealing with racism and racial discrimination with adequate financial resources, competence, and capacity for investigation, research, and public awareness activities to fulfill their mandates;
- iii. Advocate with MOLA and relevant agencies for policy and laws to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- iv. Advocate with MOLA and ERC for implementing mechanisms for monitoring and eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- v. Advocate with MOLA and ERC for policies and measures that encourage citizens and institutions to take a stand against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- vi. Advocate and partner with MOLA and ERC on documenting and sensitizing the general public on terms used to denigrate PAD, their customs and traditions towards eradicating bigotry and racism;

- vii. Advocate with MOLA, MOPS, GPF, and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) to carry out comprehensive, exhaustive, timely and impartial investigations of all acts of discrimination, and to prosecute as appropriate;
- viii. Advocate for an entity to be established under the Ethnic Relations Commission (ERC), to implement the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action;
- ix. Advocate for full inter-ethnic equity within the ERC, and a mechanism to ensure that the specific interests of PAD are addressed; and
- x. Advocate with MOLA, ERC and other relevant agencies, for full implementation of the recommendations in the Reports of UN Special Rapporteurs, Gay McDougal and Doudou Diene, and the Report of the Africa Union Study Tour Mission.

Outcome 4.4 - Public acknowledgement and respect for equity and equality of everyone's religion in public spaces and gatherings.

Output 4.4.1 – Public meetings and gatherings observing a Minute of Silence and no longer subscribing to a prayer used by any religion to open or bless such gatherings.

Activities:

- i. Advocate for a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with IDPADA-G Member Organizations as a national 'prototype' to engage the wider public;
- ii. Secure approval of this new policy through a "Resolution" approved at the next quarterly IDPADA-G Assembly meeting;
- iii. Advocate for a new policy and secure approval from the widest cross-section of religious and secular organizations, nationally; and
- iv. Secure the adoption of a national policy and/or revision of relevant legislation so that equity and equality of all faiths and religions becomes the accepted national policy and practice.

5.2.5: Strategic Objective 5 - Support demands by the African-Guyanese collective, the Caribbean and Latin American Diaspora, and the independent nations of Africa, for an apology and reparations for the injustices and deprivations of African trans-Atlantic slavery; advocate for the full embracing by the former colonial powers and others complicit in African enslavement of the UN Decade for People of African Descent and the calls for justice, recognition, and development; promote a similar embracing and admission by other ethnic groups in contemporary Guyana who may have benefited from, or been complicit in, the subjugation, oppression, exploitation, and dispossession of African-Guyanese historically and into the contemporary period; and support therapeutic healing from the cross-generational impacts of centuries of oppression, cultural genocide, and psychological deformation.

Outcome 5.1 – African-Guyanese and others sensitized and fully aware of the UN International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) and the calls for justice, recognition, and development.

Output 5.1.1 – Media campaign on the UN IDPAD.

Activities:

- i. Partner with Reparations Committee, ACDA, and other active Afro-centric organizations towards formulating delivering media products on the Decade;
- ii. Partner with sympathetic media houses, radio and TV stations in disseminating the work and activities of IDPADA-G and other organizations in pursuance of the goals of the decade;

- iii. Partner with other Afro-centric organizations towards organizing and delivering workshops, symposia, outreaches etc. on African history and cultures, the African slavery and its aftermath and impacts, and the African-Guyanese experience in Guyana; and
- iv. Meet with representative organizations of other ethnic groups in Guyana towards sensitizing them on the UN IDPAD, the Programme of Action, the activities being conducted in Guyana under the leadership of IDPADA-G and other representative Afro-centric organizations;

Outcome 5.2 – African-Guyanese sensitized and fully embracing the demands for expiation by the former colonial rulers, the Government of Guyana, and other ethnic groups.

Output 5.2.1 – Expiation programme articulated and used for pressing demands of African-Guyanese.

Activities:

- i. Partner with the Guyana Reparations Committee and other Afro-centric organizations and seek a formal apology from the Government of Guyana as successor state, for the enslavement of our African ancestors and their forcible transportation to Guyana, and the injustices done to them and their descendants, historically and up to the present time;
- ii. Seek an apology from other ethnic groups which participated in the enslavement and general oppression of Africans and their descendants in Guyana;
- iii. Advocate with the Government Guyana and other relevant actors for the payment of an agreed sum as financial compensation to the African-Guyanese collective for the injustices done to their ancestors and succeeding generations during slavery and beyond;
- iv. Advocate with the Government of Guyana and other relevant actors for assignment of 18% of Guyana’s territory as collective owned by African-Guyanese;
- v. Advocate with the Government of Guyana for the establishment of an effective land distribution mechanism with appropriate and legitimate representation of PAD;
- vi. Partner with other Afro-centric organizations and advocate for the establishment of a Foundation to manage properties of PAD who have died intestate;
- vii. Advocate with the Government of Guyana for a waiver of all incumbrances to accessing properties belonging to the Negro Peoples Convention for development purposes and the benefit of PAD;
- viii. Advocate with the Government of Guyana for the establishment of a special “Revolving Fund” for African-Guyanese development, including Rastafarians;
- ix. Partner with other Afro-centric organizations and advocate for a socio-economic study of African-Guyanese villages, including health, education, economic and other assets, skills base, youth expectations and aspirations, and other relevant issues, towards formulating and financing village development plans as part of the redress for past injustices and dispossession; and
- x. Advocate and partner with the MOSCCYS for implementation of a programme to support, sports, culture and recreational activities among PAD, with special focus on youth, towards developing disciplined African-Guyanese individuals and communities.

Output 5.2.2 – Expiation programme documented and disseminated among African-Guyanese and other ethnic groups.

Activities:

- i. Finalization of the Expiation Programme, led by the Guyana Reparations Committee with support from IDPADA-G and other Afro-centric organizations;
- ii. Presentation of programme to the state of Guyana and other ethnic groups complicit in the injustices done to African-Guyanese;
- iii. Sensitization sessions and outreaches on the programme with Afro-centric and other representative organizations of African-Guyanese;
- iv. Presentation and dissemination of the agreed Programme among African-Guyanese, and other ethnic groups and audiences, via radio, television, social media, print media, and regional, community and village outreaches;
- v. Organization of national and regional symposia and other fora on the Programme, and further mass dissemination using various multi-media forms; and
- vi. Establishment of a Reparations Council in every African-Guyanese community and village.

Output 5.2.3 – Actions by way of atonement for injustices and deprivations suffered by the African-Guyanese collective.

Activities:

- i. Advocate for publicly funded education and awareness programmes delivered through print and electronic media, to teach the true history of the African presence in Guyana from slavery to the present day;
- ii. Partner with other Afro-centric organizations and advocate for implementation of a systematic programme for re-naming streets, avenues, parks, buildings etc. in Georgetown and other towns in recognition of African-Guyanese who have made important contributions over the years to Guyana’s development;
- iii. Advocate with the Government of Guyana for the establishment and maintenance of an annual Rites of Passage Programme which rotates in Linden, Essequibo and Berbice;
- iv. Partner with MOSCCYS for implementation of a National Rastafari/Afro-centric drum making and drumming programme
- v. Partner with MOE, MOSCCYS and other relevant actors in producing stories, plays, poems, songs, drama etc. promoting reparations and voluntary repatriation;
- vi. Advocate for the addition of at least three authentic African-Guyanese, including Rastafarian, public holidays and observances in recognition of their contributions to Guyana;
- vii. Partner with MOE, MOSCCYS and other relevant actors for programmes to promote more Afro-centric books and films and documentaries on the African experience;
- viii. Advocate and partner with MOE, MOSCCYS and MFA, for a structured and well-funded programme of educational and cultural exchanges, including “Year of Return” programmes, with Africa to facilitate first hand exposure to song, dance, drama, language, cultural practices, foods etc., deepening ties with the African wellspring of African-Guyanese and recapturing their history and culture; and
- ix. Advocate for the appointment of a special Day and Ceremony to issue the Public Apology and Atonement for the crime of slavery and the injustices meted out to and suffered by enslaved Africans and their modern day African-Guyanese descendants.

Outcome 5.3 – Mental and psychological health restored from the continual assault on their collective agency, self-confidence, religious and cultural expression, family and self-hood that was visited upon

them through centuries of African enslavement and into the contemporary period, through therapeutic healing of African-Descendants in Guyana and the African Diaspora.

Output 5.3.1 – Programme to support therapeutic healing and recovery of African-Descendants from the cross-generational impacts of centuries of oppression, cultural genocide, and psychological deformation during African enslavement, and its continuing effects.

Activities:

- i. Advocate and partner with MOE, MOPH, MOSCCYS and other relevant actors for a wider understanding and embracing of the concept of **Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome Disorder (PTSSD)** and the need for therapeutic activities aimed at addressing the enduring psychological deformations of centuries of African enslavement;
- ii. Partner with MOE, MOPH, MOSCCYS and other actors in the development of an integrated programme of therapeutic activities involving psychological, psycho-social, cultural, and behavioral healing towards addressing contemporary pathologies resulting from African enslavement;
- iii. Advocate and partner with MOE for implementation of aspects of psychological, psycho-social, cultural, and behavioral healing in the school curriculum and in after-school activities, especially from Grades 1 – 4;
- iv. Advocate for the pursuit of sports and other activities in the school system that lead to the development of African-Guyanese youth who are mentally strengthened and better positioned to reclaim their culture and work toward a common goal of self-activation and healing; and
- v. Advocate and partner with MOPH, MOSP, MOC, NGOs and relevant service organizations for adoption of the programme and its incorporation in health and psycho-social interventions at national, regional and community levels targeting African-Descendants.

5.2.6: Strategic Objective 6 - Promote capacity building in Afro-centric umbrella organizations in the five Response Areas of the Strategic Plan; strengthen the capacity of the IDPADA-G Secretariat to provide capacity building and organizational support to such Afro-centric umbrella organizations; provide an institutional framework and operational capacity to coordinate and support the programmes of such organizations in pursuance of the goals for justice, recognition and development; promote the maintenance, preservation, and observance of African and African-Guyanese culture, languages, art, music, dance, dress and other forms of expression and the teaching of African history; and strengthen operational capacity to coordinate and monitor implementation of the Strategic Plan.

Outcome 6.1 IDPADA-G Member Organizations strengthened and capacitated to carry out their mandates in service of the African-Guyanese collective.

Output 6.1.1 –Capacity building programme designed and implemented.

Activities:

- i. Construct and maintain an online database on each IDPADA-G Member Organization, including membership, leadership, address, focus area, telephone and other electronic contact, and operational modalities etc.;

- ii. Convene periodic general meetings of IDPADA-G member organizations to exchange information, share experiences and update others on their respective programmes;
- iii. Organize and deliver targeted training programmes for Member Organizations on topics including leadership, organizational development, meetings management, funds management, events planning, outreach to membership, project development and management, and fund raising;
- iv. Organize intensive training programmes for selected representatives of Member Organizations on project development and management;
- v. Convene periodic seminars, symposia, learning and knowledge sharing events, bringing together IDPADA-G Member Organizations, on important and topical subjects on African-Guyanese history, culture and experiences, towards building their intellectual capacity to educate and stimulate their memberships;
- vi. Provide small grants on a competitive basis to IDPADA-G member organizations towards supporting them financially to undertake valued projects within their mandates on behalf of their members; and
- vii. Provide on-going support, advice and guidance to IDPADA-G Member Organizations towards ensuring their on-going growth, survival and viability;

Outcome 6.2 – IDPADA-G Secretariat strengthened, capacitated, adequately resourced and empowered to carry out its mandate with respect to the objectives of the UN IDPAD.

Output 6.2.1 – A vibrant and well-managed IDPADA-G Secretariat, adequately staffed and resourced to carry out its mandate in support of the UN IDPAD.

Activities:

- i. Undertake an organizational review and capacity mapping of the IDPADA-G Secretariat matching mandate and functions, with internal organization and needed capacities;
- ii. Identify critical human resource, internal systems, and financial gaps and deficiencies;
- iii. Recruit needed personnel to fill human resource gaps, including in operations and management;
- iv. Carry out internal or outsourced external training programmes for all staff, in key areas such as programme/project development and management, financial and operations management, coaching and mentoring, ICT and interpersonal communications, and leadership;
- v. Develop, either internally or outsourced, a resource mobilization plan, focusing on both domestic as well as regional/international sources and partners, and implement same in a phased and strategic manner;
- vi. Develop a media strategy and plan to inform public communications and outreach, including publications, by the Secretariat; and
- vii. Carry out periodic participatory reviews and assessments with all staff, towards identifying gaps and deficiencies and ensuring that the Secretariat is fit for purpose.

Outcome 6.3 – Strengthened and flexible frameworks for promoting the maintenance, preservation and observance of African and African-Guyanese culture, languages, art, music, dance, dress and other forms of expression and the teaching of African history.

Output 6.3.1 – An on-going programme on African and African-Guyanese culture, languages, art, music, dance, dress and other forms of expression and the teaching of African history developed and delivered in partnership with relevant IDPADA-G Member Organizations.

Activities:

- i. Prepare a comprehensive Annual Work Plan based on the **Strategic Plan**, on the programmatic and other activities and targets for the calendar year;
- ii. Partner with relevant IDPADA-G Member Organization and deliver selected activities, events and observances;
- iii. Play a leadership role in organizing important events in the African-Guyanese cultural calendar such as the annual Emancipation Day observances;
- iv. Play a supportive role, including helping to mobilize financial and other resources, for community-based and led cultural activities in the annual calendar such as the Hopetown Soiree, and Town Weeks in Linden, New Amsterdam etc.;
- v. Provide advice and technical support to groups, communities and member organizations desirous of organizing special Afro-centric events such as culture evenings, fashion shows, music, dance and drumming shows and competitions, art and sculpture exhibitions, and such other events showcasing traditional African-Guyanese cultural productions;
- vi. Advocate and partner with MOE, MOPH, MOSCCYS and other relevant actors for a wider understanding and embracing of the concept of **Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome Disorder (PTSSD)** and the need for therapeutic activities aimed at addressing the enduring psychological deformations of centuries of African enslavement;
- vii. Advocate and partner with MOE, MOPH, MOSCCYS and other actors in the development of an integrated programme of therapeutic activities involving psychological, psycho-social, cultural, and behavioral healing towards addressing contemporary pathologies resulting from African enslavement; and
- viii. Play a proactive role in partnership with relevant cultural organizations, in the preservation and revival of traditional African-Guyanese social and cultural events and expressions, including Rastafarian, such as Libation Ceremonies, Kweh Kweh, ceremonies and observances at African-Guyanese christenings, weddings and funerals, games played by African-Guyanese children and youth such as saul pen, foods and drinks, towards supporting efforts to conserve and strengthen an authentic African-Guyanese culture;

Outcome 6.4 - Strengthened operational capacity to coordinate and monitor implementation of the IDPADA-G Strategic Plan, including a well-articulated media and youth strategy.

Output 6.4.1 – A well-implemented Strategic Plan, with accompanying media and youth strategies.

Activities:

- i. Organize quarterly or half-yearly participatory assessments involving relevant IDPADA-G Member Organizations to review progress as per the **Implementation Plan**, and **Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) Plan** attached to this **Strategic Plan**;
- ii. Identify implementation gaps and lags, and agree on appropriate corrective actions, timelines and responsible parties for such actions;
- iii. Undertake periodic follow up visits and contacts with entities responsible for taking actions, between review/assessment periods and provide support as needed;

- iv. Create or designate a dedicated unit within the IDPADA-G Secretariat for monitoring, follow up with implementing member organizations, and preparation of up-dates on plan implementation for IDPADA-G management and the Coordinating Council;
- v. Undertake evaluations of the **Strategic Plan** as per the **M & E Plan**, take appropriate follow up actions, and constantly review implementation of such actions;
- vi. Prepare Annual Reports on implementation and monitoring of the plan for presentation to the IDPADA-G Annual General Meeting;
- vii. Under the leadership of the Youth Committee, and with support from other IDPADA-G Committees and sympathetic organizations, prepare internally or outsource, articulation of a **Youth Strategy** with the following elements:
 - Broad objectives of the strategy for preparation;
 - Definitions of youth and geographical scope of the strategy;
 - Priorities for in- and out of school youth;
 - Modalities for mobilization and engagement with youth in preparing the Strategy;
 - Participatory identification of programmatic and other interventions and activities;
 - Strategies and priority interventions under IDPADA-G Response Areas;
 - Identification for human and financial resources for implementing the Youth Strategy;
- viii. Under the leadership of the IDPADAG-G Secretariat, and the guidance of the Steering Committee, prepare internally or outsource, articulation of a **Resource Mobilization Strategy and Plan** with the following elements:
 - Broad objectives and strategy for implementation;
 - Identification of Foundations, Donors, NGOs, and resource windows for targeting under the Strategy – Donor Mapping;
 - Identification of resource needs based on the **Strategic Plan** and other operational needs;
 - Development of IDPADA-G Value Proposition and Engagement Strategies for different donors and funding windows;
 - Preparation of funding proposals, including financial and other needs tailored to the requirements of specific donors and funding windows;
 - Identification of Resource Mobilization team to carry out activities;
 - Implementation of the Resource Mobilization Strategy and Plan.

6.0: MANAGEMENT, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION ARRANGEMENTS:

6.1: Management Arrangement:

This **Strategic Plan** has been developed to inform the programmes and activities of the IDPADA-G Secretariat as the coordinating entity for pursuing activities in conformity with the thematic focus of **Justice, Recognition and Development**, and the **Objectives of the UN Decade for People of African Descent** as previously articulated. Thus in an instrumental sense, the IDPADA-G Secretariat has ownership of this plan. However, it is clearly recognized in its **Charter**, that the Secretariat is playing a leadership and coordinating role, with respect to the undoubted responsibility of Afro-centric Organizations within its membership, to undertake their own programmes, based on their respective

mandates and operational modalities. As lead entity and owner of the **Strategic Plan**, the IDPADA-G Secretariat has the following responsibilities:

- i. Preparing the Annual Work Plan for implementing the **Strategic Plan**;
- ii. Convening periodic meetings of the Coordinating Council and providing updates by way of Reports on progress in implementing the Plan;
- iii. Undertaking periodic visits and update meetings with Member Organizations charged with implementing specific elements, actions, and programmes under the plan;
- iv. Preparing and collecting reports, assessments, media reviews, and other external reports on activities under the plan and maintaining the official files on such matters;
- v. Scheduling and organizing scheduled evaluations as per the **M & E Plan**, ensuring that detailed Evaluation Reports are prepared, indicating required follow up and remedial actions and responsible parties;
- vi. Following up with responsible parties towards ensuring that recommended actions in the Evaluation Reports are undertaken;
- vii. Preparing Management Reports, for internal information and guidance, and for the Coordinating Committee on implementation of Evaluation Recommendations; and
- viii. Serving as convener, secretariat, and rapporteur for meetings of the Coordinating Council, and Annual General Meetings, presenting Reports to such bodies, and preparing Reports on the proceedings for record keeping and follow up.

6.2: Implementation Arrangements:

The **Strategic Plan** has been constructed based on the five IDPADA-G Response Areas, that divide the Plan into discrete programmatic areas. This also corresponds to the programmatic focus and priorities of its Member Organizations, who have mandates in discrete areas towards supporting the African-Guyanese collective. This construct provides a convenient modality for determining implementing partners for the various programmatic and action areas under the Plan. Put differently, the Plan will be implemented collaboratively, but in a closely coordinated, way by the IDPADA-G Member Organizations based on their mandates and areas of focus, with clusters of Member Organizations being responsible for implementing specific portions of the plan, based on interest, capacity and willingness. Additionally, there is a sixth “programme area” dealing with capacity building, that will be implemented almost exclusively by the IDPADA-G Secretariat. The **Implementation Plan** attached to this **Strategic Plan** is presented in a tabular fashion and indicates in the appropriate column, the IDPADA-G Secretariat and those Member Organizations that will play a lead role and those that will support implementation. The responsibilities of **Lead** and **Supporting Organizations** are as follows:

Lead Organizations:

- i. Identify those programmatic and other actions that will be undertaken in a given year under the Strategic Objective that corresponds to their mandate;
- ii. Discuss allocation of responsibility with other IDPADA-G Member Organizations working in that thematic area, and record interest, capacity, and willingness to participate;
- iii. Communicate the results of such discussions and agreement to the IDPADA-G Secretariat for purposes of preparing the Annual Work Plan, and monitoring and follow up;
- iv. Undertake specific agreed activities under their individual mandates and as per the Annual Work Plan;

- v. Contribute and participate in periodic assessments, reviews and evaluations organized by the IDPADA-G Secretariat; and
- vi. Prepare reports both on the activities of Supporting Organizations and on their activities and Lead Organizations, and submit same to the IDPADA-G Secretariat.

Supporting Organizations:

- i. Identify in collaboration with the Lead Organization, those actions and activities that they are willing and able to undertake or support, based on their specific mandates and programmatic focus areas;
- ii. Contribute preparation of inputs for the Annual Work Plan under the leadership of the Lead Organization;
- iii. Undertake specific agreed activities under their individual mandates and as per the Annual Work Plan, either individually or in collaboration with other Member Organizations;
- iv. Contribute and participate in periodic assessments, reviews and evaluations organized by the IDPADA-G Secretariat; and
- v. Submit reports to the Lead Organization of activities undertaken, results achieved, and implementation challenges for inclusion in the Report to be submitted by the Lead Organization to the IDPADA-g Secretariat.

6.3: Evaluation Arrangements:

The **Strategic Plan** will be evaluated as per the **M & E Plan** attached hereto. Evaluations will be led and managed by the IDPADA-G Secretariat as Lead Agency for implementing the **Strategic Plan**. The Secretariat will be responsible for preparing the Management Response; and implementation of Evaluation Recommendations in conjunction with those IDPADA-G Member/Partner Organizations bearing responsibility for implementing specific programmes, activities and actions under the Strategic Plan.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

SCHEDULE OF REGIONAL STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS

NO.	DATE			EVENT	VENUE	NO. OF ATTENDEES
	D	M	Y			
1	13	6	2019	Bottom house Meeting	Buxton	18
2	20	6	2019	Bottom house Meeting	Supply	11
3	25	6	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Lighttown	30
4	25	6	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	New Asmterdam	26
5	25	6	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Belladrum	22
6	27	6	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Hopetown	29
7	2	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Wismar	6
8	2	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Christianburg	6
9	2	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Mc Kenzie	23
10	3	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Kwakwani	12
11	4	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Bagotsville & Stanleytown	24
12	4	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Farm, De Kinderen & Vergenoegen	39
13	8	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Dartmouth & Queenstown	27
14	8	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Beterverwagting	5
15	9	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Charlestown	17
16	11	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Grove/ Haslington	22
17	11	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Mocha Arcadia	12
18	13	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Ithaca	26
19	14	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Fyrish, Liverpool & Kildonan	21
20	14	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	B Field Sophia	21
21	16	7	2019	Stakeholder Meeting	Uitvlugt, Den Amstel & Stewartville	22

ANNEX II

MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization	Feedback	Date	Time	Location	Focal Area
Anbessa Foundation		Wednesday 14th August	3:30pm	Camp Street	
People of African Descent Sisters Village		Wednesday 14th August	5:00pm	Secretariat	
Hebrew Family of Guyana	Confirmed	15 th July, 2019	1:00pm- 3:00pm	Secretariat	
Guyana Non-Traditional Agricultural Exporters	Confirmed	16 th July 2019	10:00am – 12:00pm	Secretariat	Economics
Cuffy 250	Confirmed	16 th July, 2019	2:00pm- 5:00pm	HBTV Channel 9	Education
Rastafari Initiative for Social Cultural and Economic Empowerment (RISE)	Confirmed	17 th July, 2019	1:00pm-3:00pm	Secretariat	
Nile Valley Econ- Patrick		18 th July, 2019	1:00pm-3:00pm	Secretariat	Education
PANAF-		18 th July, 2019	5:30 – 7:30 pm		Education
People of African Descent Region 10	Confirmed	19 th July, 2019	1:00pm-3:00pm	Secretariat	
People of African Decent Organization		Saturday July 20 th	1:00pm- 3:00Pm	Secretariat	
People of African Descent Farmers Association (PADFARMA)		19 th July, 2019	10:00 Am – 12:00 pm	Wales Dr Da Silva	
African Business Roundtable (ABR)		Sunday 11th August	1:00pm	ACDA building	
Profit Rising Sun		Thursday 15th August	5:00pm	Secretariat	
African Movement Linden		Friday 16th August	5:00pm	Secretariat	
Seaview Cultural Organization		Friday 16th August	3:00pm	Secretariat	
African Cultural and Development Association (ACDA)-					
Hebrew Family of Guyana		Monday 18 th November	2:00pm	Team Leader's Residence	

ANNEX III

POLICY MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND COMMISSIONS

Ethnic Relations Commission – Mr. Barrington Braithwaite, Commissioner, & Nadine Public Relations Officer

Guyana Lands and Surveys Commission – Mr. Trevor Benn, Chief Executive Officer & Commissioner

Ministry of Agriculture, National Drainage & Irrigation Authority - Mr. Timothy Innis, Acting Deputy Chief Executive Officer

Ministry of Business - Ms. Kim Stephens, Deputy Permanent Secretary

Ministry of Communities - Mr. Roger Rogers, Policy Advisor

Ministry of Finance - Mr. Bernard Lord, Project Cycle Management Department

Ministry of Legal Affairs – Mr. Basil Williams, Attorney General & Minister of Legal Affairs

Ministry of Public Health – Ms. Volda Lawrence, Minister

Ministry of Social Cohesion, Department of Culture – Ms. Boatswain, Director of Culture

ANNEX IV

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ANNEX V

FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS:

ECONOMY: TOTAL 17 RESPONDENTS:

1.0 Examples of how national level policies and programmes, and the way central government agencies operate, deny equal opportunities to African-Guyanese to participate and benefit from economic expansion and development.

1.11 Too many requirements for contracts. **23.5%**

1.12 Jobs are awarded based on ethnicity. Practices in advertising that exclude African-Guyanese. **23.5%**

1.2 Excessive interest rates and collateral security being demanded by these Financial Institutions. Inadequate access for farmers. **17.6%**

1.6 Resuscitating of coops and ensuring effective functioning. Policy an requirements for forming cooperatives. **17.6%**

1.7 Africans should benefit from grants the same way indigenous people e.g. stipends to attend school. **17.6%**

1.15 Barriers to development of small businesses. Lack of information on opportunities available to Black businesses. **17.6%**

2.0 What actions, programmes or policies should be implemented by central government to change this situation.

2.1 Implement policies for easier access to business loans. Re-open agri bank. Legal aid. More favorable loan requirements focusing on qualifications and experience. GOG should engage in equity funding to support small African businesses. **47.1%**

2.7 Providing skilled trainers, small business training. Relax compliance requirements for small businesses. **41.2%**

2.5 Deliberate actions to ensure small contractors access 20% procurement, MOF needs to modify tendering procedures. **35.3%**

2.11 Cost, processing time and application fees for small business license. **17.6%**

2.2 Review and improve the current GRA Inspection System. Specifically, implement a timely inspection system at GRA. Equal application of VAT, duties and taxes. Filing of tax returns through chartered accountant. **11.8%**

2.3 Plot of land should be given to graduating students so as to allow them to remain in Guyana. **11.8%**

2.4 Access to farm land, land distribution, and length of time to acquire land. **11.8%**

2.6 Courses with job attachment when completed. **11.8%**

2.10 Sensitization on opportunities available. Government and ERC should play a role in promoting economic parity. **11.8%**

2.13 Central gov needs to work through Afro centric orgs and modify method of allocation of resources to Black communities. Need people who can respond to challenges facing African-Guyanese. **11.8%**

2.15 % of land at national level should be earmarked for PAD. **11.8%**

3.0 What practices at the regional or community level deny African-Guyanese the opportunity to participate in and benefit equally from local development activities.

3.2 Biased development of access roads, inadequate D&I and other necessary infrastructure in African farming communities. Regional level least interested in African villages. Neglect. **70.6%**

3.5 Friends and families are favored above general/qualified members of the community, poor communication. **29.4%**

3.8 NDCs often denied funds due to political affiliation, and distribute funds to communities supporting their party. **23.5%**

3.1 The regional system itself denies People of African Descent from acquiring land. Access to state lands for farming. **11.8%**

3.7 Corruption at the Regional Tender Board, more inclusion in local government contracts. **11.8%**

3.9 % of land at regional and community should be earmarked for PAD. **11.8%**

3.13 Lack of access to finance for lease lands. **11.8%**

4.0 Actions or changes which should be put in place to promote equal benefit of African-Guyanese from the regional or local economy.

4.4 Monitoring systems should be developed and implemented to ensure citizens have equal access to resources, accountability, awareness of the law. National policy on equal access to D & I irrespective of race. **41.2%**

4.9 More emphasis on education and training of the youths, focus on passion, preference and ability of students. Training in agro-processing for youth. **35.3%**

4.7 Funding for small/large business (Grants). **23.5%**

4.8 Better management of state funds regardless of which political party you belong to, record keeping. **17.6%**

4.10 Encourage formation of cooperatives, e.g. marketing. More orgs serving the African-Guyanese community. **17.6%**

4.1 Village Councils should be re-activated and empowered. The current system is not a fair representation of lands which are mostly ancestral. **11.8%**

4.6 More resource centers with incubators. **11.8%**

4.11 More local monitoring of activities of central gov agencies to ensure better response to the needs of Black farming communities. National authorities need to be on the ground to understand problems. **11.8%**

5.0 Ways in which African-Guyanese contractors, producers, and trades persons can better position themselves to benefit from economic activities at the national and local levels.

5.3 Cooperate with each other and establish linkages, advertise on TV or social media. **64.7%**

5.2 Pool machinery, skills, equipment to submit bids and manage large contracts effectively. **58.8%**

5.1 Develop the capacity to function as contractors, small contractors to have a large % of national level with relaxed red tape. Better knowledge of market demands and where the markets are. **47.1%**

5.4 Establish African Chambers of Commerce and services; enhanced marketing skills to expand local production. **23.5%**

5.8 Training and skills building e.g excavator operators. **23.5%**

5.9 Form producers coops to buy inputs and market products and farm to market transportation coops. **17.6%**

6.0 What changes are desired in the way private sector and business development entities operate that would enhance African-Guyanese participation and benefit from business opportunities.

6.7 More material and financial resources for business creation and sustainability of African businesses, training opportunities. SBA does not have focus on empowering Black businesses **35.3%**

6.3 Programmes for citizens and business men to eradicate stigmatization. Remove unequal treat and discrimination based on colour/race. **29.4%**

6.6 Assured % of market for African producers. Sharing of information on opportunities with small Black businesses. **23.5%**

6.2 African businesses (particularly) should collaborate with each other. Re-introduce cooperatives, Coop and Agri bank. **17.6%**

6.4 Employ persons from the community to work on projects. **17.6%**

6.8 Assist local industries e.g. processing units, and support campaign to buy local produce, networked marketing system among PAD. **17.6%**

7.0 Actions or programmes that can promote and enhance entrepreneurship and business skills among African-Guyanese.

7.1 Capacity Building for small businesses - marketing, accounting, managing, business planning, entrepreneurial training, also in schools. **70.6%**

7.2 Training in business skills, customer relations, attitude, use of IT to promote businesses. **70.6%**

7.5 Start-up capital and technical support for students graduating from business streams. **35.3%**

7.8 Organizing exhibitions and fairs. Outreach from larger successful businesses to motivate communities and small businesses. National symposium on economic development where African businessmen are involved. **17.6%**

7.7 Easier access to land and equipment. **11.8%**

7.9 Revitalization of coop movement, buyers, producers, marketing coops. **11.8%**

7.10 Recreation of financing institutions Agri bank etc. **11.8%**

8.0 Actions and policies that currently restrict the development of African-Guyanese village economies in region or community.

8.2 Little access to funding, for small scale enterprises, collateral requirements. Access to financing for startups. **52.9%**

8.4 Programmes to promote small business development, skills training and support for villagers. **29.4%**

8.7 Inadequate roads and D & I, poor communication. **23.5%**

8.5 Regional level does not see the need to assist African villages. Lack of small businesses and employment opportunities in villages. **17.6%**

8.6 Racial/political dominance in decision making. Favoritism, discrimination, corruption against village-based small contractors. **17.6%**

8.9 Compliance requirements that small businesses cannot meet. Other requirements such as financial, years of experience, jobs done. **11.8%**

9.0 Changes respondents would like to see implemented in region or community that would lead to a vibrant African-Guyanese village economy.

9.7 Establish more businesses, cottage industries, market days e.g. bakery. **41.2%**

9.5 Unity and cooperation, more responsive community, community development centers. **35.3%**

9.6 Support from the Diaspora. Established African-Guyanese business persons need to invest/give back in villages. **17.6%**

9.3 Youth involvement in all development programmes and decision-making. **11.8%**

9.4 Revamp the regional system and the RDC, stronger leadership. **11.8%**

10.0 Changes in attitudes and ways of organizing themselves among African-Guyanese that would promote and enhance their benefit from economic activities in their communities and villages.

10.2 Programmes for pooling resources and investing collectively, cooperation among villages, proper accountability. Networking and info sharing. **58.2%**

10.9 Recognition of the values of cohesion, cooperation and unity among ourselves, respect for leadership/law, honesty, trust. Self-help to improve infrastructure and establish activities. **52.9%**

10.3 Love and buy the things we make, be more supportive of each other's business and institutions. **41.2%**

10.7 Develop high self-esteem, optimism, self-sufficient, openness, raise consciousness as African-Guyanese. See ourselves as a nation. **29.4%**

10.10 Support local enterprise and enhancement of creative products, community markets. Need to understand how to start businesses. **29.4%**

10.5 Form groups and training in cooking, craft and sewing classes so that our African youths can benefit. **23.5%**

ANNEX VI

FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER

ORGANIZATIONS:

EMPLOYMENT: TOTAL 16 RESPONDENTS:

1.0 Factors responsible for the high rate of unemployment among African-Guyanese youth and adults in region or community

- 1.5 School dropout/Lack of education/lack of motivation. **70.6%**
- 1.2 Youths who are unqualified for the needs of the regions in which they live. Lack of skills base to fit regional or community requirements. **29.4%**
- 1.11 Qualified but not getting opportunities, closure of LBI and other industries. **29.4%**
- 1.3 Race based employment practices of businesses. **23.5%**
- 1.9 Lack of Experience/lack of role model/support system lacking. **23.5%**
- 1.8 Racial discrimination, discrimination in giving out land. **17.6%**
- 1.1 Irrelevant/unsuitable School Curriculum. **11.8%**
- 1.4 Stigmatization of youths coming from certain communities. **11.8%**
- 1.6 Teenage pregnancies. **11.8%**
- 1.14 Juvenile delinquents/laziness. **11.8%**

2.0 Actions and programmes which should be implemented nationally to prepare African-Guyanese young men and women for available private and public sector jobs.

- 2.1 Skills based education programmes from nursery level upwards. **64.7%**
- 2.2 Entrepreneurial training in mechanisms such as the youth corps. **35.3 %**
- 2.7 Initiating youth groups - training and mentoring them. **35.3%**
- 2.10 National Service/Counselling programmes. **29.4%**
- 2.4 Creating of factories and industries in regions and communities, LBI for agro-processing and rewinding workshop. **17.6%**
- 2.11 Employment fairs should be held, guaranteed work for local youth. **11.8%**

3.0 Actions and programmes should be implemented at the local, church, school and community levels to prepare young African-Guyanese with the attitude and discipline to be successful in the workplace.

- 3.2 Churches should train youth in moral standards required for business, and be more vocal in advocating change in attitudes, particularly in relation to public relations, customer relations, basic respect for people and discipline. **47.1%**

3.6 Accessible Training programmes in Anger Management, Team Building and Leadership, Character Building, motivational programmes. **35.3%**

3.1 Churches must give back to their members – in relevance to equipping youths with employment skills. **17.6%**

3.4 Churches should introduce regular entrepreneurship training programmes, music programmes. **17.6%**

3.7 Sports in the community, more recreational facilities. **17.6%**

3.9 More youth groups. **17.6%**

3.4 Elders should set examples for the youth, career guidance. **11.8%**

3.10 Work study opportunities, certification. **11.8%**

4.0 National policies, programmes or regulations that prevent African-Guyanese from fully participating in the workforce or otherwise creating employment for themselves and others.

4.5 The culture of racial discrimination, land allocation policies. **35.3%**

4.2 The banking sector loan policies are discriminatory against public servants, who are of course Africans with low salaries (Low salaries guarantee that the African employee won't qualify for a loan). **23.5%**

4.1 High collateral security requirements of the financial institutions. This is true of even the SBB which should be geared to assist small businesses. **17.6%**

4.3 SBB policy debars public servants from even acquiring a loan or grant through that facility. **17.6%**

5.0 Factors at the local or community level prevent African-Guyanese from starting businesses or creating employment for themselves and others in the trades and services sector.

5.1 Lack of Startup Capital, high interest rates at banks, lack of collateral. **76.5%**

5.4 Lack of business relations (networking). **41.2%**

5.2 Lack of knowledge / experience. **29.4%**

5.3 Africans do not support African businesses. **29.4%**

5.9 Lack of land for farming, equipment, access roads. **23.5%**

5.6 Lack of local content regionally of at the community level. Contractors, tradesmen are imported from other regions to perform contracts where the capacity and skills existing in the area. **17.6%**

5.7. Lack of markets. **11.8%**

6.0 Actions, programmes or policies in areas such as financing, equipment and other support which should be implemented by the Government at the national and regional levels to increase the number

of African-Guyanese creating jobs for themselves and others in the contracting, trades and services sector.

6.9 Banking system where finance is accessible. **41.2%**

6.8 Easy access to machinery for rental, plant-hire facilities under government control. **35.3%**

6.1 Programmes to empower communities e.g. apprenticeship training. **29.4%**

6.2 Forming cooperatives and buying clubs so that they can buy and sell collectively. **29.4%**

6.5 Small business training in schools. **23.5%**

6.4 Need an organization which embraces all black businesses, e.g. Nile Valley for African Business Collective....similar to the ABR. **17.6%**

6.6 Document preparation assistance. **11.8%**

7.0 Ways in which established businesses and their networks actively are observed to be preventing African-Guyanese from entering, growing businesses and creating employment for themselves and others.

7.1 Discriminatory and race-based pricing. Other races sell black businesses at a higher price. **52.9%**

7.2 Chinese businesses are unfairly competing with community businesses. They are opening up in all communities and are able to import collectively and to sell at low prices. They are thus closing down small African based businesses. **23.5%**

7.3 The established businesses have networks through which they pass information. **23.5%**

7.5 Competitive prices, underselling African businesses. **11.8%**

8.0 How this blocking of African-Guyanese employment creation operates at the regional or local community level

8.4 Victimization and discrimination, labour laws not observed. **35.3%**

8.2 The information on opportunities is kept within close circles. **23.5%**

8.1 Contracts are given to East Indian contractors who then only employ their own. **17.6%**

8.3 Disparity in salary between government and private sectors, low wages. **11.8%**

8.5 Lack of job facilities. **11.8%**

9.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese business and community organizations can assist and support other African-Guyanese in creating self-employment and jobs for others in the trades and services sector.

9.4 Invest in startup businesses, create banking and lending institutions for Africans. **41.2%**

9.2 Cooperate with small businesses and share information. **29.4%**

9.5 Employ Africans. **23.5%**

9.7 Financial support to students at university. **23.5%**

9.1 Purchase from their own as much as possible. **11.8%**

9.3 Set up skills training organizations. **11.8%**

9.6 Sponsorship to ETI. **11.8%**

10.0 Actions African-Guyanese themselves can take individually, or in their communities to increase self-employment, empowerment, and development.

10.9 Form and use networks for business, information sharing, and self-help. **41.2%**

10.7 Educate themselves in business practices. **23.5%**

10.1 Rather than small shops, African vendors should pool their resources in communities and open a single cooperative supermarket to compete with the Chinese and others. **17.6%**

10.5 Increase self-confidence, being a leader/role model. **17.6%**

10.10 Lack of unity. **17.6%**

10.2 Increasing farming and agriculture enterprises. Producing value added products. **11.8%**

10.6 Cultivate discipline in management. **11.8%**

10.8 Open practical workshops, manufacture products. **11.8%**

10.11 Purchase in bulk cooperatively. **11.8%**

ANNEX VII

FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS:

EDUCATION: TOTAL 19 RESPONDENTS:

1.0 Factors responsible for African-Guyanese children not performing better at the primary and secondary levels.

1.6 Lack of parental guidance, poor/bad parenting. **63.2%**

1.2 Negative Peer Pressure – They see themselves as not being expected to perform well. No sense of direction from home, school, community to keep them engaged. **57.9%**

1.9 Financial issues, lack of resources. **57.9%**

1.4 Negative home influences, child abuse. Parents too young and children left on their own. **36.8%**

1.1 Undernourishment -Some children go to school hungry; re-introduce school feeding progs. **31.6%**

1.3 Negative expectations of society. No one expects them to do well. Poor performance. Inappropriate role models not reflective of our society. Distractions from media. **21.1%**

2.0 Factors responsible for children dropping out of school before completing the full course in community or region.

2.7 Lack of Finance, poverty. **57.9%**

2.10 Teenage pregnancy. **31.6%**

2.1 Demotivation and Hopelessness. They cannot see themselves in their own future. They see nothing in the future for them nor reflected in how society is moving. **26.3%**

2.3 Poor or struggling parents - Their parents may have education but no proper paying job. ... So why complete school? **26.3%**

2.9 Being bullied which leads to them joining gangs, peer pressure. **26.3%**

2.6 Domestic Abuse. **21.1%**

3.1.0 Actions, programmes or policies which should be implemented at the national or local level to improve school attendance, discipline, and performance of African-Guyanese children.

3.1.4 Motivational programs for parent & child, awards for good performance. **31.6%**

3.1.6 More school progs for boys, cricket teams, football and steel pan, recreational facilities. **31.6%**

3.1.10 Parent Teachers and Children Association, teach children self-love and to love others. Publicly posted messages on appropriate behavior for school children from nursery level. **26.3%**

3.1.9 Tutoring, after school programmes. Country wide school feeding programme through all levels and underserved urban communities. Communities responsible for bringing up children. **21.1%**

3.1.11 Provide career guidance and technical education. Re-vamp ed policies and programmes to include disadvantaged children and communities. **15.8%**

3.1.13 More school inspectors to deal with discipline and attendance, and supervision of teachers. Train teachers in ethics, guidance and counselling and appropriate behaviors. **15.8%**

4.0 Changes recommended in the primary and secondary school curriculum to build a sense of pride in their history and culture among African-Guyanese school-age children.

4.1 African and diaspora History should be properly taught in schools- Students are now taught as if African history began with slavery and it was taught to foster dependency. **84.2%**

4.4 More African programmes in schools e.g. Black History month should be implanted. **47.4%**

4.2 African Culture and Spirituality must also be a feature of the curriculum. **42.1%**

4.5 Reintroduce guidance and counselling, discipline/skill training. **21.1%**

5.0 Actions or programmes which can be done in the home, church and local community to build pride in their history and culture among African-Guyanese of all ages.

5.5 Promoting black awareness and being taught through programmes of upliftment, Black role models, debates on African history, culture groups. **47.4%**

5.7 Multi-purpose centers, more community meetings. Return to the village or community raising the child. **31.6%**

5.6 Heritage corner in church and school, concerts, African educational programmes. **26.3%**

5.2 Positive Parenting, home/family discussion on tradition. Progs to enhance parenting skills. **21.1%**

5.1 Africans should be taught the history of their faith, wherein they may learn that Christianity was utilized to oppress and depress the African identity. Christian names were forced upon slaves in order to destroy their identities and sense of belonging to a particular people. **15.8%**

5.4 More radio and television programmes and eat more African foods. **15.8%**

6.0 Factors preventing young African-Guyanese adults in region or community from attending and completing skills training programmes in technical institutions or trade schools.

6.6 Lack of financial assist. **47.4%**

6.5 Lack of self-esteem, lack of basic education, illiteracy. **21.1%**

6.8 Not having the right attitude to progress in the learning environment, the hussle and get rich quick mentality. **21.1%**

6.1 Lack of knowledge of the available training programmes, disinterest in formal institutions. **15.8%**

6.3 Lack of internships, and apprenticeships, new technology to service/provide employment oil and gas. **15.8%**

6.4 Peer pressure. **15.8%**

6.11 More appropriate entrance and eligibility tests. **15.8%**

6.12 Location of the institution, transportation. **15.8%**

7.0 Actions, programmes or policies that can be implemented at the national or local level to increase the numbers of young African adults graduating from such institutions.

7.3 Financial assistance, including for parents to adequately provide for their children. **36.8%**

7.2 Create programmed opportunities for mentorship, apprenticeships and internships. Guaranteed employment. Post-graduation placement programmes. **21.1%**

7.1 Create awareness of the importance of certain training programmes and where these opportunities exist. Appropriate entrance tests. **15.8%**

7.4 Create motivational programmes, more encouragement from family/society. **15.8%**

7.7 Rehabilitation of education system, free education. **15.8%**

8.0 Factors preventing young African-Guyanese adults from attending advanced training institutions such as Teacher training colleges and universities.

8.5 Lack of Finances. **57.9%**

8.2 Lack of informed parental guidance on career. Parent's lack of knowledge can adversely influence their decisions. **21.1%**

8.3 Lack of appreciation of the importance of continued education and training, role models. No supportive family and community structure. **21.1%**

8.4 Discrimination and discouragement. **15.8%**

8.6 More accommodation. **15.8%**

8.9 Lack of foundational education, qualifications, fear of failure and rejection. **15.8%**

9.1.0 Factors which are preventing African-Guyanese adults from becoming professionals such as engineers, doctors, architects, agriculture specialists, accountants, lawyers, private sector managers and other high-paying occupations.

9.1.2 Accessibility of training opportunities – African young people may not be in a position to equally access training, due to location, finance and discrimination. **52.6%**

9.1.3 Low educational levels and low trainability of some Young African-Guyanese. **31.6%**

9.1.6 Self-motivation. Lack of suitable role models who return to community and give back. **21.1%**

9.1.1 Marketability of the training as being a problem – Why learn a trade or profession with which you still struggle to get a job? **10.5%**

9.1.8 High cost of tertiary education. Affordability. **10.5%**

9.2.0 Actions, programmes or policies which should be implemented to increase the number of African-Guyanese adults in the high-paying professions.

9.2.2 Conduct seminars and motivation events. **15.8%**

9.2.3 Identify talent/potential and mentor them. **10.5%**

9.2.4 Work study/apprenticeship schemes. **10.5%**

9.2.5 Access to agri lands. Teaching students the importance of land for self-sufficiency. **10.5%**

10.0 Actions which African-Guyanese can take individually and collectively to lift their school attendance, education levels, and professional development.

10.8 People need self-confidence, mentoring or motivation. Social clubs and other modalities for upliftment. **36.8%**

10.2 They must recognize the importance of education and continued education and training. Be more committed. Make your voice heard and advocate for children and proper policies. **31.6%**

10.3 Create awareness of the importance of certain training programmes and where these opportunities exist. Local discussion groups. **26.3%**

10.4 Create programmed opportunities for mentorship, support by others, apprenticeships and internships. Community support mechanisms. Community members passing on knowledge. Publicizing the achievements of Guyanese studying and achieving. **21.1%**

10.5 Create more positive interaction with teacher and child, proper role models to motivate younger generation. More rounded education. **21.1%**

10.1 African-Guyanese must recognize that they have a duty to themselves and they must therefore seek knowledge actively and improve themselves. Individual responsibility/self-teach. **15.8%**

10.10 Specialized training and grants/financial support. Endowment programmes to provide scholarships for African-Guyanese. **15.8%**

ANNEX VIII

FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER

ORGANIZATIONS:

EQUITY/EQUALITY: TOTAL 9 RESPONDENTS:

1.0 Practices by other groups or organisations at the regional or community level that actively discriminate against African-Guyanese.

- 1.1 Preference given to friends & family of those in authority. **37.5%**
- 1.3 Law enforcement does not treat poor Africans equally **37.5%**
- 1.2 Lands were inaccessible in African Communities (thick vegetation) Poor drainage **25.0%**
- 1.6 NDC poor or no provision or maintenance of black villages infrastructure – roads, light, water . Spending funds only on Indian villages **25.0%**
- 1.5 NDC, City Council - Unequal access to state lands (reserves etc) **12.5%**
- 1.7 General Stereotyping of Africans by other races **12.5%**
- 1.8 Business owners ill-treat with African customers and employees **12.5%**
- 1.9 Distributing items (e.g. disaster relief) only to East Indians **12.5%**
- 1.10 Bottom House Meetings with only Indian **12.5%**
- 1.12 Employment from private sector is difficult. **12.5%**
- 1.14 Biased perception of poor African-Guyanese by the law. **12.5%**

2.0 Actions or programmes that could be put in place by religious groups, NGOs, and others to reduce discrimination against African-Guyanese.

- 2.1 Engage in self-help activities, form cooperatives **50.0%**
- 2.2 Educate younger generation about their Rights **25.0%**
- 2.3 Run educational and mentorship programmes to empower PAD. **25.0%**
- 2.4 Religious groups to advocate **25.0%**
- 2.5 Funding and facilities for sports, arts, crafts, music and other activities that fuel creativity, skill and self-respect **25.0%**
- 2.6 Family planning and good parenting education workshops and assistance **12.5%**
- 2.9 Initiate Economic projects including: sewing, Laundering. **12.5%**
- 2.10 Establish African cultural centers. Night educational institutions. **12.5%**
- 2.11 Establish harmony villages. **12.5%**
- 2.12 Review the Eurocentric godhead being embraced by African-Guyanese. **12.5%**

3.0 How the Rights Commissions (Ethnic Relations, Human Rights, Women and Gender etc.) do not protect African-Guyanese from discrimination and unequal treatment compared to other races.

- 3.1 African-Guyanese were never given a fair hearing **50.0%**
- 3.2 Because of poverty opportunities were not given to African women to access Education **25.0%**
- 3.4 No legal representation, hundreds of youth incarcerated **25.0%**
- 3.3 Investigations are poor **12.5%**
- 3.5 There was no action when over 200 black youths were killed extra-judicially **12.5%**
- 3.6 Women's children are killed in accidents or by police and no action by these groups **12.5%**

4.0 Examples of how the laws, the courts, and the administration of justice, deny African-Guyanese equal access to justice and protection of the law.

- 4.1 'Once you Black you stay back' attitude to poor Africans, judges of different race deliver unfair sentences **50.0%**
- 4.3 Those who know someone in authority can escape justice **50.0%**
- 4.4 The rich others can bribe their way out of trouble **50.0%**
- 4.2 Assumed guilty without trial, no fair hearing, poor investigation **25.0%**
- 4.6 Lengthy cases which means Africans spend more time in remand **25.0%**
- 4.5 Africans lack of knowledge about the laws **12.5%**
- 4.7 Litigation is promoted as against mediation, which can prove a cheaper solution to settling court matters **12.5%**

5.0 Examples of how the police, community policing groups, and prison service officers, discriminate against and criminalize African-Guyanese suspected, charged, or convicted of committing offenses.

- 5.1 African youths are given no fair hearing, they're beaten and locked up. **62.5%**
- 5.2 Illegal searches, false charges **25.0%**
- 5.3 Africans cannot afford to pay bribes **25.0%**
- 5.4 African youths are treated based on their appearance. Profiling, arrested on suspicion **25.0%**
- 5.5 Community police are mostly East Indians who deal racially with African suspects **12.5%**
- 5.6 Poor legal representation **12.5%**

6.0 Examples of actions, programmes and policies that can be put in place to reduce discrimination and unequal treatment of African-Guyanese in the administration of justice and by the police and prison systems.

- 6.1 Education at all Levels **25.0%**

6.2 Clamp down of bribery **25.0%**

6.3 Implement programmes to reduce discrimination **25.0%**

6.4 In the case of injustice and discrimination towards Africans a legal Representative body should be created to give Legal advice and support **25.0%**

7.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese in region or community have been discriminated against in accessing lands for housing and agriculture, as compared with other race groups.

7.3 Africans are discriminated against in land allocation **62.5%**

7.1 Lands for Africans have poor drainage, poor access roads and thick forest **50.0%**

7.2 Africans cannot get loans for purchasing land **37.5%**

7.4 The documentation required is prohibitive **12.5%**

7.5 price of land is too high for average African people **12.5%**

8.0 Examples of how African-Guyanese contractors and trades persons have been denied equal opportunities in securing contracts and selling their services in business, trades, construction, and contracting.

8.1 Denied through lack of finance **62.5%**

8.2 Contracts are awarded in a discriminatory manner **50.0%**

8.3 Lack of equipment, land and technical knowledge **25.0%**

8.5 Contracts awarded via bribery and other corruption **25.0%**

8.4 Information is leaked to other race.. Not Africans **12.5%**

9.0 Actions, programmes or policies that can foster equal opportunities for African-Guyanese in securing contracts and selling their services in business, trades, construction, and contracting.

9.1 Implement transparency in contract awards, open bidding. **37.5%**

9.2 Have an agency which provides financial assistance to small contractors

9.3 Allow cooperative approached to contracts. Africans must have more united approach **25.0%**

9.4 Establish an African Bank. **12.5%**

9.5 Establish an African import and export market. **12.5%**

9.6 Establish a GMC. **12.5%**

9.7 Allocate a certain amount of the contracts to small contractors. **12.5%**

10.1.0 Practices in medical institutions that deny African-Guyanese equal access to health care and medicines.

10.1.1 Insufficient health education. **12.5%**

10.2.0 Policies, programmes or actions that can improve the situation.

10.2.1 Have more African nurses/doctors. **12.5%**

ANNEX IX

FINDINGS FROM REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND MEETINGS WITH IDPADA-G MEMBER

ORGANIZATIONS:

EXPIATION: TOTAL 9 RESPONDENTS:

1.0 Ways in which slavery and its aftermath negatively affected the religious and cultural development of African-Guyanese.

1.2 Imposed another religion. Left Africans confused about religion. **85.7%**

1.1 Loss of culture, dress, language, names. **71.4%**

1.8 We hate our own images and ourselves. **42.9%**

1.10 Lack of knowledge of our own culture. **28.6%**

2.0 Ways in which developments after Emancipation negatively affected the social and economic development of African-Guyanese.

2.5 Africans were unpaid for their labour and thus did not get the same economic start as the other ethnic groups. **57.1%**

2.8 Victimization/discrimination. **42.9%**

2.9 Deliberate Damage to crops and livestock, sabotage of African lands by flooding. **42.9%**

2.7 No access to natural resources of Guyana –forestry. Gold, etc. **28.6%**

2.10 No fair access to land . We had to purchase at high cost. **28.6%**

3.0 Ways in which family and community relations among African-Guyanese were damaged from slavery to the present day.

3.2 Africans can't do business with Africans because of distrust. **42.9%**

3.3 Family structures were destroyed, families separated. **42.9%**

3.1 White men raped and humiliated black men in front of their families, bringing disrespect for the father figure in the home. That disrespect continues onto this day. **28.6%**

3.7 Separation of Family. **28.6%**

3.4 Africans hate each other – Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome. **14.3%**

3.5 African culture of inter-dependency was ruptured. **14.3%**

3.6 Poor cooperation. **14.3%**

3.8 Name change. **14.3%**

4.0 Expiation to the descendants of African slaves. Who/which groups should apologize and pay?

4.1.1 All European nations that were directly involved in slavery. **71.4%**

4.1.2 All those directly and indirectly involved should pay. English, Dutch, French, Spanish. India. **28.6%**

4.1.3 Guyanese East Indians. **28.6%**

4.1.4 Guyanese Amerindians. **14.3%**

4.2 What form can reparations take?

4.2.7 Money. **71.4%**

4.2.2 A public apology must be made by the contributing governments. **42.9%**

4.2.1 Amerindians got lands allocated to them. Lands should be allocated to Africans. **28.6%**

4.3 Who should receive redress on their behalf?

4.3.2 All African-Descendants should benefit. **71.4%**

4.3.1 African communities/groups should receive. **28.6%**

4.3.3 Through a Reparations Council in every community. **14.3%**

5.0 Policies and programmes to correct how that history is told and how African-Guyanese are seen by other race groups.

5.1 Teach the right African history through educational programmes. **85.7%**

5.2 Promote more Afro-centric books. **42.9%**

5.11 Promote in Guyana more books and movies on the African experience. **28.6%**

6.0 Policies and programmes to address the social, economic and development impacts of that history on current day African-Guyanese.

6.2 Enable exchange visits between African-Guyanese and Africa. **28.6%**

6.6 Include Business in the education curriculum. **28.6%**

7.0 Policies and programmes to address the religious and cultural impacts of that history on current day African-Guyanese.

7.3 Initiate programmes that encourage African-Guyanese to take back their religion and culture, cultural exchanges. **42.9%**

7.1 Govt. to fund repatriation to Africa, cultural exchanges. **28.6%**

7.5 Ensure that there is freedom of cultural and religious expression, including use of marijuana. **28.6%**

8.0 Actions that African-Guyanese need to take to address the lingering effects of that history of slavery, apprenticeship, discrimination and exploitation.

8.6 Cooperate with and support each other in business and in villages. **71.4%**

8.1 Africans must form groups and have continuous dialogues and interaction within their communities and between communities. **42.9%**

8.2 Africans need to respect and trust each other. **28.6%**

8.7 Pool their resources and do joint undertakings, including self-help. **28.6%**

9.0 Areas in which African-Guyanese business, social and cultural groups and organizations need to be strengthened and capacity built to press for full and adequate expiation.

9.1 Groups need capacity building in advocacy. **14.3%**

10.0 Ways in which other race groups in Guyana can be made to understand and support the need for an apology and reparations.

10.1 Create interracial forums for free and frank discussion and understanding. **57.1%**

10.2 Teach African history in schools so children of other races understand what transpired. **28.6%**

10.3 Create free spaces for racial melting pots, where all races can come together, discuss problems and propose common solutions. **28.6%**

10.4 Writing and teaching of Guyanese history as a subject from Nursery to University. **14.3%**

10.5 By social media. **14.3%**

10.6 and gifts such as lands and finance to develop the lands for reparations. **14.3%**

ANNEX X

RESTORING HOPE THROUGH EDUCATION

Miryom Levi, Coordinating Committee, IDPADA-G

Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome Disorder

For certain these problems did not first appear in the IDPADAG as the information in this plan so eloquently spells out. They're generational! However, the purpose of this campaign opened up the can of worms that put all of the issues in the same pot, so to speak. I know that the conversations that led to this 10 year campaign recognized how this would and probably would occur because the idea of finding solutions to the problem of the African-Guyanese is not exclusive, but is intricately global amongst the victims of the tragic success of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Our mental and psychological health comes into question when we talk about it because there is no nation on earth that has gone through a continual assault on its family and self-hood as we have. We'd all like to put all of that behind us, but it just won't go away on its own. Jobs, money, success, education, luxuries will perhaps mask the symptoms, but eventually the truth will emerge without the necessary healing. Thus mobilizing the members of the PAD of Guyana under the tenors of this program is still being challenged because of fear, uncertainty and generational hurt. So, what must we do? We have to move that fear, change the way we think about who we are, remember what we went through and commit to getting well from our PTSS. I asked Dr. Bahia Overton, Dr. Joy Degruy's daughter to give me in her words to address the damage done to our people. And I quote,

P.T.S.S. is a theory that explains the etiology of the adaptive survival behaviors in African American communities throughout the United States and the Diaspora. It is a condition that exists as a consequence of multigenerational oppression of Africans and their descendants resulting from centuries of chattel slavery. A form of slavery which was predicated on the belief that African (Americans) were inherently/genetically inferior to whites. This was then followed by institutionalized racism which continues to perpetuate injury.

In conjunction with what our work entails here in Guyana within the mandate there is a need to engage the African-Guyanese in therapeutic activities aimed at changing our debilitating, destructive behaviors. Once we name what behavior looks like and address it, perhaps these strategies would stand a better chance. PTSS continues to plague us because we are not aware of it and therefore don't replace the disorder with order. The Strategic Objective 6 might be achievable when the youth are mentally strengthened and better positioned to reclaim their culture and work toward a common goal. Sustainability with 5 more years to go is a huge task. In order to do so, we must include a program(s) that addresses the hurt and pain that keeps showing up. In the words of sister Iyanla Vanzant, "Increase the dosage of truth".

I do also see the need for more fun activities in the future of IDPADA-G for the groups to meet and greet on a social level and filing more testimonies from successful African-Guyanese in all areas of

education

and

development!

The drumming competition must return. More advertising and outreaching would be a plus, aggressive search for funding of projects and programs and we must find more creative ways to engage our people.

I certainly hope this aids in the progression of our Strategic Plan for the future.

Miryom Levi, Coordinating Committee, IDPADA-G, 2019.

ANNEX XI

SUBMISSION FROM THE EQUITY COMMITTEE, IDPADA-G

Is composed of eight IDPADAG groups so far

Equity Committee believes that UN recognition, justice and development for the people of African descent in Guyana can only be achieved through re-introduction of their African material and spiritual heritages that was broken during their 350 years enslavement (1622 to 1838) and colonization (1838 to 1966) by Europeans.

These heritages that were broken by Europeans includes African polygamous family structure, inter-African trading, inter-african exchange of technologies, political alliances for well-being, native justice systems, education exchanges between cultures, African religious dramas, ceremonies and festivals of family and tribes, relationship with royals, military loyalty, inter-african investments.

Equity Committee policy for UN recognition, justice and development must include

1. Visits to countries in Africa to be reborn by seeing her mountains and rivers (geology & geography)
2. Bringing food from Africa to Guyana like getting milk from a mother's breast
3. Exchanging scientific knowledge between Africans on the continent and Guyana
4. Belonging to the African Union
5. Knowing African native laws and conflict resolutions
6. Exchanging African media stories
7. Ending bible and koran dictatorships and elevating Guyana Comfa religious dramas.
8. Synchronizing with festivals and ceremonies of Africa
9. Sharing military knowledge with warriors in Africa
10. Having African money in Guyana i.e. Banks

Equity Committee projects to ennoble the above goals include:

1. Approaching the Guyana government to secure multiple entry 'VISA ON ARRIVAL' with countries in Africa particularly those who may have the labour to unlock Guyana's endowment.

2. Approach the Guyana government to establish sea and air ferries between Guyana and appropriate countries in Africa.
3. Re-branding and branding of streets, villages, settlements and towns with African names that will link descendants of Africa with Africa thereby making Guyanese history attractive.
4. Eating foods that link descendants of Africa with Africa.
5. Having festivals that synchronize with those in Africa.

Equity Committee programs will be set out to match each project.