

# Our Party

## The A-APRP (GC)'s Recruitment and Orientation Brochure #3

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Every political movement, organization and Party---revolutionary, reformist or reactionary, has an ideology and objective, even if they are not conscious of it, and it is not codified, written down or named. Every revolutionary movement, organization and Party makes their own unique contribution to the forward march and development, to the dialectic of revolutionary theory and practice---universal and particular. The fundamental task of every revolutionary movement, organization and Party is to assess the motive forces of Revolution, its adherents, supporters and allies, and its enemies.

Following a meticulous and intense ideological, organizational and political struggle, which included a delegation meeting in Guinea, Conakry for a week, on August 9, 2006, we became conscious members of the A-APRP (GC), a revolutionary all-African Pan-Africanist socialist mass party, which is also known as the Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinea (PRPAG) in Guinea. The A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG are the authentic inheritor and continuator of the revolutionary writings, teachings, struggles, and work of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Kwame Ture. We reaffirm our uncompromising belief that Africa remains primary, for all Africans, those in Africa, and those abroad, in the struggle for Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, which includes scientific socialism, and that we have and will always place politics over and before economics, and social services, Revolution over reform.

The A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG is another creation of the relentless struggle within the Pan-African Movement for ideological clarity, a scientific and precise revolutionary objective and strategy, and for mass Pan-African socialist mass political organization. We represent both a quantitative and qualitative development in Africa's long and glorious history of struggle against class exploitation, national and women's oppression. It heralds a re-emergence of revolutionary and uncompromising principled struggle to qualify and improve the revolutionary ideology and Pan-Africanist socialist mass party needed by African People to destroy capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, globalization, zionism, racism, and women's oppression and realize the African and larger International struggles for Human and Democratic Rights, Women's Rights, Youth / Student's Rights, the Rights of Prisoners of Conscience, Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, for National Independence, Political Unification, Scientific Socialism, and Peace.

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC)'s Recruitment and Orientation Brochure #3, provides potential members with an analysis and some facts about when, how and why the Party was conceived and organized, an overview of the Party's membership structure and process; who can join it; their rights and responsibilities; and the Party's initial 3-year plan to recruit Pre-Cadre and Supporters, develop Cadre and build Chapters in Africa and throughout the African Diaspora, in those zones (countries) where revolutionary, Pan-African or socialist political parties do not exist. This Brochure also offers a capsule history of how four organizations were

built in order to prove that mass, revolutionary, political organizations and parties have and can be built.

As of this date, May 22, 2010, the A-APRP (GC) launches a militant, massive and world-wide, 3-Year Offensive to recruit and develop Pre-Cadre, Cadre and Supporters and develop Party Chapters in selected zones (countries, islands, dependencies and territories) in Africa and the African Diaspora; and to recruit and solidify allies in every corner of the World.

## Our Origins

On February 21, 1966, Osagefyo Kwame Nkrumah left Accra, Ghana, on his way to Hanoi Vietnam at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh, with proposals for ending the “cruel war against Vietnam.” This assignment had been given to him at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, which was held in London on June 17, 1965. On February 23, 1966, just before Nkrumah arrived in Peking China the Ghanaian army and police overthrew his government and banned the Convention Peoples Party and its mass organizations. This coup was organized and financed by the governments of the United States, Britain, West Germany and Israel.

Nkrumah knew that he had to return to Ghana, or a neighboring country in Africa, as quickly as possible, and that he could not continue his journey to Hanoi. This was the second time that President Ho Chi Minh had invited him, the only head of state or government to have received an invitation to visit Hanoi since the escalation of the United States war against Vietnam. When Nkrumah informed Uncle Ho, as he is affectionately known by the masses of People worldwide, he had to return to Ghana immediately, Ho Chi Minh told Nkrumah that he would be welcomed in Hanoi at any time.

Messages of encouragement and support were sent to Osagefyo from heads of state and governments all over the world offering immediate hospitality and pledging to help restore him to power. Among them were President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, President Modibo Keita of Mali, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Sekou Toure’s message was by far the clearest and most determined:

“The Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG)] and the Government after a thorough analysis of the African situation following the seizure of power by the instruments of imperialism have decided:

1. To organize a national day of solidarity with the Ghanaian People next Sunday, [on March 3rd]. Throughout the length and breadth of the country there will take place popular demonstrations on the theme of anti-imperialism.
2. To call on all progressive African countries to hold a special conference and take all adequate measures.

We think that the time factor is vital here, since it is important to make a riposte without further delay, by every means. Your immediate presence would be very opportune, it seems to us, and we are impatiently waiting for you.”

Nkrumah arrived in Guinea on March 2, 1966. The following day, at a massive rally in a packed stadium in Conakry, President Sekou Toure announced, to the cheers and standing ovation of the Guinean masses that Osagefyo had been made Secretary-General of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Head of State of Guinea. This gesture of political solidarity and of the African Personality, as Nkrumah has correctly said, “must surely be without historical precedent ... a great landmark in the practical expression of Pan-Africanism.”

From February 23, 1966, the day of the coup, the mountain of lies that have been told notwithstanding, the Ghanaian People and loyal members of the Convention Peoples Party, army and police; progressive and revolutionary forces throughout Africa, the African Diaspora and the World; Sekou Toure, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the government of the People’s Revolutionary Republic of Guinea; and Nkrumah and the 70-member delegation that accompanied him to Guinea, began to make plans to *Take Nkrumah Back to Ghana!* Over the next four years, hardly a week or month went by without strikes, demonstrations, bombings and other actions in some part of Ghana, or expressions of solidarity and support throughout Africa, the African Diaspora and the World.

*[Note: The All-African People’s Revolutionary Party (GC) will publish a timeline and offer our analysis of some of these actions on this Blog soon. We welcome your comments, suggestions and criticisms. Use the comment form below.]*

Sekou Toure and Modibo Keita wanted to use the Guinean and Malian armies to put Nkrumah back in power. Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), and other People around the world, wanted to recruit soldiers, raise money and organize demonstrations of support in every corner of the world. Unfortunately, Nkrumah vetoed all of these proposals. Kwame Ture offered that Nkrumah wanted to minimize the Ghanaian People’s suffering and bloodshed, and did not want to galvanize the opposition from neo-colonial countries in Africa and the imperialist countries of the world. None-the-less, the A-APRP (GC) believes that Nkrumah’s decision was an error that the People of Ghana, Africa and the African Diaspora, the Pan-African Movement, and progressive and revolutionary forces worldwide continue to pay for today.

In a letter dated August 24, 1966, Nkrumah wrote that “someone has said that either Kwame Nkrumah or *Consciencism* will return to Ghana.” He believed to his death in Bucharest on April 27, 1972, that the People of Ghana would rise up spontaneously and bring him back. Unfortunately, many professed Nkrumahists are still waiting, calling and praying for this spontaneous uprising, forty-three years later. They are not prepared to struggle, sacrifice and suffer to rebuild the Convention Peoples Party into a mass, revolutionary Party that is capable of seizing and holding power, and transforming Ghana into the “fountainhead of Pan-Africanism” that Malcolm X called it in 1964, and the “oasis of socialism” that Nkrumah struggled to build. They are even less willing to help rebuild the Democratic Party of Guinea, which Nkrumah served as Secretary-General for six years, and build the A-African People’s Revolutionary Party (A-APRP), as Nkrumah asked them to do. Hopefully, this contradiction will be resolved, soon!

During the Conakry period of his life, Nkrumah published five books and five pamphlets. The books were *Dark Days in Ghana*; *Axioms (Freedom Fighters’ Edition)*; *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*; *Class Struggle in Africa* and *Revolutionary Path*; and the pamphlets

were *The Spectre of Black Power*; *The Struggle Continues*; *Ghana, The Way Out*; *The Big Lie* and *Two Myths*. In addition, he revised *Consciencism* and made regular broadcasts between March and December 1966 on Radio Guinea's Voice of the Revolution. These broadcasts were subsequently published under the title *Voice from Conakry*. He rewrote the preface to *Challenge of the Congo*, which had been completed before he left for Hanoi. *Revolutionary Path* and *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years* were published posthumously.

The *Manual on Revolutionary Warfare*, as the *Handbook* was originally titled, was written in Ghana before the coup, and Nkrumah gave it to Major-General Barwah before he left for Hanoi. Barwah was murdered, and the manuscript fell into CIA, MI5 and MOSAD's hands. Between May and September 1966, Nkrumah wrote the first draft of a new version of the *Manual*, which he considered "an improvement."

"I could have done more on the role of women in the African People's revolutionary struggle with particular referenced to the AAPRA---the All-African People's Revolutionary Army. ... The part dealing with Party unit could be expanded. What we need to complement the AAPRA is an all Pan-African unifying Party. This could be called the Pan-African People's Socialist Party and must be planned on a Pan-African basis with the AAPRA as its military arm, one supplementing the other. The AAPRA and the PAPSP should supersede the OAU [Organization of African Unity, which has been renamed the African Union] and make it redundant."

In October 1966, the illegal, immoral, and neo-colonial government in Accra circulated, with CIA, MI5 and MOSAD's help, alleged photostats of the *Manual*. Nkrumah wrote in one of his letters that,

"I have always been above board with my brothers of the Independent African States. ... I would be happy to see them publish it. It will show the world how determined I am with African unity. I did that work for the African freedom fighters fighting for the freedom of their countries from colonialism. Indeed it was to be used as a textbook for the freedom fighters who were being trained [in Ghana], and was the basis for lectures to them at various stages of their study. I wish the *Manual* we are now working on could come out soon, then they will know that I have been as consistent as ever."

In November 1966, the illegal, immoral, and neo-colonial government in Accra published a pamphlet titled *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa*. The United States Congress held hearings to investigate and substantiate this charge. Nkrumah made the following response:

"With the *Manual* they (the imperialists and neo-colonialists) will know what subversion is, and who I am subverting. They will see that it is not Africa I am 'subverting' but the whole damn system of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. The preface to the *Manual* will clarify this point."

The new *Manual* was finished by March 1967. Its title was changed to *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution*. Nkrumah wanted it to be released after his return to Ghana. He called for the organization of an All-African People's Revolutionary Army (A-APRA), through the merger and coordination of guerrilla

groups and the armies of progressive and revolutionary regimes throughout Africa. In addition, he called for the creation of an All-African People's Committee for Political Coordination (A-ACPC). Nkrumah changed the name of the Party he called the Pan-African Socialist Party to the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP).

Nkrumah continued to make other changes until the last minute before its publication. Nkrumah showed copies of the manuscript to several People, including Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) while Kwame was in Conakry in August 1967, attending the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

Nineteen months earlier, in January 1966, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) became the first "civil rights" organization in the United States to officially oppose the United State's government's unjust, illegal, and immoral war against Vietnam. On June 17, 1966, Kwame Ture re-echoed African People's centuries-long demand for "Black Power", and was catapulted onto the world's political stage. Kwame was not the first to call for Black Power, but his timing was impeccable as Black Power, in this instance, was called for at a time that most eloquently reflected Nkrumah's axiom, "there is nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come." The mass response to this demand was overwhelming. It shook the foundations of capitalist and neo-colonial governments in every corner of Africa, the African Diaspora and the world. In May, Kwame was elected chairperson of SNCC. From June to December 1967, he traveled the world, from London to Havana to Peking to Hanoi to Algiers to Conakry to Tanzania, thanks to the assistance of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution.

On his way to Hanoi, during a stop over in Peking, Kwame Ture met Madame Shirley Graham Dubois who asked him if he "knew Kwame Nkrumah." Have you met him? Would you like to?" When Kwame replied that he "would give his right arm" to meet Nkrumah, Madame Dubois said, "You shall. You need to. You should. I shall see that you do. You shall hear from me." Upon arrival in Hanoi, fourteen months after Nkrumah's aborted trip, Kwame had lunch with President Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong, Vietnam's Foreign Minister. Uncle Ho talked about the time he spent in Harlem in New York, the time he heard the Honorable Marcus Garvey speak, and made a modest financial contribution to the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which Garvey founded, organized and led. Ho Chi Minh then leaned forward and asked Kwame Ture, "When are you [Africans in America] going to repatriate to Africa?" Truthfully, Kwame had never thought about it, and offered a diplomatic reply. Within thirty days of this luncheon meeting, Madame Dubois had fulfilled her promise to introduce Kwame Ture to Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure.

At their third or fourth meeting in Conakry in August 1967, Osagefyo handed Kwame a copy of the draft manuscript of the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*. Kwame stayed up all night long reading it and making notes. In their discussion the next day, Kwame Ture told Nkrumah that the *Handbook* "solve[d] the theoretical problems [he had] been wrestling with. ... The Party. How and toward what objectives to organize a revolutionary Party in the United States." "But," Nkrumah replied, the Party is "for Africa, for Africans." "We are Africans, sir," Kwame responded. "How can you prohibit us from joining the Party?" After Kwame Ture reminded Nkrumah about the role that Africans in the Diaspora had played in the development of the Pan-African Movement, a role that he was intimately aware of and acknowledged, Nkrumah laughed,

and said “all right. I’ll give you the permission to begin organizing the basis for the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party among our People in the Diaspora.” And that is what Kwame Ture did, for the last thirty-one years of his life.

In February of 1968, Nkrumah wrote that the *Handbook* “can come out anytime from now. I think the sooner the better. Events are moving very fast.” Julius Nyerere visited Nkrumah and offered Dar es Salaam as a base “in order to organize the freedom fighters and guerrillas into one formidable army of African liberation.” Nkrumah however believed that he “could only make Ghana such a base.”

The *Handbook* was published by Panaf Books, which Nkrumah founded, owned and controlled, in October 1968, but he put an embargo on its distribution. In a letter dated January 25, 1969, he said that he was “watching the political situation before I give orders for its distribution.” Nkrumah lifted this embargo in March. International Publishers released an edition for the United States market and Panaf Books released an edition for the English, European and African markets. Four of Nkrumah’s letters offer a glimpse of the worldwide demand for the *Handbook*, and his excitement at its distribution potential:

May 26, 1969 – “It must have been thrilling to have an order for 200 copies of the *Handbook* from Dar es Salaam. ... And the order from Malawi! How are the orders for the *Handbook* from Ghana?”

June 10, 1969 – “I was flattered with the ‘Nkrumah Book Service’ being set up in Detroit. There must be some demand for the books. It is very encouraging that you are sending 3,000 *Axioms* to the big distributors in Philadelphia. You are right in instructing Max to print 10,000 instead of 4,000. I am sure the revised edition will sell even much better. The ‘*little Black Book*’ is not doing badly at all. If our distribution system is well planned and goes well, it will supplant Mao’s Red Book in the USA, Africa, the Caribbean and other areas of the world where there are Africans and People of African descent.”

June 12, 1969 – “I am so glad that orders continue to come in for both *Dark Days* and the *Handbook*. You must find new ways of diversifying the distribution list. We must get to every corner of Africa. Are you in contact with Sudan? We must cover all Africa --- north, south, east, central and west. Are you in touch with Nigeria and Biafra? ...[G]et on with the French translation of the *Handbook*.”

July 26, 1969 – “I am so glad the *Handbook* orders are coming in steadily. I am glad that publishers from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Italy are considering publication of the *Handbook*. I hope the USA edition is selling well.”

History records that Malcolm X introduced a generation of African youth, especially in the United States, to Pan-Africanism, Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah with the publication of his April 1964 “*Letter from Accra, Ghana*” in the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*.” Malcolm’s continuing contribution to the Nkrumahist Movement can be scientifically measured and assessed. A simple search for “Malcolm X” on the internet produced 3,010,000 hits, for the “Autobiography of Malcolm X” produced 152,000 hits and for “Kwame Nkrumah and Malcolm X” produced

21,800 hits. An internet search for “Kwame Nkrumah” produced 389,000 hits and 51,500 hits for his “Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare.”

Kwame Ture publicly announced the existence of the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party at Howard University, in Washington, DC in October 1972. History records that between 1970 and 1998, Kwame Ture spoke to an estimated 500,000 students in North America and wherever in Africa and the African Diaspora that imperialism and neo-colonialism allowed him to travel. Kwame Ture reached millions of People, world-wide, through his media interviews. A very small number of People can make this claim, and none can back their claim up with the personal, organizational, governmental, and media archives that prove their claim. Kwame Nkrumah’s name and the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party were mentioned at each and every one of these events and in each and every one of these interviews.

Thousands of People signed up to be supporters of the A-APRP, hundreds signed up to become members, worldwide; and we have preserved many of those sign-up sheets. Unfortunately, many of them were carelessly thrown away, or stolen by and given to the police! It will not be too hard a task to locate these former and current members and supporters, find out what they are doing today, and ask them to continue or renew their membership and support. Kwame Ture never tired of saying, to his death in Conakry in November 1998 that “power begins with conception.” Kwame Nkrumah repeatedly said that “nothing can stop an idea, when the masses seize hold of it.” When the true history of the A-APRP is written, it will properly record that Kwame Nkrumah conceived and founded it. But it will also truthfully record that Kwame Ture, and a handful of co-workers in People’s Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and the United States, seized hold of the idea, mid-wifed the A-APRP’s birth and nurtured its growth and development, and organized chapters in strategic corners of the world, even though not exactly as they had hoped or planned.

Kwame Ture’s enemies and competitors, have whited him out of the history of the Pan-African Movement, but we, his comrades, sisters and brothers, and friends will black him back in. His contribution to the Nkrumahist and Nkrumahist-Toureist Movements world-wide and his efforts to materialize the A-APRP are preserved for history, and his continuing contributions can also be scientifically measured. An internet search for “Black Power” produced 1,740,000 hits, for “Stokely Carmichael” produced 151,000 hits, for “Kwame Ture” produced 146,000 hits, for “Kwame Toure” produced 46,000 hits, for “Nkrumah AND Stokely” produced 57,900 hits, for the “All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party” produced 96,500 hits, for “Ready for Revolution: the Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael” produced 57,900 hits and for “Stokely Speaks” produced 10,100 hits. We are determined to download and save every one of these web pages, or as many as we can.

*[Note: The A-APRP (GC) will publish a chronology of Kwame Ture’s speaking engagements and interviews on this site soon. We will also edit and publish, with his family’s permission, additional volumes of Kwame Speaks: From Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism, a selection of his writings, speeches and interviews. Your assistance in these much needed efforts will be greatly appreciated and acknowledged. We welcome your comments, suggestions and criticisms. Please use the comment form below.]*

During its thirty-seven years of existence, the A-APRP has suffered at least four planned and unplanned purges, referendums and splits: the purge of 1976-77; the Referendum of 1983-84; the Party-wide split in 2002-03; and the emergence of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) in 2006. There is nothing abnormal or earth-shattering about this development. Almost all political parties and movements in Africa, the African Diaspora and the World, revolutionary, reformist or reactionary, have suffered purges and splits. Fortunately or unfortunately, few of them survived, and even fewer overcame them, and continued to grow and develop.

Two factions claim the name A-APRP. Several other "factions" have chosen different names. In 2006, we chose to call ourselves the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC), in order to distinguish ourselves from the other formations, and in order to retain and continue what our thirty-seven years of work and study, of service and sacrifice, of struggle and suffering helped produce. None of the Cadre in any of the other "factions" can claim to have served longer, worked or studied harder, struggled, sacrificed or suffered more to build the A-APRP than we have. Other "factions," the honest "factions", may claim to be larger and more diverse, a quantitative claim, a temporary claim, at best; but they can not truthfully claim to be qualitatively, ideologically or organizationally better. We helped recruit most of them to the A-APRP, and helped lay the theoretical and practical foundation for the recruitment of the rest. They did not recruit us! Our revolutionary, Pan-African, Socialist and International work, study and struggle, from now, will distinguish us from all other factions of the A-APRP, and all other parties, theoretically and practically, qualitatively and quantitatively!

To the credit of all Cadre and all "factions" of the A-APRP, we have not engaged in public name calling, mud-slinging, or character assassination, or sectarianism. Our ideological development, our organizational experience, and our history as victims of COINTELPRO, has taught us, individually and collectively, how futile, counter-productive and destructive such infantile behavior becomes. It would truly be a tragic comedy! The A-APRP (GC) will continue to take this high road, this principled road, in the days, months and years ahead.

Kwame Nkrumah conceived and founded the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, but he did not live long enough to witness its birth, or guide its growth and development. Kwame Ture worked tirelessly and endlessly to bring Nkrumah's idea into reality, but he did not work alone. For four decades, members of our Party struggled, sacrificed and suffered to build the A-APRP. We continue to struggle, to sacrifice and suffer to build the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC). We ask you to join us, to support us, to align your progressive or revolutionary organization with ours.

Like Kwame Ture, we promise you nothing but long hard work and study, long hard sacrifice and suffering, but victory for the masses of African People, and for the African Nation that is struggling to be born, thought not necessarily in your or our lifetime!

## **Our Founding Document**

August 17, 2006



To: All Current and Former Members and Supporters of the A-APRP.

We hope this email finds each and all of you and your families in the very best of health and Revolutionary spirits!

As you know, Kwame Ture never tired of demanding that if you can not join and help build the A-APRP, you should find and join any organization that is working for the People; and if you can not find an existing organization that you want to join and help build, create one.

This axiom was not new to Kwame or to those of us who had worked with other organizations before the A-APRP. In fact, it is this axiom which propelled him and us, forward, despite numerous disappointments and setbacks, organizational and personal, from SNCC to the MFD, LCFO, BPP, A-APRP and PDG; and in a larger and much more Pan-African and Internationalist sense, from the host of other organizations that we were members and supporters of in the past, to the host of organizations that we are members and supporters of today.

Consistent with this uncompromising principle, and after much and long, principled, non-personal and non-sentimental discussion and deliberation, we, the undersigned, take this occasion, the birth date of the Honorable Marcus Garvey, to publicly announce to all current and former members and supporters of the A-APRP, in all of its multiple and varied manifestations and forms, that:

As of August 9, 2006, we are conscious members of the A-APRP (GC), which is known as the PRPAG in Guinea, accepting all responsibilities as Revolutionary Militants and acknowledging with the fulfillment of our Revolutionary duties, that we are entitled to and will be accorded the same rights as all members.

- We reaffirm our uncompromising belief that Africa remains primary, for all Africans, those in Africa, and those abroad, in the struggle for Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, which includes scientific socialism, and that we have and will always place politics over and before economics, and social services, Revolution over reform.
- We reaffirm our uncompromising belief, as Nkrumahists-Toureists, that Guinea (Conakry) remains our organizational and ideological base, and that we will continue to work, study and struggle in every zone, every country, every city, every community and every campus wherever one African can be found in the world.
- We reaffirm, as Nkrumahists-Toureists, our principled and uncompromising solidarity with and support for all Revolutionary movements, parties and governments, and all of Oppressed Humanity in every corner of the world.
- We understand that the PRPAG / A-APRP (GC) is the inheritor and continuator of the Revolutionary work and struggle of the PDG (RDA) under President Ahmed Sekou Toure's and President Kwame Nkrumah's time.
- We understand that the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG is the inheritor and continuator of the Revolutionary work and struggle of the A-APRP under Kwame Nkrumah's and Kwame Ture's time.
- We accept, as responsible Militants, the Revolutionary work and struggle, as defined by and under the Revolutionary guidance and leadership of the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG.

- We launch, publicly, militantly and uncompromisingly, with and through this email, a massive and militant drive to recruit members, supporters and allies to the A-APRP (GC) / PRPPAG in Africa and every corner of the African Diaspora, and the world.
- We send our dues and contributions directly to the PRPAG / A-APRP (GC) in Guinea-Conakry, and ask all members, supporters and allies whom we recruit to send their dues and contributions, material and immaterial, directly to the PRPAG / A-APRP (GC) in Guinea-Conakry, as well.
- Our primary work was and remains political education and recruitment. Please visit our new web portal. <http://www.a-aprp-gc.org>

By and through this positive and Revolutionary decision and act, we honor Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sekou Toure, Kwame Ture, Ken Tyler, Mawina Kouyatte, untold ancestors, and ourselves, as we continue to intensify their and our Revolutionary work, study and struggle. By and through this positive and Revolutionary decision and act, we admit to ourselves, the People and the world, that despite their and our contributions, sacrifices and achievements, despite their and our victories and setbacks, personal and organizational, the A-APRP was not completely built in Kwame Nkrumah's or Kwame Ture's time. By and through this positive and Revolutionary decision and act, we also reaffirm our confidence in the People that their Revolutionary Cadre, the almighty People and their Revolutionary Militants, will in the final analysis, build the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG, or some other Revolutionary, mass, all-African political party that is truly working in the interest and on behalf of the more than 1 billion African People who are scattered, suffering and struggling in every corner of Africa and the African Diaspora, even if not in our lifetime.

We know and can prove, beyond any shadow of a doubt, even if the masses of our People and other progressive and Revolutionary movements and parties do not know the truth, that history, as made thus far, records that we have made our contributions, quantitatively and qualitatively, towards the 40-year struggle to build the A-APRP. And we know and declare to you, African People, and the world, that history will etch on our tombstones that we made even greater contributions, quantitatively and qualitatively, to the struggle to build the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG from this day forward!

For us, a much needed and long struggled for dialectical leap and categorical conversion to a higher, more ramified and rarefied quality of consciousness and organization has been made. Matter, organizationally and personally, is indeed a plenum of forces in tension; and it is out of this tension, out of this Positive Action, that a new cadre, a new woman, man, and youth, a new PRPAG / A-APRP (GC), a new Guinea, a new Africa, and a new world is struggling to be born!

We firmly and principally believe, to paraphrase Ahmed Sekou Toure, that those forces, organizational and personal, who are preoccupied with the past, with the old, instead of the future, and of the new, who are preoccupied with structure and procedure, with titles and rewards, with form over essence, are dead already, ideologically and organizationally, even if not physically!

Nkrumah is correct, "thought without action is empty, and action without thought is blind." Permit us to suggest, that plans and programs, without Revolutionary Cadre who are committed

to work, study and struggle, sacrifice and suffer to implement them, are equally as empty, and structures and titles without Revolutionary Cadre who trust and respect them is equally as blind!

Again, we wish all current and former members and supporters of the A-APRP the best of health and Revolutionary spirits, and pray that you will implement Kwame's demand, as paraphrased above, in any and all ways that you can!

We, the undersigned, stand ready to help build the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG!

Forward ever, Backward never!

Anthony Williams	Lee Robinson
Banbose Shango	Mwalimu Keita
Bobbi Brown	Odinga Muktar
David Brown	Stuart Barbee
Kamau Benjamin	Susan Ribreiro
Kwakou Leak	Wesley Brown

Bob Brown had joined the Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinee (PRPAG) several months earlier.

## Our Party Structures

More than 1 billion African People live in Africa (its countries, islands, dependencies and territories) and more than 300 million African People live in the African Diaspora (in Asia, Oceania, the Americas and Europe). We are one People, Citizens of one Continental African Nation, with one common objective---Pan-Africanism---which Osagefyo Kwame Nkrumah correctly defined as the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism.

When fully developed, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) will be a revolutionary, all-African, socialist, mass political party that is guided by its Nkrumahist-Toureist ideology that will struggle to achieve its Pan-African Objective, and functions under the principles of democratic centralism. The Party will be built at the following levels:

1. Work-Study Circles---Pre-Cadre and Cadre, and Support Groups.
2. Branches, at the level of metropolitan cities and the adjacent areas.
3. Chapters, at the level of zones (countries, islands, dependencies and territories).
4. All-African World-Wide, at the level of Africa and the African Diaspora.

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) will use two inter-related and simultaneous approaches in its Party building efforts. The first Party building approach includes, as outlined in Kwame Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, the struggle to establish an All-African Committee for Political Co-ordination (A-ACPC) "to act as a liaison between all parties which recognize the urgent necessity of conducting organized and unified struggle against colonialism

and neo-colonialism. This unit would be created at the level of the Central Committees of the ruling and struggling parties [in Africa and the African Diaspora], and would constitute their integrated political consciousness.:

“The A-ACPC as the political arm of the All-African People’s Revolutionary Army (A-APRA) would fulfill the following functions:

- Ensure co-operation between the ruling parties of the liberated territories building socialism, and enable them to support each other in the fight against the internal enemy.
- Promote widespread and collective ideological training for cadres of parties teaching the theory of anti-colonialist, anti-settler colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist struggle, the case for African unity and for the building of socialism. This would be done in All African Committee for Political Coordination schools or in political training camps throughout the liberated territories.
- Coordinate and harmonize all political effort and assistance given to the revolutionary movements in colonized or apartheid areas, and to the progressive forces in all the neo-colonial areas.
- Provide an organic link with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who are struggling against imperialism.
- Ensure permanent relations with the socialist states of the world.
- Maintain and create links with all workers movements in the capitalist-imperialist states.

“Thus the A-ACPC would emerge as the organizational instrument of a unified struggle, and a centralizing and disciplinary organ providing permanent contact with the masses and with the scattered centers of their revolutionary activities. Such coordination would unify revolutionary action of the vanguard African territories and would enable them to exert decisive influence on the revolutionary liberation movement by allowing them to participate actively in it.” [Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook for Revolutionary Warfare* pg.58.]

The second approach, our primary approach, includes mass political education, recruitment, orientation, and cadre and chapter development in selected zones (countries, islands, dependencies and territories) in Africa and the African Diaspora that do not currently have a progressive or revolutionary, vanguard or mass, political movement, organization or party with whom the A-APRP (GC) is or seeks to be aligned. The criteria that we use for the selection of the zones where the A-APRP (GC) will be built is discussed in Recruitment and Orientation Brochure #4: Our Allies.

Osagefyo Kwame Nkrumah approved of this approach, implicitly at least, when he gave Kwame Ture permission/mission in August 1967, “to begin organizing the basis for the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party among [African] People in the Diaspora.” [Kwame Ture and Michael Thelwell. *Ready for Revolution*. Page 623]. That is what Kwame did for the last thirty-one years of his life; and that is what the A-APRP (GC) continues to do, organize recruit and develop Cadre and build Chapters from the bottom-up, cadre by cadre, circle by circle, chapter by chapter, and zone by zone.

The A-APRP (GC) utilizes the Constitution of the Convention Peoples Party during Kwame Nkrumah’s time, the Constitution of the Democratic Party of Guinea under Sekou Toure’s time,

Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* and the *Doctrine and Methods of the Democratic Party of Guinea* as the models and guides for the development of the Party's organizational structure. These models have been qualified by our more than four decades of revolutionary study, practice and experience.

### **Work-Study Circles and Support Groups**

Democracy and political authority in the A-APRP (GC) originates in and flows up from the base, from Party Work-Study Circles---Cadre and Pre-Cadre, and Support Groups, to the highest levels of Party organization. The A-APRP (GC) will build, wherever possible in the targeted zones in Africa and the African Diaspora, a network of Circles and Groups at the level of precincts and wards, villages, town and cities, farms and work-sites, schools, churches, mosques and temples, prisons, and literally every organization, institution or agency in their respective area.

These Circles and Groups will include three to ten members who meet, where and when possible, once every two weeks to collectively study, agree and report on their collective work, discuss every aspect of Party life, and to make input on Party policies and decisions at all levels. The highest level of discipline and security will be maintained within and between Party Circles and Members.

### **Party Branches**

The Branch is the basic organization of the A-APRP (GC). The Party shall establish, where conditions permit, Branches in all metropolitan areas, and their adjacent cities, towns, villages in all of the targeted Zones (countries, islands, dependencies and territories). Branches shall embrace all Party Members---Cadre, Pre-Cadre and Supporters. Each Branch shall develop, when and where possible, the following and other internal Party structures:

Secretariats:

- Administration
- Ideology, Information, Culture and Sports
- Pan-African and International Affairs
- Others as needed

Mass Organizations:

- Women
- Youth and Student
- Elders
- Differently-abled
- Workers
- Farmers (Peasants)
- Unemployed
- Professionals
- Cultural Workers

- Spiritual Workers
- Prisoners (political, of conscience, of war and socio-economic, etc).
- Others as needed

Each Branch shall be governed by a Branch Executive Committee which shall be elected annually at a General Meeting. There shall be a General Meeting, where conditions permit, of each Branch once a month. The Branch Executive Committee shall include at least one elected female and one elected male Member for each of the Secretariats where conditions permit. The Branch may elect other officers and appoint full-time paid officers where funds permit.

The duties of the Branch Executive Committee shall be:

1. To carry on political education and organizational work, and revolutionary positive action among the masses of the People in order to realize the stand point advocated by the Party.
2. To pay attention to the sentiments and remarks of the masses of the People, and report same to the higher Party bodies.
3. To pay heed to the political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual life of the People and to take the lead to organize the People in the locality in which the Branch operates in order to solve their own problems by encouraging the spirit of initiative among the masses.
4. To recruit, educate and organize new members—Pre-Cadre, Supporters and Cadre, and to collect Party membership dues and donations.
5. To check and verify the record for Party membership and to report to higher Party bodies any act of indiscipline and other offenses which may bring the Party into dishonor and disrepute.
6. To foster the ideological, political and general education of Party members---Cadre, Pre-Cadre and Supporters.

The Branch Executive Committee has the authority to suspend or expel Party members. A report on all suspensions and expulsions must be submitted to the higher Party bodies. This decision is subject to appeal to higher Party bodies.

### **Party Chapters**

Chapters of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) will be built in zones (countries, islands, dependencies and territories) in every corner of Africa and the African Diaspora where no revolutionary, Pan-African or socialist political movement, organization or party exists. Our list of existing and proposed Chapters of the A-APRP (GC) will be posted soon.

The Chapter Conference is the highest democratic and authoritative body within each Chapter. It shall be convened annually at a date and place to be fixed by the Central Committee. A special emergency Party Conference may be convened by the Chapter Executive Committee whenever possible and deemed necessary.

The triennial Chapter Conference shall include elected delegates from each (1) Party Branch, and (2) Mass Party Organization, including Chapter Officers and Members of the Chapter Executive Committee. The Ex-officio Delegates shall not be entitled to vote unless they also duly elected as representatives by their Branch or Mass Organization.

Delegates to the Chapter Conference must (a) be a Member in good standing of their Work-Study Circle or Support Group and current in their dues; (b) individually accept and conform to the program, principles and policy of the Party; and (c) not act as a Delegate for more than one Branch or Mass Organization.

The Chapter Conference shall have the power:

1. To lay down the broad basic policy and program of the Party for the ensuing three years. The decisions of the Chapter Congress shall be binding on all members of the Party and affiliated organizations.
2. To consider the reports and audited accounts presented by the Chapter Responsibles (replace everywhere it appears) on behalf of the Chapter Executive Committee.
3. To deal with matters affecting the Party and the zone.

The Chapter Executive Committee shall include the Chapter's Secretaries and Representatives of the Chapter's Mass Organizations. Cadre and Pre-Cadre members have voting rights. The Chapter Executive Committee shall have the authority:

1. To carry out the policy and program of the Party.
2. To help organize Chapter Circles and to guide and supervise their work.
3. To enforce the Policy rules and regulations it deems necessary for such purpose whether by dissolution or suspension of a Chapter of the Party, suspension or expulsion of an individual Member of the Party. Any such action taken by the Chapter Executive Committee shall be immediately reported to all Chapter Member (Cadre, Pre-Cadre and Supporters), the Branch Executive Committee of the Party (all such opinions can be appealed), the All-African Central Political Bureau, and or the Central Committee. This action can be appealed and overturned by the Chapter Conference to which appeals shall lie from the Chapter Branches and Members concerned.
4. To maintain Party finances and submit a report and a statement of account to the triennial Chapter Conference.
5. To initiate and undertake all such activities as may further the aims and objectives of the Party.

**All-African Party Congress**

The fullest expression of democracy within the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) resides in its All-African Party Congress which is held once every five years. Except under extraordinary circumstances, the All-African Party Congress may not be postponed. The All-African Party Congress may be convened before the normally scheduled date by the All-African Central Committee if a simple majority of the Executive Committees of the Chapters deem it necessary.

The All-African Party Congress shall include elected delegates from each (1) Party Chapters, and (2) Mass Party Organization.

The functions and powers of the All-African Party Congress include:

1. To hear, examine, accept and or reject the reports of the All-African Political Branches and/or Chapters.
2. To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) in Africa and the African Diaspora.
3. To adopt/ revise the Constitution and By-Laws of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC).
4. To elect members from its ranks to serve on the All-African Political Branches and/or All-African Central Committee.
5. To discuss and approve policies concerning the A-APRP (GC) participation in the All-African Committee of Political Coordination.

## **Our Mass Organizations**

There shall be no separate status of or discrimination against women, youth and student, elders, other-abled, workers, farmers (peasants), unemployed, professionals, cultural and spiritual workers, prisoners (political, of conscience, of war and socio-economic) and other sectors of society.

When fully developed, the organizational system of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) will include a network of mass, primary party organizations representing these and other social sectors at all levels of the Party development.

Individual Members of the A-APRP (GC) shall be organized into their appropriate mass, primary Party organization(s). Individual Members may join the Party through their membership in these organizations. The leadership of local and All-African Party organizations shall be elected by a general membership meeting. These mass, primary party organizations are an integral part of and under the leadership of Party Bodies at their various levels. Their main tasks include:

- To recruit, educate and organize Members, and their study of Nkrumahism-Toureism, the Party's ideology; Pan-Africanism, its objective.



- To enable and empower Members to disseminate and implement the Party's and the mass organization's line, principals and policies, and the decisions of their leading bodies at all levels.
- To maintain close ties with the masses; politically educate, organize and mobilize them for revolutionary positive action; and seek their opinions, suggestions and criticism regarding Party Members, study and work.

When fully developed, the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) will include the following and other mass, primary organizations:

- Women
- Youth and Student
- Elders
- Differently-abled
- Workers
- Farmers (Peasants)
- Unemployed
- Professionals
- Cultural Workers
- Spiritual Workers
- Prisoners (political, of conscience, of war and socio-economic, etc)

## Our Organizational Models

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC), will be a mass revolutionary, Pan-African and socialist Party with hundreds of millions of members the length and breadth of Africa and the African Diaspora when it is fully developed, We need only look at our glorious history and tradition of mass and vanguard political parties, movements and organizations to know that this is organizationally possible, despite the tremendous obstacles, internal and external, that stand in our way. Permit us to briefly cite a few examples, out of hundreds, to prove this undeniable fact.

### **#1: The Universal Negro Improvement Association**

After four years of work and study in Ecuador, Panama, England, and other countries where Africans lived, the Honorable Marcus Garvey returned to Kingston, Jamaica on July 15, 1914. Within five days of his return, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). He traveled to the United States in March 1916. After a year-long tour of the United States, he launched the New York Division of the UNIA with 13 members. Two months later, it had 2,000 members. Three months after that, the UNIA had 3,500 dues paying members in 30 branches in the United States, and several countries around the world.

By August 1, 1920, the Universal Negro Improvement Association had 6,000,000 members organized in 900 divisions in every corner of the world, including Azania / South Africa, Australia, Belize, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, England, Ghana, India, Liberia, Namibia, Nigeria,

Sierra Leone and Venezuela. More than 20,000 delegates from 25 countries in Africa and the African Diaspora attended the UNIA's First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World in Harlem, New York. It met for thirty continuous days. On August 13, 1920, the UNIA ratified The Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, and elected its leadership.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Universal Negro Improvement Association was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

## **#2: The Convention Peoples Party of Ghana**

On June 12, 1949, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) was founded, under the leadership of Osagefyo Kwame Nkrumah, at a mass rally in Accra with more than 20,000 People, mostly youth, in attendance. On the 9th of January, 1950 the CPP organized a nation-wide boycott and strike under the theme of a "Positive Action Campaign." On January 21, 1950, Nkrumah and other leading CPP members were imprisoned on charges arising from this Campaign. In 1951, the Convention Peoples Party overwhelmingly won the elections, and Nkrumah was released from prison to head the new government. In June 1954, the CPP won 79 out of the 104 seats of the National Assembly. Ghana's Independence was declared on the 6th of March, 1957.

In the 1960 Presidential election, Nkrumah, the Convention Peoples Party candidate, received 1,016,076 votes. Joseph Danquah, the candidate of the United Party, received 124,623 votes. By 1961, the CPP had more than 1,760,000 paid members, including more than 350,000 wage earners and self-employed workers, more than 10,000 members of the Workers Brigade, tens of thousands of members of the National Council of Ghana Women, more than 2,000 delegates to the general conference of the National African Socialist Students Organization, and more than 100,000 Young Pioneers, boys and girls, ages 5 to 25.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Convention Peoples Party was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

## **#3: The Democratic Party of Guinea**

In October 1947, the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) was founded as a branch of the African Democratic Rally (Rassemblement Democratique Africain - RDA). At its outset, the PDG had to compete with four small, ethnically-based parties that were built and controlled by the Guinean neo-colonial elite and their French paymasters. Sekou Toure was elected Secretary-General in 1952. Four years later, in January 1956, the PDG emerged victorious from a bloody election campaign, winning two of three seats in the French National Assembly, and losing the third seat by a slim margin. Sekou Toure was sent to Paris to represent the PDG.

By 1958, the Democratic Party of Guinea's membership had increased to several hundred thousand. In the constitutional referendum, 1,136,324 People, 95.8% of the voters, voted for independence from France. Only 56,981 People voted to remain under French colonialism and neo-colonialism. The PDG was organized in 4,123 village committees that included more than 40,000 counselors and 25 districts that included more than 526 counselors.

In 1962, the membership of the PDG included 30 to 40 percent of the adult population in Guinea, organized into 7,164 local committees, 168 sections, 1,652 headquarters and 30 federations, guided by its National Political Bureau. Party members democratically elected 180,000 responsables, including at least 80,000 women, to Party positions. By 1983, on the eve of its 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress, the Democratic Party of Guinea had streamlined its organizational apparatus to include 2,500 local revolutionary authorities, 320 sections and 325 federations, guided by its National Political Bureau.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Democratic Party of Guinea was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

#### **#4: The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party**

In 1961, Kwame Ture, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, a twenty year old student at Howard University, and more than 300 other students were arrested in Mississippi during the Freedom Rides. They were imprisoned for 40 days in Parchment Penitentiary. Kwame returned to Mississippi every summer to work with SNCC's voter registration drive, which was lead by Bob Moses. Kwame moved to Mississippi in 1964, after his graduation from Howard, in order to organize full-time. By the summer of 1963, 50 percent of the white population in Mississippi was registered to vote, but only 5 percent of the African population, 26,800 Africans out of 400,000 eligible African voters, was registered. In November 1963, SNCC, under the umbrella of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), organized a symbolic Freedom Vote. More than 73,000 Africans, who were not allowed to register or vote in the State of Mississippi, at the threat of eviction, imprisonment and death, voted.

In April 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was founded, under the leadership of COFO and SNCC More than 2,000 volunteers, African (Black), European (White), Indigenous and others, participated in the Mississippi Summer Project, a mass positive action campaign which included the establishment of a network of Freedom Schools, voter registration drives, demonstrations and protests in 4 of Mississippi's 5 Congressional Districts. SNCC organized and coordinated a nationwide and worldwide drive to solicit support---moral, political, legal and financial for the Mississippi Freedom Summer. Millions of dollars, tons of food and used clothing, school and medical supplies was collected and shipped to Mississippi; along with cars, buses, walkie-talkies, and other equipment and supplies.

Kwame Ture played a sterling role as director of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District voter registration drive. The 2<sup>nd</sup> District was the bloodiest in the history of Mississippi, and the base of the Klu Klux Klan's (KKK) and Democratic Party's power. It was also the base of MFDP and SNCC.

Kwame was arrested 27 times for his civil rights work, between June 1961, during the Freedom Rides, and June 1966, when he re-echoed African People's centuries-long cry for "Black Power" during the Mississippi "March against Fear." By 1968, through the shedding of rivers and oceans of sweat, blood and tears, more than 240,000 Africans were registered in the State of Mississippi, 40% of the state's registered voters.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

### **#5: The Lowndes County Freedom Organization**

In 1963, the Dallas County Voters League and SNCC launched a voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama, and the surrounding Black Belt counties. On March 7, 1965, 525 to 600 civil rights marchers headed east out of Selma-to-Montgomery March. They were attacked by Alabama State troopers and the Dallas County Sheriff's Department as they attempted to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Seventeen marchers were hospitalized, leading to the naming of the day "Bloody Sunday." On March 21, more than 8,000 People assembled at Brown Chapel, determined to complete their march to Montgomery. This five-day, four-night march, covering 54-miles (87 km), was "protected" by 2,000 soldiers of the U.S. Army, 1,900 members of the Alabama National Guard under Federal command, and hundreds of FBI agents and Federal Marshals. Two European (White) civil rights workers were murdered in Lowndes County during this campaign, Rev. James Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, despite this massive governmental "presence."

On March 22 and 23, 1965, 300 protesters marched through chilling rain across Lowndes County, camping at three sites in muddy fields. Kwame Ture and a handful of SNCC organizers participated in this march, slept in those camps, and collected names. The population of Lowndes County was 81% black, but no more than 30 Africans were registered to vote. Some 86 white families owned 90% of the land, and Africans worked this land, under slave-like conditions. There were 2,240 Europeans (Whites) registered to vote in Lowndes County, 118% of the adult European (White) population. The county was called "Bloody Lowndes" in recognition of the 135-year reign of terror that had been waged against African People. A few days after the March, Kwame and this small circle of SNCC organizers returned to Lowndes County. Between March and August, about fifty to sixty Africans were successfully registered, despite tremendous governmental and non-governmental opposition. In December of 1965, newspaper articles, nationwide, announced the existence of a plan by SNCC to build a "black panther party" in Lowndes County.

In late March 1966, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) was born, with a black panther as its symbol. Between April 4 and August 6, 13 newspaper and magazine articles, nationwide, announced that the "black panther party" had been founded. Efforts were made by SNCC organizers to build Freedom Organizations, under the Black Panther symbol, in 9 neighboring counties. None however took root. The LCFO held a Convention in May, to select candidates for the November election. By November 8<sup>th</sup> election, more than 1,700 Africans had

been registered. There was a sign on Highway 80, at the busiest intersection in Lowndes County. It had a picture of a Black Panther on it and the words: “*Pull The Lever For The Black Panther And Go On Home.*” The New York Times published a picture of this sign, and catapulted the “black panther Party” to every corner of the world. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization received 1,668 votes for its candidate for sheriff, out of 1,700 registered African voters. The Democratic Party candidate received 2,320 votes, 90 votes more than the total registered white voters. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization “lost” because the Klu Klux Klan, the Democratic and Republican Parties---county, state and national, and the governments of Lowndes County, the State of Alabama, and the United States threw everything they had into Lowndes Country in order to contain, crush or co-opt this first “black panther Party, and maintain control over Lowndes County.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

## **#6: The Black Panther Party**

In July 1966, a chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) was founded in Harlem, New York, under the leadership of Muhammad Ahmed (Max Stanford), the field marshal of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a semi-underground black nationalist organization. On August 29, 1966, RAM organized a fundraising rally for SNCC at Mount Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem. The New York Times, Amsterdam News, the Ellensburg Daily Record and other newspapers, nationwide, reported that 250 People were in attendance. Kwame Ture was the keynote speaker, surrounded by 6 members of the New York Black Panther Party who served as his body guards. “It’s only natural,” he declared, “that a Black Panther Party be established here.” New York was the first BPP chapter to be founded outside of Alabama.

Meetings were held after this rally, and RAM made a decision, with Kwame’s approval, to build Black Panther Party chapters in all of the cities where RAM had chapters or cadre. It was agreed that SNCC and RAM would work together wherever they co-existed. One of RAM’s chapters was based at Merritt Jr. College in Oakland, California. Bobby Seale and Huey Newton were former members. In September 1966, members of this RAM chapter organized the Black Panther Party for Northern California, the first chapter in California. On October 15, 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD). A careful examination of the massive archival record---governmental and non-governmental, most of which has only recently be release, reveals the timeline of when, where and how the first wave of Panther chapters were founded, and by whom.

In his annual testimony before the House Appropriations sub-committee on February 16, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), reported on this rally and the alliance between Kwame and Muhammad, between SNCC and RAM. Hoover requested that the FBI’s budget and staff be increased in order to counter this new “threat.” This first wave includes the Black Panther Party for Southern California, which was founded by SNCC organizers, and the first chapter of the Black Panther Party in Chicago, which was founded by

RAM organizers, and whose existence was publicly announced by the Chicago Tribune in October 1967. These chapters had little or nothing to do with the BPP in Oakland. Unfortunately, they did not take root, or last too long!

On June 29, 1967, Huey Newton issued Executive Mandate Number 2, appointing Kwame Ture the first Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, an honorary position, with the responsibility to build Panther chapters from the Continental Divide (Colorado) to the Atlantic Ocean, where more than 90 percent of African People lived in the United States. Kwame had already left on a six-month world tour that took him to London, Havana, Moscow, Peking, Havana, Paris, Algiers, Conakry, Dar es Salaam, and other cities. On August 27, 1967, Cointelpro Black Nationalist was launched by the FBI, with SNCC and RAM as its targets. Within months, RAM split, under the weight of FBI infiltration and sabotage, and ideological, organizational and strategic disagreements, and was dissolved, leaving hundreds of its cadre directionless and without an organizational home. RAM abandoned its efforts to help build the Black Panther Party. A plethora of organizations were founded in the wake of RAM's demise.

Kwame returned to the United States in December 1968. Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale visited him and asked him to help build the Free Huey Campaign, and be the keynote speaker at a Free Huey Birthday Party in Oakland. Kwame agreed. More than 10,000 People packed the Oakland Auditorium and more than 5,000 People packed the Auditorium in Los Angeles. A who's who of the movement was present and spoke. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense announced, to standing and pro-longed applause, the appointment of Kwame Ture as Prime Minister and Jamil al-Amin, formerly known as Rap Brown, as Minister of Justice. Eldridge also announced, without prior discussion or agreement, a merger between SNCC and the BPPS-D. By December 1968, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and the Free Huey Movement had 5,000 members in 45 chapters across the United States, and hundreds of thousands of supporters in every corner of the world. A host of other Panther Parties, unconnected to the Party in Oakland, had been founded throughout Africa, the African Diaspora and the world. The trajectory of the BPPS-D's growth can be plotted day-by-day from March 1965 to December 1968, and the massive amount of archival records, governmental and non-governmental, that have only recently been released, document Kwame's and SNCC's, Muhammad's and RAM's role in helping build the Black Panther movement and parties.

*[Note: A more detailed analysis of how the Black Panther Party was organized, the campaign that was waged to co-opt, contain or crush it, and its impact today, will be posted on the A-APRP (GC)'s site soon. We welcome your comments, criticisms and suggestions. Please use the comment form below.]*

## **Join and Support!**

Membership in the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (GC) / Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinee (PRPAG) is open to all Africans who agree to and are willing to struggle to understand and accept our ideology Nkrumahism-Toureism, our objective Pan-Africanism, our strategy, political line, policies,, and works to help Build the A-APRP (GC) /

PRPAG! We are also developing relationships with progressive and revolutionary supporters and allies.

Members become part of a rigorous inspiring and life-long process of political education, ideological training, organization building, and revolutionary struggle in a revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist Pre-Cadre and Cadre Development Circle. Political education, ideological training, organization building, and Revolutionary struggle will cultivate revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist Pre-Cadre and Cadre who are committed to work, study, struggle, serve, sacrifice and suffer to implement the Program of the Party.

The process of joining is simple and includes, yet is not necessarily limited to:

- Contacting the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG through our email address, web page, mail, fax or telephone and completing the Recruitment Form.
- Inviting A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG members to your country, city, village, campus, workplace, home, church, mosque, temple, synagogue or prison to introduce us.
- Attending, online or in-person, and successfully completing the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG's Orientation Process for revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist Pre-Cadre and Cadre and organization development.
- Participating in and successfully completing the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG's Ideological and Organizational Training Process for revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist Pre-Cadre and Cadre and organization development.
- Joining, studying and working in a revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist Pre-Cadre and Cadre Development Circle.
- Committing to bring, according to your ability, resources and skills, human, material and immaterial, to the growth and development of the A-APRP (GC) / PRPAG.
- Committing your life, and your life-long work, study and struggle, to service, sacrifice and struggle for African People and all of Oppressed Humanity!

Pan-Africanism is the Oldest and Only Solution to the all of the Problems Confronted by 1.3 billion African People Worldwide!

**We encourage you to become a Member of the A-APRP (GC)!**

For More Information, contact:

**Email: [info@a-aprp-gc.org](mailto:info@a-aprp-gc.org) – Website: [www.a-aprp-gc.org](http://www.a-aprp-gc.org)**

**Voice Mail: (202) 719-0529**