

Some Essential Features of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party ^(GC)



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Introduction to the A-APRP^(GC)/PRPAG

The All-African People’s Revolutionary Party^(GC) / Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinee¹ (PRPAG)² is an aspiring revolutionary, Pan-Africanist socialist political party founded in the Republic of Guinea, Africa. We are an inheritor and continuator of the revolutionary writings, teachings, struggles, and work of Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sekou Toure, and Kwame Ture. We believe, Pan-Africanism³—the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism will liberate⁴ and unify African people worldwide and Africa is the core of the African Revolution. The revolutionary struggle⁵ for Pan-Africanism⁶ is an integral part of the international socialist Revolution and we are therefore anti-capitalist,⁷ anti-imperialist, and anti-zionist.

As an outcome of twenty-five years (1958-1983) of genuine independence, the class struggle to build a socialist society, and revolutionary Pan-Africanist mass political education work, the People’s Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, under the leadership of Ahmed Sekou Toure and the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), we believe that Guinea must remain an ideological, strategic, and organizational focus for the Pan-African⁸ movement worldwide.

Guided by our Nkrumahist-Toureist ideology, we are working to educate and organize the Masses⁹ of exploited and oppressed Africans, particularly women and youth, living, suffering, and struggling all over the world. This fight is ultimately to unite Africa under scientific socialism and in the course of this revolutionary struggle destroy capitalism and imperialism, neocolonialism and neo-liberalism, women’s oppression, mis-education and exploitation of students and youth, racism and zionism.

The A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG's immediate task is to develop ideologically and organizationally, Pan-Africanist cadre, particularly among African women, students, and youth, but from all sectors of our People, who are willing to assume the duty to politically educate our People and organize the Party in the country in which you live and worldwide.

More than one billion Africans live in countries, islands,¹⁰ territories, and dependencies in Africa, and more than five hundred million Africans live in countries, islands, territories, and dependencies in Asia, Oceania, the Americas, and Europe. We are one African people, one continental African nation, with one common objective, Pan-Africanism, which the Fifth Pan-African Congress and Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah defined as the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism.¹¹

All persons living or born on the continent of Africa, who are citizens of its countries and islands and all persons of African descent politically, culturally, or historically, living in the African Diaspora,¹² at an age culturally and legally appropriate to their People and country are eligible to join the A-APRP ^(GC). Membership is a conscious voluntary act. All members¹³ must first learn and eventually accept Nkrumahism-Toureism¹⁴ and Pan-Africanism¹⁵ our Pan-African objective, our policies and program; and participate in the Party's political education¹⁶ process (work-study), join and actively participate in the Party's organizational structures;¹⁷ and pay dues regularly or contribute towards the self-reliant growth and development of the Party. There are two levels of Party membership pre-cadre and cadre. We respect and hold in high esteem our supporters who are not members but make invaluable labor, technical and technological contributions, and for the purposes of research and propaganda navigates social media and the internet scientifically. Our supporters are critical in providing material, intellectual, and financial contributions to build our Party.

Our Vision

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party ^(GC) / Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinee,¹⁸ envisions a politically conscious and revolutionary African people¹⁹ liberated, happy, at peace within themselves and with others, in control of a united and socialist Africa and her resources, and of our lives, wherever we live in the world. We envision African people, in Africa and the African Diaspora,²⁰ living free from war and death, dispersion and disease, division and tribalism, landlessness and poverty, exploitation and oppression, opportunism²¹ and treachery,²² confusion and chaos. We envision African people re-establishing our rightful place in world humanity, cooperating with the Peoples of the world with dignity and respect resulting from our contribution to world civilization through Pan-Africanism²³ the highest expression of the African Personality²⁴ and culture.

We envision a united socialist Africa where African women have the same opportunities as men and reach their fullest chosen potential and aspirations. We envision inspired African children and youth with the ability not only to dream, but knowing their dreams are realizable in their lifetime. We envision our elderly living with the dignity and respect accorded them based on a life of service to African people and world humanity. We envision an Africa with the labor, technical and productive capacity to address all of African people's political, economic, material, intellectual, cultural, and spiritual needs and because of our collectivist, humanist, egalitarian and socialist principles offer our labor, technology, skills, and resources to the world. We envision an Africa liberated from balkanization, neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, from capitalism, imperialism, and zionism, with the establishment of one unified socialist Africa, governed by the will of the People,²⁵ where government²⁶ is merely an instrument of People's power realizing their noble and just goals and aspirations.

We envision a world without the racism and sexism of capitalism and imperialism, zionism, where the settler-colonized People of Palestine,²⁷ the Arab Nation, the “Middle East,” and all victims of racist and zionist aggression are liberated from violence, occupation, and genocide. We envision a world where all nations and Peoples under occupation, colonialism, settler-colonialism, and neo-colonialism²⁸ have been liberated, including but not limited to Ireland, the Indigenous Peoples and Nations of the Western Hemisphere, including the Caribbean Islands, and Aotearoa, the Aboriginal people of Australia, Hawaii, West Papua New Guinea, Solomon, and Fiji Islands, etc.

We envision a world where nationally oppressed Peoples have returned to and reclaimed their ancestral lands and living, as they choose, in harmony with their traditional and modern ways of life, practicing their culture in the land of their ancestors and children. We envision a world with a community of nations including Africa, South, Central, and North America, the Caribbean, Asia, Europe, “Middle East”, and the North and South Pacific working together living in solidarity and unity, recognizing the interconnectedness and indivisible Pan-African and international struggle for an eternal and ever improving quality of life, peace, and happiness for all nations and Peoples. We envision a world without capitalist, imperialist, and zionist oppression, exploitation, and genocide!

It is this vision that the A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG, organizes, fights, struggles, sacrifices, and suffers to make real, if not in our lifetime, in our children’s, grandchildren’s, great-grand children’s, or great-great-grand children’s lifetime. This struggle is eternal!

Our Mission

The A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG is an aspiring revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist party whose mission is to politically educate and organize the scattered, suffering, and struggling African masses worldwide to build one unified socialist Africa.²⁹ It is unquestioned that all persons of African descent, wherever we are scattered in the world, are African, and belong to the same nation. This also means that Africans dispersed worldwide by capitalism and imperialism have a right to return to Africa, our homeland. Pan-Africanist revolutionary nationalism spans the entire continent of Africa and all-Africans in the Diaspora. In real life, no African, whether in Africa or the Diaspora, is free until all are free.

Class struggle is the core of our struggle for Pan-Africanism in Africa, the African Diaspora,³⁰ and scientific socialism³¹ in the world. Class struggle³² is an ideological, spiritual, and organizational struggle to eliminate the exploitation of one human being over another. It is class struggle³³ that assures the emancipation of African women³⁴. The scattering of Africans throughout the world and our untold brutal suffering is due to a racist and sexist, capitalist, imperialist/zionist, and neo-colonial genocide-practicing system. This suffering will be resolved in the revolutionary fight for and with the establishment of a United States of Africa under a socialist government, i.e., Pan-Africanism – the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism.³⁵ Our Pan-African mission is not only for Africans worldwide,³⁶ it is to make our contribution to alleviate the suffering of world humanity who are also victims of capitalism³⁷ and imperialism. The masses of African people,³⁸ politically educated, organized, and mobilized, in the African Revolution will eradicate their merciless oppression and exploitation. We need a uniting, mass, revolutionary ideology³⁹ and People’s-driven political organization⁴⁰.

Nkrumahism-Toureism, our ideology, identifies our mission to contribute to the rehabilitation and development of a revolutionary African Personality and African culture.⁴¹ Ahmed Sekou Toure states, “Revolution is an act of culture.” Racism and apartheid, as an ideological principle of capitalism and imperialism and promotes the idea that the African Personality, history, and culture are worthless,

“primitive” “unappreciable,” “uncivilized” and valueless. A racist European culture victimized African people and the world. We know that capitalism and imperialism has imposed this idea with its ruthless, vicious, and immoral propaganda, economic exploitation, national, class and gender oppression. Imperialism has presented Africa to the world as being a country with a history of savagery and a continent of beggars who can do, and want to do nothing, material or immaterial, for themselves, and for humanity.

The A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG is helping to reclaim and restore historical truth about Africa’s history, contributions to world civilization and to reposition the African Personality, history, and culture, through Pan-Africanism, back into its rightful place in the world with respect for other Peoples’ revolutionary personalities, history, and culture!

Our Objective: Pan-Africanism - One Unified Socialist Africa

The All-African People’s Revolutionary Party ^(GC) / Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinee recognizes African people, in Africa and born and living around the world, as one People and nation, with one identity, history, culture, and destiny. We recognize capitalism, imperialism, colonialism,⁴² settler-colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, racism, apartheid, and sexism, as one common multi-form and multi-faceted enemy.⁴³ We suffer from poverty and powerlessness, disease and ignorance, homelessness, and humiliation, in every corner of the world, as a result of capitalist exploitation and oppression, corruption and opportunism, ideological confusion and organizational chaos. Africans do not control their homeland, Africa and there is only one solution to these problems, Pan-Africanism—One Unified Socialist Africa.

Pan-Africanism, with the overthrow of communalism in Africa, is rooted in generational class struggle, against indigenous exploitation with a history of building tribal and territorial states, empires, and civilizations, and movements towards politically unifying our People and continent. Pan-Africanism is an evolutionary and revolutionary process of African People, in Africa and abroad, transitioning from smaller to larger and changing modes of production with corresponding socio-political structures. The building and construction of the feudal empires of Egypt, Nubia, Axiom, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Monopotapa, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, and tens of thousands of other political and socio-economic entities, attests to the fact that through our own creative genius⁴⁴ following the laws of societal development African people created civilization to improve our quality of life and demonstrated movement towards continental nation building. Indigenous processes were interrupted through countless wars against Africa by European and Arab invasions, colonization, and dispersions.

Driven by the need for slave labor for European settler-colonization, European slave traders, monarchs, and business owners of Europe and the Americas, and their capitalist successors, consciously and maliciously denied Africans from being a part of world humanity. Chattel slavery required that Africans be dehumanized, and Africa be divorced from world history, slandered, and dehumanized with arguments we were less than human, devoid of culture⁴⁵ and civilization. European imperialism blatantly lied,⁴⁶ that Africa was uncivilized, perpetually primitive, and outside of world history and culture. Yet, as the People’s class is indigenous to Africa, the class struggle⁴⁷ of the masses through our creative genius⁴⁸ struggled to develop science and fought to benefit from the product of their labor, make use of Africa’s geological, natural, and mineral resources with a history of political and economic struggle for social harmony exposed these lies.

Due to the immoral and murderous dispersion of Africans through more than a millennia of Arab and European slave trades, there was and continues to be an effort to define Pan-Africanism⁴⁹ as a “racial”⁵⁰

struggle based on a biological identity, “Black, Afro, or African American Afro-Brazilian, Afro-British or French, Jamaican, Trinidadian or other micro-national identities”⁵¹ and not a uniting Pan-Africanist, African nationalism,⁵² anti-Pan-Africanist, anti-socialist, and anti-Revolution African intellectuals and intelligentsia⁵³ and their patrons worldwide, attempted to promote these ideas to our People and thus diminish their enthusiasm for our history of revolutionary struggle,⁵⁴ culture, and for our homeland, Africa. They denied that slavery developed in Africa between African people before any other contact from other Peoples of the world. They denied and deny that class struggle in Africa and its diaspora is the driving force of Africa’s political, economic, social, and cultural growth and development. Many progressive and revolutionary forces in the world have attempted to do the same. This ideological view also sought to divide the African masses, between North and South of the Sahara,⁵⁵ “Arab” vs African from those in the African Diaspora, and divorce Pan-Africanism from the international struggle to destroy capitalism, imperialism, and zionism and fight for scientific socialism.⁵⁶ These reactionary African intellectuals⁵⁷ drank from the same racist bourgeois wells of European capitalist ideologues.⁵⁸ A fierce ideological struggle⁵⁹ was waged and Ahmed Sekou Toure weighed in with his revolutionary experience, insight, and wisdom.

Ahmed Sekou Toure, in his speech to the “Sixth Pan-Africanist Congress” in Tanzania June 1974, destroyed the intellectual racial myths of nationalism and clarified politically the question of Pan-Africanism.⁶⁰ Kwame Nkrumah further clarified the revolutionary nature of Pan-Africanism being revolutionary, not seeking reform.⁶¹

Corruption, opportunism, treachery, confusion, and chaos are enemies of the Revolution. The A-APRP^(GC)/ PRPAG is uncompromising that the struggle for Pan-Africanism, which is the objective of the African Revolution⁶² is an integral part of the international socialist Revolution⁶³ and is inextricably linked to the international struggle⁶⁴ for scientific socialism and against capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, and zionism. The A-APRP^(GC)/ PRPAG affirms that Africa is primary in the African Revolution and must be so for the emancipation of African people worldwide.⁶⁵

Some African Organizational Models

The All-African People’s Revolutionary Party^(GC),⁶⁶ 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 traditions of mass and vanguard political parties, movements, and organizations to know that this is politically and 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.

Universal Negro Improvement Association-African Communities League (UNIA-ACL)

After four years of work and study in Ecuador, Panama, England, and other countries where Africans lived, Marcus Mosiah 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 thirteen members. Two months later, it had 2,000 members. Three months after that, the UNIA had 3,500 dues paying members in thirty branches in the United States, and several countries around the world.

By August 1, 1920, the Universal Negro Improvement Association had six million members organized in nine hundred 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 twenty-five 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. They 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.

Convention Peoples Party of Ghana (CPP)

On June 12, 1949, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) was founded, under the leadership of Osagyefo 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 seventy-nine 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.

Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG)

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. Ahmed 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 twenty-five 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 thirty 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 12th 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.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)

In 1961, Kwame Ture, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, a twenty-year-old Howard University student, and more than three hundred 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 Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) voter registration drive, which was led 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, African⁶⁷ (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 were 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 2nd Congressional District voter registration drive. The 2nd 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.⁶⁸

Kwame was arrested twenty-seven 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 Power⁶⁹ 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.

Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO)

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 European⁷⁰ (White) civil rights workers were murdered in Lowndes County during this campaign, Reverend 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 eighty-six 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, 100% 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 nine neighboring counties. None, however, took root. The LCFO held a Convention in May, to select candidates for the November election. By the November 8th 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, ninety 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 County in order to contain, crush or co-opt this first Black Panther Party, and maintain control over Lowndes County.

Black Panther Party (BPP)

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 six members of the New York Black Panther Party who served as his bodyguards. It is 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 decided, 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 were 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 (BPPS-D). A careful examination of the massive archival record---governmental and non-governmental, most of which has only recently been released, 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, Beijing, Paris, Algiers, Conakry, Dar es Salaam, and other cities. On August 27, 1967, the FBI launched Cointel-pro Black Nationalist, 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.

At the request of Kwame Ture, Bob Brown, the Mid-West Director of the Friends of SNCC, founded the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party March 18, 1968. Bob organized and coordinated a political education offensive and fundraising drive, in collaboration with Kwame, between Gary, Indiana and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It was during this offensive and drive that Bob introduced Bobby Rush, Fred Hampton, Billy Brooks and Yvonne King and others to Kwame. He resigned from the Black Panther Party in February 1969 refusing to compromise his revolutionary principles for the social service programs of the Mayor Daley administration who financed them, sell-out to a racist Democratic Party, be used for gang intelligence or a minion for the FBI.⁷¹ Kwame Ture was in the BPP for about a year and also resigned.⁷²

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 is 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 forty-five 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 number 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.

The Pan-African Movement: A Brief History

With wars between feudal and burgeoning capitalist Europe and Africa, the enslavement of African people, our dispersion, the colonization of Africa, and the emergence of the nationalist phase of the Pan-African movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ushered in concrete efforts at building mass,

all-African organizations. There was and remains intense intellectual, political, and ideological struggle over the correct nationalism for Africans in Africa and the African Diaspora⁷³. Due to chattel slavery, the relationship between the mass struggles of those of our People in Africa and their relationship to mass struggles of Africans in the African Diaspora required clarification. The African intelligentsia in every corner of the world, most reactionary ideologues for capitalism and imperialism, some progressive, and a minute few revolutionary, led and continues to lead this nationalist phase. Today, the revolutionary African intelligentsia, some which are Pan-Africanist, are small and under attack, but fighting neo-colonialism and its ally the African anti-People's class,⁷⁴ and zionism, are leading in what we conclude is a critical revolutionary African nationalist, unification, and socialist phase.

The Pan-African movement assumed its initial modern organizational expression and form in 1900, with the convening of the First Pan-African Conference spearheaded by Sylvester Williams, Bishop Henry Walters, Anna J. Cooper, Anna Jones, and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.⁷⁵ Later, Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, and Amy Jacques Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Pan-African Congresses were organized by Dr. W.E. B. DuBois, the National Congress of British West Africa, and the International African Friends of Abyssinia (IFA), led by Joseph and Adelaide Casely Hayford. The Pan-Africanist Liga Africana of the Portuguese Colonies led by Jose de Magalhaes another example of a few of the movement changing meetings and leading personalities of the African Revolution. African women were central and continue to be in all political and organizational expressions of Pan-Africanism.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress, organized by George Padmore, and co-chaired by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah marked a new ideological and organizational period that saw the intensification of the People's movements phase of the African Revolution with emerging revolutionary, mass, Pan-African political movements, and parties adequate to the task of struggling for and attaining political independence. African women were vocal participants in the conference. This phase emphasized mass non-violent confrontation, Positive Action, against the colonialists, imperialists, and settler-colonialists. This phase was also marked by the denunciation of capitalism and imperialism and a declaration for scientific socialism.⁷⁶

The Pan-African movement expressed a revolutionary character and an intensification and acceleration of struggle with the founding of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), 1947, under the leadership of Ahmed Sekou Toure and M'Baliala Camara, and of the women and student led, Convention People's Party of Ghana (CPP), 1949, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. Just 13 years following the 5th PAC, mass parties and movements for human dignity and rights, national liberation, unity, and peace spread to every corner of Africa and the African Diaspora.

Four watershed events occurred in 1957 and 1958, 1) the independence of Ghana, March 6, 1957, 2) the First Conference of Independent African States hosted by Ghana, co-hosted by Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic, April 15, 1958, convened, 3) the independence of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, October 2, 1958, and 4) Ghana convened the first All-African People's Conference, which was, as Dr. W.E.B. DuBois proclaimed in his speech, delivered by his wife, Shirley Graham DuBois, the Sixth Pan-African Congress, December 8-13, 1958.

At the First Conference of Independent African States, April 15th, African Heads of State made a confrontational call for Africa Freedom Day to celebrate the forward motion of the struggles for African independence and the advancement of the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism. Following 5th PAC, the African Revolution raged throughout Africa and the African Diaspora. Armed struggle,⁷⁷ of the Masses, was the primary strategy in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, and other areas suffering settler-colonialism and occupation. Armed struggle⁷⁸ also raged in the class struggle for genuine independence,

socialism, and Pan-Africanism against international imperialism and neo-colonialism as it was in Congo, where the Pan-Africanist Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was assassinated. Fifteen years after the launching of Positive Action in Africa, the African Revolution operated at an elevated level and intensity that seventeen African countries won their independence in 1960, and it was proclaimed the Year of Africa. May 25, 1963, with tremendous ideological and political struggle over the correct direction for Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU),⁷⁹ was founded as a political compromise, because the puppets of neo-colonialism⁸⁰ rejected the Pan-Africanist heads of state call for a Union of African States.⁸¹ Africa Freedom Day found an advanced revolutionary Pan-Africanist expression, namely African Liberation Day (ALD), recognizing armed struggle⁸² as a necessary method of struggle against occupation, oppression, exploitation, and disunity. ALD was to be commemorated on May 25th in perpetuity.

These historic events signaled the birth of a new stage in the African Revolution. In fifteen short years following the Fifth Pan-African Congress, the political situation and conditions in Africa and the African Diaspora ripened, making it possible to firmly root the Pan-African movement in Africa, its only true home. The FBI-CIA (USA), PIDE (Portugal), MOSSAD (Israel), MI5 (Britain), SDECE (France), and other intelligence agencies, all enemies of the African Revolution, sabotaged genuine independence⁸³ gained through the direction of revolutionary parties.

As a result of treachery of the African intelligentsia, military, and civil service the anti-People's class inside of Africa, agents of capitalism, neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism and zionism, a wave of coup d'états, and attempted coups,⁸⁴ led to the consolidation of neo-colonialism led to the militarization of the state. Coup d'états⁸⁵ were carried out in Senegal (1962), Togo (1963 & 1967), Brazzaville (1963), Dahomey (1963 & 1965), Niamey (1963), Tanzania (1964), Uganda (1964), Kenya (1964), Gabon (1964), Algeria (1965), Congo (1965), (Central African Republic (1965), Upper Volta (1965), Nigeria (January & July 1966), Ghana (1966), Burundi (1966), and Sierra Leone (1967). Neocolonialism and neo-liberalism consolidated itself throughout the African Diaspora as well. Military coups⁸⁶ and attempted coups⁸⁷ continue today; however, some coups⁸⁸ have and do advance the just struggles of our People, but it is the mass revolutionary Pan-Africanist political party through which the People must come to exercise and control political power.⁸⁹

Nkrumah's Independence Day speech was a clear impetus to the Pan-African movement as he declared, "the independence of Ghana is meaningless without the total liberation and unification of the African continent." Nkrumah understood that without the political unification of Africa, international imperialism, allied to Africa's anti-People's class, would always find a base, and Africa would remain divided and balkanized. He called for and was a catalyst for the building of a revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist political party to unite Africa as one. That is the task we inherit and advance!⁹⁰

The A-APRP^(GC) / PRPAG advances the need to build the Party at the level of the People,⁹¹ particularly among women, students, and youth especially in areas of Africa and the African Diaspora where no mass, revolutionary, Pan-African movement or socialist party exists. We believe that by linking Africans from all over the world into a mass, revolutionary, Pan-Africanist socialist political party, we will help lay the foundation for the linkage of progressive and revolutionary socialist African states⁹² in Africa and abroad, achieve Pan-Africanism and accelerate the destruction of neo-colonialism. Kwame Ture always asserted "Imperialism will find its grave in Africa."

The United States, British and Israeli engineered coup in Ghana, February 24, 1966,⁹³ ushered in a new phase; an armed phase of revolutionary struggle against neo-colonialism; the last phase of imperialism.⁹⁴

With the overthrow of the Nkrumah government, Kwame Nkrumah accepted being co-President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and Secretary General of the PDG. Under the leadership of the PDG, Ahmed Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah, Guinea⁹⁵ emerged as the base of the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism. Kwame Ture⁹⁶ went home to Guinea, Africa, a year later.

The African Revolution is in the African nationalist and socialist phase, placing the struggle for scientific socialism and continental unity in the forefront of the struggle for Pan-Africanism and against neo-colonialism.⁹⁷ The African anti-People's class with their sham independence,⁹⁸ puppet governments, capitalist defense of bourgeois elected officials with their cruel illusions of Black Power, manipulated and controlled by neo-colonialists',⁹⁹ bourgeois parties and governments, dominates the African world. Genuine independence,¹⁰⁰ for Africans in Africa and abroad, has only been realized through Revolution with class struggle as its impetus with the development of socialist states. All, but Cuba and a fighting Bolivia and Venezuela, have been overthrown by international imperialism and zionism. Scientific socialism is the only political and economic system that makes its primary mission fulfilling the social, political, economic, spiritual, and cultural needs of the People rather than enriching the few, the anti-People's class.

The "national question" and "national independence" is fundamental to the advancement of the African Revolution and Pan-Africanism. For Africa, genuine independence will not be realized short of a unified socialist Africa.

Nkrumah's publication of *Consciencism, Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare, and Class Struggle in Africa*; and the publication of *Doctrine and Methods of the PDG, Women in Society, Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution, Pan-Africanism, Revolution, and Culture, For the Emancipation of Guinean Youth, and Africa on the Move* by Ahmed Sekou Toure; and *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation, Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism* provided the Pan-African movement with an ideological, strategic, and organizational framework that enabled the initiation of a worldwide effort to lay the foundation for the emergence of this all-African political party. For the past almost six decades, our program was and remains: Build the A-APRP^(GC)! This revolutionary political program has been criticized by all manner internal and external, reformist and revolutionary; but, we believe, it is the only correct and scientific program for this stage of the A-APRP^(GC)'s development. History and our People will pass judgment!

Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure properly analyzed that the driving force of the African Revolution are the African masses, workers, peasants, and the revolutionary intelligentsia, especially revolutionary women, students, and youth. Given the imperialist and zionist aggression in the world today and the revolutionary struggle¹⁰¹ against it and based on our own revolutionary Pan-Africanist work, study, and struggle, the A-APRP^(GC) recognizes the need to recruit among all sectors of our People and to identify and involve Party supporters and allies of the African Revolution who seek collaboration with our Party supporting our revolutionary work. Supporters and allies are key contributors to our revolutionary process whose contributions we do not minimize. We will never be ungrateful for any support and solidarity.

Following the publication of *Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism* November 1965, 3 months later, on February 21, 1966, President Kwame Nkrumah left Accra, Ghana, on his way to Hanoi, Vietnam at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh. He carried proposals for ending the genocidal, unjust, and immoral U.S. imperialist war against Vietnam.¹⁰² He accepted this assignment at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, held in London on June 17, 1965. February 24, 1966, prior to Nkrumah's arrival in Peking China the U.S. embassy and CIA, Britain's MI5, Israel's MOSSAD, West German

Federal Intelligence Service, Ghanaian army, police, and Ghanaian 5th column¹⁰³ overthrew his government banning the Convention Peoples Party and its mass organizations. Ghanaian military repression included assassinations, imprisonment, execution with torture of CPP¹⁰⁴ cadre and mass murder.

Nkrumah knew that he had to return to Ghana¹⁰⁵ or a neighboring African country immediately and could not continue his journey to Hanoi. This was the second invitation made by President Ho Chi Minh. Nkrumah was the only Head of State to have received an invitation since the escalation of the United States imperialist war against Vietnam.¹⁰⁶ When Nkrumah informed Uncle Ho, as he is affectionately known, he had to return to Ghana immediately, he told Nkrumah that he would be welcomed in Hanoi at any time.

Messages of encouragement and support were sent to Osagyefo 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 the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, President Modibo Keita of Mali, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.¹⁰⁷ Sekou Toure's message was 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:

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.

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.”¹⁰⁸

Nkrumah arrived in Guinea on March 2, 1966.¹⁰⁹ 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 Osagyefo had been made Secretary-General of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Head of State. 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.¹¹⁰

From February 24, 1966, the day of the coup, a mountain of lies was told notwithstanding, to the Ghanaian people and loyal members of the Convention Peoples Party, army, and police, but also to the world's progressive and revolutionary forces, including throughout Africa, the African Diaspora. Ahmed 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!¹¹¹ 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.

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. Nkrumah maintained daily contact with his allies and supporters in Ghana¹¹² and expressed the need for a countercoup¹¹³ for his return.¹¹⁴ This assessment changed as time passed and he expressed a need to rely on the Ghanaian masses.¹¹⁵ Kwame Ture offered that Nkrumah might have 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.¹¹⁶

In a letter dated August 24, 1966, Nkrumah wrote that someone has said that either Kwame Nkrumah or Consciencism will return to Ghana.¹¹⁷ He believed until death in Bucharest, Romania, April 27, 1972, that the People of Ghana¹¹⁸ would rise up and bring him back. The struggle to transform Ghana¹¹⁹ into the fountainhead of Pan-Africanism that Malcolm X called it in 1964, the oasis of socialism that Nkrumah struggled to build and the building of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP),¹²⁰ for Nkrumahists and Nkrumahists-Toureists these are the primary tasks today!

While in Conakry, Nkrumah published five books and five pamphlets. The books were *Dark Days in Ghana*; *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah (Freedom Fighters' Edition)*; *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*; ¹²¹ *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*, compiled by June Milne, and *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years – His Life and Letters* were published posthumously.

The *Manual on Revolutionary Warfare*, as the *Handbook* was originally titled, was written 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 MOSSAD's hands. Between May and September 1966, Nkrumah wrote the first draft of an updated version of the *Manual*, which he considered an improvement. This manual provided a strategy for the liberation and unification of continental Africa under a scientific socialist government. 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.¹²²

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.¹²³

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.¹²⁴ He called for the organization of an All-African People's Revolutionary Army (A-APRA),¹²⁵ through the merger and coordination of guerrilla groups and the armies of progressive and revolutionary regimes throughout Africa.¹²⁶ In addition, he called for the creation of an All-African People's Committee for Political Coordination (AACPC).

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 8th 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 States government's unjust, illegal, and immoral imperialist war against Vietnam.¹²⁷ On June 17, 1966, Kwame Ture¹²⁸ re-echoed African People's centuries-long demand for Black Power¹²⁹ and was catapulted onto the world's political stage. Kwame was not the first to call for Black Power, but SNCC's 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 stopover in (Beijing (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 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 Ture¹³⁰ to Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sekou Toure.¹³¹

At their third or fourth meeting in Conakry in August 1967, Osagyefo 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 Pan-Africanist revolutionary Party in the United States.

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 Ture¹³² 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 will 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, in the last thirty-one years of his life.¹³³

Panaf Books, founded by Nkrumah in 1968, published *The Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, but was not distributed until March 1969. In a letter dated January 25, 1969, he said that he was watching the political situation before giving orders for its distribution. Nkrumah lifted this embargo in March. International Publishers released an edition for the United States market, a major point of distribution and Panaf Books released an edition for the English, European and African markets. In Africa, the Handbook was distributed in Tanzania and Malawi. *Dark Days in Ghana* was published by Panaf Books and distributed.

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 made a tremendous contribution to the Nkrumahist and Pan-Africanist movement. The distribution of the writings and speeches of Nkrumah ideologically helped advance and solidify a base for Pan-Africanism, particularly in the U.S. and laid the groundwork for the founding of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.¹³⁴ In 1968, the A-APRP was founded, by Kwame Nkrumah, in the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and its first cadre work-study circle formed. Kwame was a member of that circle.¹³⁵

Kwame Ture officially 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 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. It is our task to locate these former 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 the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and the United States, seized hold of the idea, mid-wife the A-APRP's birth, nurtured its growth and development, and organized chapters in strategic corners of the world, even though not exactly as it 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 continuators and inheritors, his comrades, sisters, brothers, allies, 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.

During thirty-seven years of existence, the A-APRP 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 following the death of Kwame Ture, the emergence of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party^(GC) in 2006. There is nothing abnormal or earth-shattering about this development. All political

parties and movements in Africa, the African Diaspora, and the world, revolutionary, reformist or reactionary, have suffered purges and splits.

Other parties claiming Pan-Africanism were founded by former members of the A-APRP. The Pan-African Revolutionary Socialist Party (PRSP) and the All-African People's Revolutionary Unification Party (AAPRUP) were founded. Nationalist organizations, like Black Seeds of Washington D.C., were formed. Members chose and joined the Hebrew Israelites in Demona, Palestine, Democratic and Republican parties, the enemies of African people worldwide. What we think that we have learned is that in a mass party, we must seek to resolve problems and contradictions inside the Party with democratic centralism.

The overthrow and banning of the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1966, and the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) in 1984, were factors that lead to the emergence of the PRPAG / A-APRP ^(GC). Both events exacerbated political contradictions inside the CPP, PDG and the A-APRP. Our evolution, ideologically and organizationally, since 1966, obeyed the objective and subjective conditions of the African and world Revolutions. We did the best we could, with the limited resources, human, material and immaterial, that we could mobilize.

The A-APRP ^(GC) chose the All-African People's Revolutionary Party ^(GC) in order not to confuse our People, allies, and supporters with the A-APRP. It was consistent with our years of work and study, of service and sacrifice, of struggle and suffering. All of the founding members of the A-APRP ^(GC) had different experiences and therefore reasons for leaving the A-APRP. Our differences within the A-APRP were not a disagreement with Nkrumahism-Toureism, Pan-Africanism, the emancipation of women, students spark Revolution, or scientific socialism. The fundamental contradiction was between the central leadership, the exercising of power and the confiscation of structures and resources for personal advantages. Taskforces and other structures were created that attempted to impose policies that they were not empowered to do. We were workers and continued to work and the milieu at that time in the A-APRP, we thought, was inconsistent, for the work we were engaged with, and planned to do. We disagreed with the allocation of Party resources for those who chose to move to Africa and then suggested they should be funded. Five of the founding members of the A-APRP ^(GC) are former A-APRP central committee members. The transition of Kwame Ture crystalized this contradiction. On his last Recruitment Drive it was evident that Kwame was clearly a means to the financial desires of anti-Party interests. Kwame traveled in severe pain with life-ending cancer and needed special attention and medical care at every stop. Those resources were not coordinated. Opportunism denied those same funds raised on the recruitment drive to Kwame as he lay on death bed in Conakry. The central committee, at that time, spent more money on a Kwame Ture commemoration, in New York, than provided him as he transitioned. One of our founding members, Bob Brown, was with Kwame for the duration. Our cadre¹³⁶ have served as long, worked or studied as hard, struggled, sacrificed, and suffered to build the A-APRP. We are not in competition or antagonistic with it, or any other faction. We are all on the same side of history. Our focus is to make our contribution to the political education and organization of the African masses and the realization of Pan-Africanism, nothing more. We are in solidarity with those with the same goals. The A-APRP inherited the resources that we helped to produce, and we started with nothing. We also helped recruit to the A-APRP and lay the theoretical and practical foundation for the recruitment and orientation and our work is unchanged. We remain small and undeterred in our efforts to contribute to the revolutionary struggle for one unified socialist Africa.

No factions of the A-APRP have engaged in name calling, mudslinging, character assassination, or sectarianism and have focused on building their Party and this approach has been proven correct. Our ideological development, organizational experience, and our history as victims of the U.S Federal Bureau

of Investigation (FBI) COINTELPRO, has taught us, individually and collectively, how futile, counter-productive, and destructive such infantile behavior becomes. It would have been truly a tragic comedy! The A-APRP ^(GC) will continue to take this principled road.

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. They make their own unique contributions to the forward march and development, to revolutionary theory and practice universal and particular. The fundamental task of every revolutionary movement, organization and Party is to assess the Revolution, its adherents, supporters, allies, and its enemies.

Following intense ideological and political struggle, prior to and including a series of meetings, over a weeklong delegation, with the Parti de la Revolution Populaire Africain de Guinea (PRPAG) in Guinea, Conakry, Dalaba, and other areas. On August 9, 2006, we concluded that that our contribution to the African Revolution as Nkrumahist-Toureists fighting for Pan-Africanism could best be made by Building the A-APRP ^(GC) and not within the A-APRP at that time. This decision also acknowledged our membership of our sister party the PRPAG. The A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG declared our resolve to remain inheritors and continuators of the revolutionary writings, teachings, struggles, and work of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Kwame Ture. We reaffirmed our uncompromising belief that Africa was primary, for all Africans, those in Africa, and those abroad, in the struggle for Pan-Africanism, which includes scientific socialism, and we placed politics over and before economics and social services, and reform must serve Revolution.

The A-APRP ^(GC) / PRPAG is another creation within 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 another quantitative and qualitative development in Africa's long and glorious history of struggle against class exploitation, national and women's oppression. It heralds another 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, neocolonialism,¹³⁷ globalization, zionism, racism, women's oppression, exploitation of youth, and realize the African and larger international struggles for human and democratic rights, women's rights, youth and student's rights, the rights of prisoners of conscience, political prisoners and prisoners of war, for national independence, political unification, scientific socialism, human dignity, and peace.

Kwame Nkrumah conceived and founded the All-African People's Revolutionary Party,¹³⁸ 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).

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 Nation¹³⁹ that is struggling to be born, though not necessarily in your or our lifetime.

Our Ideology: Nkrumahism-Toureism

The Africa which exists today including Africans in the African Diaspora, is the Africa we are struggling to build, not the old Africa, but a newly emergent revolutionary united Africa; a socialist Africa in which a new harmony, cohesiveness, revolutionary African Personality, humanity, and dignity is forged out of

Africa's traditional communal, slavery and feudal way of life which has been permanently changed by thousands of years of Euro-Christian¹⁴⁰ and Arab-Islamic intrusions and by the historical development of competing and conflicting slave, feudal, capitalist, imperialist, and a newly emergent socialist mode of production.¹⁴¹

Kwame Nkrumah underlines the importance of ideology¹⁴² for African unity.¹⁴³ For Africa, a revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist ideology is required. An African ideology¹⁴⁴ must find its origin in the history and culture of Africa. We believe, Nkrumahism-Toureism, is the correct ideology to unite African people worldwide. We cannot overstate the importance of an African revolutionary ideology¹⁴⁵ for Africa and African people's future.

Nkrumahism-Toureism takes its name from the consistent, revolutionary, scientific socialist and Pan-Africanist principles, practices and policies followed, implemented, and taught by Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sekou Toure and Kwame Ture; three of the foremost champions and practitioners of the scientific strategy to liberate and unify Africa, and all African people in every corner of the world, under scientific socialism.¹⁴⁶ These principles, practices and policies are recorded in their speeches, writings, actions, contributions, achievements, and lives. They must be read, studied, analyzed, implemented, and advanced.

Nkrumahism-Toureism is a product of Africa's historical social, political, and economic development and culture, the result of accumulated practical and theoretical contributions and achievements of centuries and generations of mass, revolutionary Pan-African and larger socialist struggles. It is a way of life! It directs its believers to place the need of our People over money and material wealth and establishes revolutionary ethics and morality to relate to each other and directs us to fight the enemies of African people world-wide in the African Revolution. It highlights and underscores the need for the absolute emancipation of African women¹⁴⁷ recognizing they have suffered triple oppression and exploitation including 1) national oppression, 2) class exploitation, and 3) by reactionary abusive and disrespectful African and other men imbued with sexist ideology.

Nkrumahism-Toureism¹⁴⁸ is grounded in the science of revolutionary mass struggle,¹⁴⁹ Positive Action, as applied to Africa, to the almost one billion people of African descent who are scattered, suffering, and struggling in every corner of the world. Nkrumahism-Toureism philosophically and ideologically defines, incorporates, and synthesizes three distinct historical experiences that have impacted and define Africa and her children worldwide as the Traditional,¹⁵⁰ Arab-Islamic, and Euro-Christian influences. Nkrumahism-Toureism's concrete living example is to be found in its creative struggles, contributions, and achievements of African revolutionaries to the African and International Socialist Revolutions.

Nkrumahism-Toureism¹⁵¹ provides the masses of African people with a set of uncompromising principles, a scientific, revolutionary, and Pan-Africanist method of viewing Africa, the African Diaspora, and the world; and a scientific methodology and set of analytical tools, which enable African people to correctly interpret, understand, redeem and reconstruct Africa, and make their revolutionary contributions to the liberation,¹⁵² redemption and reconstruction of the world Humanity.

Nkrumahism-Toureism provides a complete social, historical, cultural, political, philosophical, and economic theory¹⁵³ with Pan-Africanist, scientific socialist principles, beliefs, values, ethics, morals, and rules. Nkrumahism-Toureism guides our behavior, and determines the form, our institutions, organizations, laws, and rules will take. Revolutionary ideology acts as a cohesive force, binding,

inspiring, guiding and channeling our revolutionary mass political energy and action towards Pan-Africanism and the inevitable triumph of scientific socialism worldwide.

We defend and advance the revolutionary essence and science of Nkrumahism-Toureism in the African Revolution that includes indisputable declarations and axioms:

- * Africa is the only true and just homeland for Africans and persons of African descent no matter where we may live.
- * Africa, and her People, from Cairo to Cape Town, and those in the African Diaspora, are one nation and People with one diverse culture.
- * Africa's liberation and unification is primary in the political, economic, and cultural struggles of Africans, in Africa and the African Diaspora¹⁵⁴ in the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism, which includes scientific socialism.

The political education and organization of our People are our most important work. The problems of economics and social services are secondary. The primary struggles of the Masses are struggles for People's power. The African Revolution is the permanent solution to the problems of our People's everyday lives, where reform does not eliminate our People's greatest and most fundamental problem, exploitation.

The Republic of Guinea remains an ideological, organizational, and strategic focus. The A-APRP^(GC) / PRPAG is committed to further the revolutionary Pan-Africanist work of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) during Ahmed Sekou Toure's time. Sekou Toure fought and gave his life for Pan-Africanism mercilessly fighting colonialism, zionism, and neo-colonialism, so we aspire that Guinea be restored to its rightful place in the African Revolution. We support and defend any genuinely independent i.e., socialist developing countries, in Africa, the African Diaspora and the world! We work, study, struggle, suffer, and sacrifice for our Party to be in every country, city, village, community, home, campus, church, mosque, synagogue, military barracks, or prison, for Pan-Africanism.

African people's integrity and dignity is in the emerging revolutionary African Personality and culture. "The African Revolution is an Act of African Culture!"¹⁵⁵

- * Humanism – requires that our People be treated not merely as a means to someone else's end but are inherently and in fact an end in themselves.¹⁵⁶
- * Egalitarianism – Speaks to the innate equality of all human beings with rights as human beings guaranteed, at birth irrespective of nationality,¹⁵⁷ tribe, gender, age or disability and any other form of human discrimination.¹⁵⁸ It is materialism, philosophically, that lays the foundation for harmony between a politically conscious People.¹⁵⁹
- * Collectivism – By reason of its egalitarian tenet, Philosophical Consciencism, seeks to promote individual development, but in such a way that the conditions for the development of all become the conditions for the development of each; that is, in such a way that the individual development does not introduce such diversities as to destroy the egalitarian basis.¹⁶⁰
- * Dialectical materialism, historical materialism, philosophical materialism, and Religion¹⁶¹ and Revolution are all ideological weapons in the African Revolution and must be congruent in their presence with Philosophical Consciencism.
- * A theory of Revolution that includes three zones of revolutionary growth and development in Africa and the world, 1) enemy held,¹⁶² 2) contested,¹⁶³ and 3) liberated.¹⁶⁴ Enemy-held

zones¹⁶⁵ are countries dominated by capitalism, imperialism, racism, zionism, women's oppression, neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, and settler-colonialism. Contested zones¹⁶⁶ are countries or territories that are engaged in mass, at times military, struggle against imperialism, zionism and/or neo-colonialism.¹⁶⁷ Liberated zones¹⁶⁸ are countries or territories where revolutionary cadre are a catalyst among the Masses to be politically conscious and organized and are liberated and defending, consolidating, and advancing scientific socialism.

- * There remains an undeniable historical, socio-political, economic, ideological, and cultural role of Religion¹⁶⁹ in the service of the African Revolution.
- * Permanent, mass revolutionary Pan-Africanist, ideological training, political education, organization, and action is a necessity.
- * The African masses are the makers of history¹⁷⁰ both the object and subject of our revolutionary process. The African masses birth, nurture, train and defend revolutionaries who play a positive role at each stage of our revolutionary process. The African masses honor and bury them, and the serious choose to continue their legacy, work, study, and struggle. This is an eternal generational evolutionary and revolutionary process.
- * African women fight on all fronts¹⁷¹ and are equal partners in the struggle to build Pan-Africanism, which includes scientific socialism. We acknowledge the historical oppression and arrested development of African women by nationality, class and by reactionary men as they have suffered immeasurably in Africa's history inside and outside of the Pan-African movement.
- * Scientific socialism is the only just political, economic, and democratic social system for a liberated and unified Africa, and for the world.
- * African youth, especially African students, are the spark and vigor of the African Revolution as they are tasked to bring energy, enthusiasm, and an unquenchable thirst for a future that provides them an opportunity to realize our People's and their dreams and aspirations. They are learning that capitalism, racism, zionism, settler-colonialism, and neo-colonialism will never offer them anything but crumbs, if that.
- * No compromise or surrender with any form of corruption, political or gender oppression and economic exploitation in Africa and the world.
- * Principled and uncompromising solidarity¹⁷² with and support for all revolutionary movements, parties, governments, and oppressed Humanity worldwide.

Our Organizational Principle: Democratic Centralism

The ideological and organizational principle of Nkrumahism-Toureism¹⁷³ is democratic centralism.¹⁷⁴ Democratic centralism requires that members be involved in the development of the policies of our Party and implement them once established. Democratic centralism cultivates pre-cadre and cadre discipline¹⁷⁵ and welds party members together by respectfully including all members perspectives and views in popular Party discussion, recognizing the essence of revolutionary democracy¹⁷⁶ is political education, including a thorough dialogue and debate of ideology, planning, strategy and tactics, issues and problems of Party development or the lack thereof, that arrives ultimately with the finality of collectively made decisions, either by consensus or vote.

When collective decisions are made, internal communication is necessary, based on common work tasks, assignments, and out of which helps develop the conditions to build healthy social and production relationships. Scientific socialism affirms the primacy of the People's class¹⁷⁷ and its national numerically democratic majority. The largest sectors of Africa's, People's class are African women and youth. The

principle of democracy is abandoned when African women and youth are not empowered to take the reins of our Party, but also of African society. Today, Africa is on fire in struggle, led by African women and youth for a borderless Africa and against governmental corruption and thievery, military and police attacks on our People, and undignified neo-colonial submissive political, economic, and military alliances with international imperialism. Democracy is of critical importance towards the emancipation of African women and youth and with-it mass authority over the political direction, growth, and development of Africa. Democratic centralism requires all members to work for harmony with collectively made decisions. It means that political power is wielded and practiced based on those who are politically educated and organized, being active participants in the daily work¹⁷⁸ to build our Party and contribute to the African Revolution.

Democracy, for our Party, is practiced in pre-cadre and cadre work-study circles, in Party propaganda and Party-building work structures, in the geo-political areas in which we live, with a focus on the political education and recruitment of African women, students, and youth, and through work assigned through your secretariat and for women, the A-AWRU ^(GC). Party democracy only exists for Party members, who are working consciously to build the A-APRP ^(GC) at whatever level is objectively possible. Revolutionary democracy¹⁷⁹ is the battle of ideas, the practice of ideological struggle,¹⁸⁰ criticism and self-criticism,¹⁸¹ and most importantly Party building practice.¹⁸²

In a socialist society,¹⁸³ the decisions of the working masses, comprising the People's class, at the point of implementation, bring discussion to an end; a decision is made, and that decision is adhered to and implemented by all. Under socialism, production is planned; we must plan the growth and development of our Party. Revolutionary democracy is most prevalent in the catalytic process of developing short- and long-term plans enthusiastically conceived and implemented by the Masses.

Centralism and democracy are categorical opposites. Democracy and centralism are and must be organically connected. The practice¹⁸⁴ of democratic centralism is the life of our Party and the struggle for Pan-Africanism. Those in society, who choose not to implement the decisions of the People's class, consciously or unconsciously, in their ideas, beliefs and behaviors are reflecting those promoted by our class enemy¹⁸⁵ the anti-People's class¹⁸⁶. This is also true for our Party.¹⁸⁷

Democratic centralism requires that members be involved in the development of the policies of our Party and implement them once established.¹⁸⁸ It requires members to develop discipline in preparation for meetings, timeliness, and efficiency in all affairs,¹⁸⁹ and principled ideological struggle in our pre-cadre and cadre work-study circles, secretariats, and mass organization meetings. Democratic centralism requires all members to work on and under the direction of a secretariat, the A-AWRU ^(GC) or other mass organization. The work of building mass organizations, like the A-AWRU ^(GC), is the work of the Party.

To document the quantity and quality of our contributions to the work of the Party, democratic centralism requires the completion of forms for documentation, reports and evaluation, rectification of errors, and planning. Revolution is a science, whose methods of production, from individual and collective work must be documented quantitatively and qualitatively. Revolutionary information allows for scientific planning in our efforts to scientifically plan the political education and organization of our People for Pan-Africanism.

The political bureau is the centralizing structure empowered to facilitate inner-Party democracy & organization and defend & advance the collective decisions of our Party.¹⁹⁰ Democratic centralism empowers the political bureau¹⁹¹, secretariats, and secretaries to assure the decisions of the Party are

upheld, implemented, and hold accountable, through criticism¹⁹² and self-criticism,¹⁹³ those who are in violation. It is the Party leadership who are mandated, by democratic centralism, to guide the Party in work, and model revolutionary behavior; behaviors that should inspire our members to emulate. Without centralism, liberalism and the lack of Party cohesion becomes rampant and accountability lacking.

Our Program: Build the Party

Our program, at this stage of our development is to “Build the A-APRP^(GC)!”¹⁹⁴ Our work prioritizes mass revolutionary political education,¹⁹⁵ recruitment, orientation, training and consolidation, routine daily Party-building work; with revolutionary self-reliance as a foundational principle. Given the needs of the African Revolution and our limited resources, human and material, and based on our international and Pan-African relationships and alliances, we have prioritized the recruitment and development of revolutionary, Pan-Africanist socialist pre-cadre and cadre¹⁹⁶ and a network of supporters in key countries, territories and islands of Africa and the African Diaspora, where there are no progressive or revolutionary political parties or movements.

We are in a worldwide recruitment effort, as the A-APRP^(GC) / PRPAG. Every African must belong to an organization that is struggling for our People. Our Party is open to any African, no matter what part of the world that they live, as we struggle to release and channel all Africans’ disorganized and unfocused energies into a revolutionary mass Pan-Africanist socialist political party, capable of attaining Pan-Africanism: One Unified Socialist Africa. Pan-Africanism is the highest political and economic expression of Black Power!¹⁹⁷ We want the Party wherever in the African world that it is needed!

Our Study

The A-APRP^(GC) places unyielding prominence on ideological training and development¹⁹⁸ of our members and for the African masses, worldwide. The most important Party work mandates members to do research, read, study, and defend truth, as we understand it. We must develop an insatiable thirst for knowledge. As an aspiring revolutionary Pan-Africanist party seeking to help unify the African masses to realize Pan-Africanism, we know that it is around revolutionary ideology¹⁹⁹ that we must unite African people.²⁰⁰ Therefore, ideology is the basis of the unity our People seek, and we assert that Nkrumahism-Toureism is that ideology for African people. By choice, we are not a Party of bourgeois ideologues, scholars and intellectuals who pontificate, the values of nationalist capitalism, out of an ivory tower, for honorariums, isolated and divorced from our People’s revolutionary struggle for liberation, unification, socialism, and peace. History has amply documented that it is the People who are the makers of history and therefore our research and study is for the sole purpose of being applied and tested hand-in-hand with our oppressed and exploited African Masses to concretely and permanently address the problems of real life and help qualitatively transform ourselves, the People, and the societies in which we live. That is the role of a Pan-Africanist party, a popular party, that it is an instrument of African people’s will and aspirations.²⁰¹

Research, reading and study²⁰² is intellectual and ideological work that is a critical component and an absolute necessity in our process of developing Nkrumahist-Toureist pre-cadre and cadre with mastery of the science of Revolution and is uncompromising on the primacy of Pan-Africanism.

Our Work

The primary work²⁰³ of the A-APRP^(GC) is the political education and organization of our People. Our fight for Pan-Africanism prioritizes African women, students, and youth, by distributing Party literature and engaging them individually & collectively, organizing Party seminars and programs and constructing pre-cadre work-study circles in your local areas. In addition, our members will be found among our workers, elders, the employed & unemployed, farmers/peasants, Believers & non-Believers, etc.; and our role is to politically educate, organize, mobilize, love²⁰⁴ and serve our People. Our goal is to help build a Party of the Masses. We are to model the new revolutionary African woman and man; and, through our willingness to engage our People, respect their opinions and struggle with them over their ideas and beliefs. We must enthusiastically introduce them to Nkrumahism-Toureism, African nationalism,²⁰⁵ scientific socialism, and Pan-Africanism, and motivate them to join the Party.

Our political work²⁰⁶ also requires the same compassion and attitude for other oppressed and exploited nationalities and Peoples. They are our allies, friends of the African Revolution, mandating unity with them, cultivating and sustaining camaraderie in our common revolutionary struggle against capitalism, zionism, and imperialism for national liberation and unity, human and democratic rights, women's emancipation,²⁰⁷ the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation, socialism, and peace. Party members help educate and train newer recruits²⁰⁸ into the Party's program, policies, and procedures and help them learn how to participate and work within Party structures, which is our process for internal political education including the implementation of democratically conceived decisions. The transformation of our membership into uncompromising and staunch Nkrumahist-Toureist revolutionaries will be done in the crucible of revolutionary Party work, and the sacrifices necessary to advance our People's struggle.

We are struggling to build a mass Pan-Africanist propaganda party.²⁰⁹ Today, we and the African Revolution needs revolutionary students²¹⁰ and other intelligentsia,²¹¹ youth, and experienced cadre, and others who are willing to join the Party and are willing and capable of using your technical skills and proficient use and applications of social media and the internet. Today, social media and the internet are windows to Africans worldwide and the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism demands their use. These windows must be opened for Pan-Africanism. Social media must be a revolutionary medium communicating with, politically educating, organizing, and mobilizing the African masses worldwide.

In the areas in which we live having an ongoing dialogue and debate with our People regarding the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism is invaluable. You are, in yourself, an instrument of political education and propaganda²¹² for the African Revolution and Pan-Africanism. You are another face of the African Revolution and Pan-Africanism

We believe that there must be and will be a Pan-Africanist party²¹³ built with the capacity to politically educate, organize, and mobilize Africans worldwide to finish capitalism, international imperialism, zionism, neo-colonialism, the oppression of African youth, students & women,²¹⁴ and for Pan-Africanism—One Unified Socialist Africa. African people's attacks on capitalism, imperialism, zionism, neo-colonialism and occupation must develop with efficient communication, coordination, and mobilization on a Pan-African and international scale. A defeat of international imperialism in one part of the world is a defeat of imperialism²¹⁵ worldwide. Our pre-cadre and cadre members, given the geo-political reality in areas in which we live, urban or rural, determine the specific tactics that are applicable to advancing the Party.²¹⁶ No individual or person living in one part of the world has the answer for Party building in every geo-political area of the world. That is idealism! The responsibility of our Party is to

provide an ideological and strategic framework and guidelines for the Pan-Africanist revolutionary study and work that you are asked to do to build the Party.

African Women

We seek to be a membership Party recognizing that Africans need to belong and participate in an organization, the best being revolutionary. It is the lack of political education and organization for our People that is the primary impediment to the achievement of Pan-Africanism—One Unified Socialist Africa. For this stage in the struggle for Pan-Africanism this problem is best addressed by our students and youth. It is the political education and organization of African women,²¹⁷ students and youth that remains our primary Party building focus. Their role in today's struggles in Africa reaffirms their role as a political spark of the Masses.

African women are more than half of African people worldwide. African women have made unquestioned contributions to the revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism.²¹⁸ Their roles and contributions were made and given definition, in Africa's wars against international imperialism, slavery, settler-colonialism, and neo-colonialism. African women fought and are fighting under the political conditions of enemy held zones²¹⁹ and contested zones, worldwide. Currently, there are no liberated²²⁰ areas in Africa and liberation of our states are a goal, but none-the-less African women have been represented and are exemplary on all fighting fronts. Each political zone of struggle has different requirements therefore our women have distinct roles. African women have never wavered, no matter the call, and today stand in the forefront of the confrontation with puppets of neo-colonialism in Africa. It is clear that African women are standing with and politically educating, by example, the youthful masses. They are spilling their blood, giving their lives, sacrificing their children, and filling the jails and prisons for the liberty and dignity of Africa.

African women are the oppressed of the oppressed as they suffer racism, class exploitation, and also suffer abuse and exploitation by African and other men.²²¹ When African women are uplifted,²²² the entire African nation is uplifted also, worldwide. The fight to emancipate African women is a fight to destroy neo-colonialism, settler-colonialism, zionism and for African unity and socialism.²²³ Pan-Africanism is impossible without the emancipation of African women, worldwide. The fight for the emancipation of women is not solely a fight of women, it is a People's fight to create a new Africa without human exploitation or oppression. The political education and organization of African women is a catalyst to advance the People's struggle for Pan-Africanism. Therefore, the serious about building the Party are learning that our focus on organizing African women can only be substantiated by building the All-African Women's Revolutionary Union ^(GC), which is simultaneously building the Party. Likewise, the A-AWRU ^(GC) declared, at its founding, "The only program of the A-AWRU is: Build A Stronger A-APRP through Building a Strong A-AWRU".²²⁴

Students and Youth

Every sector of our People, in relationship to societal production, has historically defined roles in the changing stages of our history, in Africa and the African Diaspora and in the African Revolution for Pan-Africanism. The struggle for Pan-Africanism, the class struggle in Africa, is ancient.²²⁵ It is in the class struggle²²⁶ in Africa and the African Diaspora that roles,²²⁷ in revolutionary struggle to build Pan-Africanism worldwide²²⁸ are defined. There are many factors to consider, not matters of principle, but of strategy and limitless tactics to advance revolutionary struggle. Our Party building program acknowledges that students and youth spark Revolution, consequently African students²²⁹ and youth, who are a numerical majority in Africa, are the spark of the African Revolution.²³⁰ This understanding is validated in

our history of revolutionary struggle, but as important, is so today in Africa! Today the African masses, the majority being women and youth, lack the necessary Pan-Africanist political education²³¹ and organization²³² that politically unites and mobilizes their courage and energy for one unified socialist Africa. It is they who must be in the forefront of Pan-Africanist ideological and organizational struggles, in every corner of the African world. We have prioritized organizing students and youth given their alienation²³³ from and historic resistance to the anti-democratic nature of neo-colonialism²³⁴ being exploited by it and our assessment of the ideological education and political organization needs of our People in the struggle for Pan-Africanism. The defeat of neo-colonialism²³⁵, Africa's balkanization,²³⁶ and Africa's and the African Diaspora's anti-People's class²³⁷ requires Pan-Africanism.

Students research, read and study struggle with and are motivated to act on the ideas of oppression, exploitation and resistance, honesty and corruption, tribalism and nationalism, justice, and injustice. All sectors of our People must do so likewise, worldwide! In Africa, students and youth are the masses and the revolutionary spark in confrontation with Africa's puppets, the anti-People's class, who imposes micro-nationalism, tribalism, gender oppression and class exploitation on them. Mass Pan-Africanist political education is primary in this stage of our revolutionary struggle for Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism can only be achieved through the revolutionary struggles, ideologically sparked by African women, students, and youth for the African masses.²³⁸ It is revolutionary theory that provides context for learning how to scientifically analyze the world in which we live and establish the ability to transform a negative world to one of positivity.²³⁹ It is from revolutionary commitment, dedication, and work that theory, in application, reflects reality or is proven incorrect. Therefore, the role of students in Revolution does not spring from the minds of some scholars.²⁴⁰ African history has recorded our students' role. Africa needs revolutionary African students²⁴¹ and other Pan-Africanist youth, intellectuals, and intelligentsia to assume the responsibility of being a catalyst to politically educate²⁴², inspire, and organize our women, youth,²⁴³ our elders, peasants, farmers, workers, the African masses, worldwide, for Pan-Africanism—One Unified Socialist Africa.

Our Zone Theory: African Nation/People's Class/Women/Youth Struggles

The A-APRP^(GC) recognizes three primary geo-political zones comprising Africa, the African Diaspora, and the world. In our analysis, a country is either **1) enemy-held** (dominated internally by the anti-People's class under neo-colonialism with external enemies controlling the internal enemy), **2) contested** (area where the revolutionary forces in activity there are either on the verge of armed struggle or have reached an advanced stage of revolutionary organisation), or **3) liberated** (controlled by a revolutionary party building a socialist society).

History has documented that Revolution, including armed struggle,²⁴⁴ is the only way to liberate enemy-held countries into countries that are genuinely liberated.²⁴⁵ A country or territory under enemy control is dominated by capitalism, colonialism, settler-colonialism, zionism, or neo-colonialism – the last stage of imperialism. Imperialism controls most of the world under which the masses of the world's People are ruthlessly exploited and oppressed.²⁴⁶ Most of Africa is under contestation by the People against the anti-People's class, puppets of neo-colonialism.

A liberated country is where a revolutionary socialist party has overthrown the anti-People's class²⁴⁷ and is in the process of consolidating People's power. A liberated country is where socialism is being developed and the masses of the People are ideologically committed to Revolution and scientific socialism. A liberated zone²⁴⁸ is a political, economic, military, and human resource for other struggling revolutionary parties and Peoples worldwide, based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and Pan-

Africanism.²⁴⁹ Liberated countries are rare and precious in the struggle against imperialism and must be defended by the forces of progress and Revolution.



Inheritor and Continuator of the
Revolutionary Theory and Practice of Kwame
Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Kwame Ture!



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End Notes and References

Introduction to the A-APRP^(GC)/PRPAG

¹ Ismael Conde. Le Secrétaire National. Parti de la Révolution Populaire Africaine de Guinée: Correspondence to the A-APRP^(GC). “The... A-APRP^(GC) and PRPAG are the same. They are inseparable. They merge. That is to say that they are together everywhere.” March 15, 2024.

² Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Pg. 56-57. “The formation of the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) to co-ordinate policies and to direct action.... The formation of a political party linking territories and struggling parties under a common ideology will smooth the way of eventual continental unity and will at the same time greatly assist the prosecution of the All-African people’s war. To assist the process of its formation, an All-African Committee for Political Co-ordination (AACPC) should be established to act as a liaison between all parties which recognise the urgent necessity of conducting an organised and unified struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. This Committee would be created at the level of the central committees of the ruling parties and struggling parties and would constitute their integrated political consciousness.”

³ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to Christine Johnson Pg. 34 12 April 1966. “When Africa is free and united with one government for the whole of the continent the black man—wherever he may be, either in Africa, West Indies or USA—will discover his personality, his dignity and his honour. Only then will he behave as a complete person, a real human being. So instead of being disgusted, let us work hard together to save his humanity. Let us work hard to give him a strong Government of Africa and protect him.”

⁴ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms. Pg. 115 “Hence, in order that socialism should be applicable in a country, the country must be liberated; it must enjoy unity; it must embrace philosophical materialism; it must have a specific philosophical consciencism holding its general nature in common, but expressing its individuality through the actual material conditions of the territory for which it is formulated, and through the experience and consciousness of the people of that territory; it must apply suitable and adequate dialectical moments, expressed through positive action, wielded through a mass party. In order to liberate a territory, an increase of positive action over negative action must be obtained by the introduction of a dialectical moment. This dialectical moment can be introduced by joining together the forces of positive action in one mass political party, educating the people, explaining to them the evil nature of colonialism, that is, analysing their experience and giving them a greater awareness of this experience through workers’ sections, farmers’ sections, youth sections, women’s sections, newspapers and other implements of party organization. To unite the liberated territory, the mass political party must be further developed to the size of a popular movement. The policies of development then need to accord with the theses of philosophical materialism, and they must be subject to philosophical consciencism, showing a sensitivity to the material conditions and experience of the people.”

⁵ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: Shirley DuBois to KN 27 August 1966, Cairo. Pg. 65 “We are in life—and life is struggle. There are those who listen to the radio and read the newspaper who can only say with disgust ‘The world is in a mess.’ They see only chaos—everywhere. But we know that if we look closely, we do not see ‘chaos’ we see every small portion of the world, with its peoples in *movement*—everywhere there is upheaval, eruptions, turning over, change. THIS IS LIFE—emerging life.”

⁶ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 175 “Pan-Africanism must first all fight any tendency to enclose them in a particularist identity, an identity of zoological garden, having

its history closed on itself, its economy closed on itself, its culture closed on itself, its conception of science closed on itself, its psychology closed on itself ... and by dint of being closed on itself, one risks to be enclosed in a tragically deadly stagnation. We must struggle against that tendency which representation the most noxious, the most alienator is without dispute what is called: negritude.”

⁷ Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism: Consciencism*. Pg. 105. “Capitalism is but the gentleman’s method of slavery.”

⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion*. Pg. 87. “All peoples of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Caribbean, or in any other part of the world are Africans and belong to the African nation.”

⁹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses. Pg. 74. “The effectiveness of the action of the masses depends on their organisation. To organise and educate the masses is to create means for their action so as to enable them to play an effective part in history.”

¹⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 17 October 1969 Pg. 339 “If you include the islands—the madeira Islands, Tenerife, Las Palmas, Cape Verde Islands, Fernando P, Riu Muni, Madagascar etc., one can visualize the enormosity of the continent. Africa is the dominant continent on earth.”

¹¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM 19 April 1966. Pg. 37 “I get so mad with imperialists and neo-colonialists and their stooges, that I want to attack them all the time. Until socialism, and I mean scientific socialism, triumphs over capitalism and imperialism I shall not stop attacking these social evils.”

¹² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to Eddie Stafford 17 June 1968. Pg. 243 “May I say that the people of Africa recognize African-Americans in the United States as brothers. And people like me feel that our African-America brothers will come to Africa someday to help rebuild mother Africa. I feel strongly that the coming of our African-American brothers to Africa will coincide with the political unification of Africa. I also feel that if African-Americas are to gain full liberation in the United States there should be a fundamental change in American society, in other words, a socialist transformation of that society.”

¹³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: Organisation. Pg. 70. “No human undertaking can be successful without adopting clearcut principles or guidelines on the basis of which its organisation can be best structured for its operations. Such an organisation should not only be well adapted and rational, but its members should also accept and abide by its principles and be technically capable to translated them into objective reality.”

¹⁴ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Intellectuals and Intelligentsia*. Pg. 40. “The ideology of the African Revolution links the class struggle of African workers and peasants with world socialist revolutionary movements and with international socialism. It emerged during the national liberation struggle, and it continues to mature in the fight to complete the liberation of the continent, to achieve political unification, and to effect a socialist transformation of African society. It is unique. It has developed within the concrete situation of the African Revolution, is a product of the African Personality, and at the same time is based on the principles of scientific socialism.”

¹⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion*. Pg. 88. “The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of - from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

¹⁶ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses. Pg. 75. “The “why” and the “how” of organisation are thought of prior to the organisation itself. The better people understand the “why” of it, the greater many people will live in accord... As to ‘the how,’ the better it will be known, the better the form of organisation will be adapted to men’s aims and possibilities. After this study, we start thinking of other considerations which are no less important: the determination and identification of objectives. But the mere knowledge of the objectives and methods is not enough; we must devise principles and operational methods in order to achieve these objectives.”

¹⁷ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses. Pg. 72. “Once organizational structures are in line with the aspirations of the People to happiness, they can be invaluable means and a framework for economic, social and cultural development of human societies.”

Our Vision

¹⁸ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 85. “For countries that have been subjected to colonial domination, exploitation and oppression, countries whose personality has long been stifled, cultural values disfigured, denied and despised, social structures fundamentally compromised, the essential objective is to regain the personality, affirm the identity, reconquer all the powers, whose full exercise will undoubtedly lead to the total elimination of all the consequences of colonisation which made the People irresponsible before their destiny. Such a necessity cannot be achieved without an appropriate organisation.”

¹⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion*. Pg. 87. "All peoples of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Caribbean, or in any other part of the world are Africans and belong to the African nation."

²⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 23 October 1970 Pg. 383 "And this is due to the position the black man finds himself in, in the USA. There's no solution unless they base their struggle on the class struggle. For the black Americans the only way open to them is the African Revolution and class struggle."

²¹ Bernard B. Fall. Ed. *Ho Chi Minh On Revolution Selected Writings, 1920-1966: Lynching*. Pg. 43 "It is well known that the black race is the most oppressed and most exploited of the human family. It is well known that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery which was, for centuries, a scourge for the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know, is that after sixty-five years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching."

²² Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Objectives*. Pg. 41. "The struggle for African continental union and socialism may be hampered by the enemy within—those who declare their support for the revolution and at the same time, by devious means, serve and promote the interests of imperialists and neocolonialists. Examination of recent events in our history, and of our present condition, reveals the urgent need for a new strategy to combat imperialist aggression, and this must be devised on a continental scale."

²³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 83 "The colonial regime attempted to assimilate us through a dubious civilization which is alien to us and had nothing to do with our values. It was therefore not in conformity with the context of our society. The colonial desire to assimilate us met with our staunch will to affirm our African Personality."

²⁴ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 83. "The colonial desire to assimilate us met without staunch will to affirm our African Personality. We have rejected colonialist's affirmation on the non-existent of any positive African morals and culture, by opposing our personality, by affirming our civilization, our culture, our own values."

²⁵ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *The People Wielding Ideological Power*. Pg. 20. "It is in the interest of our Party to clearly define a concept as important as that of the People, for outside the People, the whole political exercise has no meaning. Any individual or social stratum which, at a given period of the development of a social set-up, through work, is part of such working strata or People. The People therefore are the working part of a given social force at a given period in their history. We should not yield to fraud. And the worst fraud would be to consider a People as an abstract being, elusive through our projection of the same as holder of the power and all sectorial powers that proceed from it. The People are no fixed monolithic entity. They are a conscious and active entity that is constantly geared towards increasing their means of existence with a view to unceasingly strengthening their collective happiness."

²⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Our Objectives*. Pg. 41. "The political union concept: that a union government should be in charge of economic development, defence and foreign policy, while other government functions would continue to be discharged by the existing states grouped, in federal fashion, with a gigantic central political organisation. Clearly, this is the strongest position Africa could adopt in its struggle against modern imperialism."

Our Mission

²⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to U Thant (UN Secretary-General) 4 May 1969 Pg. 307 "On the question of the Middle East, I consider that the only hope for a lasting solution to the conflict between the Israelis and the Arabs, lies in the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Such a state could be formed from territory yielded by both Jordan and Israel."

²⁸ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*: KN to JM 8 July 1966. Pg. 53 "I am afraid what is going on in Kenya and Uganda may end up in violent eruption, and that will not be the end of the struggle. It is a pity that Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya have submitted Kenya to neo-colonialist subjugation. You know my conviction and solution: only armed guerilla struggle can end neo-colonialism and imperialism wherever they may be."

²⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion*. Pg. 84-85. "Socialism can only be achieved through class struggle. In Africa, the internal enemy—the reactionary bourgeoisie—must be exposed as exploiters and parasites, and as collaborators with imperialists and neocolonialists on whom they largely depend for the maintenance of their positions of power and privilege. The African bourgeoisie provides a bridge for continued imperialist and neocolonialist domination and exploitation. The bridge must be destroyed. This can be done by worker-peasant solidarity organised and directed by a vanguard socialist revolutionary Party. When the indigenous bourgeoisie and imperialism and neocolonialism are defeated, both the internal and the external enemies of the African Revolution will have been overcome, and the aspirations of the African people fulfilled."

³⁰ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 173 "Any realized progress on the Continent will rehabilitate at the same time the African of Africa, and the African of America, as any progress of collectivities of African origin against the multiple forms of alienation of social and human values of our brothers, will be for the African

continent an effective contribution to her affirmation and her rehabilitation. Founded on the community of historical facts, on the community of the cultural heritage and on the identity of fate in front of the international capitalism, to capitalism and colonialism, the unity of the African world has never disappeared, it cannot disappear, for, it is a material force, an intellectual force, a moral force, a spiritual force.”

³¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to Reba Lewis. Pg. 234 “History warns and urges me on, philosophy tells me to be cautious, but scientific socialism tells me to damn all and fight on, adding my quota to the eventual destruction of capitalism and imperialism and to the ushering in of man’s total emancipation, where racial discrimination of any kind will be a criminal offense and those who practise racialism shall be considered madmen. We shall overcome.”

³² XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: Organisation. Pg. 70. “That is why organisation is always clan or class oriented. It is an instrument in the service of a cause. Its necessity is based on the reality that when various social elements are structured in a single organic element, we obtain a highly intelligent, dynamic, and efficient human being, as opposed to the abilities of individual elements. Indeed, it is the superior “oneness” that gives strength to the team, to the clan and to the grassroots class. Here we are particularly interested in the class which as a supreme means of action: the organisation. Since for our ideology man and the People are essential factors of social and historical development, we have systematically strived to make the organisation an instrument of the People’s class.”

³³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: The Woman’s Role in the Anti-colonial Struggle. Pg. 19. “We often say that it is easier to fight against colonialism to conquer the freedom of the People, than to fight within the ranks of the People to reestablish social equality. Indeed, in the struggle for social equality we are at once the fighter and the adversary. And this is why the woman must also know that she has equally in her, the enemy of the emancipation of the woman.”

³⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: Women in Society. Pg. 11. “Just as the freedom of African women cannot be waged and pursued outside the context of the struggle of our Peoples for the liberation and emancipation of our continent, so the freedom of Africa cannot be effective if it does not lead, concretely, to the liberation of the women of Africa.”

³⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion. Pg. 88. “The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of –from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

³⁶ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism. Pg. 173-174 “Pan-Africanism, to reconvert to the new exigencies of the international situation, must place its perspectives of progress in the frame of great perspectives chosen by the popular masses of all the countries of the world in march towards a new world, the one where man will be truly man, without complex, without colour, religion, or nationality consideration, the world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality or inequality, of responsibility and of sovereign power of the People on the dictatorship of exploiter minorities, in short, the world of the redemption of Africa and all the peoples. And that is because the intention is impressive that we must, very moment, make the analysis of what we do and how to do it.”

³⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 16 April 1957. Pg. 137 “Capitalism and imperialism now no law beyond their own interests. Such are the ways of capitalism: money! Money! Money! The profit motive!

³⁸ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: What is the Class Struggle? Pg. 26. “Whatever its nature, the fight waged by the students, the women or the workers are always founded on the opposition between what is just and unjust, true and false, that is, within freedom, dignity, democracy, and democratic progress, on the one hand, and domination, exploitation, oppression and disqualification, on the other. The class struggle is therefore the guideline of the creative activities of the Peoples. It is waged within the family, at the level of the village or town, every Nation as well as at the international level.”

³⁹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: The People Wielding Ideological Power. Pg. 21. “For the ideology of the People’s Revolution, the People are the absolute reference, the absolute mover. But they should effectively be an absolute reference, and mover that guarantees the identity, the autonomy, the liberty, and the creative capacity of every concrete individual. For the People’s Revolutionary Power, it is out of the question that the People be considered as a mere object in history, they are both subject and object in history, especially in their own history they mold and develop uninterruptedly.”

⁴⁰ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 77. “We define organisation as being a set of coordinated techniques aimed at achieving, within the shortest period possible and with maximum efficiency, adopted objectives. An organisation cannot make progress without appropriate techniques.”

Our Objective: Pan-Africanism—One Unified Socialist Africa

⁴¹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: About Negritude*. Pg. 200 “African Peoples should, if they want to achieve the break-up with ambiguity, proceed to their own reconversion through the conscious expression of their freedom, the demonstration of their will of progress, the deliberate move back to African culture, its values, its virtues.”

⁴² Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms*. Pg. 108 “I have said that a colony is any territory in which the interests of the people are alienated from them and subjected to those of a group distinct from the people of the territory itself. It follows that a colony may be externally or internally subjected. When the interests of the people are subjected to those of a group outside the territory itself, it is said to be externally subjected. When the interests are subjected to those of a class in the sense of Marx within the territory itself, it is said to be internally subjected ... Colony is an economic-political term, not a legal one. It is possible for the same territory to be both internally and externally subjected.”

⁴³ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM 25 August 1966*. Pg. 64 “Lenin used to say that if you tolerate the enemy or compromise with him, you eventually submit the masses of people to cruelty. In other words, tolerate the enemy and you are cruel to the people. This is a saying I have by experience learned to take seriously now.”

⁴⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 167 “Thus, through time, the Peoples of the African continent, just as the other peoples have realized in affirming their conscious presence, by valorizing their space and by creating all the values of the civilization which have meant their cultural identity and given to their existence a foundation of multidimensional balance. They have never incited for that the services of the so-called civilizing and if they have relations with Europe, it was always in the most absolute respect and dignity. It is of precise context that are formed the African cities, the African States, the African economy, the African culture, which through the languages, the philosophical systems, religions and science and technics developed harmoniously towards the highest level of human knowledge. The African Peoples have known how to elaborate themselves and how to perfect unceasingly principles and methods of action which validity is in evidence.”

⁴⁵ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: About Negritude*. Pg. 196-197 “The theoretical justification of imperialism is a denial of all human faculty to Africa, to the “Negro”, whose company is obviously degrading. Giving proof of an odious racism, the white colonizer fostered among the colonizing nations, a “negrophobia” of which many a white man is still far from being cured ... The African thus became the “Negro”, born to be exploited.”

⁴⁶ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 168-169 “The colonialist legend that one has strived to inculcate us at blow with riding whip and which led to mold us of complexes by saying that Africa is without civilization and without culture, do not resist to the evident fact today when the Europeans landed in Africa, they found everywhere large, organized States, well structured. Many gold ores formed centers of cultural exchanges. Would European imperialists bring civilization to that very Africa? They only brought scorn, desolation, exploitation, and despair.”

⁴⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 177 “Pan-Africanism is henceforth the class struggle at the level of Africa and of her external branches. Being not conscious about it would be exposing ourselves to a confusion that imperialism would not miss exploiting.”

⁴⁸ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 168 “The pre-colonial period knew the greatness, the radiance, the splendor of historical construction, authentic and uncontested works of the African society. Through Africa in fact, and in many places, majestic ruins which have challenged the time, remains of ancient constructions, certify again today the existence of an old civilization that the colonizer strived to put off and show that, Africa so despised, so ridiculed, so humiliated and so stricken of congenital inability, had nothing inferior to other continents.”

⁴⁹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 174-175 “Pan-Africanism is not founded on the will of some States, we have seen it. We have seen Pan-Africanism is essentially founded on Africa of Peoples, Peoples who cover the entirely the geographical boundaries of our continent and overflow them towards the Americas. But it would be a very big mistake of those who judge Pan-Africanism from abroad, and a tragic mistake of those who are implicated by it, to think that it concerns a Pan-Negro ancestor, a kind of racism based on a certain Negro Nation. The confusion concerning ideological questions kills all the perspectives of correct and efficient orientation of struggle. Also, we must be obvious ... Pan-Africanism is born as a deep movement of exploitation, oppression and alienation. And because those forces of exploitation and alienation are incorporated to their ideology of domination, the myth of racial superiority, Pan-Africanism has had, from the beginning, the rise of falling into a racism required anti-racist.”

⁵⁰ Eric Williams. *Capitalism and Slavery: The Origin of Negro Slavery*. Pg. 7 “Slavery in the Caribbean has been too narrowly identified with the Negro. A racial twist has thereby been given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan. The first instance of slave trading and slave labor developed in the New World involved, racially, not the Negro but the Indian.”

⁵¹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture*. Pg. 200 “This is the case with Europeans and Americans of African origin who, by assimilated into their adoptive society, have also come to undergo a profound change in character as well as in mentality, which brings them closer to Europeans or Americans than to Africans.”

⁵² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 1 April 1967. Pg. 131 “The so-called coup in Ghana has turned me into an ardent African nationalist socialist.”

⁵³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: About Negritude*. Pg. 197-198 “We have asserted that every socio-economic infrastructure call for an appropriate ideology. In the face of such a shower of disgrace, and because we were treated as dirty “niggers” and “savages”, some of us joined the other side by proclaiming our “Negritude.” But a revolutionary, a conscious man never takes up position on the enemy’s ground.”

⁵⁴ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to Participants in the Cairo Seminar: ‘Africa: National and Social Revolution’ Pg. 73 “Our revolutionary struggle has reached a phase wherein the onslaught of imperialist neo-colonialist and allied forces of oppression are taking subtle and insidious forms, particularly in Africa. Comrades, these are times when all progressive forces must draw together in mutual understanding and solidarity to present a common front to the enemies of peace and progress.”

⁵⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to R. St Barbe Baker. Pg. 183 “As you know, the concept of reclaiming the Sahara Desert and developing its enormous economic potential is one that has always had my strong support. The Sahara is, after all, a very considerable area of the African continent and historically—that is to say before the period of European colonization—it was the centre of a great conflux of people and human activity. Great movements of population and the development of flourishing societies took place around this area. It seems to me, therefore, that as a part of the renaissance of our continent we have a duty to tackle this immense problem ... I have always taken the view that the development of Africa in any significant sense requires joint action by all its countries and people and that we have to create in Africa a continental union government if we are to have the strength and means to get on with the job.”

⁵⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 13 February 1967 Pg. 121 “World socialism seems to be in danger; but socialism will triumph. You see why I fight so hard for African unity and socialism. A united socialist Africa will be a bulwark for world socialism. It will add strength to the progressive and socialist forces, for peace and socialism.”

⁵⁷ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 84. “Reactionary ideologies, always interested, hence subjective, have tried to indoctrinate the masses with their definitions or comments, such as political freedom, political pluralism, democratic pluralism, or a government’s neutralism vis-à-vis philosophical and political trends prevailing in the country. We must strongly affirm that the objective of any action, or any undertaking must aim solely at the advancement of the People, at material and moral well-being, at strengthening their leading role, at respecting their personality, their security and at defending every man’s [and woman’s] and People’s legitimate interest... The multiplicity of political Parties is often a hypocritical camouflage by the ruling classes.”

⁵⁸ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 83 XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 89. “Reactionary philosophers and ideologists indoctrinate public opinion with the argument that the frequency in a country to change Government is an indication of progress. This has been proven wrong. That is why we have always said that whether brief or long, the length of power cannot be a criterion to judge a Government’s efficiency. Only social and historical significance can determine power. It is therefore always wrong to substitute the means for the end, the form for content.”

⁵⁹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture*. Pg 198 “Undeniably, it is a lack of revolutionary conscience therefore that led to the creation of the concept of “Negritude”. With the inferiority complex in us and convinced that we had neither civilization nor culture, we came to believe that we could not climb the rungs of the cultural ladder but by defining ourselves in relation to those who were alienating our personality. We thus allowed them to engulf us in racism that we wished anti-racist, and we gave them new weapons to destroy us and hold us in contempt, by going so far as to assert in the face of the world that “if reason is Hellenic, emotion is typical of the “negro”. We had to come to confession. We were on the one hand referred to with words like emotion, irrationalism, illogicality, if not want of sense, whereas they, on the other hand, were known as the majestic heirs of the Greco-Roman, Anglo-Saxon civilizations, etc. ..., and they embodied “Reason.”

⁶⁰ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism*. Pg. 176-177. “Pan-Africanism is henceforth the class struggle in Africa at the level of Africa and of her external branches. Being not conscious about it would be exposing ourselves to a confusion that imperialism would not miss exploiting... Is our friend, the great revolutionary of Cuba, Fidel Castro, not more hated by segregationists, fascists, than Black leaders who have become the accomplices, the devoted and servile agents of those who exploit their brothers [and sisters] and ridicules cynically the rights of African Peoples?”

⁶¹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 46. “It is no longer feasible to take a middle course. The time for reform, however progressive is past. For reforms cannot hold the enemy at bay, nor can they convince the silent, internal agents of neo-colonialism eliminate the puppets, or even destroy the capitalist structure and

mentality inherited in colonialism. The cancerous growths are proliferating at the very heart of our parties and territories whether they emerge under the cloak of constitutionalism, parliamentarianism, bureaucratic etiquette, an imposing civil service, officers trained in western 'a-political' tradition to maintain the bourgeois-capitalist status quo by means of military coups, or if they appear in the more obvious guise of corruption and nepotism. The people's armed struggle, the highest form of political action, is a revolutionary catalyst in the neo-colonialist situation."

⁶² Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion*. Pg. 87-88. "The African revolutionary struggle is not an isolated one. It not only forms part of the world socialist revolution but must be seen in the context of the Black Revolution as a whole. In the U.S.A., the Caribbean, and wherever Africans* are oppressed, liberation struggles are being fought. In these areas, the Black man is in a condition of domestic colonialism and suffers both on the grounds of class and of colour. The core of the Black Revolution is in Africa, and until Africa is united under a socialist government, the Black man throughout the world lacks a national home. It is around the African peoples' struggles for liberation and unification that African or Black culture will take shape and substance. Africa is one continent, one people, and one nation."

⁶³ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Socialist Revolution*. Pg. 80-81. "Socialist revolutionaries seek a complete and fundamental transformation of society, and the total abolition of privileged classes; whereas the decline of feudalism merely ushered in a new stratification of society in which money, and not titles and land, became the basis of power and privilege. Socialist revolution opposes all concepts of elitism and ends class antagonisms and racism. The socialist revolutionaries are fighting for a type of state which really expresses the aspirations of the masses, and which ensures their participation in every aspect of government."

⁶⁴ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Socialist Revolution*. Pg. 82-83. "The embourgeoisement of certain sections of the international working class and the economism of socialist and working-class leadership in some areas, has made the socialist revolutionary struggle in the developing world of even greater importance in 82 the world socialist revolutionary process."

⁶⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa*. Pg. 88. "The core of the Black Revolution is Africa and until Africa is united under a socialist government, the Black man [and woman] throughout the world lacks a National Home... [Accordingly], the total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African Socialist Government must be the primary objective of all Black Revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective, which when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and Peoples of African descent everywhere. It will, at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution."

Some African Organizational Models

⁶⁶ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses. Pg. 72. "Our revolutionary Party – the PDG – teaches us that for an organisation to be rational and efficient, it must meet the following three essential conditions: 1—the soundness of the line; 2—the rational and dynamic character of structures; 3—the loyalty of men [and women] to democratic objectives adopted. A just and rational organisation is the one which should foster the development of human capacities to achieve set objectives."

The Pan-African Movement: A Brief History

⁶⁷ Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready For Revolution The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture): In That Ol' Brier Patch*. Pg. 670 "Another thing I remember about Mrs. Hamer is her elation and joy when she returned from Africa in 1964. [A SNCC delegation visited Guinea on the invitation of President Sekou Toure, which had been arranged by Harry Belafonte. -EMT} Here was this daughter of Southern sharecroppers speaking neither French nor any of the African languages yet talking on and on about how completely at home and connected she had felt. She had been thrilled and couldn't stop talking about black folks running things. Pilots flying planes, etc., etc. And she was sho nuff in love with Sekou Toure (peace be unto him). "Oh, Stokely, the president came to visit. Oh, he was sooo handsome, all in his white robes, an' he was so kind." Despite the language gap, she had spoken with everyone she'd met. "Oh, Stokely, those people be jes' like us. The way they fix they hair, some of them. How they stand, how they walk, even the way they carry they babies." Like many returning Africans, she could not exactly explain the powerful feelings she'd experienced, but understood that it was real. "But, Stokely. It was so strange ... I jes' feel that I got family there ... I mean people my own blood ... who I'll never know." When I was leaving the Delta, I went to say good-bye. She gave me a big hug. "Stokely, you know that so long as I got a house in Mississippi, you got a place to stay. If there ain't but one chicken wing in the pot, you got half." Mrs. Hamer was a great-souled sister."

⁶⁸ Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready For Revolution The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture): In That Ol' Brier Patch*. Pg. 670 "From a SNCC perspective, the organization seemed to me entirely too hierarchical. With a quasi-military chain of command even. Not enough serious political education instead of slogans. Also, there apparently was no time, and absolutely no provision, for full internal discussion within the organization. Instead, "mandates," "orders," and "directives" were handed down whether or not folks agreed with or even understood them. You can

understand that this aspect would bother me quite a bit. In this climate, to raise questions, even legitimate and sincere ones, was too often seen as disloyalty or as challenging authority, an error to be corrected with physical or ideological intimidation.”

⁶⁹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 10 August 1967. Pg. 170 “I forgot to mention Black Power in the United States. It is shaking the rotten set up there. People call it a ‘race riot.’ I don’t. It is not racial. Those who think it is racial are fundamentally wrong. It is the rotten economic system there that has brought about Black Power. Black power is nothing but a violent protest of the have-nots against the haves. It is the poor against the rich. America is a land of inequalities. Abundance for the few and poverty for the many. I wouldn’t be surprised if some poor whites join hands with the blacks. The plight of the poor whites and the blacks is the same. They should fight together and make Black Power a reality power in the States, irrespective of the colour of the skin. It has become *Black* Power because the blacks are the majority of the poor and have-nots in the United States.”

⁷⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to Reba Lewis Pg. “The workers of Europe and America have become will-fed Philistines in a capitalist, neo-colonialist world. We in Africa can no more rely on the workers of Europe and America for our revolutionary struggle against neo-colonialism.”

⁷¹ Bob Brown. Email Re: Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party to Leila Wills. Thursday, September 5, 2024, and interview by Mwalimu Keita, September 6, 2024.

⁷² Stokley Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. Ready For Revolution The Life and Struggles of Stokley Carmichael (Kwame Ture): In That Ol’ Brier Patch. Pg. 669 “I was involved with the Black Panther Party for about a year. Why? Because I thought there was real potential there, valuable initiatives that deserved to be defended and advanced, if possible. When I concluded that this wasn’t about to happen, I left. All right, okay, the perceived wisdom is simplistic. As when we now hear mainly from their former New Left patrons—that the Panther leadership was nothing but street thugs, and the party, at core, a criminal enterprise and a paramilitary street gang. End of story.”

⁷³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 86-87. “For instance, Europe created the Nation before the State, while Africa began with creating the State. This means that Africa began with creating the State. This means that Africa began by transforming its former colonial territories into homogenous viable and strong Nations thanks to reconquered political power... The creation of the Nation was a necessity, otherwise African states would have been fragile and vulnerable and would have been at the mercy of imperialist aggressions. The interdependence of colonial relationships would have been maintained, preventing that State from adopting an independent policy compliant with the country’s interest.”

⁷⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 176 “Is our friend, the great revolutionary of Cuba, Fidel Castro, not more hated by segregationists, fascists than Black leaders who have become the accomplices, the devoted and servile agents of those who exploit their brothers and ridicule cynically the rights of African Peoples? Is Allende not nearer to exploited Blacks than are some “Afro-Americans or African leaders”?”

⁷⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to Reba Lewis 3 June 1968 Pg. 238 “There are a lot of things DuBois did which have put a brake to the revolving machine of African Revolution. Dr. DuBois lived behind a ‘veil’ which he was afraid to tear open. He was an intellectual but not a revolutionary. If Dr. DuBois had supported Marcus Garvey, the course of Afro-American history might be different now. But I loved him and respected him just the same.”

⁷⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism. Pg. 73-77. “Whereas capitalism is a development by refinement from slavery and feudalism, socialism does not contain the fundamental ingredient of capitalism, the principle of exploitation... Capitalism is unjust; in our newly independent countries it is not only too complicated to be workable, it is also foreign. In sum the restitution of Africa’s humanist and egalitarian principles of society require socialism.”

⁷⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 21 December 1967. Pg. 204 “Someday it might be easier to recruit African-Americans for AAPRA.”

⁷⁸ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 21 December 1967. Pg. 204 “Someday it might be easier to recruit African-Americans for AAPRA.”

⁷⁹ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM 8 July 1966. Pg. 53 “I am not interested in the Commonwealth, any more than I am interested in the OAU.”

⁸⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 19 October 1966 Pg. “By the way if you hear that I am going to the OAU Conference in Addis Abba, don’t believe it. I am not going. The OAU has lost its vitality. Its diplomacy does not tell anymore. Perhaps it can be used only as a rallying point but not as a fighting instrument. I don’t want it destroyed completely, however.

⁸¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to D. K. Muvuti 8 May 1967. Pg. 146 “Because to achieve political and economic independence and to advance on the road towards continental unity have been consistently and insidiously sabotaged by neo-colonialist maneuvers, it is no longer possible, indeed it would be suicidal, to combat such dangerous and ruthless forces by the old methods of peaceful persuasion and compromise. For years a virtual state of war has existed in Africa between the developing, independent states and the foreign interests determined to maintain and even strengthen their stranglehold on the economic life of our continent. This ‘war’ must now come into the open, and be fought and

won in the military sense, if Africa is ever to achieve her full development. The movement for total liberation from imperialism and neo-colonialism is entering a new phase, the phase of an All-African People's Revolutionary armed struggle."

⁸² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to Pat Sloan 27 September 1966. Pg. 71 "The struggle for African unity and socialism should now be backed by a revolutionary armed struggle. It is only armed struggle that these two objectives can be realised in Africa. Mao is right when he said that power grows out of the barrel of a gun. It sounds cynical and brutal but it is a fact, and it does not pay to side-step a fact. Thanks to the co-called Ghana coup, I now see the struggle in its truer perspective. It may take a long time, but I am convinced now that that is the only way and we should all be prepared for it ideologically and otherwise."

⁸³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: The Woman's Role in the Anti-colonial Struggle. Pg. 17. "Independence, for a county formerly colonized by the whites, does not mean the mere departure of the white representative of a regime of exploitation which, to all intents and purposes, has no race or nationality. The real value of independence resides in the production relationships and quality practices it generates within society. True independence, one that will free both man and woman, is directly expressed by the liquidation of structures which have served as a base for injustices of feudalism and colonialization, and the no less unjust attitude of man toward his wife."

⁸⁴ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. Pg. 30. "Why his succession of military coups and rebellions in Africa? World imperialism and neo-colonialism are behind them. They are always trying to undermine the independence of African states, and to draw them again into spheres of influence (as at the Berlin Conference, 1884), in order to continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the African people, and in order to shape their fate and destiny. What has happened in Ghana is but a part of the plan."

⁸⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 24 March 1967, Good Friday. Pg. 128 "You will see that within a year or so there have been about nine coups of different degrees in Africa. What is happening is the restlessness before the hurricane. Imperialism and neo-colonialism are at bay, and if they think that by coups, they will gain their ends they are mistaken. The masses of Africa are awakened, though at the moment inert. What is happening is a preparation, a rehearsal of what is to come. So, we must lie in wait and prepare."

⁸⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to JM. 5 April 1967. Pg. 133 "There can be no stability in any African country where the military have taken over. The very operation of neo-colonialism makes it impossible, a definite contradiction. Precisely that's why I hold the view that military coups cannot succeed in entrenching themselves in Africa. The force of the masses will uproot and unseat them."

⁸⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 9 June 1969. Pg. "But you no my views of coup d'etats; all military coup d'etats be they left or right, (except military counter-coup d'etats) are abominations and must be condemned."

⁸⁸ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to JM. 21 December 1967. Pg. 204 "These military coups won't last long in Africa. They are temporary expediences in the onward march of the African Revolution."

⁸⁹ Kwame Nkrumah, Class Struggle in Africa: Pg. 11-12. "For the African bourgeoisie, the class, which thrived under colonialism, is the same class, which is benefiting under the post-independence, neo-colonial period. Its basic interest lies in preserving capitalist structures. It is therefore, in alliance with international monopoly finance capital and neocolonialism, and in direct conflict with the African masses, whose aspirations can only be fulfilled through scientific socialism."

⁹⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. The Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Pg. "the need for an All-African People's Revolutionary Party to coordinate policies and to direct action. ... A political party linking all liberated territories and struggling parties under a common ideology; and thus, smoothing the way for continental unity, while at the same time greatly assisting the prosecution of the All-African People's War."

⁹¹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 75. "The technique of organisation involves the respect of some fundamental realities. Life cannot exist without the group. This law spares no one. Life exists only within the group. Life in group is an objective necessity, which every man [and woman] recognizes through his [her] consciousness."

⁹² Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. "Revolutionary Pan-Africanism having for fundamental reference Africa of Peoples must lean on the primacy of Peoples in front of States. The states, when they belong to Peoples, constitute instruments of execution of the will and decisions of Peoples, but when they are those of exploiting classes, the constitute instruments of execution of anti-Peoples decisions, and we can notice that all the states of the are covered by Pan-Africanism are far from being those of Peoples or faithful to Peoples. Thus, by fatefulness to its aim, Pan-Africanism is for all the African Peoples and for those who are issued from it through some historical process, at that same time cultural and economic."

⁹³ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. Pg. 3. "President Kwame Nkrumah was on his way to Hanoi with peace proposals for ending the war in Vietnam when the 24 February 1966 coup in Ghana overthrew his government."

⁹⁴ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM.

⁹⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to JM. 7 October 1966. Pg. 75 “The Party [PDG] is well organised but the civil service is not, and this leads to all sorts of irregularities and inefficiency.”

⁹⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 30 September 1967. Pg. 184 “Stokely Carmichael is here. He came to see me yesterday and we had a long chat. He is capable but as most youths are, very impulsive. But I think he is reliable. My only fear is that he goes back to the United States he will get himself into trouble. The CIA is trailing him wherever he goes. Even here they (American embassy) tried to get his passport from him. Can you imagine this? But he gave them a rough deal ... Mrs. Shirley DuBois is also here.”

⁹⁷ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion. Pg. 84. “There are only two ways of development open to an Independent African State. Either it must remain under imperialist domination via capitalism and neo-colonialism; or it must pursue a socialist path by adopting the principles of scientific socialism.”

⁹⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion. Pg. 87. “But political independence did not bring to an end economic oppression and exploitation. Nor did it end foreign political interference. The neocolonialist period begins when international monopoly finance capital, working through the indigenous bourgeoisie, attempts to secure an even tighter stranglehold over the economic life of the continent than was exercised during the colonial period. Under neocolonialism a new form of violence is being used against the peoples of Africa. It takes the form of indirect political domination through the indigenous bourgeoisie and puppet governments teleguided and marionetted by neo-colonialists; direct economic exploitation through an extension of the operations of giant interlocking corporations; and through all manner of other insidious ways such as the control of mass communications media, and ideological penetration.”

⁹⁹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: What is Class Struggle. Pg. 26. “There are classes that portend welfare and cherish freedom, equality, and democratic progress, and others opposed to these riches, these great values, and who intend to keep mankind in division, exploitation, and oppression.”

¹⁰⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms. Pg. 112 “Positive actions is required to consolidate independence, and to raise a liberated territory to the level of a united nation”

¹⁰¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to JM. 26 March 1967, Easter Sunday. Pg. 129 “Another lesson in the African revolutionary struggle. In a revolutionary struggle constitutionalism and legality must be expunged. They are incompatible with any revolutionary struggle. The African revolutionary struggle continues.”

¹⁰² June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM. Pg. “I am interested in the Vietnamese war because I am opposed to imperialism and neo-colonialism; and I believe that world socialism can end war and usher in permanent peace for the world. I believe in internationalism, but internationalism must presuppose Asia for Asians, Africa for Africans, and Europe for Europeans.”

¹⁰³ Kwame Nkrumah. Dark Days in Ghana: Peking to Conakry. Pg. 9. “The word ‘coup’ should not be used to describe what took place in Ghana on 24th February 1966. On that day, Ghana was captured by traitors among the army and police who were inspired and helped by neo-colonialists and certain reactionary elements among our own population. It was an act of aggression, an ‘invasion,’ planned to take place in my absence and to be maintained by force. Seldom in history has a more cowardly and criminally stupid attempt been made to destroy the independence of a nation.”

¹⁰⁴ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. June Milne 1967 Introduction. Pg. 107 “Following a counter coup April 17, 1967, the CPP was accused of involvement, “though 489 CPP members who had been imprisoned the year before³ and subsequently released, were rearrested.”

¹⁰⁵ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM 30 April 1966. Pg. 40-41. “What remains is how to put my plans for returning to Ghana into effect... I have been thinking and planning of raising a volunteer army when I get to Ghana, not for Ghana but for Africa. I am now convinced that African unity and socialism can effectively be achieved only by armed struggle. I have done enough persuasion and persuasion must now be backed by a revolutionary armed struggle.”

¹⁰⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 5 April 1967. Pg. 133 “We are forming a world Committee in support of the people of Vietnam. This initiative being with the full and ardent support of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, President Ho Chi Minh and Ernesto Che Guevara.”

¹⁰⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 24 February 1968. Pg. 225 “I jokingly told him [Julius Nyerere] that, if I am not in Ghana by Easter, I would go to Dar es Salaam and make that place my base in order to organise the freedom fighters and guerrillas into an formidable army of African liberation. He agreed and said I could come. But you see, I could only make Ghana such a base.”

¹⁰⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. Dark Days in Ghana: Peking to Conakry. Pg. 16

¹⁰⁹ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: Introduction. Pg. 6. “The aircraft carrying Nkrumah and his entourage had touched down briefly in Yugoslavia and Algeria, finally reaching Conakry during the afternoon of 2nd March. The following day at a mass rally, Sekou Toure proclaimed Nkrumah head of state of Guinea. ‘The Ghanaian traitors have been mistaken in thinking that Nkrumah is simply a Ghanaian,’ he declared, ‘he is a universal man,’ It was an unprecedented expression of Pan-Africanism. At the time, Nkrumah did not realize what Sekou Toure, speaking in

French, had said. He thought the cheering of the crowd was in response to the Guinean president's welcome to his distinguished guest. When later he learned the truth, he was very moved but agreed only to become co-president of Guinea."

¹¹⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. *Dark Days in Ghana: Peking to Conakry*. Pg. 19

¹¹¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to Henri Herve 21 May 1967. Pg. 153. Pg. 153 "It is only another coup d'état that can save the situation, and the time is now. Another attempt must be made and it must be properly planned. This should be soon, because political, economic and social mess Ghana is in is unbearable. Ghana is put back ten years. Our return should be a priority and that must be the concern for all."

¹¹² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*: KN to Pat Sloan. Pg. 71 September 27, 1966 "I get news from Ghana almost everyday so I know what is going on there. Only I do not think it is safe to write about such news. On thing is certain—the masses are awakening... Things may seem quiet there now but there is a lot going on underground. Severy groups are secretly organizing, only waiting for the appropriate time for them to come out and act. So, when you hear that all is quiet don't let that bother you."

¹¹³ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. 1966. KN to Kwesi Armah 14 April 1967. Pg. 137 "To sum up. There is only one course open to those who are interested in my return to Ghana and that is a counter-coup backed by the insurrectionary support of the masses. This is the only way, and there is no other. If you don't accept this as the only course open to all party elements, the I say frankly don't write to me anymore."

¹¹⁴ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*: KN to JM 24 August 1966. Pg. 63 "Anyway, I assure you that it will not be long before my return to Ghana. Probably, your next visit will take you to Ghana."

¹¹⁵ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*: KN to JM 3 August 1966. Pg. 58 "The Ghana people themselves will send for me. But I think another two months here will give me the long vacation I needed so much working for them."

¹¹⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 21 August 1967. Pg. 173 "Anyhow, the ground is being prepared for AAPRA. I die to get back to Ghana to challenge all this neo-colonialist tomfoolery."

¹¹⁷ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: 1960-1966-August 24, 1966*. Pg. 63. "The African struggle has entered a new phase—the military phase. This struggle must be prosecuted with vigour, sincerity, honesty, sacrifice and honour. It will need dedicated men and women."

¹¹⁸ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 21 August 67. Pg. 171 "Our return to Ghana is now a question of time. The chaps there are working very hard. I hope nobody intervenes to betray them. Within the next two months, let's cross our fingers and hope for the best ... We all seem somehow to agree that it won't be long and we shall be back in Ghana."

¹¹⁹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to Reba Lewis 28 April 1969. Pg. 305 "Yes, I think it won't be long before we meet. The signs clearly indicate that my exile is coming to an end and our return to Ghana is quite certain. Then the African revolutionary will surely begin in earnest."

¹²⁰ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 88. "In African countries, the one-Party system is indisputably the decisive factor of the Peoples, for it strengthens the action of each People over the country's relationship with other Peoples. The corollary of a country's one-Party system is the decentralisation of the organisation and political inspiration – with increasing vigour and rigour – of democratic activity in order to preserve the organisation's political and moral health. Whatever the case, only truth builds a system and justice perpetuates."

¹²¹ Stokley Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready For Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokley Carmichael (Kwame Ture)*: In *That Ol'Brier Patch*. Pg. 675. "In 1968, in his *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, President Nkrumah called for the formation of a continentwide people's party as a permanent vehicle for advancing the African struggle. He envisioned "a political party linking all liberated territories and struggling parties under a common ideology, thus smoothing the way for continental unity while assisting the prosecution of the all-African people's war." In other words, a revolutionary African united front."

¹²² June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah: *The Conakry Years—His Life and Letters*

¹²³ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah: *The Conakry Years—His Life and Letters*

¹²⁴ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*: JM's Notebook: 10-23 June 1966. Pg. 44-45. "On Ghanaians" 'I gave them their freedom and built the country up for them. If they want to throw it away, it is their affair. There are two reasons why I must go back—African unity and socialism'...'Sometimes I sit here [in the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea] and indulge in self-criticism. I think I made two mistakes. I was not tough enough, and I did not pursue socialism fast enough. When I go back it will be different'."

¹²⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 20 July 1967. Pg. 166 "In all, Africa is getting ready for AAPRA. The OAU is practically dead now."

¹²⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 14 December 1969. Pg. 347 "As I told you before, three things must go together: the formation of AAPRA, AAPRP and the All-African Union Government. That is,

the Army, the Party and the Government, all could be announced simultaneously. And avoiding beating about the bush, we could call it the Union of African Socialist States.”

¹²⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 18 December 1967. Pg. 203 “On the Vietnam war, I sometimes seriously think Johnson is insane. The stupidity and infantilism of the whole business makes even a child wonder. Something is drastically wrong with the American ruling class. The ‘dollar’ has gone to their heads and mad them uselessly irresponsible. My fear is that this irresponsibility my trigger off a world atomic war. I wonder how long a limited war like the one in Vietnam can be limited when one sees it everyday escalating.”

¹²⁸ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 6 October 1967. Pg. 186 “I came to the office I found on my desk your letter of the 27th of September. It contained an article by Carmichael. Really it is not an article he wrote. It was the speech he gave at the Havana Conference. He has already given me a copy. And I have already criticised it, namely the Black Power leaders don’t seem aware enough of Africa. They are more taken up with the struggle in the United States. The concept of Black Power will be fulfilled only when Africa is free and united. This is precisely the point I am going to make them realise.”

¹²⁹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 1 August 1967. Pg. 168 “The riots in America still continue. Instead of dying down they are spreading. America is a mess. Black Power is in revolt, revolt against oppression, unemployment and racial segregation and poverty.”

¹³⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 6 October 1967. Pg. 186 “Carmichael is still here. I have got another admirer and a pupil. He does not want to return to the United States. He wants to remain here and return with me to Ghana to work with me and for me. I have not yet decided anything on that suggestion. I am just thinking and turning over the whole thing in my mind. But he is really serious and means it.”

¹³¹ Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. Ready For Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)

¹³² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 30 October 1967. Pg. 192 “By the way, Stokely Carmichael left for Tanzania two weeks ago and I have not heard anything about him. I hope he has not been kidnapped by the Americans. East Africa is now controlled by America. The CIA dominates there and the American and British ambassadors are the real rulers of the so-called independent states in East Africa. Anyhow I hope he is alright. He is supposed to return to Guinea.”

¹³³ Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. Ready For Revolution The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture): Conakry, 1968: Ready For Revolution. Pg. 622-223

¹³⁴ Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez, Matt Meyer and Mandy Carter. Ed. We Have Not Been Moved: Resisting Racism and Militarism in 21st Century America: The Pan-Africanization of Black Power True History, Coalition-Building, and the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party: An Interview with Bob Brown, Organizer for the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party (GC) Matt Meyer and Dan Berger “Before the Greensboro meeting, several of our key cadre in Chicago, but not all of the ones listed above, announced the formation of the first Work-Study Circle of the A-APRP in the United States. Other study groups existed in Boston, New York, Baltimore, D.C., Richmond, Greensboro, Atlanta, Houston, Toronto, Halifax, and other cities in North America and the Caribbean, but they were not formally affiliated with or called A-APRP. At the Greensboro meeting, Kwame told me that our announcement of an A-APRP Work-Study Circle in Chicago, and our call to build such circles in every corner of the Western Hemisphere, was premature. He asked me to disband it immediately. I reluctantly, but without question, accepted his request. I never fully understood his reasoning, and never asked why. Unfortunately, this decision precipitated a split in our ranks in Chicago”

¹³⁵ Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. Ready For Revolution The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture): Conakry, 1968: Home to Africa. Pg. 688-689 “Within the entourage, four of us hung together and were known as the youth group. A brother about my age, Francis Wuff-Tagoe, had been studying journalism in New York when the coup had happened. He had hastened from New York to offer his services to his leader. Naturally we were joined to each other, he being a competent journalist and a committed brother whose main duty was preparing a daily summary of African and international political news for the Old Man. The third member was Lamin Jangha, who arrived about six months after me. A wiry, athletic, intense young brother just out of high school, he'd made his way some one thousand miles from Ghana to offer his services. I took an immediate liking to the young brother. Everyone liked him. He was spirited, smart, passionately committed, daring, and very determined, as his arrival in Conakry testified. Over the years Lamin and I would become close, traveling together on missions all over Africa and the Caribbean. Our fourth member was Thomas "Papa" Amano, and his was quite a story. Before the coup, many Ghanaians studied in the Soviet Union. In Moscow, Papa organized a small group that persuaded the Russians to fly them to Conakry to join their deposed leader. Of that group, Papa stayed the course. He was fearless and effective in the operations in Ghana and became a tireless organizer in the All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Like me, he continues to live in Guinea and is part of my extended family. In any case, the four of us—Francis, Papa, Lamin, and I—and of course, Zenzi, became like a real family within the group.”

¹³⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to Reba Lewis 23 September 1969. Pg. 335 “When I said that a man’s private life is his own so long as he does not allow it to destroy the objectives of his socialist revolutionary life. I meant exactly what you mean. I know that it is impossible for a revolutionary to disassociate his private life from his public life if he wants to be a true socialist revolutionary. When I said his private life was his own, I said so under one condition, namely, that he does not allow his private life to destroy his socialist revolutionary objectives.”

¹³⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 1 April 1967. Pg. 131 “We cannot conquer and overcome neo-colonialism unless we hate those who practice it.”

¹³⁸ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 8 September 1969. Pg. 331 “I am convinced that an African Union Government can be established at the same time as AAPRP and AAPRA. Such a government could be established over the heads of the Independent African States. Membership or citizenship of the union will be based on individuals, and not on states. And the government doesn’t have to seek diplomatic recognition. It will work through its individual citizen membership. Its main job is to work with AAPRP and AAPRP, and to boost up the political unification of Africa. Such a Union Government will cut across the confusion and pandemonium reigning in Africa, since it will function independently of the African states, which the Union Government will consider as zones.”

¹³⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa: Conclusion. Pg. 88. “The notion that in order to have a nation it is necessary for there to be a common language, a common territory, and a common culture, has failed to stand the test of time or the scrutiny of scientific definition of objective reality. Common territory, language and culture may in fact be present in a nation, but the existence of a nation does not necessarily imply the presence of all three. Common territory and language alone may form the basis of a nation. Similarly, common territory plus common culture may be the basis. In some cases, only one of the three applies. A state may exist on a multi-national basis. The community of economic life is the major feature within a nation, and it is the economy which holds together the people living in a territory. It is on this basis that the new Africans recognise themselves as potentially one nation, whose dominion is the entire African continent.”

Nkrumahism-Toureism: Our Ideology

¹⁴⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 1 July 1967. Pg. 161 “To me there is a difference between Christ and Jesus. Christ is mystical and impersonal, and Jesus is historical and personal. The two are not one and the same thing. Christian theologians have messed up the world with this confusion. Jesus is the biological son of Joseph and Mary. He was, however, a wise man in many things, like Buddha, Socrates, Confucius, Mohammed etc.”

¹⁴¹ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms. Pg. 114 “It is essential that socialism should include overriding regard to the experience and consciousness of a people, for if it does not do so, it will be serving an idea and not a people. It will generate contradiction. It will be dogmatic. It will shed its materialist and realist basis. It will become a fanaticism, an obscurantism, an alienator of human happiness. When we talk of socialism in Africa, therefore, we really do intend to include as part of socialism an overriding regard to our actual material conditions, an overriding regard to our experience and our consciousness.”

¹⁴² June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 4 December 1966. Pg. 94 “You know I am a Marxist and scientific socialist. But I don’t consider myself in this particular sense a Leninist. Leninism is an application of Marxism to the Russian milieu. But the Russian milieu is not the same as the African milieu. What I am trying to do is apply Marxism—scientific socialism—to the African social conditions and situation, in other words, the African milieu. And here the question of communism comes in—whether I am a communist or not. I am a scientific socialist and a Marxist and if that is tantamount to being a communist then I am. But not a communist of the Marxist-Leninist type ... It is very important point, and I must at one stage or the other make my position very clear to the world ... I have all respect for Lenin and Leninism and have learnt a lot from him.”

¹⁴³ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Society and Ideology. Pg. 59. “the ideology of a society is total. Ideology embraces the whole life of a People, and manifests itself in their class, [national and gender] structure, history, literature, art, and religion.”

¹⁴⁴ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM.

¹⁴⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 16 February 1967. Pg. 122 “An army of principles will penetrate where an army of men cannot. It will march to the ends of the world, and it will conquer.”

¹⁴⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms. Pg. 113 “It is only a socialist scheme of development which can ensure that a society is redeemed, that the general welfare is honestly pursued, that autonomy rests with the society as a whole and not in part, that the experience and consciousness of the people are ravaged and raped. It is only a socialist scheme of development that can meet the passionate objectivity of philosophical consciencism.”

¹⁴⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: The Woman’s Role in the Anti-Colonial Struggle. P. 12. “There can, therefore, not be any true emancipation of the woman in a bourgeois regime as long as the foundations of exploitation itself are not liquidated. This is equally true, obviously, for the colonial [and neo-colonial] regime. It means that if national liberation from this yoke is only the concern of men, then it is a false national liberation, a true parody of national *dignity*... Society is not freed as long as the woman is not, and the woman cannot be freed without the whole society being freed.”

¹⁴⁸ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 79. “The revolutionary method should at any moment, permit groups of men to establish a distinction between the general character and particular character of situations. It will also allow them to make clear distinction from things that disintegrate the and disappear to things that emerge and develop—a proves that shows that birth is a result of disintegration. Only then can we be able to make a line between what is fundamental, relative and what is of short term and brief. Men cannot achieve their objectives in the best conditions when a method is not based on the knowledge of distinctions.”

¹⁴⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques. Pg. 43. “The dimension of our struggle is equal to the size of the African continent itself. It is in no way confined with any of the absurd limits of the micro-states created by the colonial powers, and jealously guarded by imperialist puppets during the neo-colonialist period. Fore although the African nation is at present split up among many African states, it is in reality simply divided into two: our enemy and ourselves.”

¹⁵⁰ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 1 January 1970. Pg. 359 “The Vietnamese peasant has communalist traditions, so has the African peasantry. In Africa, the communalist tradition was suppressed by feudalism. The village has been everything to the African. Life begins in the village. In Vietnam, the village is organised on modern lines with a socialist base. And this, future, we must do in Africa. Modern Africa can learn a lot from the modern village commune of North Vietnam.”

¹⁵¹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 91. “But as far as we are concerned, social progress being a complex process, each of its phases involving new problems, our principle is to always tell the People the truth, because for us it is the price we have to pay for the trust that they have put in their political and social system.”

¹⁵² Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: About Negritude. Pg. 202 “Freedom, on which human promotion is founded should allow a quick desalination of mentalities, demystification of education, detoxification of minds. It should lead to a total break up with colonialism and imperialism, which, both had indeed created among Africans a special mentality called the “colonized mentality” which could have no other reference except the values imposed by the invader. It was in the highest sense, the mental dependence of the slave towards his master, and many African intellectuals tamed at colonial school were affected by this mentality.”

¹⁵³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Pan-Africanism. Pg. 171 “The African economic development requires, in fact, that Africa be, first of all, free totally free in her thoughts, free in her creative action, free in her relation with nature, thanks to the mastery more and more advanced in modern science, technic and technology, free in her economic, political and military relations with foreign powers, finally free to assume positively her presence in the world as a factor of enrichment of mankind.”

¹⁵⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 177 “The cultural Revolution, we must be engaged in it everywhere in Africa, everywhere in the Afro-American Peoples, with here, the adorned contribution of specific situations. We must concert ourselves to do it together. WE must do it by inserting ourselves in the great struggle of all the peoples with a view to reach a life full of responsibility in a world of harmony, progress and peace in justice.”

¹⁵⁵ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 177 “Pan-Africanism, when it is all at once against the imperialist oppression it becomes a will of unity of African Peoples, of all the African Peoples, to stop bring objects of history to become the authors, the Pan-Africanism engages in the Cultural Revolution, quite different from the fetishist and touched contemplation of some “African art objects”.”

¹⁵⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism—Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization: Consciencism. Pg. 95 “The cardinal principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man [and each woman] as an end [themselves] and not merely a means. It is fundamental to all socialist or humanist conceptions of man [of the People].”

¹⁵⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Pan-Africanism, and Culture: Culture Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 176. “The colour of the skin, whatever it is black, white, yellow or tanned, does not show anything of the social class, of the ideology, or the nature of the behavior, qualities and aptitudes of Man and the People ... Therefore, we must define ourselves, not by the colour of the skin, which is a static element, but in the function only of our objectives of progress which are, as for them, dynamic, right and noble.”

¹⁵⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism—Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization: Consciencism. Pg. 96. “It is the basic unity of matter, despite its varying manifestations, which give rise to egalitarianism... [M]an [and woman] is one, for all men [and women] have the same basis and arise from the same evolution according to materialism. This is the objective ground of egalitarianism.¹⁵⁸ [M]aterialism favours egalitarianism.”

¹⁵⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism—Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization: Society and Ideology. Pg. 75 “... materialism, on the other hand, was connected with a humanist organization, how through its being monistic, and it’s referring all natural processes to matter and its laws, it inspired an egalitarian organization of society. The unity and fundamental identity

of nature suggests the unity and fundamental identity of man in society. Idealism favours an oligarchy; materialism favours an egalitarianism.”

¹⁶⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism—Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization: Consciencism*. Pg. 98 “By reason of egalitarian tenet, philosophical consciencism seeks to promote individual development, but in such a way that the conditions for the development of all become the conditions for the development of each; that is, in such a way that the individual development does not introduce such diversities as to destroy the egalitarian basis. The social-political practice also seeks to co-ordinate social forces in such a way as to mobilize them logistically for maximum development of society along true egalitarian lines. For this, planned development is essential.”

¹⁶¹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah *The Conakry Years His Life and Letters*. KN to JM. 28 November 1967. Pg. 199-200 “You may remember when you were here, I tried to discuss religion with you. I did not go further than to say that I did not believe in organised religion. Religion, *qua* religion, and as a social and cultural phenomenon, evolving as it were through man’s aspirations to a higher self, not an incomprehensible with scientific socialism (Marxism) or Communism. As I say, it is the organised form of religion e.g., organised Christianity or Churchianity which I loathe. I loathe it because it destroys the freedom and man and turns him into a spiritual slave.”

¹⁶² Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 46-47. “A territory under enemy control therefore is governed against the interests of the majority. Such zones are economically, militarily, and politically alienated. It is precisely in these territories that enemy has its military camps, aerodromes, naval establishments and broadcasting stations, and where foreign banks, insurance firms, mining, industrial and trading companies have their headquarters. In other words, these zones are enemy nerve centres.”

¹⁶³ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 48-49. “A zone under enemy control can at any time become a contested area if the revolutionary forces in activity there are either on the verge of armed struggle or have reached an advanced stage of revolutionary organisation. In some cases, a spark is enough to determine the turning point from preparation to action. In other circumstances, the embers can smolder underground for a much longer period... Between a zone under enemy control where the masses are awakening and a hotly-contested zones, there is only one missing link: a handful of genuine revolutionaries prepared to organise and act... A contested zone is not only a zone of revolutionary activity, but it also an area in which a people’s party works underground or semi-clandestinely to organise the overthrow of a puppet government.”

¹⁶⁴ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 43-44. “[Liberated areas] can be collectively defined as territories where (a) Independence was secured through an armed struggle, or through a positive action movement representing the majority of the population under the leadership of an anti-imperialist and well-organised mass party. (b) A puppet regime was overthrown by a people’s movement (Zanzibar, Congo-Brazzaville, Egypt). (c) A social revolution is taking place to consolidate political independence by 1. Promoting accelerated economic development, 2. Improving working conditions, 3. Establishing complete freedom from dependence on foreign economic interests. It therefore follows that a liberated zone can only be organised by a radically anti-imperialist party...”

¹⁶⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 46. “Zones under enemy control The imperialists control such zones: (a) through an administration manned by foreigners. The territory is then externally subjected. (b) through a puppet government made up of local elements. The territory is then both internally and externally subjected. (c) through a settler, minority government. In this territory, settlers have established the rule of a majority by a minority. There is no logic except the right of might that can accept such a situation. The predominant racial group must, and will, provide the government of a country. Settlers, provided they accept the principle of one man [or woman] one vote, and majority rule, may be tolerated; but settler minority governments, never. They are a dangerous anachronism and must be swept away completely and forever.”

¹⁶⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 49. “There are many more contested zones than liberated zones. In fact, the total area of contested zones covers most of the African continent. All the more reasons why we should take vigilant care of our liberated territories.”

¹⁶⁷ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 50. “The forces struggling in contested zones are in the front line of the revolutionary liberation movement. They must receive material support from the liberated zones in order to carry their mission through a successful end. This involves a development of the struggle until a people’s insurrectionary movement is able to assume power.”

¹⁶⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 44-45. “It therefore follows that a liberated zone can only be organised by a radically anti-imperialist party whose duty it is: (a) decolonize, (b) to teach the theory and practice of socialism as applied to the African social milieu and adapted to the local circumstances. The people’s socialist parties take the necessary steps to transform the united but heterogenous front which fought for independence into an ideologically monolithic party of cadres. Thus, in a truly liberated territory, once can observe: 1. Political growth achieved as a result of discussions and agreements concluded within the party. 2. Steady progress to transform theory into practice along the

ideological lines drawn by the party, 3. Constant improvement, checking and re-checking of the development plans to be carried out by the party and at state level, 4. Political maturity among party members, who are no longer content to follow a vague and general line of action. Revolutionary maturity is the prelude to the re-organisation of the party structure long more radical lines. However, no territory may be said to be truly liberated if the party leadership, apart from consolidating the gains of national independence does not undertake to: (a) Support to actively the detachments of revolutionary liberation movements in the contested zones of Africa, (b) contribute to the organisation and revolutionary practice of the people's forces in neo-colonialist states, i.e. in zones under enemy control or in contested areas, (c) Effect an organic liaison of its political and economic life with other liberated zones of the African nation. This implies a system of mutual servicing and aid between the various detachments of the liberation movements and the liberated zones, so that a continuous exchange experience, advice and ideas will link the progressive parties in power with the parties struggling in contested zones. Each liberated zone should be ready to offer the use of its territory to detachments of the liberation movements so that the latter may establish their rear bases on friendly soil, and benefit from the provision of communications, hospitals, schools, factories, workshops, etc."

¹⁶⁹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 27 September 1966. Pg. 73 "Religion can be given a scientific basis, and it can be made scientific if devoid of its mumbo-jumbo. devices."

¹⁷⁰ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: Policy and Ideology. Pg. 17. "The line of the masses could thus be defined as being the active contribution of the masses, not only to the elaboration and the exercise of political power, but also to the conduct or the management of State affairs."

¹⁷¹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: The Woman's Role in the Anti-colonial Struggle. Pg. 13. "Today, she can proudly lay claim, therefore, to part of this victory of the Peoples of Africa over the forces of domination, oppression, and exploitation. By engaging herself actively and courageously in the recapture of national sovereignty, the African women acquired the imprescriptible right of participating fully in the functioning of the sovereign State, the building of the new Nation as well as the rehabilitation and expansion of the People's culture."

Democratic Centralism: Our Organization Principle

¹⁷² Ahmed Sekou Toure. Revolution, Culture and Pan-Africanism: Cultural Revolution and Pan-Africanism. Pg. 178 "Modern imperialism has been engendered through capitalism and concerns therefore all of the universe. The destruction of imperialism, meaning the liberation of People's, to effective, must be general. So long as other Peoples moan in oppression, exploitation, indignity any victory in Africa on imperialism, would remain precarious. The universality of the anti-imperialist struggle, and that authentic fact, far from drowning our specific responsibility in confusion, wights them down and imposes us a giant stature in conferring to the consequences of our acts the dimensions of the universal."

¹⁷³ XIIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 80. "The principles of an organisation constitute all basic laws of behaviour and action both collective and individual. The following principles constitute general guidelines. –principle of freedom for every member of the Party, principle of equality for all men [and women] irrespective of religion, colour, age or sex, principle of national solidarity, principle of respect for religious beliefs and the struggle against mystification practices and distortion of human consciousness, principle of political pre-eminence in the appraisal of national situations, principle of individual security, individual and collective peace, principle of justice, principle of the protection of honestly acquired collective and individual property. As stated above, the method of organisation depends, on the way we implement, translate, and apply Party principles."

¹⁷⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Enhancing the People's Power: Foundation and Objective of the People's Democratic Revolution in Guinea. Vol. II. Pg. 11. "In Guinea, power is exercised by the Democratic Party of Guinea, the artisan of national independence, the sole and exclusive leading political force which molds all the People. On the one hand, all militants, regardless of sex, tribe or creed or social condition, fully enjoy the right of conception, discussion, decision-making and control, directly, at weekly congresses at village or quarter levels, or through the elects on the other scales of the Party, on the other hand, they observe a common discipline, as well as the decisions reached by the majority. That means that the sacrosanct principle of work within the Party on all scales of the organisation is democratic centralism. The Democracy envisaged by this principle requires that access to responsible positions within the Party- State be open to all citizens who fulfil the criteria of competence, integrity, and revolutionary commitment, who live solely on the fruit of their labour and do not indulge either directly or indirectly in lucrative activities. It is understood that competence is valid only when it rests on commitment and integrity which still remain a priority for the sound assessment of the competence and the social value of a leader of the Party-State. Our Party has always worked for the elimination of human exploitation. Also, the discharge of public duties should in no case become a source of enrichment, nor a means of serving private interests."

¹⁷⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Basic Principles and Techniques of Guerilla Warfare. Pg. 112. "There must be no abuse of power of any kind. A freedom fighter who steals, loots, rapes, or commits any other crime against the community must be tried and severely punished. It should be explained that such a breakdown in discipline endangers the

whole revolutionary movement. Discipline comes from inner conviction. It is not a gift, but can be acquired by education, exercise, and life in the guerilla unit [pre-cadre or cadre circle].”

¹⁷⁶ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women and Society: The Woman’s Role in the Anti-colonialist Struggle*. Pg. 15. “With women, therefore, we must build the new city and, for the new city to be, social democracy must be. This is why men and women must wage, everywhere, a courageous struggle against all the causes of *injustice* and social inferiorization... Everywhere, the rising generation must attain the mastery of life and acquire an education banishing, in their relationships, any conception of superiority over the woman.”

¹⁷⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Strategy and Tactics of Revolution: On Class Struggle. On the Believer and Class Struggle-Revolution is the Practice of Class Struggle*. Pg. 186-187. “We call the People’s class, all the toiling strata, and we call anti-People’s class. all the social strata whose thinking, behaviour, aspirations, or action are alien to the thinking, behaviour, aspirations, and action of the People’s class... To the People’s class also belong certain individuals whose ideological education compels them to follow no other way than the People’s and, moreover, whatever individual privileges they enjoy, they share a common cause with the People. They are the basis of the People’s struggle. They acquired their ideology through the struggle on the People’s side.”

¹⁷⁸ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses*. Pg. 71. XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *The People Wielding Ideological Power*. Pg. 71. “The spirit of organisation of any political party must be systematic and constantly adapted to historical context. The organisation’s practice is strengthened through the daily experience which depends on the development and awareness of members of the society concerned. Of course, as an organisation is always governed by permanent principles and obeys various forms of techniques and methods.”

¹⁷⁹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 87 “Democracy requires that all elements of a given group be responsible; that all kinds of discrimination be banished from an organisation, so as to ensure the effective participation of all citizens in the improvement of the People’s living conditions... Democracy is a militant and sincere character of links that exist within a group of individuals. It involves a collective responsibility in the running of the organisation. And with a constant support from all members, its continuity, historical value, and its ever-greater importance can be ensured.”

¹⁸⁰¹⁸⁰ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *The People Wielding Ideological Power*. Pg. 19. “Ideology is indeed a means of mobilizing the People. But the People can be mobilized around clear-cut, just and freely chosen objectives. As long as this ideology is not translated into concrete social, economic and political stand, it remains but a profession of faith.”

¹⁸¹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses*. Pg. 73. “The existence of an organisation also makes criticism and self-criticism possible. That is why when an organisation is inadequate or non-existent, possibilities which permit the rapid development of the People become ineffective.”

¹⁸² Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Enhancing the People’s Power: Linking School with Life*. Pg. 81. “Theory and practice constitute the same reality. The presence of theory cannot be denied in any practice and at whatever technical level. But this theory, be it rudimentary and not detailed enough, exists all the same. No theory, however brilliant it may appear, can be defended except through its application; through the achievement of its objective and the significance this objective gives to the satisfaction of the People’s needs. Theory, however necessary, relies on practice which actualizes, materialises, and develops it; and practice in its turn inevitably relies on theory which subtends, enlightens, and develops it. This is the dialectical link between theory and practice. Neither of them can exist without the other. The so-called "manual" worker is dreaming when he thinks that his work is not being illuminated by any theory. For him, this theory is simply not formulated, but it exists all the same. The intellectual worker ends up digressing in his work when he does not induce a practice with which he, as the theoretician, must be in touch. The effective liaison between theory and practice is an absolute exigency of the People’s development, and an adjustment of the means to the aspired objective.”

¹⁸³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *Organisation*. Pg. 70-71. “It is not enough to understand the historical motive behind the existence of the People without having a clear vision of the society’s democratic organisation. Indeed, for a society to be efficient, balanced, free, responsible, respected and to develop happily, it has to be first and foremost rationally organised and be rooted in the People’s aspirations. But as rational as it may be, the organisation of the society can be jeopardized once the ideals of the People are given up for the benefit of a social minority blinded by their class interest. That is why, when we talk about organisation, we always begin with mass organisation in general – a method that enables us to fully understand the meaning and the needs of an organisation.”

¹⁸⁴ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: *General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses*. Pg. 71. “Indeed, the efficiency of an organisation depends greatly on social behaviour and its leaders’ abilities to implement it. It also depends on how rational working methods are. Best willing people retract, and best abilities become ineffective when methods are empirical or proceed from an entirely causal programme.”

¹⁸⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Socialist Revolution*. Pg. 81. “But in the revolutionary struggle, no reliance can be placed on any section of the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie. Though these elements may join in revolutionary action during the struggle for national liberation, they will always, when it comes to the pinch, try to block the creation of a socialist state. They are committed to capitalism, and dependent for their very existence on the support of imperialism and neocolonialism. It is only when the bourgeois ruling class in neocolonialist states is overthrown by class based socialist revolution, that fundamental changes in society can be accomplished.”

¹⁸⁶ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 80. “Indeed, since the Party has always strived for the freedom of the People, its duty is continue looking from within and without the country for people who are opposed to the country’s freedom, assess their power in order to overcome all hostile forces—forces that resist the democratic progress of the society.”

¹⁸⁷ Ho Chi Minh. *Selected Writings (1920-1969): Elevated Revolutionary Ethics, Make a Clean Sweep of Individualism* (Feb. 3, 1969). Pg. 352 “However, besides those good comrades, there are still a few cadres and Party members whose morality and quality are still low. They are burdened with *individualism* and always think of their own interests first. Their motto is not ‘each for all’ but ‘all for me.’ Because of their individualism, the flinch from hardships and difficulties and sink into corruption, depravation, waste and luxury. They crave for fame and profits, positions and power. They are proud and conceited, look down on the collective, hold the masses in contempt, act arbitrarily and tyrannically. They are cut off from the masses and from realities and are affected by bureaucratism and commandism. They make no efforts to improve themselves and don’t week to improve their ability through study. Because of their *individualism*, too, they provoke disunity, and lack a sense of organization, discipline, and responsibility. They do not carry out correctly the line and policies of the Party and the State, and harm the interests of the revolution and the people. In short, *individualism* is the source of many wrong-doings.”

¹⁸⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah: Freedom Fighters Addition*. Pg. 42. “In our party all are equal regardless of their race or tribe. All are free to express their views. But once a majority decision is taken, we expect such a decision to be loyally executed, even by those who might have opposed that decision. This we consider and proclaim to be the truest form of Democratic Centralism—decisions freely arrived at and loyally executed.”

¹⁸⁹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Africa on the Move: Time as an instrument of production*. Pg. 382

¹⁹⁰ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Doctrines and Methods of the PDG: Towards A Democratic and Efficient Administration*. Pg. 334. “Democratic centralism contains a dialectic contradiction which, if not understood, leads to dictatorship when the rules for its normal working are flouted by those at the top, and to anarchy, to lack of cohesion and to wastage of effort when those at the bottom break the rules. In a democratic state those at the top and those at the bottom depend on and complement each other.”

¹⁹¹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: Organisation. Pg. 70. “We have already said that the aim of an organisation is to establish links between men [and women] and things on the one hand, and among men [and women] themselves on the other. Organisation has given objectives that might become metaphysical when its leaders prove to be incompetent and betray the spirit of the principles. An organisation becomes theoretical and illusory if the men [and women] who are supposed to actuate the dynamize which are essential to any sound organisation.”

¹⁹² XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 78. “The method must allow and facilitate the collective observation of all that involves organisation. Constant observation calls for assessment, criticism, and self-criticism. Reality does not speak itself. It has to be interpreted by men [and women] in varied modalities, which are sometimes contradictory, depending on how people see their existence or the value they wish to confer upon their work.”

¹⁹³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 76. “Thus, the technique of the Revolution requires that man [and woman] at all times and places be kept in check by his [and her] own consciousness.”

Our Program: Build the Party

¹⁹⁴ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) General Policy Statement: General Guidelines on How to Organise the Masses. Pg. 76. “Two essential approaches can determine these objectives: 1 – to identify and define all the objectives in general and in particular terms; 2 – to make a difference between objectives so as to draw up an order of priorities and establish in time and space a programme for the implementation of these objectives. An implementation programmed can be outlined when these priorities have been established. Once the global and detailed objectives are known, means of action could be assessed and an inventory made. This brings us to the third imperative: the collective action to be undertaken in all respects: 1 – it must assume mass character; 2 – it must be scientific or exclude empiricism and improvisation; 3 – it must be a dynamic technique aimed at permanent advancement. This means that the technique of organisation must not be adopted for the mere good will of its user, but rather in line with daily and permanent activities of all those who work for the benefit of the organisation. This is to say that this scientific technique excludes mystification. It must be based on rational knowledge and should develop as a result of the qualification of the same knowledge.”

¹⁹⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook for Revolutionary Warfare Strategy, Tactics and Techniques: Political Education. Pg. 73-74. "Every fighter must know: 1. Against whom he [or she] is fighting, 2. Why he [or she] is fighting. Political education should centre on the key motive for the war—the will to be free. Our essential objective is to build a socialist society promoting better living and working conditions for all—a socialist society under a Union Government of Africa. Each recruit will, during the course of his training, attend classes in which the ideological aspects of our struggle will be explained and discussed. He will study such subjects as, for example: (i) African history, (ii) Pan-Africanism, (iii) Socialism (in Africa and in the world context), and (iv) Imperialism and neo-colonialism. Teachers will encourage recruits to express their own views, and to discuss any current political, social, economic, or religious problems which may interest them. Discussions between recruits from different parts of Africa [and the African Diaspora] will be particularly valuable in stimulating understanding and dedication to the common ideal of continental liberation and unity."

¹⁹⁶ Ho Chi Minh. Selected Writings (1920-1969): Elevated Revolutionary Ethics, Make a Clean Sweep of Individualism (Feb. 3, 1969). Pg. 353-354 "Every cadre and Party member should place the interests of the revolution, the Party and the people above everything. They must resolutely make a clean sweep of *individualism*, elevate *revolutionary* morals, foster the collective spirit, and the sense of solidarity, organization and discipline. They must keep in constant touch with realities and close contact with the masses. They must truly respect and develop the collective sovereignty of the people. They must study and train hard and seek to improve their knowledge so as to fulfil their tasks well."

¹⁹⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to Reba Lewis 6 July 1968. Pg. 246 "To me Black Power represents the power of the four-fifths of the world population which has been systematically damned into a state of underdevelopment by colonialism and neo-colonialism."

¹⁹⁸ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Strategy and Tactics of Revolution: Forward. Pg. "« Without revolutionary consciousness there can be no Revolution! All those who have had to conduct revolution have been able to testify to this. But where does this [revolutionary consciousness come from as it] is not fundamental to man, nor does it come into being and develop spontaneously? History teaches that it is created and developed through ideological education and revolutionary practice. We can equally affirm that without ideological training and without revolutionary action, there can be no revolutionary consciousness; whether this revolutionary action is a brilliant feat of arms bringing about great qualitative changes, or whether it is conducted through stages through daily actions of an apparently minor significance."

¹⁹⁹ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 1 April 1967. Pg. 130 "I am convinced now—a lesson it took me some time to grasp, the qualities in leadership which must be strengthened are bravery, ruthlessness and bitterness. In order for a revolutionary to succeed he must be brave, bitter and ruthless, and also capable of hating his enemies. In other words, love those who love you, and hate those who hate you."

²⁰⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Society and Ideology. Pg. 57. "For an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole of the society in which it finds itself In its effects, it certainly reaches the whole society, when it is dominant. For, besides seeking to establish common attitudes and purposes for the society, the dominant ideology is that which in the light of circumstances decides what forms institutions shall take, and in what channels the common effort is to be directed. Just as there can be competing ideologies in the same society, so there can be opposing ideologies between different societies. However, while societies with different social systems can coexist, their ideologies cannot. There is such a thing as peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful coexistence between opposing ideologies."

²⁰¹ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG): General Policy Statement—Policy and Ideology. Pg. 16. "A political mass Party always appears as the school, the testing ground where the masses learn how to conquer and usefully exercise political power. The creation of such a Party is class-motivated because the masses, while creating their Party, tank an initiative with a considerable historical scope whereby they, through self-controlled and free act, are endowed with political will and immediate investiture, as the expression of their sovereignty which is actually not yet recognized by the class enemy, as long as these masses do not storm over the State power."

²⁰² Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare Strategy Tactics and Techniques: Contested Zones. Pg. 49 "A careful study should be made of the range of possibilities offered by a territory under puppet, neo-colonialist control. Full investigation will disclose that the puppet government is not homogenous, and that it is therefore vulnerable. It will also be found that the people are often virtually liberated but that they are not aware of it because no one has organised them to act purposely to seize what is their due (i.e., political control and the control of economic wealth). Between a zone under enemy control where the masses are awakening and a hotly-contested zone, there is only one missing link: a handful of genuine revolutionaries prepared to organise and act."

²⁰³ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: The Technique and Method of Organisation. Pg. 76. "The dynamic character of action requires that we pay attention to its ultimate result. We must always be aware that this action cannot necessarily resolve the society's problems once and for all. For the dynamic nature of action, as soon as phase A has been fulfilled, phase B, phase C elements should, so on, so forth. In other words, it is labour that makes

life dynamic. To act is to perform work. We assign ourselves aims and bring about means to achieve them, but living conditions will never change if we do not act.”

²⁰⁴ Kwame Ture. *An Axiom*: “We must develop an undying love for the masses of the People.”

²⁰⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Socialist Revolution*. Pg. 83. “Thus, in some respects, the socialist revolutionary struggle has developed a class race complexion. But while it would be harmful not to recognise the emergence of a racial factor in the revolutionary struggle, it must not be allowed to confuse or obscure the fundamental issue of socialist revolution, which is the class struggle.”

²⁰⁶ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 79. “The method should allow all men to play their part in the overall development of society despite differences in levels of intellectual, moral, and technical training and abilities. But a scientifically conceived method should be able to guide a general force that would embrace every element towards a unique goal. This method to be successful must be based on the correct knowledge of the social meaning of action.”

²⁰⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: The Woman’s Role in the Anti-colonial Struggle*. Pg. 15. “For the woman’s action to become positive, she must not only attack the negative aspects restraining and still impeding her liberation but more particularly, bring about the creation of conditions of social equality between man and woman.”

²⁰⁸ XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 81. “We prefer to the working methods that aim at reflecting Party principles and purposes in its daily activity as the organisation and implementation method. Democracy is therefore part of the method, but in some circumstances, it may be part of the principle too... Democracy is an integral part of the methods; freedom and equality obey the same principle. Freedom requires that all members of the society be involved in the conception, discussions and in decision-making, and that the majority’s position should always prevail. Therefore, it is through the method that the principles of conception and decision-making can be ensured. The principle of links within an organisation, a process that goes from bottom to top, allows us to centralize all activities and, at the same time, decentralize activities so as to divide the community’s tasks by involving every element. We often talk about the majority. However, a revolutionary militant must always remember that this majority can also be negative when alien ideologies are involved. Hence the necessity for us never to forget our political line.”

²⁰⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Party: Strategy, Tactics and Techniques*. Pg. 95. “Propaganda is a means of liberation, an instrument of clarification, information, education, and mobilization. It serves two different but essential functions in our war: 1) to subvert the enemy, 2) to awaken and mobilise our people.”

²¹⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics and Techniques-The Role of Students*. Pg. 88. “The youth belong to the Revolution. Our universities, colleges and schools in enemy-held and contested zones can become centres of revolutionary protest. Students should establish close links with the workers and provide the spark needed to set in motion demonstrations, strikes, boycotts and armed insurrection. Effect student-worker co-operation can paralyse a reactionary power structure and compel change. In liberated areas, students must constantly guard and revitalize the revolution. On our youth depends the future of Africa and the continent’s total liberation and unity.”

²¹¹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Intelligentsia and Intellectuals*. Pg. 40. “Intelligentsia and intellectuals, if they are to play a part in the African Revolution, must become conscious of the class struggle in Africa, and align themselves with the oppressed masses. This involves the difficult, but not impossible, task of cutting themselves free from bourgeois attitudes and ideologies imbibed as a result of colonialist education and propaganda.”

²¹² Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare Strategy, Tactics and Techniques: Propaganda Addressed to the People*. Pg. 96. “The object of this propaganda is to: (i) denounce enemy action to the people, (ii) explain our cause, (iii) mobilise the masses so that they break free from inertia and participate actively in the revolutionary struggle. This can be done on two levels: 1. Theoretically, by accelerating the political awakening of the majority. Such an awakening often occurs in phases with the spread of: (a) the idea of an independent existence (anticolonialism, nationalism), (b) the idea that ‘something is rotten’ (the awakening to neo-colonialist exploitation), (c) the idea that the situation can change (i.e. a conscious anti-neo-colonialist attitude), (d) the idea that victory can be achieved only by action (the need to use force; the will to fight). 2. On a practical level, by integrating our educational work within the politico-military organisation (AAPRA-AACPA) and providing the actual means for conducting our revolutionary aims.”

²¹³ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa*: Pg. “The ultimate victory of the revolutionary forces depends on the ability of the socialist revolutionary Party to assess the class position in society, and to see which classes and groups are for, and which against, the revolution. The Party must be able to mobilise and direct the vast forces for socialist revolution already existing, and to awaken and stimulate the immense revolutionary potential which is at present lying dormant.”

²¹⁴ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: Women in Society*. Pg. 9-10. “In addition to this general slavery of our Peoples through colonialism, there were other practices of domination, exploitation, and oppression to which the men, in turn, subjected their women. Thus, the woman, apart from all the sufferings created or accentuated by imperialist domination, experiences forced marriage, permanent insecurity at home, repudiation, arbitrary divorce, and premature old age without any guarantee whatsoever... The African woman, for a long time considered as merchandise, or just an item for consumption, has

thus seen her personality and *dignity* constantly trampled upon by her life partner. Any trivial matter could lead to her repudiation, for no other reasons than to serve the whims and caprices of the man.”

²¹⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 24 April 1967. Pg. 141-142 “Even though the *Handbook* is mainly devoted to the African scene, it must be made clear in it that the defeat of imperialism and neo-colonialism will be final and complete only when guerrilla and revolutionary activities against them become global and worldwide. Guerrilla and revolutionary activities must be directed against their centres and bastions everywhere. In other words, with many Vietnams, Angolas, Portuguese Guineans, Mozambiques, etc. This is the only to victory as I see it now.”

²¹⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 49. “A contested zone is not only a zone of revolutionary activity, but it is also an area in which a people’s party works underground or semi-clandestinely to organise the overthrow of a puppet government. For there is no fundamental difference between armed struggle as such and organised revolutionary action of a civil type. The various methods of our struggle, and the changing from one method to another should be determined mainly by circumstances and the set of conditions prevailing in a given territory.”

²¹⁷ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: What is the Class Struggle?* Pg. 30. “If human society is faced with two struggles, firstly the struggle against nature in order to dominate it, and the intra social struggle to establish firmly on democratic foundations, the mode of production and all manifestations of life, not only must the woman, whomever she may be also, since she has been placed in certain given conditions, she must also fight to avoid being subjected again to injustice and disqualification in the society.”

²¹⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques*. Pg. 89. “The women of Africa have already shown themselves to be of paramount importance in the revolutionary struggle. They gave active support to the independence movement in their various countries, and in some cases their courageous participation in demonstrations and other forms of political action had a decisive effect on the outcome. They have, therefore, a good revolutionary record, and are a great source of power for our politico-military organisation. Maximum use must be made of their special skills.”

²¹⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare Strategy, Tactics and Techniques: Women in Enemy-held Zones*. Pg. 91. “Women in zones under enemy control must participate in the work of political education and organisation. The influence of women over the youth of the country, and the fact that they are the wives, sisters, and mothers of future freedom fighters must be utilised to the full by the revolutionary cadres. The degree of a country’s revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women. They are in a particularly strong position to infiltrate the enemy ranks since they can exploit the lack of austerity, the mercenary state of mind, and the feeble sense of purpose which are characteristic of the counter-revolutionary soldier.”

²²⁰ Kwame Nkrumah. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques: Women in the Bases and Liberated Areas*. Pg. 91-92. “The majority of women in these areas, particularly mothers and older women, can ensure the continuity of the consolidation process and growth of self-sufficiency and preparedness while the men [and capable women] within the action units remain essentially in preparedness for war. Their main tasks, inside the liberated zones where creative work can begin, is to ensure self-sufficiency, stability, and resistance on all levels.”

²²¹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: Emancipation of the Woman Condition and Reality of the Emancipation of Man & Society*. Pg. 32-33. “The struggle for women’s emancipation is not therefore, and cannot be, as some would make us believe, the expression of an act of pity toward the woman, or the symbol of masculine paternalism toward the woman.... The emancipation of woman denotes the emancipation of man; it is the emancipation of a whole People.”

²²² Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: The Woman’s Role in the Anti-colonial Struggle*. Pg. 22. “As the Revolution is a requirement of being and becoming, the progressive militant woman must not forget that she remains the object and agent of the courageous struggle of our People who know, that they will remain mutilated, infirm and incapable at all levels, as long as the unjust practice of sex discrimination exists among them.”

²²³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: What is Class Struggle*. Pg. 29. “The political conquest of power does not lead ipso facto to women’s emancipation. A socialist mode of production, set down in the texts does not lead automatically to the equality of sex with regard to production.”

²²⁴ Central Committee: Intra-Party Memorandum. Central Input Which Will Assist in the Development of the Five Year Start Pan (August 17, 1978, to August 16, 1983): All Work Study and Cadre Group Members. January 17, 1981.”

Its functions as defined by the A-AWRU Conference includes:

- 1) "Strengthening the A-APRP and clarifying the revolutionary responsibility of African Women in the African Revolution in order to prepare African women for every phase of the African Revolution.
- 2) Equipping Party members with a wide body of knowledge by carrying on an ongoing analysis, including demographic study of African women in society, and especially African women students born outside the U.S. studying in the U.S. (See, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, by Kwame Nkrumah, page 90-91). Enhancing the understanding of

Nkrumahism in building the Party. Ensuring the positive role of African women in the African Revolution in all events, literature, and activities by developing on-going research projects on women's contribution to revolution.

3) Developing the character and role of African women in the A-APRP by heightening the struggle to insure women equitable participation in all phases of the Party. Building strong African women cadre, increasing the level of leadership in the Party at all levels, developing sisters in the Party as organizers, and sharpening women's ideological development and developing more women speakers, local, state, regional and central; in order to better organize women.

4) Intensifying the political education of women in the Party in particular and the masses in general. Scientifically and culturally educating African women to enable them to politically educate women and men within the A-APRP about the historic role of women in the building and subsequent change of traditional Islamic and Euro-Christian African. Developing internal programs designed to educate Africans about the role of women in the African Revolution. The P.E. Committee must work with the A-AWRU on this political education process.

5) To quantitatively and qualitatively increase the participation of women in all areas of Party life through; (a) the development and coordination of a recruitment and retention plan and programs for bringing African people in general and African women in particular into the Party; (b) creating Party building activities that will address particular problems of sisters in the Party and on the campus; (the Program Committee must work with the A-AWRU on these programs and activities); (c) insuring substantive representation of women on all levels or areas of Party structure and (d) awakening the creative- energy in all Party work-study and cadre groups and committees.

6) Emancipating women through the A-AWRU by identifying internal problems on a continuous basis so they don't reemerge. Secondly, after the A-AWRU has been established, expand the struggle for clarity on the African women's question in general. The A-AWRU should strive to work increasingly to eradicate all deviant tendencies intended to separate from the A-APRP. Define and reinforce revolutionary relationships in building the A-APRP. State what the role of African women is in attendance at A-AWRU meetings. Deprogram African women's negative backward attitudes against themselves, African women, and men.

"Preparing sisters to be able to defend themselves mentally and physically." Its activities are:

(1) Develop and coordinate programs to recruit women into the A-APRP.

(2) Annual internal National Conferences.

(3) Internal Regional Seminars on "The Particular Role, Contribution and Problems of African Women With the Pan-African World and the A-APRP" utilizing film series, slides, photo shows, etc.

(4) Make recommendations to the CC on how the A-AWRU should function on the state level, process, and timetable for developing the A-AWRU on the state level.

(5) External conferences, seminars, etc. on African women.

(6) Historical and contemporary research on women's organizations and establishing links with other progressive women's organizations in conjunction with the Party's alliances.

(7) Development better childcare system which must include the full participation of brothers. It will be a system for dealing with the children of Party militants during Party affairs. It must include political education of the children.

(8) Fund-raising for the A-AWRU

(9) Physical education

Structure:

A-AWRU follows A-APRP structure regional and national now. State structure will be developed late. A-AWRU is under direct control of A-APRP. The representative on the CC and 5 Regional Representatives are on P.E. Committee. All laws of Democratic-Centralism apply.

2. Pan-African Strategy for Building and Consolidating the A-APRP

a Geo-political areas of focus:

"OUR PRIMARY TASK IS TO BUILD A UNIFIED SOCIALIST AFRICA. WE WILL GO WHEREVER THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION NEEDS OR SENDS US."

In 1977, the "Central Committee developed three geographical-political focal points for Party building activities:

1) The US and Canada... focusing on the campus...

2) the Caribbean, Central and South America... and

3) key areas of geographical/political focus on the Continent. (CC memo, 6/4/77, page 3).

This decision was further crystallized by the CC in 1980, when it affirmed that:

Guinea, on the continent of Africa, "is the most revolutionary country in Africa today. We are revolutionary Pan-Africanists who must do everything possible to establish a presence in Guinea today the goal of the A-APRP is to integrate ourselves as one with the PDG... Today our struggle is to establish and maintain a presence in Guinea... The A-APRP views having a representative being and working in Guinea is a necessity. (We also have a student living and working there.) The particular

projects which the A-APRP will develop in relationship to Guinea will be based on the Party's strength at that time... The Guinea project is the primary project of the A-APRP." (CC memo, 1/1/80, pp 10 & 14).

The CC mandates the State Committees, the SCC, and all Party militants to detail in their state plan the process and procedures for:

- 1) Developing and distributing propaganda about Guinea and the Guinea project.
- 2) Activities and events around Guinea and the Guinea Project.
- 3) Organizing and coordinating a permanent system for the collection inventorying and shipment of massive quantities of the equipment and supplies requested for the Hospital Project in Guinea; and
- 4) Raising funds for the Guinea Scholarship Program”

²²⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Introduction*. Pg. 10. “At the core of the problem is the class struggle. For too long, social, and political commentators have talked and written as though Africa lies outside the mainstream of world historical development—a separate entity to which the social, economic, and political patterns of the world do not apply. Myths such as "African socialism" and "pragmatic socialism", implying the existence of a brand or brands of socialism applicable to Africa alone, have been propagated; and much of our history has been written in terms of socio-anthropological and historical theories as though Africa had no history prior to the colonial period. One of these distortions has been the suggestion that the class structures which exist in other parts of the world do not exist in Africa. Nothing is further from the truth. A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa. The evidence is all around us. In essence it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed.”

²²⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Intellectuals and Intelligentsia*. Pg. 40. “Intelligentsia and intellectuals, if they are to play a part in the African Revolution, must become conscious of the class struggle in Africa, and align themselves with the oppressed masses. This involves the difficult, but not impossible, task of cutting themselves free from bourgeois attitudes and ideologies imbibed as a result of colonialist education and propaganda.”

²²⁷ Kwame Nkrumah. *Class Struggle in Africa: Intelligentsia and Intellectuals*. Pg. 39. “Under conditions of capitalism and neocolonialism, the majority of students, teachers, university staff and others coming under the broad category of "intellectuals", are an elite within the bourgeoisie, and can become a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary force for political action.”

²²⁸ Ahmed Sekou Toure. *Women in Society: What is it About?* Pg. 26. “Society has been marked by the existence of two natures of life, two natures transposing themselves in thought, action, behavior and in the options of men, whether political, economic, social, or cultural. In other words, there are two human natures in Mankind and in each People; we have the People itself and the anti-People, with a permanent struggle being waged between the two, the class struggle. What is the class Struggle? This class struggle which has dominated the whole of mankind always manifests itself in thought and the objective behavior of the whole human Society and sets off in motion man himself.”

²²⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism: Introduction*. Pg. 4 “Finally, there were the vast numbers of ordinary Africans, who, animated by a lively national consciousness, sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity. This is not to say that these Africans overlooked the purely cultural value of their studies. But in order that their cultural acquisition should be valuable, they needed to be capable of appreciating it as free men. I was one of this number.”

²³⁰ Nana Kwame Asamoah-Boateng. *Daily Guide Ghana: The Youth and the Second Liberation of Africa*. “In Africa, about 40 percent of the population is under 15 years of age, while nearly 70 percent is under 30 years. The World Bank estimates that Africa’s share of the world population aged between 15 and 29 years, may reach 28 percent. In some African countries, almost three quarters (75%) of the population is under 30 years old, while a large share of the 15–29-year-old is estimated to persist for decades to come.”

²³¹ Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism: Set Theoretic Terms*. Pg. 117 “That is, for socialist development, the socialist conscience of the people must be enhanced through education and party activity. The forces of positive action, political, economic and cultural, need to be mobilized and streamlined for progress. This requires an increase in the number of people contributing to positive action and an improvement in the quality of their contribution.”

²³² XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statements: *The Technique and Method of Organisation*. Pg. 78. “The role of the organisation is to ensure the good functioning of the society’s structure. Since the best method consists in determining individual and collective responsibilities and the rational distribution of the tasks, control should be exerted both on general and on individual duties. The purpose is the constant improvement of the efficiency of men [and women]. Any management method should therefore aim at ensuring the correct running of the organisation and the fulfilment of collective and individual duties with a view to improving working conditions and to raise efficiency.”

²³³ Acheampong Yaw Amoateng. *Daily Guide Ghana: The Youth and the Second Liberation of Africa*. “The inability of the ruling classes in African countries to fashion out realistic policies to provide labour markets with the ability to absorb the teeming youth lies at the heart of the incipient insecurity, urban social unrest, and political instability we are now witnessing on the continent.”

²³⁴ Acheampong Yaw Amoateng. *Daily Guide Ghana: The Youth and the Second Liberation of Africa*. “The second reason for the youth unrest, which like a domino, is spreading throughout the continent, is the fact that despite the youth being a

demographic majority in almost every country in the continent, they are discriminated against based on age and gender as far as decision-making structures are concerned. Specifically, the youth are led by octogenarian leaders who are not only corrupt to the core but are bereft of ideas that are in sync with the values and interests of most of their population, the youth.”

²³⁵ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 5 April 1969. Pg. 302 “There can be no peaceful solution to the problems posed by neo-colonialism. There’s only one solution, armed struggle. Other forms may precede it, but the final solution lies with victory of armed struggle.”

²³⁶ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. 1966. KN to Kwesi Armah. 14 April 1967. Pg. 137 “Yes indeed, the African Revolution should recognise none of the old colonial frontiers between African territories or states. They are indeed artificial boundaries having no meaning in the context of African unity.”

²³⁷ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa: Socialist Revolution. Pg. 80. “The highest point of political action, when a revolution attains its excellence, is when the proletariat-comprising workers and peasants-under the leadership of a vanguard party the principles and motivations of which are based on scientific socialism, succeeds in overthrowing all other classes. The basis of a revolution is created when the organic structure and conditions within a given society have aroused mass consent and mass desire for positive action to change or transform that society. While there is no hard and fast dogma for socialist revolution, because no two sets of historical conditions and circumstances are exactly alike, experience has shown that under conditions of class struggle, socialist revolution is impossible without the use of force. Revolutionary violence is a fundamental law in revolutionary struggles. The privileged will not, unless compelled, surrender power. They may grant reforms but will not yield an inch when basic pillars of their entrenched positions are threatened. They can only be overthrown by violent revolutionary action.”

²³⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare. Objectives. Pg. 41. “However, any sincere appraisal of past activities and achievements of the OAU [Organization of African Unity/African Union (AU)] would tend to show that, as it is now constituted, the OAU is not likely to be able to achieve the unification of Africa. This is obviously why imperialists, although against the idea of political union, will do nothing to break the OAU. It serves their purpose in slowing down revolutionary progress in Africa. This state of affairs is mirrored both in the discouragement of freedom fighters in the remaining colonial territories and South Africa, and in the growing perplexity amongst freedom fighters from neo-colonised territories.”

²³⁹ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Enhancing the People’s Power: Pg. 66. Education and Popular Progress. “This training is subtended by the revolutionary ideology of the Party, the knowledge and thorough assimilation of which constitute the warrantor of the pupil’s social usefulness. Revolutionary Education is the students’ acquisition of technical and technological knowledge in the service of the People. Thus, through the link of school to life, revolutionary education provides the young pupils and students with the theoretical and practical tools for the transformation of nature and the society. The pupil must learn how to do such a work and also how to perform it in a concrete manner.”

²⁴⁰ Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth: On National Culture. Pg. 206. “Each generation must of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it.”

²⁴¹ Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa. Proletariat. Pg. 74. “Throughout the world, student protest has become an increasingly prominent feature of contemporary times. But students suffer a double alienation. They are alienated from the Establishment, and in many cases from their own families; but more important, they are alienated from the working class which should make use of their efforts in the revolutionary struggle.”

²⁴² XIIth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea General Policy Statement: The People Wielding Ideological Power. Pg. 19. “Ideology is the fighter’s first weapon. Having a bad foot or a bad arm, is not a fatal disease. But from the moment a man becomes mentally sick, he loses the sense of life. When man’s mind is alienated, it loses its social conscience, and this turns man into an animal.”

²⁴³ Ahmed Sekou Toure. Women in Society: Emancipation of the Woman Condition and Reality of the Emancipation of Man and Society. Pg. 33. “Moreover, in considering objectively the importance of the role assumed by the African woman in the education of youth, we cannot but realize that the more she carries out the same political, economic and administrative responsibilities as a man and hoist herself in different hierarchies of the vital sectors of the Nation, the more her conscience, by virtue of a dynamic education, will rise up to the level of understanding the phenomena of life and the means to acquire a mastery of the national destiny. In a nutshell, the more the woman acquires a whole and total personality, the more this primordial role conferred upon her in each family is executed efficiently for the benefit of the rising generation., the youth who will reflect, tomorrow, the progressive, social and human content of the education they have acquired.”

²⁴⁴ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM 31 May 1966. Pg. 44. “Persuasion and propaganda must be backed by revolutionary struggle. The nature and character of neo-colonialism are such that there is no other way to fight and overcome them than by guerrilla warfare and struggle. This is now my conviction after 18 years struggle by other means. You see, June, those who aspire to change existence must learn to comprehend the facts of that existence.”

²⁴⁵ June Milne. Compiler. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters: KN to JM 8 July 1966. Pg. 53 “It is a pit that Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya have submitted Kenya to neo-colonialist subjugation. You know my conviction and solution: only armed guerrilla struggle can end neo-colonialism and imperialism wherever they be.”

²⁴⁶ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques. Pg. 46-47 “A territory under enemy control therefore is governed against the interests of the majority. Such zones are economically, militarily and politically alienated. It is precisely in these territories that that the enemy has its military camps, aerodromes, naval establishments and broadcasting stations, and where foreign banks, insurance firms, mining, industrial and trading companies have their headquarters. In other words, these zones are enemy nerve centers.”

²⁴⁷ June Milne. Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years His Life and Letters. KN to JM. 29 April 1967. Pg. 143 “My thinking on strategy and insurrection continues. The organised masses, if not armed, are helpless in a revolutionary situation. However organised the masses are, it is always by armed insurrection in that counter-revolutionary regimes are overthrown. Revolutionary strategy alone is not enough unless it is supported by armed insurrectionary tactics. In the same way, terrorism alone cannot be the means of overthrowing oppressive regimes. It can only aid insurrection. In any case, the seat of power must be violently attacked and overthrown by armed insurrection working in close relationship with revolutionary strategy. I hope you follow what I am driving at.”

²⁴⁸ Kwame Nkrumah. Consciencism: Theoretic Terms. Pg. 113 “We have seen that for purposes of true development, a liberated territory must embrace philosophical consciencism.”

²⁴⁹ Kwame Nkrumah. Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy, Tactics, and Techniques. Pg. 44. “It therefore follows that a liberated zone can only be organized by a radically anti-imperialist party whose duty it is to decolonize, and to teach and [the] practice of socialism as applied to the African social milieu and adapted to local circumstances.”