

Divided by Colonial Borders, United by History and Culture- Africa Must Unite!

50 Years on,
Kwame Nkrumah's
*Handbook of
Revolutionary Warfare*
is the Best Road Map

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party extends to you its most profound and sincere gratitude for your participation in African Liberation Day. It is a unique and important event because on or about May 25th every year, the people of Africa and descendants of those who were forcefully dispersed throughout the world pause and stand firm in their commitment to the liberation and unification of a continent that, over the course of centuries, has been torn apart by the slave trade, colonization of African territories by European capitalist states and political and economic manipulation and exploitation by foreign multi-national corporations.

The extraordinary natural wealth of Africa has never been a secret. Africa contains vast deposits of oil, gold, diamonds, uranium, manganese, bauxite and countless other minerals. Notably, Africa is a major source of coltan which is critical to the manufacture of hand-held electronic devices that have transformed daily life for almost everyone in the world. These resources have long been coveted by Africa's enemies. In fact, during the 1800s, European countries fought each other for access and domination of African territories. This "Scramble for Africa" ended only after Europe decided to collaborate in the exploitation of the African continent. In 1884 and 1885, representatives of European countries met in Berlin, Germany and much as one would cut a birthday cake, they divided Africa into pieces that the various European countries proceeded to colonize, control and exploit. In many cases, the resulting geographic lines of division became borders for artificial new African states. Organically united African nations, ethnic groups, clans and villages were ripped apart as a consequence, and Africa has never fully reintegrated itself.

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Divided by Colonial Borders, United by History and Culture-Africa Must Unite!

50 Years on, Kwame Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* is the Best Road Map (cont'd from p. 1)

Though splintered into many communities on the African continent, and also globally because of the slave trade, one tie that binds Africa globally is a shared history of oppression and exploitation caused by the capitalist system. Yet another unbroken bond is the collective lived history of Africans everywhere, which, in its manifestations are generally regarded as African culture. It is a culture that has not only stubbornly survived efforts to eradicate it, but which has also impacted the cultures of other communities everywhere. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first President, was very much aware of the impact of African culture and the central role it must play in Africa's liberation struggles. The ideology he developed acknowledged the impact of traditional Africa, Arab and Islamic influences and European and Christian ideas on Africa's culture. Upon this foundation, he conceptualized a strategy for Africans to liberate Africa from the grip of foreign exploiters and oppressors and to unify the African continent into a single super state with a socialist economy. It is this liberated, unified and socialist continent that would at long last possess the resources, power and respect to fundamentally transform the lives of African people throughout the world.

Nkrumah was not content to merely speak of the Pan-African objective in abstract, academic terms. He was driven to provide for freedom fighters a

practical blueprint for bringing a liberated, unified Africa into existence. Nkrumah's *Handbook for Revolutionary Warfare* was written 50 years ago, and it was so potent that Africa's enemies made it a priority to steal the manuscript. But their games of intrigue did not stop the publication and distribution of this document which has provided guidance and inspiration to generations of revolutionaries.

On this 50th anniversary of "*the Handbook*," the All-African People's Revolutionary Party takes another look at Nkrumah's ideas and urges revolutionaries everywhere to recognize the continuing viability and vitality of his strategies for reclaiming Africa for the continent's people. As you participate in African Liberation Day commemorations, take special note of the importance that Nkrumah placed on organized struggle. African Liberation Day is important, but more important still are organizations that fight for African liberation every day of the year. If you want to implement Nkrumah's ideas, you will not be able to even begin that process without being a member of an organization committed to his objectives. Because Nkrumah explicitly called for the formation of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party in *the Handbook*, you can be certain that the organization is committed to the strategies the book discusses. So don't let this African Liberation Day pass without becoming a part of the organization that Nkrumah himself considered essential to African liberation

Wakandan Fantasy vs. Pan-African Reality (cont'd. from p. 20)

Pan-Africanism can make starvation a thing of the past. It will allow effective use of more than 600 million hectares of currently un-used arable African land that has the capacity to grow enough food for everyone. Potable water can also become available to all because of a united socialist Africa's capacity to construct necessary dams. Police terrorism will cease to be a concern for Africans who live outside of Africa because the achievement of one unified socialist Africa will convert the continent from a dependent territory into a fully self-sufficient, independent superpower that will be feared and respected – even by brutal police who will no longer believe they have license to harm even a hair on the head of any of Africa's people. Even global financial insecurity of Africans throughout the world will be addressed through the nationalization of Africa's vast mineral wealth.

Pan-Africanism means dignity for African people everywhere. It is an authentic dignity that can actually be achieved and not just dreamed about in the darkness of a theater. We want it. We need it. We deserve it. The question is, are we willing to work for it? If your answer to that question is "yes," then the All-African People's Revolutionary Party wants you and needs you. Wakanda forever?

No, let's begin now to work for the United Socialist States of Africa, Forever.

Africans Must Be United By History and Culture

At the risk of over-generalizing, Africans fall into three categories:

- 1) A small group of true, faithful, honest revolutionaries;
- 2) A majority who knowingly or unknowingly vacillate;
- 3) A small group of traitors who believe their bellies are more important than humanity.

The true faithful honest revolutionary Africans must urgently do anything and everything to develop organizations to serve African People – specifically to facilitate their unity through history and culture.

Africans have been and remain divided by colonial borders; most of which were established by Europe during the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885. Other borders were defined to suit the economic and political interests of colonialism in the 20th Century and others by neo-colonialism after “political independence.” Remaining to be defined by Africans is a “united history and culture.”

Taking Back Our History

Amilcar Cabral said that to take back our history we must liberate the means of production. What does that mean? It means that we (people of the land), must take control of the land; its levels of production (how much we produce) and its distribution (sharing), without imperialist domination. When the people of the land have power to decide what we’ll produce; how much; and how we distribute it; we will all have the best medical care without costs; respectable and accessible housing; high quality educational systems without costs; TV shows that increase knowledge and universal culture; radio programming that enlightens rather than degrades, universal access to the Internet, universal access to all forms of transportation, the latest telephone technology, and full employment. Not only will hunger be a thing of the past, but we will also have a food surplus.

In 2018, imperialism still controls the means of production for the benefit of a few, while those indigenous to the land work for the same few greedy capitalists. They (capitalist exploiters) get richer and richer, while Africans get poorer. This is known as “underdevelopment.” Social, political, economic, scientific and other development was occurring in Africa, but imperialism interrupted this process in order to under-develop the continent.

Development is not a discrete event. It’s not static, but rather changes as the needs and wants of society change. Development is a process that resolves the people’s needs for food, medical care, clothing, housing, education, communications, and other necessities, as well as the people’s wants (love and being loved, rest, safety, security, sport, ceremonies, etc..) Yesterday’s luxury can become today’s need. For example, cell phones were once a novelty but today they can save lives during emergencies.

African Culture

When we speak of “united by history and culture” we are speaking of a vision for the future. Thus, the unification of African history and culture is an ongoing process. Culture has different manifestations. It’s not only limited to song and dance, or customs. It is manifested politically, economically and socially. The organized political manifestation of a people’s culture is the instrument that the people create to liberate themselves and to guide the society. The supreme instrument of culture is the mass, permanent, revolutionary party.

The Mass, Permanent, Revolutionary Party

Africans have a lot of organizations, but they have yet to build a mass, permanent, revolutionary party for Africans throughout the world. We have small groups who have dedicated their entire lives to building one, but as of 2018, we as a people have yet to build it. In order to take and maintain power in Africa, this revolutionary mass Pan-Africanist socialist party must actively coordinate its struggle with the revolutionary anti-imperialist organizations in Asia, Central and South America and the revolutionaries inside of the capitalist countries. This is nothing new. Kwame Nkrumah talked about it 50 years ago in the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*.

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Women Have the Right and the Duty to Fight

“The degree of a country’s revolutionary awareness, may be measured by the political maturity of its women” –

Kwame Nkrumah

Josina Muthemba Machel, who was in the leadership of FRELIMO, the organization that fought for the independence of Mozambique, said "... the FRELIMO war is a people's war in which the whole people must participate, that we women were even more oppressed than men and therefore we had the right as well as the will and the strength to fight! We insisted on our having military training and being given weapons! "

As in Mozambique, the women of Angola also played a central role in the struggle. On March 2nd, Angola annually honors the bravery of four women who fought for Angola's Independence. They are Deolinda Rodrigues, Irene Cohen, Engrácia dos Santos and Lucrécia Paim, whose names live on in the Angolan people's memory, although they were ambushed, captured and killed.

Many who are inspired by the strong women in the film *The Black Panther* don't know that the power and leadership of women is not a fantasy. It is a fact that women have been repeatedly tested on the battlefields of the African Revolution, and their performance has been nothing short of exemplary. There are thousands, maybe millions of names of African women who have given their lives for the liberation of Africa and today more than ever, it is important to share their/our stories and to understand why it is the duty of women to fight on every front and on every battlefield for our liberation and more importantly, to complete the Revolution.

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party and the publication of the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* written by President Kwame Nkrumah, women increasingly discuss the next stage of the revolution and the role women will play. It is a topic that has been neglected.

Already, women have done everything - particularly in actual military combat against Africa's enemies. But they have also played critical roles in combating cultural backwardness and the ideological and political roadblocks that have supported classism, sexism and isolation within our societies. In fact, African women, women in Cuba and Vietnam were the first women in the modern 20th century movements to engage in combat roles. This tradition continues in battles led by women in India, or women workers in Central and South America, and women leading the Black Lives Matter movement. Nevertheless, there are still cultural barriers to the engagement of women in these struggles that must be broken down. This is most apparent in popular culture where women – particularly African women – are ridiculed and degraded.

Nkrumah says in *The Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* that we must 1) rapidly transform the old order; 2) address both the external and internal enemies; and 3) begin the building of the socialist society.

Liberation and socialism will not be achieved without women challenging society on every front, attacking the vestiges of oppression and exploitation within our societies to free themselves and by extension the broader society.



Consider Josina Machel's story. Her family was very poor and from a small district called Namau in Cabo Delgado. Her family had a small plot of land but they barely had an opportunity to plant because they were always working for the Portuguese. The colonizers paid very low wages or in most instances refused to pay wages at all. They were forced to work for the companies growing cotton rather than plant for themselves. She said, "... even the priests were bad." When the Portuguese came to their homes, women were disrespected, and even married women were abused in front of their husbands, with husbands knowing that resistance meant torture. Consequently, women had no choice but to join FRELIMO to fight.



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Africans Must Be United By History and Culture

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Fifty years on, Kwame Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* is the best road map. The book is a very concise summary of his experiences in:

- Africa and Asia, with the Bandung Conference in 1955 - that gave birth to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) in Egypt in 1957/1958, and the later Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade, 1961);
- Coordination of 62 armed liberation movements / Parties in Africa (All-African People's Conferences from 1958 – 1961; and Conference of Organization of Portuguese Colonies CONCP, from 1961), in coordination with the Casablanca Bloc (States) from 1961 to 1963;
- Co-organization of the First African Women's Conference and its organization product - the Pan-Africanist Women's Organization on 31 July 1962, (Tanganyika); Co-organization of the Pan-African Youth Movement, formed in Conakry, Guinea on 26 April 1962, and its organization product – the Pan-African Youth Organization.
- Conception, decision and preparation of the First Tricontinental Conference of January 1966, in Cuba, which produced the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America, (OSPAAAL), composed of revolutionary States, Parties and Liberation Movements, (which still has its Headquarters in Havana, Cuba).

In the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, Nkrumah points to the All-African People's Revolutionary Army (A-APRA) as the vehicle for defeating imperialist violence, serving as the armed wing of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP). As an indispensable prerequisite, revolutionary Africans must create and develop a coordinating body at the level of the Central Committees of revolutionary African Parties – both those that are in state power and those that are not. While it could be called by another name, Nkrumah proposed the establishment of an *All-African Committee for Political Coordination* (A-ACPC) to serve as an organic link between the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America – OSPAAAL. The process of building this mass revolutionary Pan-Africanist Party and the fulfilment of its mission to take and consolidate state power in Africa is the same process to be used to liberate the means of production, take back our history, develop our African Culture and build socialism in Africa.

Women Have the Right and the Duty to Fight

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When women joined the struggle, 'there was strong opposition to our participation because that was against our tradition.' On every front, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America, women and girls are used as war trophies, raped, sold and used to work for soldiers, abused by our men, and regarded as suitable only for 'bearing children and taking care of our husbands.' However, women are the majority and when women have played their role in the revolutionary struggle they have won decisively on all battlefronts. However, the greatest and longest battle is the battle to change our culture, radically transforming the ideological and political understanding and value of women within society. President Sekou Toure of Guinea said the exploitation of women is so natural, that to eliminate it, the system will have to be attacked at its very roots.

This is what we **must** do.

No revolution will be complete, nor will we see freedom and an equal society until women organize to change culture where it is outdated and holding back the forward progress of the society. We must destroy the structure of old norms, customs and traditions 'at its very roots.' Feminism alone cannot destroy the roots of feudalism, colonialism and capitalism. Bourgeois regimes cannot guarantee freedom for women through democratic elections. The rich benefit from the subjugation of the poor and working class and women are the majority in those demographic groups. Only a complete revolutionary struggle can destroy the vestiges of oppression in every aspect of society.

The problems of violence, poverty, homelessness and economic exploitation are women's problems and having the greatest need for freedom women are best suited to lead the fight. Women truly do have a duty and right to fight.

**Women fought yesterday,
they fight today, and
they will fight tomorrow.**

Forward ever!

The Vital Role of Culture in Revolution

“...Keep always in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas in anyone’s head. They are fighting.....for material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children. National Liberation, war against colonialism, building of peace and progress – independence – all that will remain meaningless for the People unless it brings a real improvement in the conditions of life...”

Amilcar Cabral

How do we organize the people inside of mass organizations where the *people conceive, decide, implement* and *consolidate* what they conceive and decide?

What happens when some members of “leadership” betray the people, or the organization is victimized by a coup?

There are two apparent options: (a) Leave the organization and create another one, or; (b) stay and struggle against the traitors and/or coup makers.

To answer these questions we consider the “dialectics of culture.” Amilcar Cabral said culture is both a **factor** and a **fact**. The liberation struggle is carried out because of our culture – a determining “factor.” At the same time the liberation struggle is an act of culture – a “fact.” The fundamental objective of liberation is to reclaim our culture and our history by liberating our resources and productive capacity from imperialism. Any analysis of revolutionary Pan-Africanism or international socialism, without mention of culture is as incomplete as reference to a seed without mention of its fruit, trees and roots.

Culture manifests in various ways - political, economic, social etc. Its political manifestation can be organized and become people’s organizations. Without organization there can be no unity. Or, put another way, culture only unifies societies when they are organized. People’s organizations have taken different forms, specifically: coalitions, associations, fronts, movements and political parties. While political parties are superior forms of organizations, in that they are permanent and guided by an ideology, this emanates from culture. There are various types of political parties, some superior to others. Some pretend to go to the people, while others pretend to lead the people; and still others **are the people**.

From our perspective, mass revolutionary political parties are superior to popular parties and vanguard parties, while elite parties are inferior to them. While the existence of any type of political party is better than the absence of political parties, we are looking for the best organized political manifestation of our culture.

Many of our immortal ancestors have sacrificed for this progress. They have passed on the best organized political manifestation of our culture - mass revolutionary political parties. However, mass revolutionary political parties do NOT dominate every society. Some are still in the “mass based” phase – or put another way, the theory exists on paper, but only a small segment of the people are active, with the majority not organized into the party in practice. Practice lags behind theory.

The more society develops nature, the more developed the society’s culture becomes. The more the individual integrates into that society, the higher the development of the individual’s culture. An individual who completely identifies with the aspirations of the people by way of a People’s State has an even higher level of culture and revolutionary self-consciousness, confidence and an inexhaustible source of energy and courage to work miracles for not only a particular society, but for humanity as well. On the other hand, one who is not integrated into the society in that way may look like a human being but behave like a savage. It is for that reason that it is an error to confuse technological progress with cultural development

The liberation struggle is an act of culture!

The key to revolutionary progress is constant study and practice; always learning from not only books, but from people and from practice. The process of building the mass revolutionary permanent party and the process of building socialism are one and the same process. Unity exists when each member of society belongs to the same party and honestly feels that the problems of the party are their own personal problems that they must resolve. This is key to resolving the dilemma of whether, in the face of negative developments within an organization, to struggle against negative forces within the organization, or to abandon it and build a new one.

Student Wars are Worker Wars and Worker Wars are Land Wars

There were a number of student activist engagements in Azania (South Africa) from 2015 through 2017 that shut down college campuses. The result was a government plan that promises free education for the children of poor and working class families. Like most concessions, this comes with restrictions and can be rescinded at any time. More important was that the student activists established solidarity with workers.

While calling for free education, the student movement also called for a living wage for workers and an end to outsourcing. Most of the campus jobs from maintenance to security had been outsourced to companies that were notorious for exploiting workers with no benefits, minimal wages and no job security. The university found it more profitable to outsource than hire directly. They justified this indirect exploitation on the fact that their primary responsibility was education. According to the university administration, jobs not directly involving education should be handled by other agencies.

The students realized this was an excuse for the university to wash its hands of the exploitation occurring on the campus. The students saw all workers as part of the university family and they used their organizing power to support the workers' cause. The enlightenment of the student activists went beyond the campus. They called for an end of outsourcing on the part of all of the state-owned and state-run enterprises and demanded a living wage for all in the country. Hence, student wars had become workers wars.



On another front, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) was pushed to develop a position in support of land reclamation. This year the new president, in the State of the Nation Address, had to announce the Party's support for revisiting the Constitution to address land repossession without compensation. In March of this year, 2018, the ANC supported the Economic Freedom Fighters' call in Parliament for an organized effort to investigate land repossession without compensation. These changes were the direct result of pressure from the workers. Workers wars had become land wars.

The connections between these struggles have not been lost on conscious students. At a program commemorating Steven Biko a young militant wore a T-shirt that said,

***“Student wars are Labour wars and
Labour wars are Land wars.”***

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The Impact of the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* on Kwame Ture



Kwame Ture read the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* by Kwame Nkrumah in 1967. This document would help define his work from that point until his transition in November 15, 1998. This book clarified for him the nature of the African Revolution and the absolute need for unity of thought and action. African people must be organized on a Pan-African scale for the people to take power. The *Handbook* defined for him an enemy we face (neo-colonialism) and the phase of the revolutionary war Africa is fighting.

Ture worked tirelessly to help build the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP), an organization that Nkrumah conceptualized in *The Handbook*. This was at the heart of Ture's effort to unify African forces fighting to defeat colonialism and emerging neo-colonialism.

Like Nkrumah, Ture never acknowledged colonial borders. He was born in Trinidad, was raised in the U.S. settler-colony, and fought for liberation there before returning home to Africa. Kwame Ture's personal development - from his call for "Black Power" to his commitment to achieving the objective of Pan-Africanism: One Unified Socialist Africa - is an example of how the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* can provide a road map for one's political life.

The *Handbook* was written 50 years ago, and it still points the way forward for the African Revolution. Building the mass-based Pan-African socialist revolutionary party that Nkrumah envisioned is the task of the A-APRP and all revolutionary forces in Africa and the African Diaspora. The A-APRP calls on all revolutionaries to read the *Handbook* and help update this classic work. A concise *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* is needed now more than ever before.

Many shy away from a book about warfare because of fears and concerns about violence. It is for that reason that it is important that those who are sincere about struggling for liberation examine the text closely before rejecting it. Nkrumah described guerilla warfare as "the masses in arms." He did not mean every person would be outfitted with fatigues and guns, but he did understand that to liberate and unify Africa, its people would have to be armed with a determination to free themselves mentally and physically. Nkrumah knew liberation requires the engagement of oppressed workers, peasants, students/youth and women, all of whom must be armed with ideological principles and an organization with the capacity to overthrow capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. (Continued on p. 9)

Student Wars are Worker Wars and Worker Wars are Land Wars

(cont'd from p. 7)

Land in particular is at the very core of liberation struggles in Africa. Available agricultural land declined by 4% over the past 23 years, from 97.03 million hectares to 93.25 million hectares. Agricultural land has been taken over by mining, industry and the extension of municipal boundaries. It is under these conditions that a growing anger among the people over land and wealth inequality must be understood.

For their part, European settlers in Azania have become increasingly anxious about the safety of white farmers. Their rhetoric includes charges of 'white genocide' and violence on the farms. However, the facts are quite different. The South African Police recorded an annual average of 59 farm murders between 2014 and 2017, in comparison to an annual average of 63 farm murders between 2010 and 2014. The high point was 2001-2, when 140 farm murders were recorded by the police. These facts are particularly significant in light of Azania's population growth from 45 million in 2000 to 56 million by the end of 2016.

Misinformation can be powerful. In the midst of these claims of 'white genocide,' Australia's Home Affairs Minister Peter Dutton said he wanted to expedite visa applications for white South Africans, fearing for the safety of his fellow European settlers. The South African International Relations Minister Lindiwe Sisulu issued a demand for a retraction of the comments by Dutton. European settlers in Australia are nevertheless accelerating visas for fellow Europeans from Azania, and Israel offers immediate citizenship for European Jewish settlers.

The type of support offered by European settlers for their kith and kin is notably lacking in the African World. Africans who live outside of Africa and who endure racist violence and police terrorism cannot be certain they will receive sanctuary and refuge in Africa. There is no fast tracking of visas for Africans from Haiti despite the high level of poverty and exploitation caused by so-called humanitarian agencies. Africans from Somalia who endure violence and anarchy created by western military interventions do not receive automatic visas.

With proper organization, Africa has the potential to rescue and support Africans throughout the world. The spirit that led to the linkage of student struggles, worker struggles and land struggles must lead to a struggle for open borders, the right to return, and land reclamation.

This will inevitably benefit the struggle for Pan-Africanism – the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism.

Impact of *Handbook* on Kwame Ture

(cont'd from p. 8)



How prophetic was Nkrumah about the impact of neo-colonialism on Africa? Just look at recent events. Tanzania signed a pact with so-called Israel – a Zionist occupation. Ghana signed an agreement to allow a U.S. military base on its soil. It is ironic and tragic that these two African countries served as critical bases for the African revolution during the anti-colonial period.

Kwame Ture said, "A slave who does not know he is a slave will pick cotton at night." This point is proven by the fact that African youth globally have fought and died in the interest of imperialism from Vietnam to Panama. Yet it is also true that consciousness grows from experience. Africans who fought in World War II were some of the first to demand freedom in the colonies. Returning African veterans joined the national liberation struggles and Black Power movements in the Caribbean and the U.S. Today, a new generation is learning about the true nature of imperialism from the drone strikes in Somalia and Yemen and the 2011 NATO and AFRICOM attack on Libya.

The African revolution is a struggle for power. Revolution requires a blueprint. Nkrumah provided one in the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* that was based on the concrete experience of the national liberation forces fighting for independence in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Azania/South Africa, etc. He studied the role of regional and international formations, and social sectors; women, workers and youth. Our work today is to build on and apply this tool to African revolution today. Like our comrade Kwame Ture, the A-APRP stands "Ready for Revolution." Build the A-APRP!

Organize, Organize, Organize

A Tribute to Brother and Comrade Kwame Ture on the 20th Anniversary of His Physical Departure

“...The more you love the People, the more you work for the People; the more you work for the People, the more you want to know the People; the more you study and know the People, the more you love the People; the more you love the People, the harder you work for the People...”

Kwame Turé

Kwame Ture is more alive now than ever! His practical experience in organizing for reform in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was an early indication that he was destined to integrate into the living conditions of Africans in Guinea-Conakry where he was to live and organize from 1969 through 1998. He operated not only at the high level of party-state leadership, but also at the grass roots of the Democratic Party of Guinea – Democratic African Revolution (PDG-RDA). In addition, he made working visits into other areas in Africa. The ideology (revolutionary theory) he followed was rooted in, and guided by, the living conditions of African people. It behooves humanity to learn from his example.

Ture did not invent the Pan-Africanist theory and action that he followed. He inherited Pan-Africanism, revolution and culture from others, including Osageyfo Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sékou Touré, Amilcar Cabral, and others. He remained faithful and passed on to others that which was given to him.

Kwame Turé often said he was not a “speaker” but rather an “organizer.” Pan-Africanism - the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism – can only be achieved through organizing. Organizing requires working among the people – creating a groundswell of awareness that facilitates mass recruitment that in turn provides the mass character of a revolutionary political party. If that party is truly democratic from bottom to top, the state becomes absorbed by the people, and a ‘people’s state’ is achieved.

Kwame Turé became an expert on political parties and formations. Very few political figures of the 20th Century studied and had as many relationships with political parties as Comrade Kwame. You name the party and Comrade Kwame had intimate contact with them, studied them in detail, and knew their strengths and contradictions. He worked with them with passion; the more revolutionary the party, the more intense the relationship.



Kwame Turé didn’t just rhetorically say “Ready for the Revolution” - he walked his talk. He made revolution! He contributed to the building of political parties that are still vibrant today and will inevitably become stronger in the future.

When Osageyfo Kwame Nkrumah gave Kwame Turé the manuscript of the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* * he absorbed it and made the strategy contained in the section entitled ‘The Need for Co-ordinated Revolutionary Action’ (page 56 - 57), his eternal life’s main mission: “The following measures should be taken:

1. The formation of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) to co-ordinate policies and to direct action.

2. The creation of an All-African People's Revolutionary Army (AAPRA) to unify our liberation forces and to carry the armed struggle through to final victory.”

A Tribute to Brother and Comrade Kwame Ture

(Cont'd from p. 10)

The All African People's Revolutionary Party must be led by a guiding light—an ideology. Its program must be the fundamental transformation of the modes of production, liberated from all forms of exploitation and expressing our people's culture – the fruit of our history, whose seeds are our ideology - illuminating our path towards infinite development and ever increasing levels of production.

Kwame Ture worked tirelessly to build the A-APRP, but he was not its founder. The A-APRP was co-founded by Kwame Nkrumah and Amilcar Cabral. Kwame Turé developed into one of its co-pilots. His energy to bring the most revolutionary African Parties together to form an All-African People's Coordinating Council (A-ACPC) to assist in the formation of a mass African People's Revolutionary Party continues from his grave.



Kwame Turé is the embodiment of revolutionary African People's culture. He projected the 'Revolutionary African Personality' based upon the clusters of principles underlying traditional African societies: humanism, egalitarianism and collectivism. He became decolonized, living African culture like a fish in water, faithfully interpreting the sacred aspirations of the almighty people—the supreme reference. A detailed study of Kwame Turé's everyday life shows that he successfully committed 'class suicide' refusing to go down the path of the petite bourgeoisie, but instead became reborn as a revolutionary worker. Many examples can be given of Kwame's simplicity. He lived simple and worked hard for our People. He drove a simple car, rented a simple house, ate simple food and moved among the People of Guinea-Conakry, Africa and the African World as a humble servant. He detested luxury and greed.

His self-written eulogy:

"If we the children of Africa cannot end our People's suffering, at least we can fully share it."

He had a special relationship with the masses of people. His smile always beamed when walking down the streets of Conakry, or elsewhere among the people in the interior 'the bush.' Kwame Turé returned to the source; a source of energy arming our ideology and inspiring us as we intensify our relations with parties in Africa and the socialist world, working to completely liberate all the productive forces in the African world and humanity—a criteria for our own class struggle and a self-conscious measuring stick.

*

<https://libyadiary.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/handbook-of-revolutionary-warfare-a-guide-to-the-armed-phase-of-the-african-revolution.pdf>



Oil on Canvas by Oscar -Triple Blak- Lester.

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY AWARDS RECIPIENTS

Kwame Ture Black Star of Labor Awardees

The United Socialist Party of Venezuela

(Spanish: Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela, PSUV)



The PSUV has worked tirelessly to defend the socialist Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela. They have consistently elevated the role of women in the PSUV and in Venezuelan society. The A-APRP is proud to present the Kwame Ture Black Star of Labor Award to the PSUV.

Willie “Mukasa” Ricks



For over fifty-five years **Willie “Mukasa” Ricks** has been a driving force in the African Liberation struggle throughout the Pan-African World. From the movement that he first stepped forward to fulfill his historical responsibility at the age of seventeen, Brother Mukasa has had a profound impact on the lives and consciousness of literally tens of thousands of African and poor people around the world.

Beginning as an organizer with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), he was instrumental in breaking down Jim Crow laws, which were so prevalent throughout the South. In 1962 he was with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in Albany, Georgia organizing demonstrations and in 1964, along with Fannie Lou Hamer, he helped organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

In 1966, he was a major organizer of the “Black Power March”, which spanned from Memphis, Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi. This march started out as the “March Against Fear,” but changed to the “Black Power March” after James Meredith was shot. The slogan “Black Power” is often associated with Brother Mukasa because he was a major force in popularizing it throughout the South, from the urban to rural areas.

During the course of his work to build Black United Fronts in over 100 cities, Brother Mukasa saw that an institutional means was necessary to build the kind of political consciousness required to bring about the liberation of African People. Consequently, he was instrumental in the fight to establish Black Studies programs on campuses across the country and in building several independent schools including the Malcolm X University and the Pan-African Work Center

Joining the Black Panther Party in the late 1960’s and later becoming an organizer and Central Committee member in the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, Brother Mukasa has consistently been in the vanguard of the African Liberation Movement.

Mukasa has spoken to young people in over twenty-two different nations of the world including Cuba, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Nicaragua, Senegal, Tanzania, and Uganda. To contact this dynamic brother who Dr. King referred to in his book *Where Do We Go From Here*, as the fieriest orator of SNCC, see web page williericks@comcast.net or call (770) 465-3567

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY AWARDS RECIPIENTS

Mawina Kouyate Daughters of Africa Awardees

Comrade Winnie Madikizela-Mandela –

A freedom fighter who sacrificed her personal life for the life of the nation. As a member of the African National Congress (ANC) Women’s League, she was a steadfast leader of the mass struggles in apartheid South Africa against the pass laws, including two weeks in prison while pregnant. Winnie’s political life of uncompromised mass-based resistance spanned throughout several decades from the campaigns, her personal imprisonment, torture, her participation in the Black Consciousness Movement of the ‘70s and ‘80s and her work with youth resistance in the ‘90s.



Winnie’s stance on land reclamation in South Africa and Zimbabwe kept in line with the true aspirations of the masses. Winnie Madikizela was truly the “Mother of the Nation,”—the one we Pan African revolutionaries are still fighting for.

The A-APRP and the All-African Women’s Revolutionary Union (A-AWRU) will keep the spirit alive.

Revolutionary Palestinian Women



– As recently exemplified by the Palestinian teen, Ahed Tamimi, and the hundreds of Palestinian women who continue the daily resistance to the occupying zionist state.

Palestinian March of Return: “Is Our March”

All African People’s Revolutionary Party Supports Palestinians Right of Return!!

**Death to the
Zionist
Occupation!!**



The Palestinian march of return is a testament to the world of a people determined to win against all odds. Palestinians are facing the Zionist Military, the 3rd or 4th largest imperialist army in the world armed with tanks, planes, missiles and drones and aided by 8 million dollars a day by the United States settler-colonial government. 17 killed in the first day and 1500 wounded and they still marched on. There is a march against the racist inhumane Zionist imperialist occupation. Their weapon is justice. Their struggle is our struggle and all those displaced by the imperialist colonial and settler-colonial occupations over the last 500 years. Their fight is our fight. Zionism is the enemy of Palestinians, Africans and all those seeking the end of exploitation of humans by humans. Kwame Ture correctly said the question of Zionism was the defining issue of the class struggle of African people in this era. African neocolonial leaders that cozy up to the Zionist Israeli expose their betrayal of African people’s liberation struggle that combated Zionist imperialism from Cape to Cairo. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) produced one of the first resolutions against Zionism <http://www.aaprp-intl.org/article/zionism-racism>.

Zionist Israel’s killing of unarmed Palestinians returning home reminds Africa and world of the dreadful killings of hundreds of Africans in Sharpeville in 1960, Soweto youth in 1976 and scores of Africans in the armed and peaceful resistance against settler oppression and occupation. We also remember the role of Zionist Israeli state providing weapons to the white settlers to help commit those slaughters. Like the former Apartheid state of South Africa; the Zionist State of Israel is a settler-colonial occupation with their hands dripping in blood. During President Obama’s administration alone, the bombing of the Gaza strip in 2008 and again in 2012

and 2014 killed thousands of Palestinians including hundreds of children. The murders settler-colonists commit are a genocidal attempt to exterminate the indigenous population to take their land. The United States, South Africa, Papua New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand, Western Sahara, Canada, are but a few examples of mass murder and displacement of indigenous peoples.

Zionist Israel established this illegal state by using the Stern and Irgun, armed gangs that committed massacres using terror on Palestinians and forcing them to flee their homes. Over 800,000 Palestinian people were sent into exile mostly in neighboring Arab countries. The murders continue, and the world cannot be silent. The A-APRP is clear that the imperialist occupation encompasses every inch of all historical Palestine. Africans who have been displaced and spread throughout the globe understand clearly the right to return is a human right as many of us demand the right to return to our home Africa and for the elimination of the colonial borders that deny the free movement of African people throughout the continent. The A-APRP calls on all Africans and their organizations to increase their solidarity with the Palestinian people’s “right to return” and increase our actions against our common enemy Zionism.

The “Right of Return” is a fundamental pillar of the struggle for “Justice in Palestine.” This right is recognized in the United Nations resolution 194, a resolution the United Nations has never enforced. The Palestinians are clear resolutions themselves do not liberate people. The organized actions of a people do. The A-APRP marches in solidarity with Palestinians in this fight until Palestine is liberated and Palestinians are returned to their homeland

Culture and History Are Weapons of Revolution

What is African culture? When Sekou Toure said culture is the “sum total of a people’s experience” he explained that culture is not limited to visual art, music and dance. These art forms are mere expressions of culture; the reflection of the people’s lived experiences for survival and development. African culture is the fruit of our labor. It is Africa’s history and our stories of collective work. It is the accumulated experience of that labor over centuries.

Few know that very early in human history, Africans harnessed the power of the continent’s natural resources. By using the physical sciences (architecture, agriculture, astronomy, mathematics, and metallurgy) Africans manufactured life’s necessities - clothing, tools etc. They developed weapons and methods of military organization for the defense of our culture. In fact, national liberation struggles in Africa are an “act of culture.”

National liberation struggles have been and remain a necessity because Africa is dominated by foreign economic forces that are aided by corrupt African heads of state who, in exchange for betrayal of their own people, achieve enormous personal wealth. African people globally are at war with the forces of capitalism and imperialism. We can only defeat this capitalist class of thieves through unity of Africa’s people across colonial borders, ethnic groups, languages, and genders. This fight against our common enemy is a militant struggle against a violent force continuing to lay claim to our resources. NATO forces, Britain, France, U.S. and others are militarily occupying our continent. Revolutionary culture not only resists foreign domination but it fights negative tendencies within the society like patriarchy, gender oppression and corruption.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is the highest expression of African culture today. It is the struggle for people’s power. Pan-Africanism is a resumption of the forward motion of our history and the revitalization of a culture whose development was interrupted by colonial domination.

The All African People’s Revolutionary Party (A-APRP) knows African people armed with the weapons of history and culture will defeat neo-colonialism just as Africa defeated traditional colonialism in 53 African states. How was this accomplished? It happened because of African culture.

Culture and history are weapons; revolutionary ideology and organization point these weapons at the enemies of our progress.

Culture is not static but it is instead a dynamic force of positive and negative tensions seeking cohesion. Europe invaded Africa, enslaved its people and colonized its territories all the while seeking to dominate Africa both physically and psychologically. There were even efforts to erase and re-write Africa’s history. However it is a law of science that for every action there is a reaction. Africans resisted with every weapon at their disposal. African women were at the heart of the resistance – Nehanda, Nzinga, Mekatilili, Nanny, Harriet Tubman, Titina Silla, Winnie Mandela, Assata Shakur, and many, many others over many generations. Kwame Ture often said African women like all women (under patriarchy) are oppressed “except on the frontline of our people’s struggle.”

Our culture also produced philosophies and ideologies (ideas) of resistance against nation/class and gender oppression. We produced Pan-African and revolutionary ideologies like Garveyism, Nrumahism, Toureism, Cabralism, Sobukweism. In short we organized on a global scale against imperialism.

Every African who wants freedom must study their culture and history for its positive and negative contributions to humanity. Culture and history are weapons; revolutionary ideology and organization point these weapons at the enemies of our progress.

To join in the fight for one unified socialist Africa, join an organization working for your people.

Join the AAPRP.

READY FOR THE REVOLUTION!

Rising to the Challenge of Uniting Africans and Recruiting Millions to Liberate Humanity

The most conscious revolutionary intellectuals and intelligentsia, along with workers and those living in the countryside (farmers), have as their most pressing priority for the world's population the organization of global anti-imperialist mass revolutionary political parties. This is particularly true for Africans.

We must do this because no matter where we live, we suffer. Many live in fear that our children will be killed by diseases or violence. Escaping death is a temporary victory, but too many end up in prison or are sent off to other peoples' lands with guns in hand as unconscious members of invading armies. Those who stay behind are afraid of their fellow human beings, only "surviving" and feeling lonely in a sea of many. Still others don't see any reason to continue "living" (surviving) because they can't pay for food, funds are low and debts are high. They don't feel safe or loved, but rather they feel powerless and insecure. They suspect that something is wrong, but they can't seem to pinpoint exactly what the problem is. Deep down inside, they wish for change, but don't have a clue about what or how to change things.

They and we need power over our society. Power comes from the organized people (society). Power of thought put into consistent concrete practice plus power over nature equals cultural power. This is the solution - but how? How do we get organized to achieve power? Where do we begin and with whom? Do we begin with the most conscious or the unconscious? Do we begin at zero, or do we build on the work of those who came before us?

History teaches that you start with the most conscious and together go to the less conscious, live among them, do as they do, learn from them and help bring them to higher levels of consciousness, culture, organization and power. Organization is critical to this process, but we need the right kind of organizations. We have short-term, medium-term and long-term problems. We cannot continue to create short term organizations for long term problems, or vice-versa.

When racists kill our people, we must act decisively. But if all we do is organize short-term to end the killings, when the racist killings are stopped, we will still be powerless. Permanent political mass revolutionary parties are more advanced than short term coalitions or fronts, but we can't spend fifty years organizing a permanent mass party and ignore racist murders, homelessness, self-hatred and hopelessness. In the process of resolving these short-term problems, the most conscious can emerge and

become revolutionaries who are working for long-term objectives. Gathering them together inside of a permanent organization that has as its agenda the achievement of power that will make real our ability to exercise self-determination is the most effective organizing strategy.

A good place to start is with recruitment of the most conscious African students at colleges and universities. We must then be ready to go anywhere and everywhere the African Revolution sends us, even if we don't like the destination or we don't want to learn another language. We must also coordinate this work with the Organization in Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), which has its International Headquarters in Havana, Cuba.

As individuals, how do we fit into this process? A revolutionary in Houston, Paris, or Lagos, Nigeria may wonder whether they can play a role in revolutionary activities in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe or Azania. The answer is neither linear nor exhaustive. What follows are a few suggestions:

1. Make the strategies developed by revolutionary Pan-Africanists well known to the people without fearing that the enemy will notice. The enemy already knows. The C.I.A. stole the manuscript of the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* from Nkrumah's desk in 1966. It is now our historic mission to spread it far and wide, while applying it in practice.
2. Build on the example set by the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP). Nkrumah called for this collaborating network of liberation organizations to expand beyond the former Portuguese colonies, and to include all of Africa. This never happened, but now is a good time to resume advocacy of the idea.
3. Act on the call made during CONCP meetings held in Guinea-Bissau in 2011 for constant exchanges of delegations of youth and women's wings of the various liberation organizations.
4. Work consistently with the Organization in Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL). It has four parties per region, and Africa has four seats.
5. **Join and help build the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.**

WE ARE STILL AT WAR

By Rafiki

(Excerpted from the author's upcoming book *The Blood In Our Eyes*. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party)

“There will be war and rumors of war!”

“Oppression breeds resistance!”

“The truth shall set you free!”

“Love is the answer!”

These living lines can help us to understand the wars that plague our world. They explain war as our collective living reality. They define freedom as our economic, social and political objective. These words point to resistance as the path we must follow and they highlight oppression as the reason we fight. Most importantly these words tell us that love is the key to victory over the forces of evil.

The World at War

Simply put, war is the pursuit of economic objectives by military means. War is imposed upon the weak by the strong. For the aggressors war is conquest, empire, domination, rape, and murder. For the victims, war is destruction, oppression and death.

Because war is always violent, it necessarily involves people defending their lives, land and resources from attack and plunder. And though war can be defined in many ways, by all definitions, African people have been at war for a very long time.

Many claim that all of our problems began with the coming of Asian and European invaders. But a careful look at history shows that the African experience with war did not begin with foreign invasions. There were wars among us long before Egypt was invaded by the Hyksos in 3,760 BCE, by early Romans and by Arabs in the 7th century A.C.E. However, all the previous wars in Africa and all of human history, pale in significance to the wars we have been fighting for the last 1,300 years.

These wars did begin with Arab mercenaries coming to Africa in the 8th century looking for people to enslave. They kidnapped and exported over 25 million Africans between the 8th and the 16th centuries. In the 15th century, before the Arab slave trade reached its heights, European Christians started enslaving Africans, giving a new face to the domination of Africa and subjugation of African people. The European slave trade murdered, captured and extracted nearly 100 million Africans over a 400-year period. The European trans-Atlantic slave trade ended in the 19th century and the Arab trade continued well into the 20th century. In the Arab Slave trade mostly women were taken (2 to 1) to service Middle Eastern and

European markets for sexual and domestic slaves. In the European practice men were prioritized (2 to 1) to fill a need for unpaid (enslaved) workers in the west.

In the case of both Arab and European slavery, attacking, killing, capturing, exporting enslaving and breeding Africans, were war industries. These war industries were introduced by feudal Arabs bringing Islam into Africa. Six hundred years later capitalist Europeans under the banner of Christianity developed the slave war industry to finance the building of Modern Europe and the United States of America. To date the European Slave Trade remains one of the greatest crimes ever committed against a segment of humanity.

African people live in a constant state of war. Since the first Portuguese slave ship came to Africa in 1441, 10 years before Columbus was born, Africans have not had a single day of peace. Slavery, colonialism, apartheid, racism and neo-colonialism are constituent parts of the capitalist war waged against African people for the last 576 years. For more than 210,000 days, we have been fighting European imperial powers to be free to run our own affairs and live our lives in peace.

We are still at war with these same powers. Our people are still suffering and death is still camped on our doorsteps. War is a fight in which projectiles are fired, things explode, fires burn and bodies fall. Death and exploitation are routine, expected norms. Our enemies divide us with systems that destabilize our individual lives, families, communities, cities, nation-states, continents and world. We are traumatized with mass population removal, economic deprivation, and genocidal schemes.

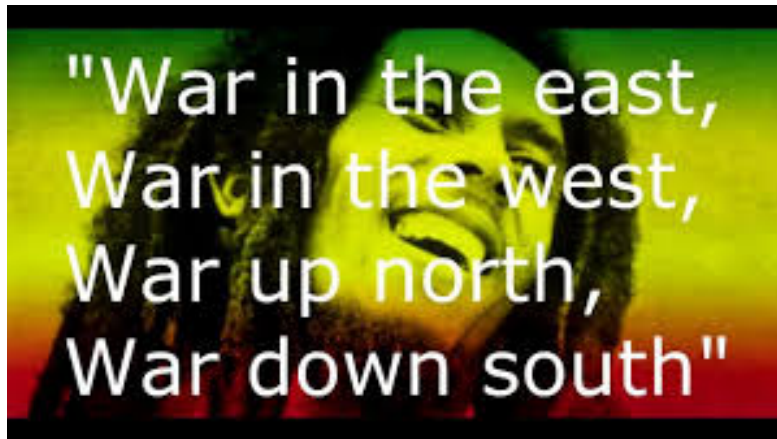
We Are Still At War

(cont'd from p. 17)

New colonial leaders and new-liberal policies of assimilation, criminalization, militarization, economic terror and privatization, are used to trap us at the bottom of refashioned colonies and reduce our instinctive, unconscious rebellion to insignificant distractions. We are bullied and cajoled into believing that we are powerless to change our situation.

The methods, used to keep us divided, are called Counter Insurgency Techniques. They are designed by military intelligence agencies to suppress resistance. The same methods used in Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq are used against Africans in Libya, Sudan, Brazil, Trinidad, Panama, Pretoria and Baltimore. These age-old strategies are played out in a modern context on a worldwide stage.

Lacking an international perspective, we tend to respond to worldwide attack, with local, regional or national actions. Because of this our response in North Carolina, is easily countered with destruction in Soweto. When we gain ground in Cuba we lose twice as much in Venezuela. Increased benefits and pay in the USA is offset by genocide and super exploitation in the Sudan. This is the 21st Century version of “divide and conquer.”



We are not yet free, independent or united. We never rose from our collective enslavement because peace and justice only come after winning the war. To win this war we must fight it. To fight this war we must unite. To unite we must get organized. Our collective oppression is not individual isolated cases of incarceration, police brutality, gentrification, exploitation, racial oppression and murder. These attacks on any of us are attacks on all of us. Bombs in Libya are an attack on the black folk of Soweto. Kidnapping, torture and murder of girls in Nigeria, is an attack on the African Feminine everywhere. Police and internecine violence in the cities of America are an attack on African manhood throughout the world.

We are one and we must organize and educate ourselves as a people faced with a common problem. We have to understand the depth and scope of our condition in order to change it. There is no bliss in ignorance though many continue to deny that we are at war! This denial does not make the war less brutal or diminish its international character. It does undermine our ability to fight. We will not wage an effective international fight until we understand that we are under worldwide attack.

Bob Marley adapted a U.N. Speech by Haile Selassie and correctly sang of, “War in the east, war in the west, war up north, war down south. War, war! Rumors of War! Everywhere is war!” These are the opening well-worn words, plucked from time to inform our efforts, can help us resist and ultimately defeat those who wage war against us.

These phrases encourage us to organize and unite! They also teach us to love one another, resist oppression and live in truth, because this is the only way to fight and win this war.

Divided by Colonial Borders, United by History and Culture-Africa Must Unite!

Revolutionaries Require the Revolutionary Truth of Revolutionary Primary Sources

Instead of surfing the Internet to read capitalist lies, why not use it instead as a way to access revolutionary truths found in revolutionary primary sources?

If one's thoughts are based on misinformation, then logically those thoughts will be misinformed. Because thoughts lead to actions, misinformed thoughts will result in actions that are not only misinformed but dangerous. Too often, well-meaning sisters and brothers have fought for our enemy and against our people "thinking" they were doing the right thing.

Still others may be engaged in sincere efforts to stay informed, but their information sources are BBC, Voice of America, CNN, Radio France International, Dutch Vella, local radio, etc., all of which have the mission of spreading capitalist propaganda.

Almost all revolutionary and progressive parties have their own websites, Facebook, Twitter, etc.. Below are just a few of them.

Cuba: www.granma.cu (daily in Spanish and English as well almost daily in French, Turkish and Portuguese);

World news, (especially Africa, Asia and Latin America) <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/index.html> (24 hours per day in Spanish and English as well almost daily in French and Portuguese);

World news: www.rt.com (24 hours per day in English, Spanish, French, Russian and Portuguese)

World news: www.chinatoday.cn (24 hours per day in English, Spanish, French, Russian and Portuguese)

Pan-African Movements

Worldwide Pan-African Movement (WWPAM) www.wwpam.org

Anti-imperialist and Anti-zionist news

The Dawn news <http://www.thedawn-news.org/>

Press TV: www.presstv.com Jews not zionists

Torah Jews <http://www.truetorahjews.org/>

Neturei Karta http://www.nkusa.org/aboutus/zionism/judaism_isnot_zionism.cfm

Electronic Intifada <https://electronicintifada.net>

Liberation organizations

American Indian Movement (AIM) <http://www.aimovement.org/>

International Indian Treaty Council <https://www.iitc.org/>

Political Parties

Angola, MPLA: www.mpla.ao (in Portuguese, but you can use translate.google.com)

Guinea-Bissau, PAIGC: www.paigc.gw (in Portuguese, but you can use translate.google.com)

Mozambique, FRELIMO <http://www.frelimo.org.mz/frelimo/>

Namibia, SWAPO <http://www.swapoparty.org/>

Cuba: Communist Party of Cuba <http://www.pcc.cu/> (in Spanish, but you can use translate.google.com)

Venezuela, United Socialist Party of Venezuela, PSUV: <http://www.psuv.org.ve/> (in Spanish, but you can use translate.google.com)

Monthly Review (of socialist texts) <https://monthlyreview.org/press/>

Of course, you should regularly consult the **A-APRP website** <http://www.aaprp-intl.org>

Wakandan Fantasy vs. Pan-African Reality

The Black Panther film is now one of the highest grossing movies in the history of commercial cinema. This type of success is unprecedented for a movie so focused on Africa and African people.

Africans everywhere crave real liberation, and the movie's attempt to depict a self-sufficient African society where people have dignity and power causes the slogan "Wakanda forever" to resonate in many corners of the African World – particularly in North America.

The problem of course is Wakanda, the home of the Black Panther and his people, doesn't exist. Why then such excitement? It's not so hard to understand this phenomenon if we consider the contrast between the Wakandan utopia and the image of Africa carefully crafted by slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism for more than 500 years. If T'Challa's kingdom is considered against a backdrop of false and distorted images that portray an African continent incapable of survival without the guidance of great white fathers and mothers from Europe, Israel, and the U.S., and which is filled with ignorance, disease, corruption, starvation and war, then it is only logical that Wakanda is very appealing.

All people are organically connected to their homelands by cultures that define their existence. Africans violently ripped from Africa's culture crave a connection to Africa, but ignorance of the cause of the continent's pain makes confronting and addressing Africa's reality an undesirable alternative to a cinematic immersion in the bliss of Wakandan fantasy. However, unknown to many movie-goers is that Wakanda can be more than a dream. It can be a vision of what Africa can become if it is liberated from foreign imperialist forces and then united under a single socialist government. In fact, Africa can be superior to Wakanda because in that fictional country, leadership is determined by heredity, xenophobia is a virtue, and there is active collaboration with the C.I.A., an agency that has caused massive destruction and death in Africa.

This vision of a Wakanda-like Africa will become reality only when Africans work to make it happen. The good news is that many people have already sacrificed to blaze a trail for us to follow. The vision of people like Henry Sylvester Williams, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Patrice Lumumba, M'balia Camara, Carmen Peirera, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Elizabeth Sibeko, David Sibeko, Malcolm X, Thomas Sankara, Kwame Ture, Muammar Quaddafi, and many others, speaks to a widespread desire for reclamation of Africa's dignity. One unified socialist Africa is Pan-Africanism, an objective that will yield an Africa that resembles Wakanda. (Continued on p. 2)

ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



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Party; Aaprp Intl; Aaprp Illinois;
AAPRP-New Mexico;
AAPRP Nor-Cal; AAPRP-Oregon
African Liberation Day

See: africanliberationday.net

ALD 2018 around the world:

Takoradi, **Ghana**; Conakry, **Guinea**;
Bissau, Bafata, Biombo, Bolama-Bijagos,
Cacheu, Gabu, Oio, Quinara, and Tombali,
Guinea-Bissau; Nairobi, **Kenya**;
Tshwane, Pretoria and Johannesburg,
South Africa;
Gweru, **Zimbabwe**; London, **England**;
Toronto, **Canada**; **Trinidad & Tobago**;
U.S.: Atlanta, Chicago, Baltimore,
Cincinnati, Brooklyn, Oakland, Orlando,
Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.