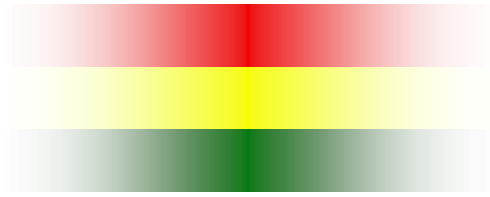


Afrikan Liberation Day

2009



Afrikan Freedom means Defeating Neo-colonialism

International Class Analysis and

Afrikan Leadership in the

Global Revolution

The Pan-Afrikan Society Community Forum – www.pascf.org.uk

The Pan Afrikan People's Phone-in
Every Sunday 10pm – 12midnight

PAPP Galaxy Radio PAPP

99.5fm (London airwaves) and www.afiwestation.com (internet)

Phone Number (for on air discussion): 07908 117 619

The Pan-Afrikan People's Phone-in is a space for themed interactive discussions conducted over the airwaves and cyberspace. The themes are focused around issues affecting Afrikan people both locally and globally.

The Pan-Afrikan People's Phone-in regularly features guests from revolutionary Pan-Afrikanist organisations. From time to time others including non-Afrikan guests will be invited to contribute. The activities of all guests will be examined on the basis of their relevance to Afrikan people locally and worldwide. Interviews and presentations with guests will set the scene for the more general discussion (in the second half of the programme) where listeners will be invited to phone in, ask questions and contribute.

Spread the word: Please tell all of your family, friends, fellow organisation members, colleagues, associates and other networks about the show. Encourage them to listen.

International Class Analysis and Afrikan Leadership in the Global Revolution

1 Eurocentric misconceptions about class

1.1 An incorrect assumption

Karl Marx advanced the argument that revolution requires a highly developed proletariat i.e. a highly skilled and well organised working class (Marx, 1975, p. 32). This analysis suggests that revolutions can only happen in advanced capitalist nations such as those found in Europe. It also implies that Europe's industrial nations provide the frontline of revolutionary activity. This then means that the European working classes must be at the forefront of the worldwide revolutionary process. It follows from this line of reasoning that all other exploited groups need to get behind the European working classes in order to help them to overcome the capitalist exploiters. This is necessary because all other exploited groups in the world benefit from the defeat of the capitalists.

Marx made a deep and profound contribution to humanity's understanding of the workings of capitalism. However, this part of Marx's analysis does not stand up to scrutiny. The problem is that the European working classes are not fighting the capitalists and have abandoned the apparent frontline revolutionary role ascribed to them by Marx. Instead, they have aligned themselves with the capitalists and effectively supported the capitalists' agenda so long as they receive 'better' pay and conditions for themselves.

At the time of writing, Marx would not have seen this pattern of the European working class' behaviour. His reasoning was limited by the state of European knowledge at that time. His supposition was mainly based on an analysis of the initial stage of industrialisation in Britain; it was also limited by the fact that Marx did not devote much effort to the study to non-European societies (just over 400 pages) – his analysis is fundamentally Eurocentric in character. Marx's interpretation of the role of the European working class is incorrect because of its tendency towards analysing class at the national, rather than international level.

1.2 Towards a correction

Marx made a significant error - as a result of this faulty analysis, he failed to predict the 1917 socialist revolution in an agrarian 'backward' country like Russia. Nkrumah puts Marx's error into context with the following explanation:

"In the industrially more developed countries, capitalism, far from disappearing, became infinitely stronger. This strength was only achieved by the sacrifice of two principles which had inspired early capitalism, namely the subjugation of the working classes within each individual country and the exclusion of the State from any say in the control of capitalist enterprise.

By abandoning these two principles and substituting for them 'welfare states' based on high working class living standards and on a State-regulated capitalism at home, the developed countries succeeded in exporting their internal problem and transferring the conflict between rich and poor from the national to the international stage.

Marx had argued that the development of capitalism would produce a crisis within each individual capitalist state because within each state the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' would widen to the point where a conflict would be inevitable and that it would be the capitalists who would be defeated. The basis of his argument is not invalidated by the fact that the conflict, which he had predicted as a national one, did not everywhere take place on a national scale but has been transferred instead onto the world stage. World capitalism has postponed its crisis, but only at the cost of transforming it into an international crisis. The danger is now not civil war in individual states provoked by intolerable conditions in those states, but international war provoked ultimately by the misery of the majority of mankind who daily grow poorer and poorer." (Nkrumah, 1974, p. 255.6).

Marx's error is not insurmountable, but the problem is that some Marxists just go on repeating the error regardless of the historical reality. Whilst seeing themselves as internationalists, they often stick rigidly to this national level analysis of class. They appear determined to put the European working class at the forefront of revolutionary activity even though reality does not support their analysis. Harold Cruse explains the contradiction in the following way:

"Lenin dealt most thoroughly with how men or classes receive their sense perceptions of the world; but Marxists today bypass this aspect of dialectics because they believe the social role of the 'proletariat' alone settles this question for all time. While Marxists have tried to make world reality for their dialectical preconceptions; but world developments require that dialectical conceptions cannot come from the minds of western Marxists whose philosophical views have become provincially rooted in the crisis-reality of the Western world and cannot transcend the conceptual limitations of that world. They talk revolution, but revolution is being made by others. World social developments are running ahead of their world social theory. William F. Warde says that the principles of historical materialism are applicable everywhere 'provided they are applied with full consideration of the facts in each case.' But the question Warde does not discuss: Who is to determine this, those who are making the world revolution, or those in the west whose dialectical views are anchored in the lethargy of the white working class.

The Marxism theory of knowledge [dialectics] implies that if the backward peoples of the world are carrying themselves into the mainstream of socialism instead of being led there with the aid of advance nations, as Trotsky saw it, then the backward peoples must replace the white working class as the 'chosen people' of the dialectical functioning of world society. Hence if 'historical science' or dialectics is to be considered truly scientific, it must be developed and verified in life by inclusion of the social experiences, the history, the ideas and political philosophies, and the points of view of the backward people that count today the world over. For it is their social consciousness that is determining which way history is moving. Dialectical materialism is no longer the philosophy of the proletariat [i.e. the European proletariat], as the western Marxist would have it." (Cruse, 1969, p. 150/1)

Some Marxists doggedly maintain the position that the European working class must lead the revolution, despite the fact that Vladimir Lenin (Amin, 1979, p. 360; Better Fewer), Mao Tse-Tung (Tse-Tung, 1975a, p.

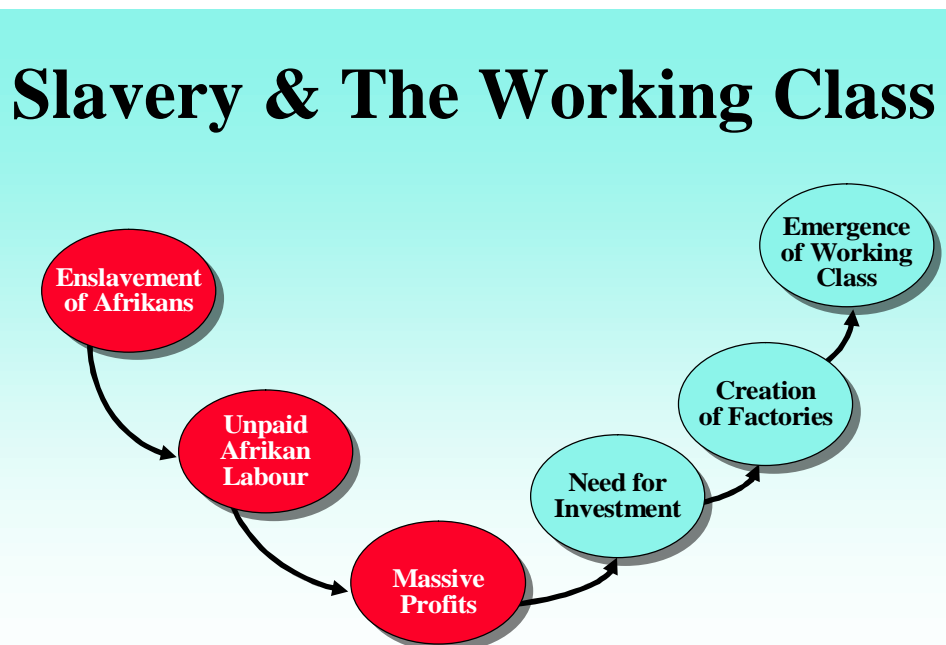
33) and Kwame Nkrumah (Nkrumah, 1974, p. 255/6) corrected Marx's error. They each understood that class is an international phenomenon; that the capitalist system can only be properly understood in an international context; that the global capitalist system is comprised of a dominant centre and a dominated periphery; that the capitalist system, fortified with everything up to and including nuclear weapons, is strong in its centre, whilst being weak in its periphery where it is forced to rely on the relatively fragile neo-colonial puppet class to do its anti-people oppressive bidding.

Lenin, Chairman Mao and Nkrumah concluded that the principal revolutionary front has to be where the majority of the world is (i.e. in the periphery: the capitalist colonies and neo-colonies). In these regions of the world, workers are few in number whilst the peasants form the substantial majority. This means that it is the peasants that are most likely to be at the forefront of revolution. This in turn means that the consciousness of the peasants (in particular) needs to be raised substantially in order to achieve worldwide revolutionary changes.

2 The origin of the working class and their current ill-treatment of Afrikan people

2.1 Slavery led to the emergence of the European working class

The enslavement of Afrikan people created unprecedented levels of wealth for the imperialists who controlled the slavery system. As part of their agenda of stealing other peoples' wealth they managed to usurp Afrikan people's labour without having to pay. The imperialists then used the massive quantities of wealth that they accumulated from slavery as capital to invest. These investments were the cause of many new beginnings including: a proliferation in the development of technological inventions in Europe; the creation of factories in Europe; the development of mass production in Europe; the development of industrialisation in Europe; the birth of capitalism as a social, political and economic system; the birth of the capitalist phase of world history; and the birth of modern racism (Bottomore, 1981, p. 96).



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These changes also meant that the newly created mass producing factories of Europe needed labour in order to operate effectively. This new need was hindered by the fact that the labour of European peasants was tied to the land in a form of bondage called serfdom. The requirements imposed by the newly emerging capitalist system meant that the European peasants had to be released from serfdom by their Lords and Masters (Bottomore, 1981, p. 133/4). Their release was one of the essential ingredients that brought capitalism into existence. It was the release of European peasants from serfdom that gave birth to the European working class (i.e. proletariat). The European working class was created by the new capitalist elite for its own diabolical purposes. The European working class was also born out of the terrible suffering of enslaved Afrikan people.

2.2 Slavery led to divergent class interests

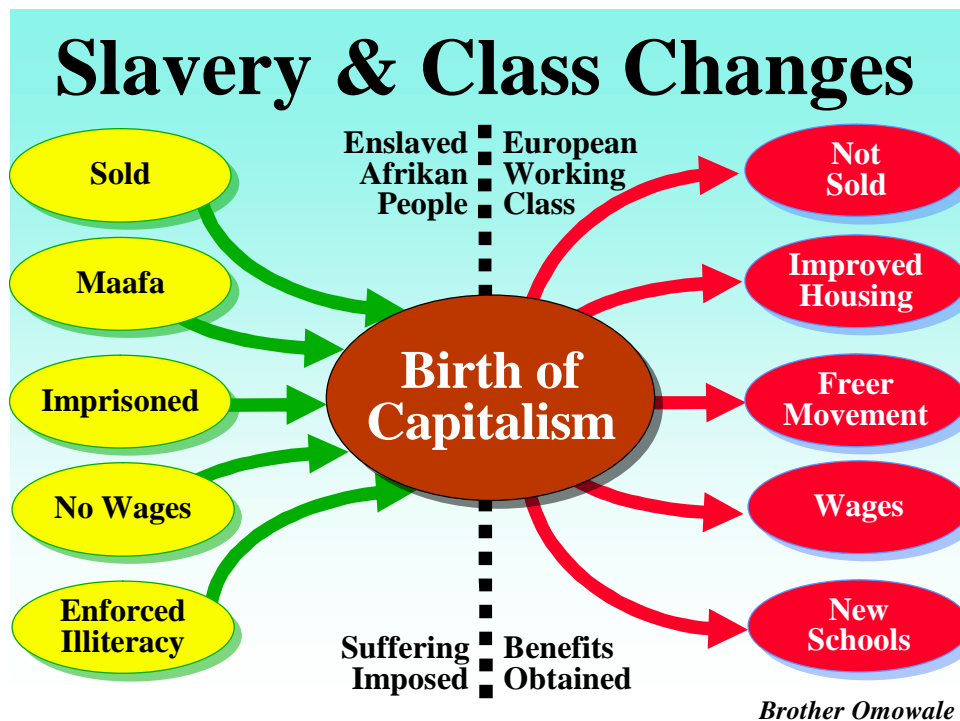
The transition from feudalism to capitalism in European history corresponded to the transition from slavery to colonialism in Afrikan history. All of these social systems were linked by the advent of industrialisation: slavery brought industrialisation into being; in doing so it killed off feudalism and brought capitalism and colonialism into existence. These processes combined to create distinctly differing class interests for what hitherto had been the roughly equal class positions of peasants in Afrika and Europe (Du Bois, 1996, p. 209).

The emergence of capitalism brought with it a number of distinct differences in the living conditions of the former peasants of Afrika and Europe. For instance, it is beyond dispute that in order for capitalism to be born, Afrikan peasantry were subjected to:

- (i) ***the most savage, inhumane and brutal process of systematic kidnapping ever experienced on earth*** – this also highlighted the inconsistency that whilst the European working classes were legally protected from being sold or enslaved, being sold was part of the everyday experience of enslaved Afrikan people (Fryer, 1984, p. 124-6). It goes without saying that whilst the murder of a member of the European working class, was against the law, no such legal protection was afforded enslaved Afrikan people (Molan, 2003, p. 626/7; Fryer, 1984, p. 127-130);
- (ii) ***compulsory extradition from their homeland to an unknown destination*** - a much softer version of this calibre of torture is today called 'extraordinary rendition'. During this inhumane extradition process, Afrikan people were packed into the bottom of ships in much the same way that dead sardines are packed into tins. Those that survived this catastrophic ordeal were rendered homeless and destitute. By contrast, the European working class began to experience objective improvements in their health and housing conditions (Trevelyan, 1944, p. 529);
- (iii) ***imprisonment on forced labour camps misleadingly referred to as 'plantations'*** - against the background of the wholesale restriction of movement for enslaved Afrikan people, capitalism allowed the new European working class greater opportunities to move more freely than ever before, both in their own homelands and abroad. In their homelands the European working classes tended to move from the countryside to newly forming cities in order to look for

paid work. Internationally, their new freedom of movement contributed to a proliferation of settler colonies controlled by the European capitalist elite. British imperialism for instance committed systematic acts of genocide in order to impose settler colonies in Canada, US Satan, the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, Kenya, Rhodesia and South Afrika. As part of this process, a small section of the European working class managed to accumulate wealth beyond its wildest dreams and went further 'up' in class status;

- (iv) **the wholesale theft of their labour** - the birth of capitalism created conditions where the European working classes began to receive wages i.e. more value for their labour power. There is no doubt that as a group they have developed a liking for wages since they have never given them up and are willing to strike to maintain their purchasing value. By contrast capitalism came into being precisely because enslaved Afrikan people got no wages for their labour. It was the failure to pay them wages that allowed the capitalists to accumulate massive volumes of wealth; and
- (v) **a calculated ideological attack against their consciousness** – this happened at many different levels, for example enslaved Afrikan people were actively prevented from reading and writing in the historical phase that gave birth to capitalism. In contrast, the newly emerging capitalist system recognised the need for relatively skilled workforce and the European working class found that schools were, for the first time, made available to its children (Trevelyan, 1944, p. 580/1).



This is by no means an exhaustive examination of the categorical class differences between enslaved Afrikan people and the newly emergent European working class. However, the overall picture is undeniable. Despite the wretchedness of the conditions confronting the European working class, their class position and quality of life objectively improved as slavery brought capitalism into being. In order for capitalism to come into existence, the quality of life of Afrikan people objectively became substantially worse.

The European working class was born out of slavery. This category of humanity came into existence as a direct result of the blood, sweat, tears and genocidal suffering of Afrikan people. In fact, had it not been for the genocidal scale mass enslavement of Afrikan people, there would have been no capital accumulation, no system of capitalism, no industrialisation, no mass producing factories and therefore no working class. The suffering of Afrikan people brought capitalism into being. Capitalism then created improved conditions for the European working class who received a relative bonus for their labour in the form of wages (Bottomore, 1981, p. 96).

2.3 Colonialism and neo-colonialism further entrenched class differences

In addition to owing their very existence as a working class to imperialism's anti-Afrikan enslavement system, the European working classes also indirectly benefited from the colonisation of Afrika. As capitalism strengthened its hold on Afrika, it limited the practice of kidnapping Afrikan people and instead substituted the practice of stealing land and resources from under Afrikan people's feet. In other words it consolidated itself by altering the form of its anti-Afrikan exploitation and oppression from slavery to colonialism. This new practice led to a further divergence of class interests between colonised Afrikan people and the European working class. The resources of Afrikan people were now being stolen by the capitalist elite and used to create products designed to make life more convenient for Europeans in general – which included the European working classes.

During the colonial and neo-colonial eras, the European working class have been busily labouring on the minerals stolen from Afrikan people. They have made a whole range of products including: ships, planes, guns, bombs, nuclear weapons etc. which were then used to ensure that Afrikan and other oppressed peoples in the capitalist periphery could not easily fight off the capitalist exploiters (Sampson, 1978, p. 40-3). This is evidence that the European working classes have colluded with the European capitalist elite. The European working class had and still have the option of refusing to make capitalism's weapons; it has nonetheless consistently failed to exercise this option. Their refusal would have been an obvious act of solidarity with the oppressed peoples in the capitalist periphery. Instead, they have accepted the benefits of their 'superior' class position and continued to mass produce the very items that are used to destroy the lives of other oppressed people.

The achievement of working class status made life better for the masses of Europeans: they were no longer bound to the land; they were no longer bound to a particular Lord; in Britain they could move around with relative freedom; and they could earn money from their labour. All of this meant that their new working class status released them from serfdom which was objectively a more restrictive form of bondage. The class position of the European masses was therefore transformed upward. They were in effect emancipated from serfdom into a new working class status. This elevated them to a class position which was objectively above that of the Afrikan masses. This in turn created a categorical difference in class interests between the enslaved and colonised Afrikan people and the European working classes (Yeshitela, 2005, p. 162-166).

2.4 Anti-Afrikan practices in the capitalists centres: the internal neo-colony

Unlike their sisters and brothers on the Afrikan continent, enslaved Afrikan people in the capitalist centres were colonised away from their homes. Some, like those in US Satan, were colonised in the capitalist centres from the beginning of slavery; others like those Afrikan people who were formerly resident in the Caribbean, moved to the capitalist centres through migration from their former enslavement and colonisation in various parts of the capitalist periphery. In addition to these two categories, there are also Afrikan people who have come to the capitalist centres through direct migration from the colonised and neo-colonised Afrikan continent.

However, regardless of how they got there, once they are in the capitalist centres, the fates of these Afrikan sub-groups are directly and more tightly linked. With reference to the Afrikan experience in US Satan, Harold Cruse explains how:

“From the beginning, the [Afrikan in US Satan] has existed as a colonial being. His enslavement coincided with the colonial expansion of European powers and was nothing more or less than a condition of domestic colonialism. Instead of [US Satan] establishing a colonial empire in Africa, it brought the colonial system home and installed it in the Southern states. When the Civil War broke up the slave system and the [Afrikan] was emancipated, he gained only partial freedom. Emancipation elevated him only to the position of a semi-dependent man, not that of an equal or independent being.” (Cruse, 1969, p. 76)

The relationship of Afrikan people in the capitalist centres with the dominant capitalist culture is now that of an internal colony. Beyond living within their borders, Afrikan people in the capitalist centres are not an equal integral part of those nations; they are below Europeans in each and every class; they also experience racism from Europeans across the board. This calibre of treatment comes from the vast majority of the European working class as well as the capitalist elite who control the state.

The following extract demonstrates how the resulting divisions between two groups that should jointly struggle against capitalism are caused by the behaviour of the European working class operating in league with the capitalist elite and not by the behaviour of Afrikan people:

“The belief of some [US Satan based] Marxists in a political alliance of [Afrikans] and whites is based on superficial assessment of the [Afrikan's] social status: the notion that the [Afrikan] is an integral part of the [US Satan] nation in the same way as is the white working class. Although this idea of [Afrikan] and white unity is convenient in describing the [US Satan] multinational and multiracial makeup, it cannot withstand a deeper analysis of the components which make [US Satan] society what it is. [Afrikans] have never been equal to whites of any class in economic, social, cultural, or political status, and very few whites of any class have ever regarded them as such. The [Afrikan] is not really an integral part of the [US Satan] nation beyond the convenient formal recognition that he lives within the borders of the [US Satan]. From the white's point of view, the [Afrikan] is not related to the 'we', the [Afrikan] is the 'they'. This attitude assumes its most extreme expression in the Southern states and spreads out

over the nation in varying modes of racial mores. The only factor which differentiates the [Afrikan's] status from that of a pure colonial status is that his position is maintained in the 'home' country in close proximity to the dominant racial group. It is not at all remarkable then that the semi-colonial status of the [Afrikan] has given rise to nationalist movements. It would be surprising if it had not. Although [Afrikan] nationalism today is a reflection of the revolutionary nationalism that is changing the world, the present nationalist movement stems from a tradition dating back to the period of World War 1." (Cruse, 1969, p. 77)

The position of Afrikan people in the capitalist centres is objectively a class below their European working class counterparts. Afrikan people experience double exploitation in the centres i.e. on the grounds of race and class. Afrikan people therefore have a double gain to make from overturning the exploitative system.

Another point that emerges from an international level class analysis is that the physical location of Afrikan people in the capitalist centres gives them a different relationship to the capitalist elite (i.e. the owners of the means of production) from their sisters and brothers in the periphery. At the level of identity they are Afrikan people (though the confused amongst them my attempt to deny this fact), but in class terms they have become separated from Afrikan people in the periphery in much the same way that the European working class have. They are not capable of the anti-Afrikan racism exhibited by the European working class, but this can potentially be replaced with a kind of inter-Afrikan sectarianism.

All of this has contributed to the development of a massive contradiction amongst this group also. The majority of Afrikan people in the capitalist centres are currently turning their backs on the revolutionary solution to their problems. Instead they are trying to: (i) gain more concessions from the capitalist system to make life more comfortable for themselves; (ii) move 'up' in the capitalist system – thereby supporting and strengthening the enemy's internal neo-colonial system; and (iii) emulating the capitalist system by trying to exploit others through setting up 'their own' businesses for their own personal gain – some are even repatriating to Afrika in order to set up 'their own' business.

3 Class is really a worldwide phenomenon

3.1 Class struggle is not bound by national borders

Marx's error occurred because his analysis was limited by his European nationalist perspective on class struggle. A critical review of his analysis reveals that the capitalist system is not a system of bourgeoisies versus proletariats within individual nations considered in isolation. The capitalist influence is much broader; it is spread within and across all nations under its control, meaning that no one nation can operate in isolation. What emerges is a situation where:

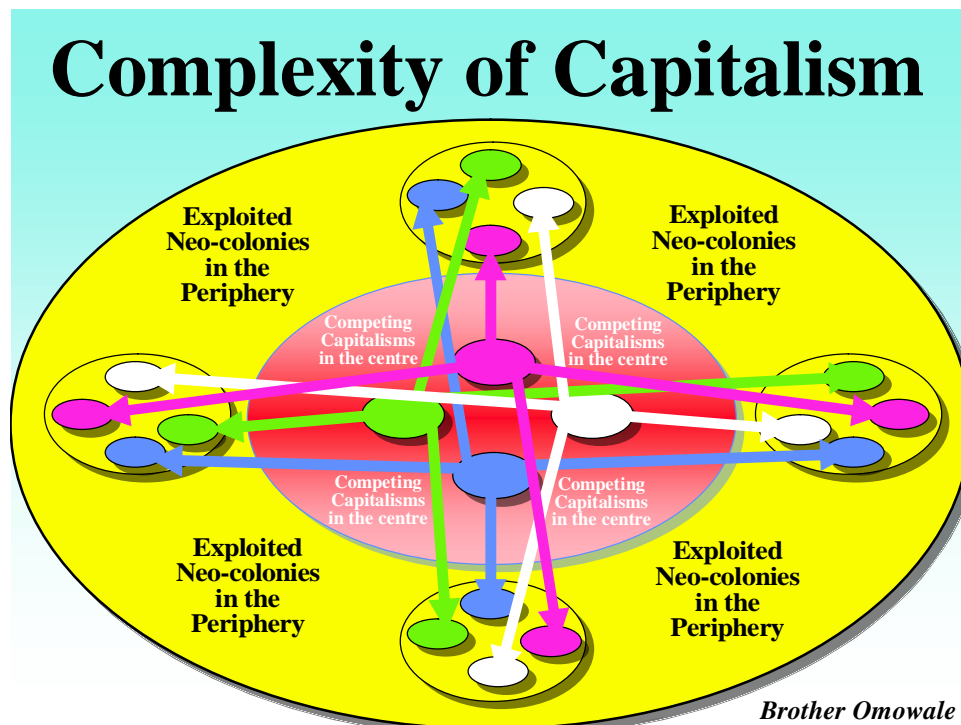
"The centre and the periphery both belong to the same system. To understand this set of related phenomena, one should therefore not reason in terms of nations, as if the latter constitute independent entities, but in terms of a world system [a world context for class struggle], possessing strong links and weak links, which are the points of maximum contradiction ... the class struggle takes place not within the context of the nation but within that of the world system." (Amin, 1976, p. 359)

In reality there is one worldwide capitalist system which extends within, above and beyond national and continental borders. That system has an exploitative centre (based in capitalism's advanced industrial nations) and a periphery which is the subject of exploitation (colonies and neo-colonies). The fact that Afrikan people were forcibly dragged thousands of miles around the world and over three continents in order to give birth to capitalism, is proof conclusive that the capitalist system was an international system from its very beginning.

3.2 The two tier system of capitalist world domination

The majority of the people in the world currently live in the world capitalist system either at the centre or at the periphery. The centre dominates the periphery, but it must be remembered that there are different capitalisms at the centre. Despite the fact that the different capitalisms at the centre are constantly competing with each other, they recognise that they have a common interest in keeping the periphery dominated. They are therefore united in keeping the periphery under their collective subordination. It now becomes clear that:

“... capitalism has become a world system. The contradiction is not between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of each country considered in isolation, but between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat. But this world bourgeoisie and this world proletariat do not fit into the framework of the capitalist mode of production – they belong to a system of capitalist formations, central and peripheral. Therefore the problem is: what constitutes the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, respectively?” (Amin, 1976, p. 360)



The system of domination operates through a worldwide bourgeoisie consisting: firstly of capitalists at the centre; and secondly neo-colonial managers at the periphery. The capitalists at the centre are the only capitalists that exist on a world scale and they exploit the proletariat everywhere. They are supported by

the neo-colonial managers in the periphery – who are given licence to oppress the people in zones predetermined by the capitalists at the centre. This two tier system operates to exploit all other groups everywhere in the capitalist sphere of control.

From the vantage point of Afrikan people, particularly those in the capitalist centres who are seeking revolutionary change, it is important to have some sense of the collective behaviour and interplay between the following four groups: (i) the workers at the centre; (ii) the neo-colonial managers in the periphery; (iii) Afrikan people amongst the workers at the centre; and (iv) the real proletariat in the periphery – which consist mainly of peasants, but also includes workers.

4 The European working class have betrayed their historic duty

4.1 The European working class cannot lead the global revolution

The European working classes have betrayed the historic duty bestowed upon them by Marx; they have taken the wages and other minor privileges of their class position and run. Marx expected them to lead the global revolution against their own elite and in doing so help the revolutionary struggles of all other exploited people across the whole world. However, Marx failed to recognise that they have class interests that are different from the masses of Afrikan and other oppressed people in the capitalist periphery. This contradiction is highlighted by Harold Cruse who argues that:

“... we clearly observe that Western capitalism has cultivated the new class alliance between white labour and white capital in the face of colonial and semi-colonial revolutions, it becomes evident that the old Marxian formula of the revolutionary class struggle between capital and labour is passé and obsolescent. Hence any theory of social revolution must be modernised with a new set of ideas, coming not from the whites, since that is improbable, but from the coloured races.” (Cruse, 1969, p. 117)

“In this realignment of the world social forces the reality is that white capitalist nations, including all the different classes within these nations from upper bourgeoisie to lower proletariat, have become, in fact, bourgeois and relative middle class strata vis-à-vis the non white peoples who have become in fact, the ‘world proletarians’. This is the real outcome of dialectical processes in our age.” (Cruse, 1969, p. 155)

4.2 The fundamental basis for an alliance

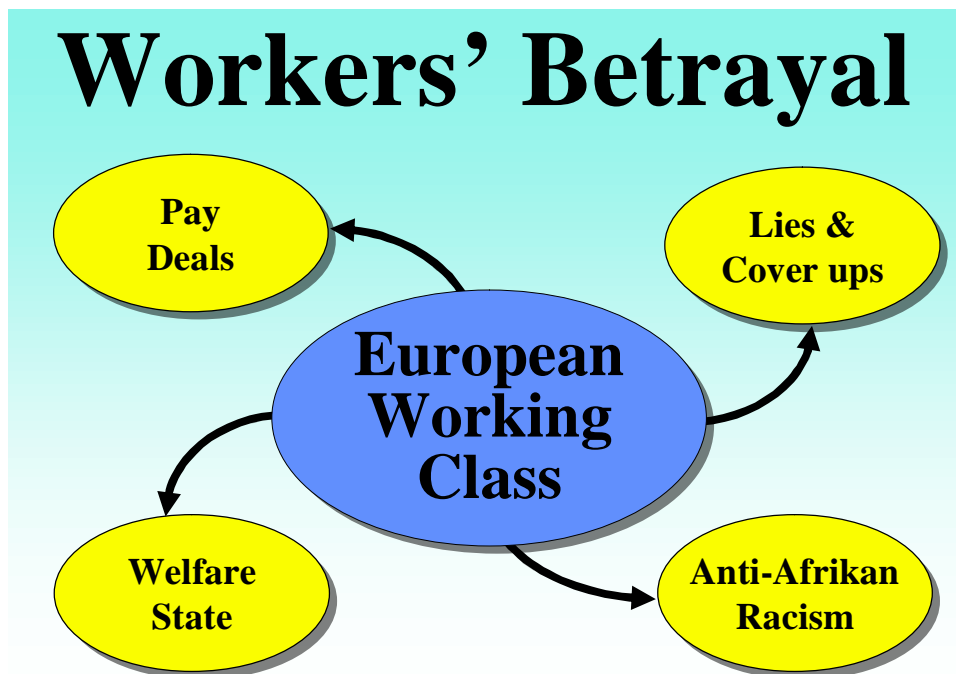
It is important to acknowledge and remember that the European working classes still remain exploited by the European capitalists in the capitalist centre. This means that despite their betrayal of other oppressed peoples, the European working class are not the objective class enemy of Afrikan people. Nkrumah highlighted the common feature of their respective struggles in the following words:

“Both in the colonial territories and in the metropolitan states, the struggle was being waged against the same enemy: international finance capital under its external and internal forms of exploitation, imperialism and capitalism.” (Nkrumah, 1980b, p. 3)

The masses of Afrikan people and the European working class have a common enemy, a common exploiter and a common oppressor and despite their class differences, this provides an objective basis for a working alliance between them. Sadly, this alliance has been consistently undermined by the subjective responses of the European working class.

4.3 Barrier to working alliances: the behaviour of the European working class

The problem is that instead of fighting and defeating the European capitalists at the centre who are exploiting both the European working classes and Afrikan people everywhere, the European working classes have sided with the European capitalists at the centre against the exploited Afrikan people. This unprincipled alliance is a double headed contradiction. On the one hand the European working class have: (i) selfishly accepted bribes in the form of capitalism's handouts through the welfare state, which in turn has helped to defuse their revolutionary potential (Nkrumah, 1980b, p. 12); and (ii) selfishly limited their militancy to achieving percentage pay increases, rather than using their strike power to actively work towards the complete overthrow of the capitalist system (Nkrumah, 1980b, p. 3-5).



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On the other hand, the European working class have further separated from the worldwide proletariat by accepting the divisive xenophobic role ascribed to them by the capitalist elite. Their support of capitalism's biased immigration policies is a sign that they have and continue to shamelessly practice overt and covert racism against Afrikan and other oppressed people's in the capitalist periphery (Alexander, 1987, p. 2 & 29-44). In addition to their own vicious racist practices against Afrikan people in the capitalist centres, they support the racism of the capitalist state by remaining unsupportive, silent and even antagonistic in the face of obvious racial injustice such as Afrikan deaths in police custody (Sivanandan, 1991, p. 47-57). Furthermore, in the majority of cases they actively lie by openly pretending that they are not racist.

Their lie is made worse by the fact that when Afrikan people rightly complain about their racism, they accuse those Afrikan people of creating divisions within the proletarian movement – of undermining proletarian solidarity and unity. The European working class conveniently by-pass the fact that it is they who practice the racism that causes the splits and divisions – not the Afrikan and other oppressed people who complain about the consequences of their practices. Their incorrect and misleading interpretation of who is responsible for splits and divisions amongst the world's proletariat attempts to excuse them, because it sets about covering up the fact that they are the ones who create the splits through their racist actions.

The racist responses of the European working classes (which is based on their own subjective class interests) actively contribute to keeping them in a different social class from Afrikan and other peoples oppressed in the capitalist periphery. The European working classes must make substantial changes to their behaviour in order to realign themselves with the rest of the world's proletariat. In fact, they must commit what Amilcar Cabral called 'class suicide' (Cabral, 1974, p. 89) i.e. collectively overcome the contradictions identified above, before they can become a genuine force for revolutionary change.

5 The real revolutionary leadership is in the capitalist periphery

5.1 Betrayal by Afrikan neo-colonialists and the European working class

In order to be an exploiter, it is necessary to own substantial amounts of private property, i.e. capital or more precisely, the means of production. The workers at the centre do not have such means and therefore they cannot and do not exploit the workers in the periphery. However, whilst the workers at the centre do not own the means of production and do not exploit directly, they have nonetheless developed an alliance with the capitalists at the centre.

Through this alliance they support the exploitation of the workers and peasants in the periphery. They renege on the class duty attributed to them by Marx by refusing to conflict with the capitalists in the centre beyond the point of seeking wage increase for themselves. Through collusion the European working classes have exported their direct conflict with the capitalists to the neo-colonies in the periphery. They have, in effect, accepted the crumbs from the European capitalists' table.

The selfish response of the European working classes has many similarities to the way that a minority of Afrikans have behaved towards the masses of Afrikans. These selfish Afrikans have adopted the neo-colonial role in the capitalist system and have aligned themselves with European capitalists at the centre. In their role as agents of capitalism, they operate as a counter-revolutionary class whose primary task is to destroy the Afrikan revolutionary movement. They do this by actively managing capitalism's neo-colonial state apparatus against the interests of their own people and in doing so expose their complete redundancy as a force for revolutionary change.

The neo-colonial managers in the periphery are part of the capitalist world system. They were created by the capitalists at the centre and therefore owe their very existence to those capitalists. In fact, the neo-colonial managers are an integral part of the capitalist world system. Their role is to ensure that the

capitalists at the centre receive: cheap raw materials from the neo-colonies; cheap labour from the neo-colonies, and markets for the sale of products in the neo-colonies (Nkrumah, 1979, p. 3). In return they receive a handsome commission from capitalism's profits and are given positions of power in their locality. However, they are given only a limited sphere of world influence and remain contained within the borders set for them by the capitalists at the centre.

Despite the limitations placed upon them by the capitalists at the centre, they want to keep the domination of the capitalists at the centre in place. They realise that it is in their own interest to support the capitalists at the centre because they benefit from, or more importantly, are supported and maintained by the capitalists at the centre. Along with the capitalists at the centre, they too oppress and exploit the workers and peasants in the periphery. Their actions are effectively adding to the exploitation of the capitalists in the centre.

Through their acceptance of junior status membership of the global capitalist system of exploitation, this treacherous neo-colonial group of Afrikan 'people' have put themselves into a different social class from the masses of Afrikan people in much the same way that the European working class have. Both of these groups have sought to place themselves into positions of leadership over Afrikan revolutionary movements. By operating in this way they have attempted to contain, subdue and even destroy the budding revolutionary movements of the Afrikan masses. Samir Amin summarises some of the contradictions in the positions of Afrikan neo-colonialists and the European working class as follows:

"To say that the theory of unequal exchange means that the 'workers at the centre exploit those at the periphery' is meaningless, since the ownership of capital makes exploitation possible. To say, from a different standpoint, that it means that the bourgeoisie of the periphery is, like its proletariat, interested in shaking off the domination of the centre, signifies that one has simply forgotten that this bourgeoisie has been formed from the outset in the wake of the bourgeoisie of the centre." (Amin, 1976, p. 196)

5.2 Class suicide: beyond Afrikan neo-colonialists and the European working class

The Afrikan petty-bourgeoisie was once part of the Afrikan masses. They have the potential to lead the masses of Afrikan people in the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system. This is precisely the reason why the capitalist elite have co-opted them, made them part of the capitalist system and turned them into the neo-colonial managers of the Afrikan zone of the capitalist system (Cabral, 1979, p. 135). This tactic has effectively delivered a double blow to the Afrikan revolution by: (i) removing the majority of its most able candidates for leadership from their historic duty of guiding the revolutionary struggle; and (ii) actively turning this category of potential leaders against the revolution – making them the destroyers of the revolution. The contradiction created by this tactic has become so deeply entrenched that unless the neo-colonialists commit 'class suicide', they will always remain the enemies of the Afrikan revolution (Cabral, 1979, p. 89).

Despite the fact that they cannot exploit, the contradictions surrounding the role of the European working class is almost as stark as the neo-colonialists. Guided by the ideas of Marx, some sections of the European working class have attempted to appoint themselves as leaders of world and Afrikan revolutionary movements. The problem with this desire is that until or unless the European working class commit collective 'class suicide', they cannot even enter the revolutionary process in any meaningful sense - let alone lead it.

Furthermore, there is no sign that they will ever voluntarily give up their class privileges, which renders the idea of committing collective 'class suicide' out of the question. The European working class' collective revolutionary militancy will not be triggered from within their class, but from outside. They will only become a genuine revolutionary force after Afrikan and other oppressed people in the capitalist periphery have either defeated or sufficiently dented neo-colonialism for their class privileges to become eroded.

The local groups most likely to trigger the revolutionary fervour of the European working class' are the Afrikans and other oppressed peoples from the periphery living in their midst. They are the most oppressed people in the capitalist centres and although their quality of life is considerably better than their counterparts in the periphery, amongst other local groups, they are still the ones with the most to gain from capitalism's demise. Perhaps the best example of the role of Afrikan people organised for revolution in the capitalist centres in recent history is Black Panther Party for Self Defence (BPP) in US Satan during the 1960's. The state has since publicly admitted that the BPP was the greatest internal threat to US Satan's national security (Jones, 1998, p. 366/7).

However, Afrikan people in the capitalist centres are not currently collectively focused on achieving revolution. They appear disorientated, disorganised, more concerned with personal gain and in many cases, openly and actively aspiring to neo-colonial roles. They are enjoying the crumbs of capitalism and in doing so, they are also separating themselves from the plight of their sisters and brothers in the capitalist periphery.

Afrikan people in the capitalist centres can trigger and contribute to revolution, but they are too few in number to make revolution. This dichotomy leaves them with a double problem: (i) in the unlikely event of them committing collective 'class suicide', they will still be left with the problem of overcoming the racism of the European working class; (ii) they will need to persuade the European working class to also commit collective 'class suicide' as a step towards taking the revolutionary actions necessary to destroy capitalism from within.

The capitalist elite has attempted to use neo-colonial techniques to appoint bogus leaders from within Afrikan nations and communities mandated with the specific agenda of containing and actively destroying the Afrikan revolution. Leftward leaning elements of the European working class have arrogantly attempted to appoint themselves as leaders of the Afrikan revolution – presumable because they think they know best i.e. are more conscious or 'proletarianised' than the Afrikan masses. Similarly, some Afrikan people in the capitalist centres appear to have forgotten that the centre of gravity of the Afrikan revolution is where the

masses of Afrikan people are i.e. in the capitalist periphery - they have also mistakenly attempted to place themselves at the forefront of the Afrikan revolution.

All of these claims to leadership of the Afrikan revolution are tinged with delusions of grandeur. The truth is that none of these groups are capable of leading the Afrikan revolution without collectively committing 'class suicide' and none of them show any real signs of doing so. They are all pretenders to the role of leaders of the Afrikan revolution.

It follows therefore that in the context of the Afrikan revolution, the Afrikan masses – in the form of Afrikan peasants and workers – are the principal force for making revolution. The Afrikan masses, along with the other peoples in the capitalist periphery, are the real leaders of the global revolution. This is because the neo-colonies that they live in are:

“... the product of imperialist domination, which has transformed them and integrated them into the imperialist system, in which they serve a quite definite function, namely, that of a reserve of raw materials and cheap labour. It is this function that renders the masses of these countries ready for revolution, whether the masses in question are proletarian in the strict sense of the word, or whether they are proletarianised, and thereby capable of being agents of a proletarian society.” (Amin, 1976, p. 197)

5.3 The leading role of peasants in the capitalist periphery

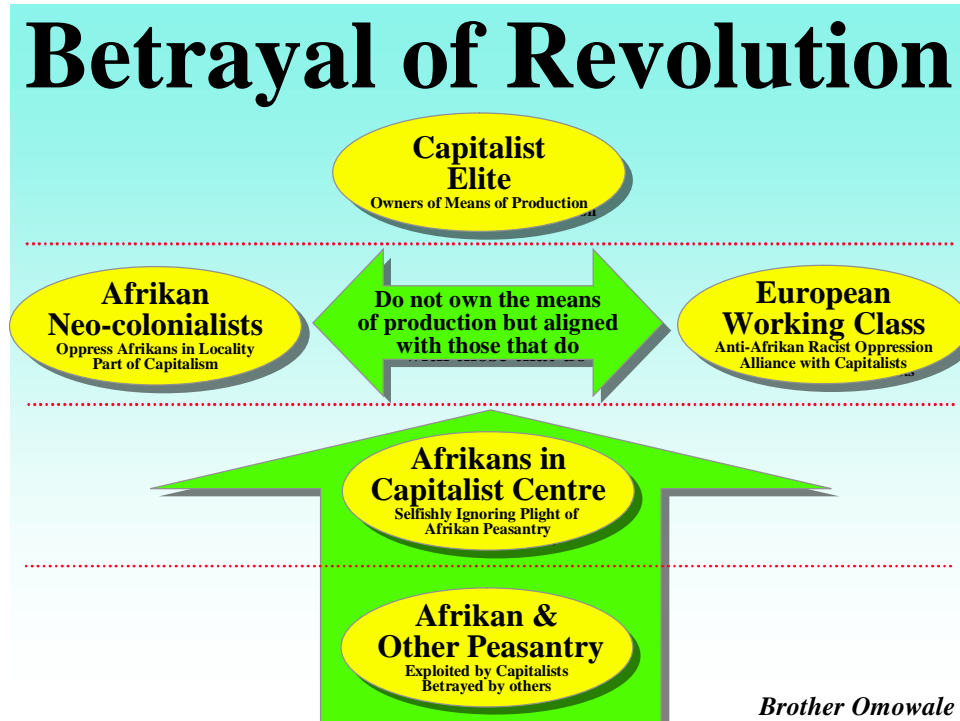
The workers and peasants in the periphery are: exploited by the capitalist in the centre; directly oppressed and exploited by the neo-colonial managers in the periphery; betrayed by the workers in the centre; and betrayed by the Afrikans among the workers in the centre. In effect workers and peasants in the periphery are left having to fight the alliance of all of the groupings at the centre, including groupings that should objectively be their class allies. They are the most exploited groupings in the worldwide capitalist system with the women amongst them being exploited to a further degree.

Even though the exploited people in the periphery are not completely 'proletarianised' with peasants outnumbering workers, they are capable of revolt and revolution. Their role is a critical catalyst for worldwide revolution because revolts in the periphery cause major problems for the capitalists at the centre. Successful revolts stop or reduce the supply or availability of: cheap raw materials; cheap labour; and accessible markets, which reduces the resource pool that the capitalists at the centre have domination over.

When the peasants in the capitalist periphery defeat neo-colonialism, the capitalist elite will: (i) no longer have neo-colonial managers in place to oppress of the genuine world proletariat - in the capitalist periphery; (ii) no longer be able to steal Afrikan and other oppressed people's resources; (iii) no longer be able to use those stolen resources to bribe the European working class and Afrikan people in the capitalist centres; (iv) no longer have the loyalty of the European working class or Afrikan people in the capitalist centres. Therefore, in order to maintain the level of profits and lifestyle that they have become accustomed to, the

capitalists at the centre have to exploit the workers at the centre harder. Kwame Nkrumah summarised these points as follows:

“When Afrika becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with their own working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete.” (Nkrumah, 1974, p. 256).



As they are deprived of their former class privileges and their position worsens, the workers at the centre are left with no alternative but to fight the capitalist elite at the centre. An eruption develops in the bastions of global capitalism. This is a confrontation which the European working class are ultimately bound to win. They are the group best placed to destroy capitalism at its source. This means that the real historic role of the European working class is to complete the world revolution – not to lead it. It is Afrikan and other oppressed people in the capitalist periphery who are the real leaders of the worldwide revolutionary process. Similarly, it is only Afrikan people that can lead the Afrikan revolution and in doing so, they make a profound contribution to the worldwide revolutionary process.

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