

**Class structures and class struggle – An African perspective under the current conditions of settler capitalism**  
**(Original 30 June 2020, Modified 3 December 2025)**

The original paper was written as part of a collection of papers to prepare the cadre for the AAPRP Congress held in Guinea-Bissau in January 2023. Some parts of the original paper have been omitted, and a section discussing developments since 2020 has been added.

Class struggle must be taken to a revolutionary height so that positive action can overwhelm negative action and bring on socialism that will guide us to world communism. The African perspective dictates that this socialism is an integral part of our Pan-African necessity. To effectively wage class struggle, we must understand the class structures that create the forces in tension that are the dynamics across the economic, political, military, and ideological terrain dominated by settler capitalism. Nkrumah, Cabral, and Toure each wrote on class struggle, building on earlier analysis by Marx, Lenin, and others. African writings are the starting point of our analysis.

Since these writings, technological and demographic changes have shifted the dynamic. Urbanisation, climate change, population growth, and increased literacy give us an Africa that is very different from thirty years ago. Technological and communication advances have accompanied higher literacy, fuelling further migrations of Africans globally. The extensive use of fossil fuels has generated an unprecedented level of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. It has been scientifically determined that this rise in GHG contributes to global climate change, which impacts food security and public health. All these changes affect both the forces of production and relations of production. Yet, Africa is still divided and oppressed.

Changes in the means of production characterised by the so-called 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution (4IR) depict a global reduction in workforce, massive loss of jobs and reduction in consumers. We must understand how this affects Africa and Africans' role in the global value chain. It is essential to understand the class structure realities of today and the scenarios that can emerge from these dynamics. This study attempts to present them from an African-centred perspective that recommends political positions and strategies that will most benefit our class struggle for Pan-Africanism.

This effort examines both the processes of production and distribution, as well as the process of reproduction. Attention is given to the different types of class struggle and to the realisation that each type imposes various requirements on the revolutionary cadre.

This analysis leads to recommendations to enhance the political line of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party. First, there is the effort to show the direct relationship to the historical practices of our party's line. Secondly, the paper provides direction on expanding the political line through practical activism.

The activism is both internal and external. Internally, it is directed to cadre development and enhancing the circle process at all levels. Externally, it impacts our mass organising and relationships with other progressive and revolutionary formations. This activism is expressed in strategic and tactical recommendations that form part of the A-APRP five-year plan to be approved at the upcoming party congress.

## Starting with Nkrumah's Class struggle in Africa.

Nkrumah took formalising class structures a step further than traditional Marxists. He applied historical materialism to Africa emerging from colonialism. This was an Africa with a limited industrial working class, large rural population and significantly placed neo-colonial minority. The standard Marxist divide - into bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat and lumpen proletariat has never fit the historical reality of Africa. Even the Leninist and Maoist inclusion of peasants does not satisfy the class interaction realities of Africa. The class divisions and strata in Table 1 summarise Nkrumah's explanation of class reality in Africa circa 1965.

Table 1: Classes in Africa (adapted from Nkrumah, 1970:19-20)

<b>Classes</b>	<b>Divisions within Classes</b>	
<b>PEASANTS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- small land holders</li> <li>- landless</li> </ul>	
<b>PROLETARIAT</b> (wage earning)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- rural (agricultural) labour</li> <li>- industrial (mainly major industries, mining, transport, etc.)</li> </ul>	
<b>PETTY BOURGEOISIE</b> (a) Farmers (rural petty bourgeoisie, owning land and employing labour) (b) Urban petty bourgeoisie (small traders, merchants, craftsmen, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- status determined by size of land-holdings, and amount of labour employed</li> <li>- status according to size of business and property</li> </ul>	
<b>BOURGEOISIE</b> (including national bourgeoisie, and those representing capitalism) (a) traders, tradesmen; (b) top civil servants (c) compradors (managers or senior employees of foreign enterprises) (d) entrepreneurs; (e) professional and managerial "class", etc.	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Class Divisions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- upper</li> <li>- middle</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Elites</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- intellectuals</li> <li>- top bureaucrats</li> <li>- officer "class" in armed forces</li> <li>- professionals (top lawyers, doctors)</li> <li>- technocrats.</li> </ul>
<b>TRADITIONAL RULERS</b> (authority based mainly on tradition, custom, etc., and not land ownership)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-clan heads</li> <li>-chiefs</li> <li>- paramount chiefs, emirs, etc.</li> </ul>	

Sekou Toure's focus on the people's class and the anti-people's class as a major dialectic in class struggle has been emphasised by many in the A-APRP. It places the focus on the ideological commitment of the individual and the corresponding practice. An examination of one's actions determines if one is working for the people or against the people. This clearly places the determinacy of class on material reality, the action of the individual. It does not establish the setting in the collective action of a group of people. It does not place the practice in the context of production. It does not necessarily require a close examination of the particulars of the means of production and distribution, relationships of production, and forces of production. However, it does simplify the examination of the practice being examined or engaged in. If this practice aids the people, it is an action falling in the realm of work for the people; therefore, the people's class. On the other hand, if the action damages the welfare of the people, it is anti-people's class work. This examination of people versus anti-people work is best done with an appreciation for the production context. An examination of the production context allows an organisation to set a collective strategy of activism to maximise the impact of positive action on production and reproduction. This requires an in-depth and ongoing assessment of the dynamics of class structures.

Recent examinations of class structure have focused on: 1) the shift of traditional petty bourgeoisie elements into the working class; 2) highly paid and highly mobile working class elements shifting into petty bourgeoisie; 3) advances in technology eliminating jobs reducing the numbers and power of both the working class and petty

bourgeoisie; 4) climate change creating an urgency in reshaping production; and 5) globalisation complicating class relationships with the extended role of neo-colonialism, finance capital and multinational corporations. These analyses provide valuable insight into advances in the forces of production and subsequent changes in relations of production. However, these analyses don't effectively take into account the legacy of settler colonialism with its conquest mentality and subsequent racism, white privilege and white supremacy. Also, these recent examinations of class, fail to give priority to the role of reproduction of labour.

### **Class struggle today**

The current examination of class struggle should start with an analysis of the dynamics of production and reproduction. Advances of production over the past 20 years are characterised by: 1) advances in technology resulting from the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution (4IR); 2) globalisation of the supply chain; 3) increased recognition of human caused damage to the planet; 4) global increase in literacy, transportation and communication; 5) increase in urbanisation and 6) relative increase in African population to other populations and the impact that population demographics have on: i) Africa's development, ii) diaspora Africans' development and iii) Africa and Africans relationship to global development and competing national developments. Presidents Nkrumah and Toure could not foresee 21<sup>st</sup> century developments. It is the task of the current revolutionary African intelligentsia to take these dynamics into account in re-examining class struggle. This paper can only hope to provide an introduction to such an examination and prescribe an approach to a more thorough study.

### **4IR, globalisation and the supply chain**

The 4IR is usually characterised by the technological advances possible in material science, biochemistry and computing. Material science, led by developments in nanotechnology, makes possible new material in construction, vehicles and electronic components. Biochemistry, led by developments in genomics, makes possible advances in pharmaceuticals, agriculture and life sciences. Computing, led by artificial intelligence, includes advances in Internet utilization, manufacturing robotics and smart transport. These recent and potential future technologies are all extensions to the forces of production that are promoted because of the increased productivity that leads to more profits for capitalism. Several years ago, at the World Economic Forum (WEF), leading capitalists recognised a serious dilemma with the 4IR. Global increased productivity leads to global reduction in labour needed and therefore reduction in consumers. This reduction in consumption would lead to overproduction and possible collapse of capitalism. Capitalists are divided on how to handle this dilemma. Many are short-term thinkers angling for immediate profit. Some, through the WEF hope to control globalisation to mitigate capitalist failure. Globalisation is controlled by capitalists through the relations of production they establish with the global supply chains<sup>1</sup> and global value chains<sup>2</sup>. Most significant in these relations of production is, how capitalists divide the profits in these global operations. African revolutionaries must track the 4IR and its globalisation processes to advance positive action strategies to leverage the labour power of the masses and the natural resources of Africa to seize our fair share from global production.

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<sup>1</sup> Supply chain is the process of production from raw materials to final delivery of a product. It may include a chain of suppliers, manufacturers, distributors and transportation, before final retail delivery.

<sup>2</sup> Value chain refers to the complete process of developing and maintaining a product, starting from design, through production, maintenance and final retiring or recycling.

## **Climate crisis and capitalism**

The industrialisation that escalated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is directly responsible for the exponential growth in GHG emissions that has led to an increase in global temperature. This is directly responsible for melting ice sheets at both poles and inland. The rising temperature has led to extreme weather events such as droughts and hurricanes. The future is potentially even more grave with rising sea levels leading to disruption to many coastal cities from Los Angeles to Lagos. The capitalist dependency of fossil fuel linked industries makes change difficult. Socialists have argued for years that the link between capitalism and ecological destruction can only end with the destruction of capitalism. There has emerged from this an eco-socialist movement. There is also a rising voice within the capitalist camp that a major shift to renewal energy is needed to avert climate catastrophe, with some even calling for divestment from fossil fuel companies. There is a need for Pan-Africanists to engage the broader environmentalism movement. What is missing from both the capitalist and eco-socialist elements of this movement is the recognition of the link between the conquest mentality and environmental destruction. This conquest mentality is an inherent ideological feature of settler colonialism and settler capitalism. It is an ideological feature that has a blinding impact on relations of production in the choice of production processes and energy utilisation. The conquest mentality puts one at odds with recognising the rights of mother Earth. Class analysis must take into account each class' relationship and view of nature.

## **Urbanisation and population growth:**

(Nkrumah, 1970:67) estimated the 1960 population of Accra to be 338,000, a significant increase over the 1936 population of 38,000. Nkrumah recognised the potential of the urban population but saw the much larger rural population as the driving force.

“The migrant population can be a very powerful force for the spread of revolutionary socialism. The many workers who go to the cities and to other countries to work ... link the revolutionary movements of the proletariat with the countryside and with the labour movements of other states.” (Nkrumah, 1970:67).

The estimate of the population of metro Accra in 2020 is 2,514,000 and projected to be 3,187,000 by 2030 (<https://www.macrotrends.net/cities/21107/accra/population>). This level of urban growth could not have been predicted by Nkrumah. It significantly changes the demographic milieu in which we wage class struggle. Across Africa, the urban population is coming to outnumber the rural population and greatly outnumber the peasants. Africans continue to migrate to the diaspora, where the African population is overwhelming urban and playing an increasingly significant role in production and urban life in major cities across the diaspora.

## **Reproduction**

Reproduction is not just the biological process of birth and the nurturing of children to adulthood. Historically, that has been the most significant part of reproducing the workforce, with women playing the most significant role. Women continue to play the most significant role. This requires revolutionaries to take a serious look at patriarchy and gender oppression in the reproduction of the workforce.

Education and training have played an increasingly important role in this reproduction process. The recognition of education as a human right leads to the acknowledgment of the significance of education. Primary and secondary education has become mandatory in much of the world. Pre-schooling is increasingly the case with working-class families in urban areas. This means much of the reproduction process related to education takes place outside of the home and is managed or monitored by the

state. In many countries the majority of the population from age four to when entering the work force, from childhood to young adult, are engaged most of their day in institutional education. According to Wolfram Alpha over 190 million students are enrolled in universities around the world. This is a point of labour reproduction that must be our focus in developing a revolutionary intelligentsia and attempting to reshape the class struggle.

It was migration, temporary and permanent, that was important in extending the labour force as production expanded in capitalist countries. This was even more the case with the territorial expansion of settler colonialism. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century an interesting pattern has emerged in most highly developed capitalist countries. Lower birth rates have led to a reduction in the size of the work force. To compensate these countries must rely on migrant labour. The advanced capitalist countries were built on the creation of whiteness and white supremacy. They now find themselves relying more on migrate labour of brown and black people from Africa, Mexico, South and Central America, the Caribbean and Asia. Migrant labour is the most exploited segment of the labour force. The current African youth bulge will contribute significantly to the future migrant labour force. They will represent a particular segment in the diaspora that should be a focus of our Pan-African organising.

### **Production in the world today**

The first and second industrial revolutions saw a shift from agricultural labour to manufacturing and transport. The third and now fourth industrial revolution are marked by a significant shift in the workforce to service industries. Table 2 below shows the breakdown of employment in South Africa. The agriculture industry contributed only 2.2% to the country gross domestic product (GDP) and comprised 5.2% of national employment and engaged 2.9 million households (20% of total), based on 2011 census. These numbers do not represent the current state of most of Africa but they do represent the trend in employment of developing countries. They confirm that not only has agricultural employment reduced but mining and manufacturing is overshadowed by employment in trade and services. More research on African countries is needed to determine the labor makeup and employment trends to better understand the dynamic among workers and households engaged in production.

Table 2 South African Employment by Industry

Business & Community Services	5,058,000	Mining	448,000
Trade	2,280,000	Manufacturing	1,233,000
Commercial Agriculture	757,628	Construction and Electricity	673,000

(source SAStats: Commercial Agriculture based on 2011 census, all other data 2019)

Table 3, 4 and 5 provide the number of people employed by sector in the USA. They illustrates the trend toward service jobs but also shows a significant workforce with a higher income. As expected mangement and lawyers make over \$100,000 yearly. High income in a range of other occupations reflects that advanced capitalist countries are capable of providing higher pay, because they control the global value chain and supply chain and use some of this extra profit to pacify select workers. This extra income, wealth and job security represents relations of production that align these more privileged workers more with the petty bourgeoisie than the proletariat.

Table 3 USA Employment High Income by sector with average salary

Management, Business & Financial Operations Occupations	16 237 870	\$100 128
Computer, Maths, Architecture & Engineering Occupations	7 145 560	\$91 960
Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations	1 288 920	\$77 540
Legal Occupations	1 150 780	\$109 630
Healthcare practitioners & technical Occupations	8 673 140	\$83 640
Postsecondary teachers (universities/colleges) Occupations	1 407 110	\$90 830
Sales representative: services, wholesale & manufacturing	3 735 500	\$73 216

Table 4 USA Employment Middle Income by sector with average salary

Primary & secondary education and Library Occupations	7 479 490	\$51 479
Arts, Design, entertainment, Sports & media occupations	2 017 810	\$61 960
Protective Services Occupations (except security guards)	2 372 430	\$57 880
Construction and Extraction Occupations	6 194 140	\$52 580
Installation, Maintenance & repair Occupations	5 713 450	\$50 130

Table 5 USA Employment Low Income by sector with average salary

Healthcare support Occupations	6 521 790	\$31 010
Food Preparation & Serving related Occupations	13 494 590	\$26 670
Building & Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations	4 429 100	\$31 250
Retail Sales workers and related occupations	10 635 910	\$32 469
Office & Administrative Support Occupations	19 528 250	\$41 040
Security Guards	1 126 370	\$33 030
Production Occupations	9 158 980	\$40 140
Transportation and Material Moving Occupations	12 532 030	\$37 920
Farming, Fishing & Forestry Occupations	484 750	\$31 340

This statistical presentation on employment is very incomplete. It only serves as an example of trends. There is much work to be done in investigating employment, work, productive labour and unproductive labour, particularly in Africa and with Africans in the diaspora. Some direction on this effort is indicated in the party work proposed for the next five years.

### **Class realities evolving in Production**

Tables 1-5 above only provide a snapshot of employment in South Africa and the USA. To understand the full nature of the dynamics of class struggle, we must better understand the emerging patterns of formal and informal employment. Urbanisation continues to grow a sector of traders and service providers that go unreported in most government statistical reports. There is a challenge to account for this sector in a dynamic class analysis and include them in revolutionary positive action. While production is generally considered an economic activity, the socialisation of work and human consciousness give different dimensions to class struggle.

### **Different planes of class struggle**

Class struggle takes place on four interrelated planes. Three are material and one is immaterial. The three material planes are political, economic and military. The fourth plane is the "Battle of Ideas" – the ideological plane of class struggle. This is the plane we are focusing on in building a revolutionary intelligentsia. For revolutionaries, matter remains primary within the realm of the battle of ideas. Through the application of dialectical materialism, historical materialism and consciencism, to material reality, we formulate ideas. These ideas – analyses, theories, scenarios, strategies and tactics, we use

to 1) win over new recruits to the revolution; 2) convince the masses of the correct nature of our struggle and 3) ideologically demoralise and defeat the representatives capitalism and their backward ideas.

Military class struggle is most clearly evident with the armed liberation struggles in Africa. From Algeria to Zimbabwe these armed struggles were military class struggles. The liberation movements represented the aspirations of the masses seeking political independence, freedom and control of their national resources from capitalist colonial forces.

Political class struggle was most intense in the non-violent struggle to gain national independence across Africa and continued with struggles against neo-colonialism experienced in Zimbabwe, Guinea-Bissau and Venezuela. These struggles have centred on gaining and/or maintaining state power. Often political class struggle in local and may play out with city zoning or school board decisions. The party speaks of avoiding dealing with every little issue. However, it is important to assess the class nature of these issues and generally they fall into the category of political class struggle. If we better understand this we can better engage in local activism that best advances class struggle.

Economic class struggle focuses on control and advancing the means of production for the interest of the masses. Controlling mineral resources in Bolivia for the people; land reclamation for the masses in Zimbabwe and rechanneling wealth from oil production in Venezuela are all examples of the economic class struggle waged for the people's class. This is only possible with a certain level of control of the state apparatus. The question raised in the A-APRP is how do we wage economic class struggle with so little influence in the state apparatus. The idea of revolutionary economic development has been presented as a way to approach economic class struggle.

### **Significance of campus milieu**

We must see the A-APRP's historical efforts at attempting to control resources lie in our campus organising. In establishing the goal of achieving a campus base, we made it explicit that the party would have control of campus resources. This represents control of the means of production in the university milieu - control over events planned; control over meeting rooms and printing facilities; control over computing resources; control of student government and campus organisations; control over funding of organizations and events, and even control over curriculum development and content! We never achieved this complete control, but our organising provided us with access to and utilisation of much of the university's means of production. Since we initiated our campus-based priority to organising, the number of students has grown significantly, and more importantly, the number of universities in Africa and grown exponentially. Two years ago, across South Africa, students claimed free education as a human right. This movement inspired students to support workers' movements. The dynamic in South Africa, and increasingly across Africa, finds students coming from rural areas and poor backgrounds. While they aspire for a better life, their class reality is mass-based.

Student numbers are growing faster than the creation of new jobs. This increases the pressures of class struggle. In turn, students are increasingly ready to serve as the spark to a broader revolution. We must assist in their preparation through a vigorous propaganda campaign promoting our organising of political education work-study circles to train revolutionary organisers.

### **Class realities of A-APRP cadre**

Our cadres have spent 20 to 45 years of their life organising on university campuses. Most cadres came out of a university experience. Many have petty bourgeoisie jobs. Many have working-class jobs. Unfortunately, cadres have done little work to organise within their workspaces. Cadres have been engaged in party activism that supports the people's class, but have not analysed the class nature of their particular workspace. There has not been the drive within the party to push us toward class suicide, where cadres devote their resources freely to party organising. This must be examined.

### **Responsibilities of the cadre in the current global class struggle**

Cadres have the responsibility to engage in a deeper analysis of the global class struggle. This can start with an examination of their workspace within the global supply chain. What have the years of engagement in the various workspaces taught us? We must apply our tools of analysis to translate these personal experiences into a collective class analysis. This workspace analysis will also provide direction and a support bridge for students as they leave the campus.

### **Emerging Political Line**

The development of the political line of the A-APRP through class analysis focuses on two areas. First, we must strengthen our resolve around our campus organising. A better understanding of universities as providing a human rights service of education is needed. It is a point of production of a revolutionary intelligentsia. Second, in advancing class struggle through activism, a focus on the implications of centuries of settler colonialism will sharpen our understanding of settlerism and white supremacy in current class dynamics.

### **Unfinished Business**

Reaffirming 'students are the spark,' and the campus milieu is best positioned to develop a revolutionary intelligentsia. We must assist the students in understanding their choices in where they will go after the university and what role the production and workplace they are preparing for will play in future class struggles. Students must seek to be revolutionary in whatever vocation they study. As revolutionaries, we must convince students that their human consciousness obligates them to commit to drastically improving the human conditions regardless of their studies, skill set, or vocation. As a student comes to see a commitment to humankind in their studies and vocation, it can translate into a broader commitment to socialist revolution.

Decolonising education must be a feature of your campus organising. This is not just a matter of including African studies in the curriculum. Decolonisation starts with a complete recognition of the extensive damage done by colonisation and the extensive presence of Eurocentric, white supremacist indoctrination across all disciplines. The colonisation of education was a justification of settler colonialism, slavery, apartheid, Zionism, imperialism, and capitalism. This is all done to maintain and support capitalism. Our task is to provide political education to break the back of this colonial education.

### **'One settler One bullet'**

In defence of the Pan-African revolution, we must forward the PAC of Azania's slogan as part of the propaganda campaign to expose the insidious legacy of settler colonialism. The settlers that came to Africa were criminals who stole land and killed innocent Africans from Algeria to Azania. The settlers that came to the Americas, starting

with Christopher Columbus, were thieves and murderers that murdered, raped and maimed millions. It is important to completely dismantle the fairy tale of innocent settlers taming the land to find a new home for an oppressed people leaving Europe. These settlers stole land and in order to steal the land they chose to kill innocent people. They chose to force the rightful owners of the land from their homes resulting in millions more deaths and millions more living and dying in misery. This is the historical reality of settler colonialism in Africa, the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and most recently occupied Palestine. 'One settler one bullet' is a call for all justice-loving people to stand up and defend against settlerism. Settler injustice will be stopped, only by making it clear that settlers' violent expansion and continued occupation will not be tolerated. If we only had that 'one bullet' for Columbus or Vasco da Gama when they arrived to steal, murder and maim.

'One settler one bullet' singles out each individual settler and holds her/he accountable for the crimes committed. There is no innocent settler, just as there is no innocent slave-owner. Today, the descendants of settlers and the descendants of slave-owners, benefit from the sins of their ancestors. If these descendants refuse to recognise the crimes of their forefathers and insist on keeping the wealth, land and benefits from these crimes, they are more than accomplices. These modern day settlers are criminals and must be stopped. Therefore, one settler one bullet is a rally call to stop their criminality. It is a call to arms in defence of the human rights of all indigenous people displaced and oppressed by settlers

## **Strategic Inputs into Five-Year Plan**

This section was originally written with a timeline that would have produced a five-year plan for 2021-2025. The congress was delayed and five-year plan was finalised after the congress in 2023.

**2020 Thrust** – Assure that all cadres are in functioning circles. Through the circle process, all cadres must engage in an analysis of the campus-student strategy. All circles must examine the class realities and workplace dynamics of its members. This analysis should be done with local organising in mind, but also from a global perspective. Task the program committee with reviewing and assessing the analyses from the circles and chapters. **The program committee should be tasked with fleshing out the support structure for campus work and BSO/A work linked to campus organising.**

**2021 Thrust** – Use the collective assessment from 2020 to develop a proactive plan to extend campus work and enhance organising in are particular workspaces. It must take into account student and non-student organising and off-campus engagement/work by students. The plan must make extensive use of social media, online engagement, and other technologies that maximise the involvement of non-student organisers and older organisers. Technology must also be used to further the study of employment and production dynamics to better understand the class structure and class struggle dynamics. This is an ongoing process that will take several years. It is iterative – research production dynamics; devise and implement positive action; assess the benefits of our activism; repeat.

**2022 Thrust** – Assess the success and shortcomings from 2021 using a SWOT analysis. Engage the new recruits and the w-s circle participants in analysing 1) campus work; 2) their class realities 3) class struggle in their immediate communities, and 4) global class conflicts. Continue the iterative process from 2021 - research production dynamics; devise and implement positive action; assess the benefits of our activism; repeat.

**2023 Thrust** – Determine the non-campus sectors of the community that should be given priority. Develop and implement an expansion plan to further develop the revolutionary intelligentsia beyond the campus.

**2024 Thrust** – Review and improve the campus work strategy in leading to organising the 2<sup>nd</sup> party congress. Implement work in the non-campus sectors of the community identified as having priority

**2025 Thrust** – In preparation for 2<sup>nd</sup> party congress review, assess and recommend improvements on the work plan for non-campus sectors.

### **Brief Examination of Key Developments Since 2000**

A UNESCO study indicates that the number of students enrolled in higher education worldwide reached a record **264 million** in 2023, more than double the total in the year 2000. “Global enrolment has surged — with women now outnumbering men in higher education globally (113 women per 100 men in 2023)” ([from UNESCO website](#)). At the same time the population of internationally mobile students more than tripled, rising from **2.1 million in 2000 to nearly 6.9 million in 2022**. This means that about one in every 38 university students worldwide is studying abroad. ([DeepSeek 2025](#)). These are facts that indicate the campus is more than ever the space for organising.

UNESCO data also indicates that the gross enrolment rate of African university students more than doubled between 2000 and 2021. This is particularly important given the exponential population growth Africa is experiencing. The Gross enrolment rate is the ratio of university students to youth of university age.

While enrolment is increasing along with urbanisation, across Africa, more and more students are graduating and finding themselves without secure jobs and burdened with school debt. These conditions beg for a revolutionary party to engage in political education and mass organising on our campuses across Africa and in the diaspora.

### **Questions to be addressed and future related studies**

- 1) Given the history of the campus milieu serving as a training ground for Mao, Castro, Kwame Nkrumah, Kwame Ture, Robert Sobukwe, Amilcar Cabral, and many others, why in the AAPRP are we experiencing a reluctance to campus organising?
- 2) What are the perceived and real barriers to campus organising?
- 3) What is the class nature of students and staff on university campuses? How can we engage more of the campus community in class suicide?
- 4) How can we create conditions on campuses to advance the development of a revolutionary African intelligentsia?
- 5) How is campus organising linked to the “Primacy of Africa”?

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