

Capitalism a critique prepared for WWPAC Convention June 2016

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I have been asked to address the following two points and one question:

- 1) As a continent that has suffered centuries of colonialism, we have a special relationship with the capitalist system. Our understanding of its impact in our lives will differ vastly to somebody in Europe, Asia or America.
- 2) Our relationship is that of a system that is parasitic, oppressive and it is the basis of our colonisation both as a people and continent. As we push to our independence we have experienced (in capitalism) a system that has produced hunger, wars and the large-scale theft of our resources.
- 3) Question: In all this we need to ask, can capitalism be the catalyst of development? Can it help us reach greater heights in terms of ending human suffering within the African continent and for mankind generally?

The impact that most Africans in Africa experience from capitalism differs from that experience of most Africans living outside of Africa. More significantly, the life of a poor peasant or worker in Africa is qualitatively different from the elite in Africa that benefit from capitalism. The nature of capitalism is to benefit the few that control land, natural resources, means of production and all other forms of wealth. This benefit can only come from the exploitation of the vast majority of people. This is the case for capitalism as it is practiced on all continents of this planet – mother Earth. What differs is the location of the capitalists, the technological sophistication of the exploitation and the scale of the exploitation. The initial capitalists emerged in Europe. With the success of settler colonialism, particularly in North America, a significant number of capitalists are now located in the USA. Smaller numbers reside in Canada and Australia. Japan had a unique role before WW2 in the emergence of capitalism in Asia and after WW2 in its restructuring.

The post-colonial period in Africa has seen the emergence of a number of African capitalists. At the same time the emerging economies of India and China have seen an even larger number of Asian capitalists join the global family of capitalism. However, the global control of the capitalist system remains firmly in the hands of USA and European capitalists. This can be verified by the dominance the USD, Euro and British Pound play in global finance.

Capitalism has caused more turbulence in the lives of Africans in Africa than other continents in general. One year certain countries are seen as growing economies and attract tourists, investors and positive media reports. Soon after, often with little apparent reason, the same countries are deemed corrupt and unattractive to investors or tourists. With this attitude toward Africa it should be no surprise that Africa experiences more currency destabilization than any other continent. While this destabilization is a detractor for foreign investment, more crippling is the fact that it encourages Africans to take money outside their countries, by both legal and illegal means. Because Africa is divided into 54 countries with weak regional relationships, Africa is an easy target for capitalism's policies of destabilization. Any country that stands firm against capitalism is a special target for destabilization. We saw that in both Angola and Mozambique immediately after independence when they chose a socialist agenda. We saw this again with special sanctions against Zimbabwe when that embarked on their historic 'fast track land reclamation' program. This aggression of capitalism is not limited to Africa. Cuba has experienced it since the 1959 revolution and Palestine has experienced it since the creation of Israel. Today, Brazil and Venezuela are special targets of capitalist destabilization in South America because of their attempts to empower workers and drive toward socialism.

What makes possible the broader destabilization process that capitalism practices in Africa is the legacy of colonialism that is most recent and most divisive in Africa. Most of South America

gained independence from Spain by 1821. Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822. While India suffered centuries of colonization and didn't gain independence until 1947, it largely maintained its geo-political integrity. In contrast, Africa was violently partitioned at the Europeans' last supper of colonial divide – the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. While the European capitalists and political leaders had been engaged in colonialism in Africa for centuries, this conference set the boundaries that even today divide and tear at the heart of Africa. France, Great Britain, Germany, Portugal, Spain, along with King Leopold of Belgium cooperated to divide Africa not only between themselves, but more significantly set in place infrastructure to divide Africa and Africans from themselves.

The colonial divide after the Berlin conference was just a continuation of the racist, oppressive system established during the European slave trade and piracy that existed for centuries. The establishment of boundaries meant that each colonial power could exercise imperialism on its patch of Africa. Each country could move forward with infrastructure to escalate the extraction of minerals, the building of plantations, processing of materials, and the roads, rail lines and ports to bring goods back to Europe. All the European powers could now move forward without having to worry about fighting amongst themselves. They moved swiftly building tea plantations in Kenya to extracting minerals across the Congo and southern Africa. Europe's greed was not satisfied. Italy invaded Ethiopia. Both Italy and Germany engaged in two world wars to extend their territories in Africa and across the world. This was European capitalism in action. While Africans fought on the frontlines in both wars, the victorious European countries denied all African countries involved in any form of political independence. This was capitalism in action.

The independence movements that swept across Africa in the 1950's and 60's saw political independence with continued economic dominance by imperialism. The new face of capitalism in Africa brought neo-colonial leaders and deeper exploitation of African resources both natural and human. African leaders and governments cry out for IMF and World Bank assistance and more and more direct foreign investment. The capitalist's intelligentsia has convinced them that this is the only road to development. However, capitalists only loan and invest money to make more money for themselves or gain more control of Africa's resources. Capitalism cannot be a catalyst for development.

Capitalist 'Spin Doctors' (their media, academics, political and economic analysts) constantly make claims that capitalism has made significant contributions to Africa's development. They go further to claim that the only way to catch up with developing countries and move out of the current state of underdevelopment is to fully embrace capitalism. The facts show that capitalism's foray into Africa has been one of extreme exploitation. The infrastructure development, capitalism has contributed to Africa has all been geared to further the exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources. The current schemes capitalism offers Africa all lead to further financial debt, further environmental damage and further dependence on capitalist powers. All capitalist options are expressions of imperialism that lead to further exploitation. Any minor achievement made under capitalism and imperialism is not the gift of capitalism, but the result of the hard labor of the people. These achievements are the result of the struggle of the people against the exploitative practices of capitalism. We will not be satisfied with these crumbs. We will fight to control all production and resources in Africa.

Everyone must be clear capitalism has not been and will never be the catalyst for development. It has historically proven to be an oppressive social, political and economic system that spawned racism, imperialism and zionism. Slavery and the slave trade generated expansive global wealth that led to technological advances, but no one in their right mind today would say - "slavery and the slave trade helped develop Africa". Yet, there are Africans that still place their

hope in capitalism developing Africa. Their confusion is the result of the ideological dominance of capitalism. We must wage the battle of ideas with a historical analysis and a continuous assessment of the current milieu to bring evidence of the oppressive nature of capitalism and the reality that scientific socialism is the clear alternative.

Let us examine the phases of capitalism

Capitalism's first phase was mercantile capitalism. The feudal leadership and so-called royal families of Europe directed the initial colonization of Africa, the Americas and Asia. This allowed the banking, insurance and manufacturing sectors to grow and emerge as the early capitalists. Mercantile capitalism arose from the trade of slaves from Africa, and the theft of minerals (gold, silver) from the Americas as well as the exploitative trade relationships with India. This involved financing of voyages, insurance on ships and cargo and manufacturing of ships, rope, and other materials needed for long voyages. As a class, mercantile capitalists became more powerful than Europe's royal families. This was a direct result of the expansion of the manufacturing sector and associated financial institutions. Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* deals in depth with the relationship of Slavery and slave trade to the development of Capitalism. His well-researched classic is a must read for all serious Pan-Africanists. Williams documents how capitalism attempted to enslave Native Americans and even Europeans before developing the insidious racist system of chattel slavery based on the African slave trade. Institutional racism was clearly the product of capitalism. Institutional racism became the basic for increasing the oppressive nature of slavery and creating white privilege among a broad segment of the Europe population that were settlers as well as those that stayed in Europe.

The second phase of capitalism was its expansion through settler colonialism. In some cases, Europeans were forced to leave Europe as indentured servants or to penal colonies as in the case of Australia. However, the vast majority of immigrants from Europe left voluntarily to consciously seize the land of other people. This attitude is directly linked to their sense of 'white privilege' brought about with institutional racism during the first phase of capitalism. The Civil War in the USA was a battle to replace chattel slavery with wage slavery as the dominant form of production. The defeat of the southern states in the USA expanded the opportunity for European settlers across the Americas. European settler colonies from Argentina and Uruguay in South America to Canada and the USA in North America could only come about through the killing of tens of millions of indigenous people and their near extermination. These successful settler colonies must be recognized as an extension of European capitalism. The creation of settler colonies like the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia and South Africa added massive land and resources to capitalism. Only in Africa did settler colonialism fail. The fall of Rhodesia in 1979 and the end of political apartheid in Azania/South Africa in 1994 were the most significant defeats of settler colonialism in our world's history. The more that three centuries of settler colonialism has put in place a global system of financial institutions, manufacturing and trade dominated by European capitalists in Europe and their successful settler colonies.

The third phase of capitalism was the expansion of colonialism in Africa when the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 divided Africa among the colonial powers. This was the final divide of world territories among the major capitalist powers. What followed was the most violent period in Africa's history. This is when the combined forces of Europe created a devastating impact across Africa, such as the Herero and Namaqua genocide, Belgium atrocities in the Congo, as well as the Italian bombing of Ethiopia. Unsatisfied with their world divisions, twice these European capitalist countries started global wars – WWI and WWII. In each case European colonisers forced Africans to fight and serve as cannon fodder, with the promise of freedom. Each time, with war's end, these European capitalists only increased their exploitation of Africa to help pay for the debts of war.

Angered by this continued oppression and emboldened by the victories of people of colour in Asia, Africans from Algeria to Zimbabwe took to the city streets with strikes and to the countryside with armed struggle. Ghana's independence in 1957 was a major break from colonialism. It was soon followed with the independence of Guinea in 1958. Between 1958 and 1963 the nation/class struggle intensified in Africa and the world. During these years, seventeen countries in Africa won their independence and 1960 was proclaimed the Year of Africa. This period of blatant colonial rule came to an end with the political independence of Namibia in 1990 and Azania/South Africa in 1994. However, the impact of colonialism is felt everyday across Africa. The institutions, infrastructure and ideological domination that was put in place from the Berlin conference in 1884 to the fall of political apartheid in 1994 represents over a century of the most intense global oppression ever experienced by man or woman. This legacy is intact and heavily ingrained with racism, gender bias, European chauvinism and nationalism, and white privilege.

The 4th phase, the Neo-colonial phase of capitalism dominates the world today. It started in the 19th century when European countries issued nominal independence to former colonies in Central and South America while remaining economically in control. It impacted a large segment of Asia after WW2 and Africa in the second half of the 20th Century. Nkrumah warned about it in his classic *Neocolonialism, final stage of imperialism*. While most of Africa practices different versions of electoral processes, nowhere are the Presidents and Prime Ministers and other elected officials truly in control of their nations' resources. Post-colonial African countries inherited both the political structures and economic structures put in place by colonial and capitalist forces. After receiving nominal independence these new political leaders were called on to develop Africa. To take a daring and revolutionary option requires facing up to the colonial powers. This is the choice President Kwame Nkrumah made. Ghana flourished until the imperialist forces used internal agents and the CIA to overthrow Nkrumah and bring neo-colonialism to Ghana. This was the choice Seku Toure took in 1958 with the independence of Guinea-Conakry. The French tried everything to destroy Guinea. Only after Toure's death was imperialism capable of disrupting the PDG and putting in place a neo-colonial government.

Most recently, President Robert Mugabe took the daring revolutionary option and organized the 'fast track land reclamation program' distributing farms to over 300,000 families across Zimbabwe. This act to empower the people was met by a vicious onslaught from the imperialist powers that for over 15 years has frozen Zimbabwe assets overseas, denied the country credit and penalized banks and companies globally that do business with the ruling party and leadership of Zimbabwe. These illegal and immoral sanctions have caused billions of dollars in loss revenue to Zimbabwe and have caused untold suffering in Zimbabwe. This is more than just an attempt at regime change in Zimbabwe. It is a conscious effort to intimidate leadership and political parties across Africa and the broader global south. The imperialists are sending a clear signal – any effort to retake resources and return them to the people will be met with vicious oppression. In response, some leaders claim they are taking a pragmatic approach. They claim, they must cooperate with imperialist rulers in the USA and Europe to maintain connections with the IMF and the World Bank. They must agree to concessions to the capitalists in return for foreign investments. Other African leaders are more blatant in their self-interest and have amassed conspicuous wealth within Africa, in imperialist countries and in hidden tax shelters. This personal wealth is stolen from the people. Most often it is the result of selling the people's resources to foreign interests. As long as these neo-colonial thieves continue to generate wealth for imperialism, they will be protected and their imperialist masters will assist them in maintaining political power. The break from neo-colonial domination requires a mass Pan-African movement that is politically conscious of the oppressive nature of capitalism and imperialism and is clear on the benefits of scientific socialism as the just alternative.

The fundamental principles of capitalism must be understood.

- 1) Fallacies of free trade, market driven system, individual entrepreneur and democracy.
- 2) Private ownership – what it means and what it does
- 3) Imperialism – global finance capital, global production and consumption cycle, and the use of war to control resources
- 4) Ideological tendencies of capitalism: rugged individualism and elitism

Capitalism operates on the fallacies of ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’. There is constant discussion of ‘freedom of choice’. This is linked to democracy through the claim we have freedom of choice by the ability of vote between different political parties and various political candidates. This is participatory democracy. It hides the fact – ‘political parties and candidates are primarily funded by capitalists’. Our choices are determined by the wealthy that decide what to put on the shelves of the stores and who will run for political positions in elections. The other fallacy of freedom is that of ‘free trade’. The lie that all countries can openly trade their resources and products on a fair global playing field has always been a lie. Under colonialism the colonial powers determined the terms of trade. Today, multinational monopolies and global financial institutions determine the global prices of everything from coffee to copper. There is no such thing as free trade. The line of fallacies claim that free trade is driven by an open market system, where ‘the market’ magically determines prices to match supply against demand. In reality the wealthy manipulate both supply and demand to maximize their profits. They attempt to hide this manipulation behind the fallacy of ‘progress comes through individual innovation and entrepreneurship’. So the lie goes like this – Individual entrepreneurship and innovation drives the free market system, which provides free trade and freedom of choice and all this allows for democracy to flourish. The main overriding feature in society that this overlooks is the issue of ownership of wealth.

Private ownership is at the core of capitalism. For most people in the world, private ownership is aspiring to own their own car or even a house, or maybe just a new pair of shoes. This is not the private ownership that demonizes capitalism. The private ownership of the wealthy finds the 1% owning gold and diamond mines, plantations and banks. They own the stocks in companies and the bonds issued by governments. They own the shopping malls and apartment complexes. Through this wealth they collect rents on properties, interest on loans and dividends on stock shares. No work on the part of the wealthy is required in accumulating this additional wealth. This is the criminal nature of capitalist private ownership. The ability for personal wealth to be used to make more wealth is the cornerstone of capitalism. People are told from an early age if they save and put money in the bank, or in bonds or stock they will be rewarded with more money. However, most workers find themselves on the other end of the equation, borrowing money and extending credit cards to meet the basic needs of their family. This debt is rewarded with the requirement to pay interest, late fees and other financial penalties. Private ownership is clearly linked to wealth. The top 1% of the population owns a disproportionate amount of the global wealth. The rents, interest and dividends they collect increase their percentage of ownership.

Capitalism functions globally by extending the operation of imperialism. Lenin correctly pointed out that the merger of banking capital and industry capital into a global machine of finance capital extended capitalism’s ability to exploit globally. Communication technology today allows the instant transfer of billions or even trillions of dollars across borders, intensifying the power of capital. Imperialism’s power to invest money in building factories, ports, railroads, highways, plantations, mechanized farms, power grids, and all forms of manufacturing and infrastructures is the carrot and the stick used to keep neo-colonial governments in check. Imperialism uses this control over finance capital to control the global supply chain of production and consumption. Capitalists realize to maximize their profits they must manage a delicate balance between

production and consumption. The chain goes from research, design and development, through production, distribution and service. The production process involves extraction of raw materials, processing of materials at different stages and production of consumable goods. The advances in technology have made this production process more complex and extremely global in nature. The imperialists that control the production process decide how these stages in the production process are divided among different countries. The division is decided on the basis of maximizing profits to the world's wealthy. Profits are based on optimizing production (increasing productivity of workers), as well as balancing production to consumption. Throughout imperialism, war and military aggression has been used to establish and extend control over natural and human resources. Most recently, the manipulation of the UN 'No fly zone over Libya' resolution led to the NATO military destruction of Libya's air force, communication systems, water and sanitation infrastructure and broader manufacturing industries. The USA has emerged as the unrivaled imperialist military power with over 120 military bases on foreign soil. The current USA effort to establish AFRICOM to coordinate military operations across Africa has been opposed by most of Africa. The most blatant neo-colonial governments are open to assisting in the development of AFRICOM by increasing the USA military footprint in Africa.

The ideology of capitalism keeps imperialism in power. The promotion of elitism and individualism is central to the ideological practice of capitalism. By convincing the majority of the population that the path to success is through rugged individualism, capitalism succeeds in keeping us disorganized and blaming ourselves for not advancing in this imperialist milieu. The notion that the individual is responsible of their success or failure is combined with the notion of elitism. Elitism proclaims that only a few - the smartest and strongest are capable of success. If others fail, are impoverished or without jobs, it is their fault. If you fail, it is because you did not work hard enough or you just don't have what it takes. You are inferior. This capitalist ideology of elitism complements the reality of racism, gender bias and white privilege. They combine to compound the oppressive nature of capitalism. It is all disguised to blame the victim and ignore how capitalism really operates. Ideology can be a powerful tool to keep people oppressed and disorganized. With proper education, people can be taught to embrace an ideology that will uplift them and direct their energy to organizing against oppression and for revolution.

Capitalism cannot be adapted to Africa or used as a catalyst for development. It must be destroyed. We must be clear that the only replacement is socialism leading to world communism. All Pan-Africanists should refer to Kwame Nkrumah's *Class Struggle in Africa* as a concise reference to socialism as the required result of just struggles in Africa and among African people globally. Nkrumah concludes this analytic masterpiece with the following statement

"The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an all-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of – from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

We must organize an Offensive to Fight Capitalism

The struggle for Pan-Africanism and Socialism are inseparable. WE must have an offensive to fight capitalism. Nkrumah used a positive action campaign to put the masses in the streets and this brought down colonialism in Ghana. Today our positive action campaign must be broader and involve the masses of Africans in and outside of Africa to address the following four points:

1. The land reclamation process initiated in Zimbabwe must be expanded to address the return of land in all of Africa;
2. Africa's debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must be cancelled and the IMF and World Bank dismantled;
3. All Africans, whether born in Africa or outside of Africa and wherever they live in Africa or outside of Africa, must be viewed as citizens of Africa and should be allowed to live and travel anywhere in Africa; and
4. Militarism must be ended in Africa, including removing all foreign military bases, armies and mercenaries. We will go into detail on how each of these four will be used to defeat capitalism.

The land reclamation process initiated in Zimbabwe must be expanded to address the return of land in all of Africa. Agricultural land reform will bring about the conditions where Africa can feed Africans. Food self-sufficiency is fundamental to empowerment. Agriculture, food processing and food distribution is a major source of jobs across Africa. The land reclamation process must be expanded to address the theft of Africa's mineral resources. The profits from the extraction of minerals from Africa must be used for Africa's development. Africa is the most resource rich continent in the world – Africa is richly endowed with mineral reserves and ranks first or second in quantity of world reserves of bauxite, cobalt, industrial diamond, phosphate rock, platinum-group metals (PGM), and zirconium. Gold mining is Africa's main mining resource. These mining operations are not controlled by Africa. As an extension of 'land reclamation' all mining operations in Africa must be placed in the hands of African workers and communities. It was the colonial occupation of Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries that resulted in the theft of the best land. This land is a major source of profits to imperialist countries. This land must be returned to the rightful owners, the poor and the landless Africans.

Africa's debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must be cancelled and the IMF and World Bank dismantled. These institutions have only served to disrupt the development of Africa, playing a significant role in creating Africa's debt. To force repayment of debt they have required countries to sell national assets and reduce support for education, health and senior citizens. The IMF and other international creditors have caused the devaluation of African currencies further indebting Africa. We must recognize the criminal nature of how these international funding agencies operate. In light of the crimes committed against African people and the theft of Africa's resources, that has taken place for centuries, we must claim the cancellation of this bogus debt as a down payment on reparations due Africa and African people. While many African and Caribbean governments and organizations recognize the legitimacy of African peoples claim for reparations, they plead with the courts and governments of the colonial countries to no avail. The demand for reparations must start with a collective refusal to pay the imperialist countries and their financial agencies like the IMF monies they claim Africa owes. This type of movement can only come through extensive political education explaining the criminal nature of these international financial institutions. This will take a mass movement from the bottom up. The only way to defeat capitalism is to destroy the financial base of imperialism.

All Africans, whether born in Africa or outside of Africa and wherever they live in Africa or outside of Africa, must be viewed as citizens of Africa and should be allowed to live and travel anywhere in Africa. The elimination of the boundaries established by colonialism is a prerequisite toward the building of true Pan-Africanism (an Africa under one union government where people contribute based on their ability and receive based on their contribution). A massive amount of money and human resources are wasted at hundreds of border crossings across Africa. These are resources that should be used to develop Africa. The opening of borders across Africa will also allow resources to be used across borders to develop the whole of Africa. Africans born outside of Africa will be able to better contribute to Africa's development through this open access.

Currently Africa is the continent with the least intercontinental trade. The legacy of colonialism has African countries trade tied to their former colonial rulers. This must change for Africa to fully develop. Open trade within Africa requires the elimination of the restrictions associated with these country borders. Historically, migration has proven a driving force in economic development. With open borders, migration will be determined by Africa's needs and will encourage economic development and help break the back of foreign capitalist exploitation.

Imperialist Militarism must be ended in Africa, including removing all foreign military bases, armies and mercenaries. Only then will the people of Africa be able to provide just solutions to Africa's civil conflicts. The presence of foreign troops on African soil threatens Africa's sovereignty and independence. Military aggression has always been a critical part of imperialism's agenda. The ability of the French, USA, British troops or their NATO or UN proxies to intervene in African affairs is a serious problem. India and China don't allow this. The USA won't allow foreign troops or bases anywhere near North America. Why does Africa allow this foreign presence? It has led to the disruption in Africa from Somalia to Libya to Mali. All foreign troops and bases must be removed from Africa. One All-African People's Revolutionary Army (AAPRA) is needed that will protect the sovereignty of African people everywhere. Kwame Nkrumah called for the formation of the AAPRA in 1966 in his *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*. All Pan-Africanists need to revisit this book and place this call for an AAPRA in our current context. The ending of war in Africa will decrease violence against women and children who suffer the most from civil conflicts, through rape, displacement, kidnapping, and force labor. The ending of military conflict will provide more resources for fighting hunger, disease, healthcare and illiteracy, thus empowering Africans and weakening imperialism.

All of this will contribute to the climate to fight and defeat capitalism and imperialism. This offensive for defeating capitalism requires: 1) A strong Pan-African Movement; 2) Constant political education and 3) the fostering of the African personality. In our fight to destroy capitalism we must be clear in what we are trying to build. Socialism is the political-economic system that must replace capitalism. The elimination of private property of the wealthy means transferring control of the land, mineral resources, agriculture, factories and finances to the people. This requires revolutionary parties and movements not only to take political control but also to take economic control from the 1% that control resources and wealth globally. Socialism requires local and central planning geared to maximizing the use of natural and human resources to meet the needs of the total population in a manner that eliminates inequalities. This process of securing the needs of the most oppressed people will eliminate people's fear of hunger, homelessness or unemployment. The elimination of inequality will make true democracy possible. Under socialism, our thinking and organizing will focus on improving the lives of all humankind and maintaining the ecological balance of mother earth. Under capitalism, one receives based on the wealth they control, not how hard they work. Under socialism, wealth, production and distribution is controlled by the people. This situation allows people to contribute based on their ability and receive based on their contribution. This socialist process will create a higher level of consciousness across the population. With this higher consciousness humankind will no longer demand based on their contribution. Men and women will be satisfied to receive based on need and will insist that other receive based on need. This will create a higher level of justice across society and release more resources to be used to advance humankind.

The details of socialism will come in time. Our task today is to unite on an offensive to defeat capitalism: 1) reclaim our land and all its resources; 2) cancel Africa's so called debt as down payment on reparations; 3) eliminate African borders and provide continental citizenship to all Africans; and 4) remove foreign military and build the All-African People's Revolutionary Army.