

**AFRICA**

**and**

**the**

**U.S.A.**

**THE PEOPLES MUST UNITE**

**By Tony Monteiro**

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National Anti-Imperialist Movement In  
Solidarity With African Liberation

1975

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Tony Monteiro is the Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with African Liberation. This pamphlet is the text of a speech delivered on October 6, 1974 at Intermediary School 201 in Harlem, New York.

The National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with African Liberation is involved in the National Campaign for the Expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. The National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with African Liberation was founded in October, 1973 in Chicago, Illinois, at a conference of over one thousand Afro-Americans from throughout the nation.

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With African Liberation*

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All of this is so, for in a real sense the struggle for the emancipation of Africa has reached a second stage. A stage where the destruction of colonialism is an irreversable process on the African continent. A stage where the immense power of the African peoples liberated from classical colonialism now constitutes the main specific weight determining the character of events in Africa. With the emancipation of Mozambique in the immediate future, the borders

OURS ARE TIMES of tremendous significance. For the first time in history the forces opposing imperialism constitute humanity's majority. Today, history's most formidable creation is the common bond of struggle that opposes racism, imperialism and colonialism. Historians will record that the finest achievements of this historic moment have been the death blows delivered to the oppressors of humanity, leading to the total eradication of oppression.

Hence, our meeting is called as a testament to this fact. It is symbolic of the growing association of millions of United States citizens with humanity's majority in the great endeavor to eradicate imperialism, for peace, liberation and the happiness of the peoples. This meeting also celebrates the magnificent achievements in the struggle for freedom of our sisters and brothers of Africa. In particular, the achievements of our brothers and sisters of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, stand among the finest examples of heroism and undaunting commitment to principle. For here are people who were among the first to be trampled by the colonial oppressors now standing in the forefront of the global struggle to dismantle the last remnants of colonialism. But, the character of the moment in which we live is demonstrated by the fact that in advancing their own liberation, the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau accelerated the process leading to the emancipation of the Portuguese people from fascism. The African peoples are, therefore, elemental to the process of liberating humanity, of advancing

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Tony Monteiro is the Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement In Solidarity with African Libera- but have led to the forced resignation of Antonio de Spínola, the last vestige of the past that attached itself to the new in Portugal. This action will extend the range of democ- racy in Portugal, and at the same time deepen the unity be- tween the Portuguese and African peoples. To the Port- ugueuse people, we greet you, we hail your democratic vic- tories, but we urge that you recognize with us, that the peo- ples of the colonizing countries cannot be free, in fact they sink further into the gutter of oppression, unless they join their hopes, aspirations and struggles with those of the col- onized and nationally oppressed. Indeed, the Portuguese people owe the African peoples a great debt of gratitude. Certainly, Amílcar Cabral will be held by many generations of African and Portuguese youth alike as a great liberator, a great patriot. We can undoubtedly say that the liberation of the Portuguese colonies stands among the modern wonders of the world, but further, it stands as a barometer, as a signpost directing millions to the future.

The present of Guinea-Bissau is the future for all of Af- rica. The 800,000 emancipated people of Guinea are saying to the 15,000,000 colonized and enslaved Black people of South Africa, our future is yours as well. To Vorster, the fascist prime minister of South Africa, Guinea-Bissau says, you will with Caetano and the fascists of Portugal soon find yourself upon history's scrap heap. To Zimbabwe and Na- mibia, the handwriting is on the wall and it spells FREE- DOM.

All of this is so, for in a real sense the struggle for the emancipation of Africa has reached a second stage. A stage where the destruction of colonialism is an irreversible process on the African continent. A stage where the immense power of the African peoples liberated from classical colonialism now constitutes the main specific weight determining the character of events in Africa. With the emancipation of Mozambique in the immediate future, the borders of liberated Africa are brought to the borders of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Angola's liberation will bring liberated Africa to the borders with Namibia. The liberated African masses will face the last remnants of colonialism, the main bastion of imperialism on the continent. This power joined by the enormous power of the socialist countries, the national liberation struggles in Asia and Latin America joined with the peace, anti-racist and anti-imperialist forces in the capitalist countries, including the United States, constitute an irresistible force which is capable of bringing South Africa to its knees, capable of freezing Zimbabwe and Namibia, of creating on the continent a zone of peace and social progress. We must recognize, however, that without the development of a movement in the United States that opposes imperialism these progressive developments are endangered.

Just as Guinea-Bissau is symbolic of the new possibilities inherent in the second stage of the African liberation process, South Africa is the monument to the archaic, the dying—to colonialism and fascism, to racism. At a moment when the center of gravity has shifted to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist working people of Africa, when they hold history in their hands, South Africa stands as the hope of those who preserve the dream of reversing history, of returning Africa to colonialism. South Africa, in fact, is the most imperialist dominated, militarized and racist government on the African continent. For these reasons it is the strategic beachhead of world imperialism into the entire continent.

The fascist regime of South Africa is supported by every imperialist nation in the world. No nation in the Third World has such a concentration of imperialist investment as does South Africa. Here, billions of dollars flow to western capitalist countries as a result of the intense exploitation of the non-white peoples of South Africa. This regime, with vile contempt, violates the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, with impunity refuses to abide by the decisions of the World Court. However, it is held in contempt by the vast majority of peoples in the world. The key, therefore, to its continued existence is the tremendous support that it gets from the imperialist nations of the world and particularly from the United States.

This fascist apartheid regime just last week had its credentials rejected by the United Nations General Assembly which, at the same time, urged the Security Council to review the status of South Africa and consider its expulsion from the world body. But when the majority of states at the UN condemn apartheid and call for decisive action against it, it is the United States and its imperialist partners that rush to support South Africa, and in so doing, rush to defend the billions of dollars invested in the oppression of the non-white majority of South Africa.\* Today it is the United States government and the over 300 U.S. multinational corporations having investments in South Africa, along with Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Israel which constitute the main support for apartheid in South Africa. Consider, of the 300 US based corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa, you have the Big Three of auto pro-

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\*On November 12, 1974 the General Assembly voted 97 to 22 to suspend South Africa from the 29th session of the General Assembly. This was after the United States, Great Britain and France vetoed a resolution sponsored by the African nations calling for South Africa's total expulsion. As well, the U.S. was among the twenty-two nations opposing the suspension vote.

duction— Ford, General Motors and Chrysler; you have the giants of steel production, US Steel and Bethlehem; you have General Electric and Westinghouse. In South Africa is to be found Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America and City Bank; moreover, the family interests of Rockefeller, Dupont and Morgan are in South Africa. The United States government is involved in arms sales to South Africa. As well, there is a constant flow of military information and strategy decisions between the United States Pentagon and the South African military, American universities provide technical assistance to the Republic of South Africa, and there is a constant flow of entertainers and athletes from the United States to the Republic of South Africa.

***African and U.S. peoples: a common bond of struggle***

The people of this country are rapidly coming to realize that freedom is indivisible, that a nation which oppresses others cannot itself be free. The people of the United States are recognizing that this oppression is carried out in *our* names, not in the name of GM or Chase Manhattan Bank, of Rockefeller and so on, who benefit from this oppression, but in our names. Indeed, it is in the name of freedom that the US-government embraces fascism in South Africa, it is in the name of freedom and of the people of this country that John Scali will veto any proposal to expel South Africa from the United Nations. It is in the name of freedom that the Pentagon supplies the weapons and gives instruction to the militarists of South Africa against the people of South Africa, against the independence of Africa generally. At the same time that United States imperialism embraces South Africa, it threatens the Arab states with military intervention if they do not permit the United States oil corporations to decide the price of Arab oil. Ford and Kissinger, in so threatening the Arab people, do it, again, in the name of freedom and in the name of the American people. In this

way, the criminals disguise themselves and present their crimes to the world as though they are the crimes of the citizens of this country. This fact requires urgency on our part in acting to insure that United States imperialism cannot act in our names; that we act in our own behalf, that we do this by opposing the unjust and criminal actions of our government.

This is necessary, for we share a common bond of struggle with the people of South Africa. While the main coal operators, big auto producers and large corporations in general are in the interest of profits, imposing an historic crisis upon our country, they are at the same time tightening their links with racism in South Africa. While Gerald Ford endorses racist terror in Boston as a part of the national racist strategy of his administration, John Scali supports racist South Africa in the United Nations. Indeed, we with the people of South Africa face, in common, a class of oppressors whose ruthless collaboration with apartheid in South Africa reflects their vision of imposing a similar racist rule upon the people of this country. Therefore, a blow against apartheid and this government's collaboration with it is a blow for democracy and freedom here.

Let us for a moment consider the industrial workers of our country. The majority of United States workers in the Ford Motor plants are Black. The racism in Ford is well known. However, it strikes home even more sharply when one looks at the enormous lay-offs affecting the auto industry. And as is to be expected, the first fired are Black workers. Ford is increasing production in South Africa, where, also, the majority of Ford workers are Black, but in South Africa, the Black workers have no union and are paid far below what is a subsistence wage. The racism of Ford is further demonstrated when one sees that production increases in South Africa while Ford workers are laid off here. Ford production becomes more entrenched in South Africa to offset the



living standards of Black and white workers in the United States, to increase their profits based upon the enslavement of African workers in South Africa. Therefore, a blow against racism in the auto industry—and against Ford in particular—is linked directly to a fight against Ford Motors economic involvement in South Africa. The demand that there be a freeze placed upon Ford production in South Africa benefits the oppressed of South Africa as well as the workers of this country. Similarly, the question of this country's importation of South African coal is a reflection of the coal operators' direct support of racism and fascism in South Africa but is also directed to weakening the miners in this country, to destroying their union. The demand of miners for an immediate end to the importation of coal mined in South Africa is a blow against racism as well as a blow in the interests of mine workers of all colors.

There is a special task that awaits our most immediate action. We must become a central part of the worldwide movement to isolate the racists and fascists of South Africa. This, necessarily, must focus upon the efforts to expel South Africa from the United Nations. South Africa must no longer be allowed to camouflage its crimes behind the veil of international acceptance, behind the cover of being a part of the community of civilized nations. This requires a movement. A movement of millions who, in the name of peace and democracy, in the name of opposing racism and fascism, stand against the support that our government extends to South Africa. In creating such a movement, we, at the same time, are building a united movement against racism in our own country.

### ***The Sixth Pan African Congress***

Herein lies the basis of anti-imperialist solidarity with African liberation. This, in substance, coincides with the decisions of the Sixth Pan African Congress, recently held

in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. The Congress called for unity of all anti-imperialists and anti-racists in support of the struggles for freedom in Africa. The Congress, further, was quite deliberate in its identification of the source of colonialism and racism. It pointed out that racism and colonialism are based upon imperialism and that imperialism is that social system which serves the interests of the large corporate monopolies in the capitalist countries. It must be understood that while inscribing the Pan African struggle within the context of the struggle against imperialism, it was, at the same time, saying to the people of the United States that ours is a special responsibility in the fight for the liberation of Africa. The Congress correctly recognized that United States imperialism is the racist, counter-revolutionary and anti-communist bastion of world imperialism. Moreover, without the reserves that world imperialism can rely upon from the United States, no imperialist power could for long endure the mighty blows of the world's liberation fighters. The Congress understood that the main source of aggression in the world is the United States. That the aggression which is carried out against the struggles for freedom in Africa and around the world is done in the interests of the monopoly corporations of our country, is done in the interests of profits. The aggression in the Middle East against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, the genocidal aggression in Indo China, the brutal assault upon and destruction of the popularly elected government of Dr. Salvadore Allende and on and on, can all be traced to United States imperialism.

All of this is done before the eyes of the world because United States imperialism has estimated that the people of the United States will remain silent in the face of these crimes. They bank upon a safe and uncontested rear. Our task however is to insure that imperialism does not have such. Indeed, the world calls upon us, Africa demands of us

in the name of solidarity against racism and colonialism, for peace and emancipation, in fact, in the name of the dignity of the people of this country, that we join the world's majority in pursuing the honorable task of sweeping history's last obstacle towards progress from the globe. In grasping the hand of solidarity with the people of South Africa who struggle against racism, colonialism and fascism, we strike a blow against US imperialism. We aid in the struggle to liquidate the main source of oppression and war on the African continent.

This type of effort is an expression of internationalism. Internationalism is basic, as the Sixth Pan African Congress stated, to liberation, to unity. The key to victory, as the General Declaration of the Congress held, is "the common actions of the people of Africa, of African descent and all peoples of the world." Seeing Pan Africanism as part of the global class struggle, it made a striking distinction between the forces opposing imperialism and the imperialists. For instance, it rejected the notion that the non-Black working people in the capitalist countries are benefactors of the imperialist system. The Congress called for unity of all working people and for the unity of the African liberation struggle with the class struggle in the capitalist countries. More, the concept that the socialist countries constitute a new form of imperialism was soundly rejected. The Congress noted that the socialist countries are a decisive component of the world's anti-imperialist struggle.

As the Congress held, and this is decisive, the path to unity and liberation must not be obscured. Ideologies that disunite must be pushed aside. First and foremost racism must be defeated. However, the liberation of the peoples of Africa and of African descent must not be confused by narrow and short sighted notions of liberation. Our views must reflect the prevailing progressive developments in the world. Our strategy must, with humanity's majority, be anti-

**imperialist.**

Again, to our sisters and brother of Africa involved in intense struggle for freedom, to the peoples of all continents fighting for peace, democracy and liberation, we hail you and pledge our increased efforts in our common struggle.

To U.S. imperialism, we say, in the words of Pablo Neruda:

"Our fight will go on in the land,  
in the factories on the farms  
in the streets and the fight will go on,  
The battle-lines will be drawn,  
And in our hearts these banners,  
the witnesses of your death,  
will multiply themselves until they flutter  
thick as the thrusting leaves of inexhaustible spring."



# A PETITION TO EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

To: The Congress of the United States  
President of the United States  
Vice-President of the United States  
UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim

We the undersigned citizens of the United States petition for:  
The expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the  
United Nations. The white supremacist regime of the Re-  
public of South Africa has been condemned by the UN Gen-  
eral Assembly for the continued suppression of the human  
rights and political liberties of the Black Majority of that  
country, in violation of the basic principles of the UN and  
its Charter.

In addition, we demand that the U.S. government break  
all relations, both diplomatic and economic, with the fascist  
regime of the Republic of South Africa. We also call upon  
all U.S. multi-national corporations to immediately withdraw  
their investments from South Africa. And we demand that  
the U.S. government and all U.S. organizations cease cul-  
tural, sporting and other relations and exchanges with the  
Republic of South Africa.

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Telephone</i>
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For information about the campaign to expel South Africa  
from the U.N. contact: "Campaign for One Million Voices  
to Expel South Africa from the U.N." 156 5th Ave., Room  
405, New York, N.Y. 10010.