The Fight for Freedom in South Africa
and what it means for workers in the United States

Boston Organizing Committee

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You are a prisoner in your own land. Your people are crowded into small, barren areas with few resources or comforts. You must leave your family, and travel hundreds of miles to get a menial job. You work under slave labor conditions. If you speak out or organize against your situation, you may be arrested, tortured, or murdered. Your crime? You were born Black in South Africa.

This is apartheid — the system which denies social, economic, and political justice to 22 million Black South Africans. This brutal system has sparked a determined resistance by the people it oppresses; a resistance enjoying growing support from people in the United States.

What is apartheid all about, and what's its relation to us?
Apartheid

The word “apartheid” (pronounced “apart-hate”) means “separation” in the language of white South Africans. The apartheid system separates South Africans into racial groups, and discriminates in every way against Blacks (including Africans, “Coloreds”—mixed Black and white—and Indians). The white owners of businesses, farms and industries use open violence to strip Blacks of every basic right and to keep control of the country in their own hands. Through the apartheid system, this small class forces Blacks to work for incredibly low wages, making huge profits for themselves and for the foreign corporations that back them.

Let’s look at the main features of apartheid:

“White areas” and “African homelands”: South African law reserves 87 percent of the country’s land for whites, who are only 16 percent of the population. The “white areas” contain most of the natural resources, industry, good farmland, and all the major cities. The government considers the millions of Blacks living and working in these areas “temporary visitors,” even if they have lived there all their lives.

The remaining 13 percent of the land is split into nine small “African homelands,” called “Bantustans.” (These are something like the “Indian reservations” in the U.S.) Only here do Africans have a legal right to live. These areas are the dumping grounds for the people the white employers can’t use—mostly children, old or disabled people, or women caring for others.
The migrant labor system: On the Bantustans, the farmland is very poor and there is little industry. Few can earn enough to feed their families or pay their taxes. So, in almost every family, the father or both parents must leave to take any work they can find in the white areas. Usually, they are not allowed to bring their families with them. They may be gone a year or two at a time.

Many of these “migrant laborers” live in miserable, single-sex barracks near the towns where they work. When they get a job, many are required to sign contracts to stay for one or two years or face severe penalties. Desperate to escape unemployment and even starvation, Africans are forced to accept work on the employers’ terms, no matter how bad the wages and working conditions are. Sounds a lot like slave labor, doesn’t it?

Urban ghettos: South African industry requires the labor of millions of Africans. So, despite the principle of “separation of races,” large African cities have grown up in the white areas. The best known is Soweto, with about a million people, near the mining and industrial center of Johannesburg. The houses here are small and overcrowded, with no toilets, and usually no running water or electricity.

The South African government wants to push more long-term residents of these ghettos into the migrant labor system. Many Africans in the cities are being forced to take citizenship in Bantustans they have never seen, and to lose all their rights in the cities.

Only 25% of Soweto’s houses have running cold water inside.
Africans over 16 must carry passbooks at all times.

Pass laws: All Africans have to carry a "pass" which states which part of the country they are allowed to be in. They must show this pass to any policeman who asks for it, at any time. If they can't, they may be jailed, forced to work on a white-owned farm, or sent to a Bantustan. Over 250,000 Africans are convicted each year for violating the pass laws which control their every movement.

A pass is given to an African only when an employer wants his or her labor. Anyone who leaves a job, tries to unionize, or even complains about wages, can be ordered out of a city and sent to a Bantustan. The pass laws force Africans to work when and where the white employers want them, and they keep those without jobs in the Bantustans. These laws also give the police a way to harass and terrorize all Africans.

Working conditions: Under South African law, Black people cannot have jobs at a higher level than whites. Most skilled jobs are reserved for whites only. As a result, Blacks work in the unskilled, lowest-paid jobs, except for a few teachers and professionals. On the other hand, most whites have skilled or supervisory jobs. Blacks earn only a small fraction of what whites get.

The employers count on a vast supply of cheap Black labor for mines, factories and farms. And they save money by keeping working conditions for Blacks very poor. For example, an average of three gold miners are killed in accidents on each shift. The gold companies allow these accidents, rather than spend money to improve mine safety.

Africans are not allowed to strike, and their right to unionize is extremely limited. Many who have tried to organize unions have been arrested and imprisoned or killed.

Black quarry workers and white supervisor.
Even park benches are restricted by race.

"Petty apartheid": In all essential things—except work—the races are totally segregated. South African law requires separate facilities for each racial group—separate buses, toilets, beaches, entrances to buildings, etc. The services for Blacks are always inferior or don't exist.

These laws are meant to give even poor whites a sense of superiority, so they will support the government. South Africa may eliminate some of these rules to improve its image, but this will not affect the main aspects of apartheid described above.

Control and repression: The government is elected by whites only; Blacks have no vote. There is no legal way for Blacks to speak out or organize to change the South African system. All basic civil liberties—such as free speech, free press, and freedom to form organizations—are denied to Blacks and to whites who oppose apartheid. The "Suppression of Communism Act" allows the government to harshly punish any attempt to change apartheid.

The laws are so sweeping that almost anyone can be convicted of something. For example, according to a former prisoner, "It is illegal to ask a policeman or the person arrested the reason for an arrest. 'Inquisitive' persons get arrested and charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty."

Every part of the system depends on force to back it up. Police terror and brutality are the common experience of Black South Africans. Thousands of political prisoners are held for months without trial. Police have not hesitated to shoot strikers and unarmed protestors—even children. And the South African government is preparing its army to fight a devastating war rather than give up power.

Under apartheid, South African companies make some of the highest profits in the world. These profits go directly to the small class that owns the factories, farms and mines, and controls the government. Their profits are so high because they pay labor so little.

These profits come at the expense of the Black South Africans, condemned to a life of grinding poverty, denied all rights in their own land. Is it any wonder that, after living under these conditions for years, many South Africans are risking their lives to overthrow the whole system?

The white population of South Africa are mostly descendants of Dutch and British settlers. To understand why they came to South Africa, and how apartheid got started, we must look at history to see how European countries came to dominate other parts of the world.

During the 1600s, the system of capitalism—privately-owned, profit-making business—began to develop in Europe. Trade and business grew tremendously, and merchants explored new shipping routes to China and India. To protect and provide supplies for their ships on these routes, the Dutch set up a settlement on the coast of South Africa. The settlers attacked and killed many of the native inhabitants, took their land and cattle, and established farms based on African slave labor. Around 1800, the British took over the colony. The Africans always fought the invaders fiercely, but they were defeated by the better weapons of the Europeans.

Around the 1880s, the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States went through another period of great economic expansion. Wealthy bankers and businessmen put together giant monopoly corporations. They pushed smaller competitors out of business, allowing the giants to raise prices and make huge profits. (In the U.S., these included General Electric, U.S. Steel, and Standard Oil.)
These corporations looked for new places to invest their tremendous fortunes, in less developed countries all over the world. The governments of the capitalist countries helped these corporations by dominating the weaker countries, usually turning them into colonies.

In South Africa, about this same time, diamonds and gold were discovered. To make sure that British companies would control the fabulous profits from diamond and gold mining, Britain sent in troops to conquer the whole South African territory, and more settlers as well.

British-South African imperialists needed a larger supply of cheap labor, for their mines and farms. They had to force more Africans to leave their own farms and villages. In order to destroy the Africans' traditional way of life, they developed the apartheid system as we know it now.

To justify wars of conquest in Africa and elsewhere, the ruling class of businessmen stirred up racist ideas of white superiority in Britain, the United States and other imperialist powers. They pretended they were just trying to bring "white Christian civilization" to the Black people.

In South Africa, the whole system was based on racism, backed by force. The white settlers were an outpost of imperialism. Together with the British government, they made investments there safe and profitable for the corporations.

Today, South Africa has its own government, but it is still part of the imperialist system. Since apartheid is very profitable, foreign corporations have invested heavily. In fact, they own about one-fourth of all capital invested in South Africa, and 40 percent of the country's manufacturing. The labor, poverty, and suffering of Black South Africans bring high profits, not only to South African business, but to corporate headquarters in the United States, Europe and Japan.

Foreign corporations and banks have concentrated their money and technology in South Africa, instead of spreading them throughout Africa. Nearby countries must buy the factory-made goods they need from South Africa, paying with raw minerals and farm products. By building up South Africa's industry and keeping other countries less developed, the corporations help South Africa dominate its neighbors economically.

The U.S. and its allies send the apartheid regime military support, including airplanes, helicopters, tanks, computers and nuclear technology. South Africa's armed forces are the power behind apartheid. They are also ready, willing and able to intervene in nearby countries, against any threat to imperialism's economic or political interests.

The division of Africa by European imperialists, 1900.
South Africa and the United States

The United States is the world’s leading imperialist country, both in the extent of U.S. corporations’ investments, and in the extent of U.S. political and military power. So we should not be surprised to find the United States deeply involved in South Africa.

U.S. investments in South Africa amount to about $1.7 billion, and bring about 17 percent profits each year. U.S. bank loans there add $3 billion more. Much of this investment is in areas which particularly strengthen the South African government: petroleum, heavy machinery, motor vehicles, electronics and nuclear power. The U.S. also sends South Africa more exports than any other country does.

Corporations always take advantage of investment opportunities like these, because they seek the highest available rate of profit. They cannot afford to let their competitors get the jump on them in a very profitable place like South Africa.

Regardless of its talk about “human rights,” the U.S. government won’t cut off this trade and investment. The corporations involved have too much political power, and the government works to advance their interests. In fact, the U.S. has opposed every attempt at the United Nations to call for stopping trade with South Africa, or to do anything else that might hurt apartheid.

The United States is one of the largest suppliers of military weapons and technology to the white-minority regime. And, after the CIA supported the South African invasion of Angola in 1975, secret U.S. military cooperation with South Africa was exposed in the press.

These actions are not simply bad policies of one set of officials. They are part of the system of imperialism, and they will continue as long as the corporation owners dominate American life.
The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa

Since the first invasion of their land, the Black people of South Africa have struggled for freedom. Their armed resistance was not subdued until the British army defeated the last tribal rebellion in 1906.

In 1912, African leaders and professionals from all over the country joined together to form the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). It began by filing petitions against the worst abuses of apartheid. Their peaceful protests were ignored by the government.

Later, as South Africa developed more industry, African workers started organizing unions. Several strikes were met with violence and shooting of strikers.

By the late 1950s, the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC, formed in 1959) were leading mass demonstrations against the apartheid laws. In these demonstrations, similar to the Civil Rights movement here, thousands of Africans destroyed their hated pass books. On March 21, 1960, thousands of Africans staged a nonviolent demonstration in the Black ghetto of Sharpeville. The police opened fire on the crowd, killing 69 people and wounding 188. The world was stunned by the “Sharpeville Massacre.”

In the next two years, the government killed more protestors, arrested their leaders, and outlawed the ANC and PAC. It became clear that the apartheid system could not be reformed peacefully. By 1963, the ANC and PAC had gone into exile, where they have been training for armed struggle ever since. They receive aid from the Soviet Union, China, and supporters in Western countries.

The struggle also continues inside South Africa. The Black Consciousness Movement (started in 1969) has focused on uniting Africans, Indians, and Coloreds against apartheid. It
has rebuilt the fighting spirit of the early 1960s. This movement led the demonstrations in Soweto and other areas starting in 1976. Its leader, Steve Biko, was murdered in 1977 by South African police. Over a thousand demonstrators and political prisoners have been killed since 1976.

The experience of Black South Africans shows clearly that the apartheid system will not give up without a fight. Their movements have gone beyond the struggle for Civil Rights. They are now revolutionary movements that aim to completely take apart the present government and replace white minority rule by rule of the Black majority. This is called a struggle for “national liberation.”

The movements are not anti-white. In Angola and Mozambique for example, nearby countries where national liberation movements recently came to power, there are still many whites. However, South African whites who want to be part of the new society will not have special privileges, as they have now under the apartheid system.

Naturally, the wealthy whites—especially owners of mines, farms, and factories—have the most to lose. For this reason, some have tried to promote various “moderate” Black leaders. What makes them “moderate” is that they are willing to settle for some token power and wealth for themselves—for example, power over the Bantustans—while leaving the wealthy whites in control of the country as a whole.

These “moderates” have not won broad support. The Black people are not fighting just to replace a few white faces with Black ones at the top of the ladder. It isn’t enough just to make the corporations deal with a Black-run government which leaves everything else the same. That would mean most of the Black people would still live and work under the same conditions.

Foreign investors and governments, like the U.S. and Britain, are allied with the apartheid regime. If it falls, they know that they will lose their huge profits, investments, and military allies in South Africa. So the national liberation struggle naturally becomes a struggle against imperialism.

All the liberation movements favor a socialist system, under which the mines and industries would belong to the people as a whole. Their wealth would be used to raise the living standards of all the people, instead of being kept by foreign corporations and a few wealthy South Africans.

Even though South Africa is one of the most repressive police states in the world, the unarmed demonstrators in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 shook it badly. The liberation movements are now trying to combine their forces and develop better methods of fighting apartheid. Under their leadership, the Black majority of South Africa will eventually win its victory.
U.S. Workers and South Africa

We've seen that the Black South Africans' struggle against the corporate and political rulers of their country turns out to be also a fight against imperialism. Their victory over apartheid will prevent many U.S. corporations and banks from making more profits in South Africa, and the U.S. government will lose a military ally. How is this related to our fight for a decent life in this country?

Corporations are willing to move thousands of miles in search of cheaper labor and higher profits. Under imperialism, giant companies have the choice of investing in foreign countries, as well as different parts of the United States. Countries like South Africa, where wages are low and workers are denied basic rights, are like open invitations for hundreds of U.S. companies. When they close down workplaces and "run away" abroad, they leave thousands of U.S. workers unemployed.

For example, 5,600 electrical workers lost their jobs when Zenith moved its television manufacturing to Taiwan, where the average wage is 17 cents an hour and strikes are illegal. Chrome refinery workers in Ohio lost their jobs to refineries in South Africa's white-ruled ally and neighbor Rhodesia, where Africans earn $2 to $4 per day. And power companies imported millions of tons of coal from South Africa at the time of the United Mine Workers' strike in 1974. Here in New England, we've had long and bitter experience with "runaway shops."

Sometimes, the companies just take their money overseas, making different products than they made here. We can call these "invisible runaway shops," because the money could have been invested in the U.S., providing jobs here. Many U.S. corporations have invested in operations in South Africa, including General Motors, Ford, General Electric, ITT, and the oil companies.

Big banks also shift money overseas to support such anti-labor countries. For example, First National Bank of Boston and other U.S. banks have made loans of $3 billion to South African government and business. At the same time, the First has withheld loans from Boston and Massachusetts. The bank demanded more interest, and made the government increase taxes and cut back on needed services.
Whether companies pack up and move or only send their money abroad, poor and working people here are hurt. First, high-profit investments in other countries create more unemployment here. Second, their overseas profits help U.S. corporations to hold out when U.S. workers go on strike. Third, companies use the threat of running away to low-wage areas, to drag down wages here. ("If you demand this raise, we'll have to move abroad.") Runaways and foreign investments are very hard to stop when there are huge profits to be made somewhere else. As long as workers in many places have few rights and can't get a decent wage, companies will take advantage of this cheap, unorganized labor.

We, the working people, pay to make this system possible! Our taxes go to prop up governments like South Africa against the wrath of their own people. The U.S., as the worldwide protector of imperialism, has a gigantic military budget which fuels inflation and starves the services we need.

And as liberation movements grow in places like South Africa, the government may spend the lives of our sons, husbands, and brothers in military action to defend these hated regimes.

The battle against apartheid is in our interests, too. For years, we've been told to identify with "our" government and "our" corporations in their efforts to dominate the peoples of the world, especially in underdeveloped countries. Now we see that the system of imperialism means suffering for us as well as for the people under its yoke overseas. When we support the U.S. government and U.S. corporations abroad, we hurt our fight for a better life at home.

To move forward here, poor and working people must struggle against the class that controls the wealth and political power in the U.S.—the same class that props up and profits from the police state in South Africa. The Black South Africans, in their fight against apartheid, are our allies.

Miners protest purchases of South African coal during 1974 UMWA strike.
Racism and Imperialism

In South Africa, imperialism depends on the extremely racist system of apartheid. The wealthy white owners get their profits and power by brutally oppressing Black people.

In this country, too, the ruling class has always relied on racism. Starting in 1619, traders brought slaves from the west coast of Africa to work on tobacco and cotton plantations in what became the United States. This Black slave labor was the basis for much commerce and industry. As in South Africa, a whole set of racist ideas developed to justify the slave system.

The end of slavery in 1866 didn’t bring equal rights to the Afro-American people. They never had a chance to own the land they farmed, to really get free from their old slave masters. The Southern planters still owned the farmland, and they charged such high rent that most Blacks couldn’t get out of debt. County sheriffs and judges helped the planters put the slaves back “in their place.” Behind them stood the Ku Klux Klan, to put down any resistance.

The rich white landowners and their hired guns stirred up racism among the poor whites, to prevent them from joining with Blacks to improve their living and working conditions. The state legislatures passed strict segregation laws, and took away Black people’s right to vote.

During this century, millions of Blacks have moved from the Southern farms to industrial cities all over the country. Instead of the plantation system, they face the hardships of ghetto life and job discrimination.

In many ways, life for Blacks in the U.S. is similar to life under apartheid. As in South Africa, Blacks here suffer the most from low wages, high unemployment, police brutality, and poor housing, education and health care. South African Blacks cannot live in “white areas,” while in this country Blacks go through hell when they try to move into a “white neighborhood.” In South Africa, the law keeps Blacks out of skilled jobs, while in the U.S., racist hiring policies keep the skilled trades almost all-white—despite the legal guarantee of “equal opportunity.” And only fifteen years ago, there were “whites only” signs in the U.S., too.

As in South Africa, Blacks here have fought hard to end their oppression. From slave revolts and the anti-slavery movement to union drives, the Civil Rights movement and the urban rebellions, the Black struggle for freedom and equality has a long history. Through their actions, Afro-Americans have won many basic rights still denied to Black South Africans: the right to vote, freedom to travel, the right to organize unions,
free speech. They have ended the most obvious legal forms of segregation. And while the median income of Black families here remains only about 60 percent of the income of white families, the difference is nothing like in South Africa, where whites make 10 to 20 times as much as Africans.

Despite this progress, Afro-Americans are far from full equality. Everyone who believes in justice and human rights should join them and other minority nationalities in the struggle against inequality and oppression.

White workers here have strong reasons to oppose racism. First, unlike South Africa, inequality and discrimination against Blacks have not made life better for most whites in the United States. In fact, racism hurts them directly. When employers can get away with paying Black workers less, it pulls down wages for all workers. When unions can't defend the interests of Black workers, they can't really stand up to the companies. Strong racism in the South has helped Big Business keep out unions, and so southern workers—Black and white—get the lowest wages and worst public services in the country. When white and Black workers blame each other for poor schools and housing, it stops us from uniting to demand better schools and housing for all.

Second, Black people's victories usually help white people immediately. When Blacks secured voting rights in the South, many whites got the vote for the first time, too. Programs like Headstart, CETA and job training were won by the actions of the Civil Rights movement. Caucuses of Black workers often take the lead in building stronger unions. Black organizations have been in the front of the opposition to the Vietnam war and huge military budgets, and they have pushed for more jobs, better social services and women's rights.

Third, the wealth of this country—and the profits of its rulers—has been built by the labor of both white and Black people. As part of the same class, Black and white workers must stand together to succeed in the fight for our common interests. We cannot afford disunity in the face of the employers' constant drive for larger profits at the expense of labor. In order to build a unified movement, white workers can't see the struggle for equality as just the concern of minorities. This fight is their own—the defense of all workers' interests!

Most white workers today ignore the realities of racism, partly because they are segregated from the daily experiences of most Blacks. Many whites see the Black worker, rather than the capitalist, as the cause of their problems. These attitudes are constantly reinforced by the schools, media, politicians and foremen controlled by the corporations.

These same sources promote racist ideas to get support for U.S. imperialism abroad. High gas prices are blamed on "the Arabs" instead of on the oil companies that are making record profits. When the U.S. went to war against Vietnam, the Vietnamese were only "VC" or "gooks," not real people. Now the news media are trying to make Africans look too uncivilized to run their own countries without white leaders.

Everywhere we look—South Africa, the United States, all around the world—racism brings the ruling class great economic and political benefits. Abroad, the corporations make extra-large profits by oppressing entire "non-white" nations. Here at home, they make extra profits by oppressing minority nationalities. And while capitalists are glad to exploit cheap labor in every country they can, their victims often remain divided by color and nationality lines.

To oppose imperialism effectively, we must see that racism is international. We cannot separate our fight against apartheid in South Africa from the fight for equality in the United States. Both struggles must be part of a movement against the wealthy few who run this country and the whole imperialist system.

Unemployment line, 1970s.
The Movement to Support African Liberation

Over the last few years, groups have sprung up across the country to support the national liberation struggles in Southern Africa. Many new liberation support groups have formed on college campuses; churches, Black organizations, and unions have taken a stand against apartheid; support groups have taken the message to hundreds of communities and workplaces. While there is no single organization that links up all these groups, the work has generally taken up these three main thrusts:

“U.S. Out of South Africa”

As we saw earlier, the United States is heavily involved in South Africa, helping the apartheid system. Recognizing this, the anti-apartheid movement has called for U.S. corporations and banks to leave South Africa. Many universities own stock in corporations that invest in South Africa; student groups have demanded that the universities vote in stockholders’ meetings for the corporations to pull out, or sell off the stock.

In dozens of cities, local groups have called for a boycott of banks that make loans to South African government and business. Labor unions and churches have taken their accounts out of these banks. These groups are helping the African workers, whose strikes have weakened the economic power of South Africa. Here, the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa has taken up this campaign against the First National Bank of Boston.

“Victory to the Liberation Movements”

The liberation movements are the only force that can overthrow the apartheid system. Some “liberal” politicians here would like to see apartheid slightly changed without eliminating this profitable system. They hope to head off the national liberation struggle, so corporate profits will be saved. This cannot be done. The people of South Africa are determined to win their struggle, through war if necessary, to shape their own future. The movement here supports the Africans fighting for their freedom by calling for victory to the liberation movements.
Besides educating Americans about the movements, support groups have collected materials to help carry on the struggle in South Africa. This includes clothing, medicine, and books for the freedom fighters and refugees, as well as money. These materials will help the Black people to win freedom in the way they have chosen.

"Fight Racism in the United States and South Africa"

The anti-apartheid movement and the movement against racism in the United States have much in common, and they will gain by supporting each other. We have seen that racism in the U.S. is used to keep workers fighting among themselves, so the monopolies can keep their profits and their control. It serves many of the same purposes for the monopolists that apartheid does in South Africa.

For example, many big banks make loans to South Africa but refuse to lend money to cities here. This makes the cities cut back on education, health care, and other needed services. Workers, especially Black workers, are hurt the most.

These same banks also "redline" (refused to give loans for improvements or mortgages) in working-class neighborhoods, especially Black neighborhoods. Support groups have used this example to show the connection between racism here and in South Africa.

Support groups have also helped in other struggles against racism here—for example, against segregated schools, police brutality, and groups like the Klan. Unfortunately, some people who actively oppose imperialism in South Africa do not yet see the system as a whole, and don't work as hard to fight racism here.

Everyone who opposes apartheid can help the liberation struggle through the support groups in the United States. The Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (BCLSA), with other organizations, is working to stop First National Bank of Boston loans in South Africa. It also collects clothing for the liberation movement in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia). Working class people and Black people have important contributions to make, helping tie support work to people's struggles here at home, and bringing it to their communities and workplaces. (Contact BCLSA, P.O. Box 8791, Boston, MA 02114).
The Boston Organizing Committee: Organizing A United Movement

As we have seen, the struggles of workers and Black people in the United States are connected to each other and to the movement against apartheid. Each of these efforts will be stronger to the extent they are all stronger and united with one another. At present, however, they are divided.

For example, most of the leaders who control the unions support U.S. imperialism, and do not seriously fight against racism. The anti-apartheid groups in this country have often been isolated from the struggles of Black Americans and other workers to better their lives.

In order to build these movements and other progressive movements into a single powerful force, we need political leadership that understands that the root of our problems is the imperialist profit system. The Boston Organizing Committee (BOC) is working to unite the most forward-looking and committed activists from today’s struggles to fighting against the entire system. Members of the BOC are now organizing in the unions, the anti-racist movement, the anti-apartheid movement, and on other fronts.

The BOC is committed to replacing the rule of the few, the handful of monopoly capitalists, by the rule of the many, the working people. Overthrowing the imperialist system and replacing it with socialism will not be easy. It requires that the best leadership of today’s movements come together in a new political party. This party would be a communist party, belonging to the working class and others who suffer under imperialism. It would be the exact opposite of the Democratic and Republican parties, which are nothing more than the hired help of big business.

A party like this needs a thorough understanding of imperialism and how to fight it. The BOC wrote this pamphlet to contribute to that understanding.

The BOC seeks to join its work with the efforts of individuals and organizations all across the country who are thinking and working along the same basic lines. Together, we can build the foundation for a communist party, an important step forward for the working class and all oppressed peoples.

For further information, write:

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Sources and Readings

Sources

The following are sources for figures and graphs used in this pamphlet.


Further Readings

1. Torment to Triumph in Southern Africa, Louise Stack and Don Morton (Friendship Press, $2.75).

2. Southern Africa, Black America: Same Struggle, Same Fight, Bill Sales (Black Liberation Press, $1.00).

(continued next page)

Young Angolans training to repel South African army, 1976.
3. Window on Soweto, Joyce Sikakane (International Defense and Aid Fund, $2.00).


5. From Shantytown to Forest, the Story of Norman Duka (Liberation Support Movement, $2.45).

6. Racism and the Workers' Movement, Jim Griffin (Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, $1.00).

**Ordering Information**

#1 available from Friendship Press Distribution Office, Box 37844, Cincinnati, OH 45237 for $2.75 plus postage.

#2-5 available from The Africa Fund, 305 E. 46 St., New York, NY 10017, for cost plus 15% postage. (Bulk orders from individual publishers. The Africa Fund has a literature list with many more items.)

#6 available from PWOC, P.O. Box 11768, Philadelphia, PA 19101, for $1.00 postpaid.

These and other items also available from Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, and other local support groups.

**Newspapers and Magazines**

*Southern Africa*, 156 Fifth Ave. Rm. 707, New York, NY 10010 (monthly, $10 per year).

*The Guardian*, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011 (weekly, $17 per year or $1.00 6-week trial sub).

*Africa News*, P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702 (weekly, $20 per year or $5 trial).

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