

by . Comrade 'O.R.

Statement

Tambo,

President of the ANC at the 2nd National
Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples
â\200\224-â\200\224' Rome February
of Southern
2648,1982.

Africa

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Italyâ\200\231s solidarity movement with the peoples
profound
of
signiï-\201cance for us.

Southern

has
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Africa

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The 1970 Rome conference in solidarity
with FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC was
defeat of Portuguese
followed
the
colonialism in 197-4.

by

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The

Emilia

Reggio

Conference ,of
in November 1978 preceded
Solidarity
by only one year the , Collapse of the Ian
Smith settler regime in Rhodesia after the Â»
Lancaster House Agreement.

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. dâ\200\231 '

This Second ?National

the ,Vstmgg'ie" against

Conference of;

Solidarity with the peoples, of Southern
Africa in

racism,

:11~â\200\230~'_ Will certainly be

â\200\234f e: :â\200\234fensiOn and disqmet

,. .by â\200\234the regi" 3e of â\200\230Seeâ\200\231lith Africa and its

" ' imperialist allies and agents. For, if this

carries the hidden

V solidarity. conference

quality of its predecessors, then we do not,

before yet another

have long to

strategic

the

independence of Namibia under a SWAPOâ\200\230

government.

is announced --

victory

wait

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â\200\231

P We ' salute,

arties and the Trade Uni :1 fed

in particular, the political

ti us

who Converted this conferenMr ng

appeal to the people of Iteiy, and we

congratulate the National Committee of

Solidarity on its successful organisation of

the eenference.â\200\231

We wish to address special greetings to

the Municipality and people of Reggie

EmilimtcÂ» whom the ANC is bound by a

Pact of Solidarity.

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valuable

We greet all the participants at this
conference in the name of the ANC and its
leaders,

militants and allies, representing
the democratic majority of South Africans,

We take this opportunity to convey to
the Government and people of Italy our

of the generous and
:1: deep appreciation
assistance brought by
material
- â\200\230_ AMANDA, the famous â\200\234Italian Ship of
Solidarity.â\200\235 Let there be another AMANDA .
conference..- under-
scores the nature of the conflict tnzSouth
' Africa and Namibia. The struggle does not
the S.A. regime
involve only three parties
on the one hand ~ and on the other, the
people of Namibia and the majority in South
Africa. The struggle is that of the Q peoples
decolonialism,
against
of Southern Africa
racism, apartheid and fascism.

The theme of this

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Our Common Determination

Liberation of Zimbabwe

Certainly, the march of events in Southern
Africa since the Reggio Emilia conference
points unmistakably to the demise of the
old colonial order. in "Southern Africa. The
independence of Zimbabwe gave a powerful
impetus to the revolutionary process which
is now rocking the foundations of apartheid-
colonial domination in Namibia and South
Africa. If the light at the end of the tunnel ,
is not visible to all, the problemâ\200\230is one of
political short-sightedness.

is

It

in

Africa

that we greet

this mood of

confident
expectation and absolute conviction in the
certainty of victory for the fighting people
of Southern
t - e
participants at this conference, representing
workers and peasants, the youth,
â\200\234the
- the women, the regional and local govern-
ments, organisations, associations and all
democratic institutions of the countryâ\200\235.-
entire
the
Government.

people

Italian

their

and

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At no time has it been realistically possible to perceive the aspirations of the people of South Africa and Namibia as being separate or different from those of Africa . and the rest of, humanity. Our daily experience in the subcontinent demonstrates a unity of purpose expressed in our common determination to rid the continent of the criminal apartheid colonial system. The price for the continued existence of the Pretoria regime is being paid in the blood of the South of peoples Namibians, Angolans, Zambians, Africans Mozambicans, Zimbabweans; in the blood of the people of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland in the blood of the peoples of

Southern

Africa!

Africa. and

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The struggles of Southern Africa are a dual sense. international concerns, in Firstly, the system of apartheid is not a domestic and creation, nor does South African economy This

domestic interests alone.

massive

provides

it

for 13

defeat} artmate

Reagan Policy legitimises Apartheid

There is a new tide waning in international -
politics since the advent of the Reagan
administration in the United States. This
policy , disguised behind a catchy phrase ~
constructive engagement - is explicitly
aimed at ending the South African regimes
international isolation and restoring it to
a position of respectability as a legitimate
power in Southern Africa. To this end
the
has
encouraged a more active investment policy
in South Africa, is orchestrating a conspiracy
to patch together a so-called South Atlantic
Treaty Organisation between the Pretoria
regime and Latin American dictatorships,
and is trying to foist cold. war issues on the
national
in Southern
Africa,

government

liberation

struggle

United

States

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to

is in

this

prevent

attempt

We look to the democratic forces of
at
Europe
legitimate
racism. More than this: we have
to {539-3533; the international support on
which the apartheid state relies. Sanctions
are not yet in
full force. Multinationals
are still shoring up the apartheid's economy.
United Nations resolutions are stronger in
words than in effect. There are serious and
disquieting moves to emasculate the force
of UN resolution 435 on Namibia; to
permit South Africa to improvise new ways
in which to entrench her rule in that
territory, even after independence. Namibia
is a direct EEC responsibility, for where
does the Contact Group derive its influence?

The International Community must Act

has

also

been

proclaimed
Year of Mobilisation

1982 has been designated by the ANC as
the Year of Unity in Action, involving
not only the people of South Africa but
also all opponents of apartheid, colonialism
and racism in the international community.

the
1982
International
for

Sanctions Against South Africa. This is a
task which must be accomplished this year,
by the people of this country, the peoples
of Europe and the rest of the world. It is
for

participation
of
representatives from the United Nations
and the European Economic Community.
The ANC once again reaffirms its support
for the people of Namibia in their legitimate

this reason
at

conference

this

that we welcome the .

of

18

struggle for national independence under
the leadership of SWAPO. We recognise the
heroic actions of the People's Liberation
Army of Namibia in pursuance of the
democratic rights of the people of Namibia.
The apartheid regime must be encircled
by your struggles, and by your actions;
by our struggles, our actions. These struggles
we pledge to you. We are resolved to
intensify the struggle for the liberation of
our country. Together with you, we shall
be unconquerable and irresistible.

We take this opportunity to register our
support for the legitimate struggle of the
Palestinian
the people of East
Timor, Western Sahara,
democratic
forces in El Salvador and all the opponents
of fascist dictatorships.

people,

the

take

action

positive

Once again we call upon the international
community to
to
isolate the racist apartheid regime. We call
for the complete diplomatic isolation of
South Africa ,and the countering of any
actions which attempt to block this effort.
More than declarations and diplomacy:
we call for actions and support in as many
diverse forms as your political experience
and strength can devise.

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We ask for

political and economic
support
countries of Southern
Africa and massive material assistance for
SWAPO and the ANC.

for the

We call upon the world community to
demand the release of all nautical prisoners
and detainees held by the South African
racist regime.
A LUTA CONTINUA!

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ANC delegatzbn t0 theâ\200\230Conference, front row

'8,

military, police and intelligence personnel
has effectively displaced the cabinet as the
primary
the
decisive sectors of the economy contain
a strong military presence.

decision-making

body. All

The

faces

a

crisis

economy

of
unprecedented proportions, which â\200\230while not
peculiar to South Africa, does have a
number

is
characterised by galloping iniñ\202ation, sharp
economic decline, severe dislocation and an
ever
of unemployment;
And, in our country, all the unemployed

escalating

of

distinct

features.

rate

It

are When black! Those sections
of the population who previously hattered
on racial privilege now stand to lose, and the
masses of the oppressed who have been
forced to bear the cost of the crisis have
seen their burdens increased tenfold.

The inability of the racist state to cope
With the upsurge of mass resistance
is
evident in the sustained eruption of every
conceivable form of struggle during this
decade. Under the inspiration and
last

leadership of the
ANiñ\201aur country has
experienced a series at strikeg tf boycotts, 15

student and youth rebellions in the schools
and colleges, demonstrations in the cities.
and in the rural areas; peasant struggle,
worker resistance, combined political strikes
by workers and by students; open defiance
in the streets, and armed combat actions
led by the guerrilla units of the armed wing
of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

f

Organised resistance is being intensified
at, all levels, and its forms have never been
so diverse.

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Our People are not intimidated

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not merely by its presence, by the actions
of its youth groups and its
political
underground, but also by its policy and
political inspiration to other, related,
but independent, resistance.

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We wish here to salute those heroic
fighters: workers and students; community
leaders and representatives; religious leaders
and the church resistance movement. We
salute the generation of youth who faced
armoured cars and machine guns with
stones, and with their bare hands. We salute
our industrial workers, who extend the
skills they have learned on the job to
improvising ever new
creative forms of
industrial resistance. Their strike movement
is a
is not limited to wage demands; it
struggle
free,
independent trade unions, for the very right
to strike, but also for a new political order.

the recognition of

for

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right

to

Mandela. are â\200\235ï-\202ed Off from the outside world, some for the rest of their natural masses, in their varied forms of resistance; lives; there is no remission for political by political leaders - not necessarily those . of the ANC itself³ but those who head prkoners. Our political prisoners are in the political protest in its own right, and who . death cells, awaiting execution, for acts o f support the ANC programme for the libera- resistance against a system that permits no lawful opposition. There have been political tion struggle and a new South Africa. prisoners as young as 14 and 11 years old. National Congrnm African Our political prisoners are subjected to leadership of the struggle,

Our political ' prisoners,

For, the
its

organisation in

fromâ\200\230 the

popular

derives

1.960.

16 maintains

gruesome torture. Our political prisoners have been found dead in their cells. This applies to prisoners and detainees in South Africa and Namibia.

or

That

decision

is why the

the

Municipality of Rome to proclaim Nelson Mandela a Citizen of this great City of Rome is not only timely but is also a great act of solidarity with the people of Africa, _ an historic expression of support for all the political prisoners and detainees held by the South African regime, both South African and Namibian, at a time when these detainees are being tortured and even killed. I, with the knowledge and authority of the South African regime.

people both ~ sat a

The decision of the Municipality of Rome will be conveyed to Nelson Mandela in Robben Island. I, The latest of these crimes is the dastardly case of Dr. Neil Aggett, a young white medical doctor, who devoted his life to serving the medical

trade unionist and as an organiser for the Food and Canning Workers Union. (Dr Aggett was murdered by the racist Security Police because he sought justice for his countrymen. His himself was detained, and several other trade unionists, black and white, have been moved from their psychiatric Wards where they are now being held. The criminal action of the racists in murdering this youthful white patriot is indicative of a significant current that is making itself felt in South Africa today, the movement of numerous whites, especially the young, away from support of apartheid and towards the programme and policies of the ANC.

wife, who like

prison

cells

to

Apartheid's reforms are hollow

The racist regime has tried a number of devices to unravel the crisis in which it is

presently embroiled. Its tactics, presented to the world as efforts at reforms, have oscillated between brutal repression and cosmetic no effect on the substances of apartheid and racist domination. To the insurgent

superficial

changes

that

have "

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,gworking class it has offered. a system of .
'* legalised but stateaecontrolled union registra-
tion. For the m'ost part black labour has
sejected these so-csllled concessions; om:
Working class does not want corporate

and company unions but free independent
worker-eontmlled unions.

To the Indians and Coloured people it
has offered a few poisoned crumbs in the
shape of â\200\234power sharingâ\200\235 in an attempt
to enroll 'new forces into the ranks of its
supporters brom amongst the oppressed.
It has tried to win over strata of the black

middle class. But this action of co-optetion O
has failed; there is no strata of the African
population, with the eXception of the small
clique of Bannister) rulers, which hes-spukenâ\200\234
mile: the apartheid system.

pt,â\200\234

getâ\200\234

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not

want

African

workers

The regimeâ\200\231s

It has tried to train black labour in
industrial skills and to promote an upper
layer of black workers â\200\230 in the' factories.

Bat

only

industrial skills,â\200\231 and a, living wage, but also
political rights in thg gourtttry of their birth.

.â\200\234 exercise has

notâ\200\224wosked. The order of the day is not
coophtion by the regime but resistance!

It is clearly understood by the mass of our
people that the racist regime cannot and .

will not reform itself. We must not accept the rival claims of the conservative and so-called reformist wing of the dominant racist party on their face value. The split, in the ranks of this criminal cabal is met the achieve objectives they hold in common and is occasioned by the bitter struggles of the oppressed.

of how best

question

to

The racist regime cannot be judged on the basis of the rhetoric of self-seeking politicians and their foreign friends.

It must be judged by the existence of nine million Africans who have been forcefully deported from their homes in the urban and to the resettlement camps in the Bantustans; by the millions who are dead from some minor infection; by the thousands of innocent babies who die each year before they reached the age of four!

industrial

annually

centres

criminalised Wkâ\200\230

Apartheid ., is

rely segregated sport,
= Apartheid education, culture
separate
and recreation.

It is a brutal system of national oppression, embedded in economic exploitation and institutionally entrenched by a monopoly of the political process by a small white minority. Apartheid is neither dead nor dying. It will and must be put to death by the power of the oppressed people.

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its
states
attacking neighbouring
and Security.
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Racist aggression is not a sign of strength
Pretoria
has a formidable, well-equipped
such highly mechanised military force. But
in
it is
revealing
greatest weaknesses -- its
incapacity to destroy the armed liberation
fighters, who have become well entrenched
amongst the people and to break the close
bonds between the liberation movements
and our African allies. The heroic victories
inspired by the growing mass support for
the heroic â\200\231s Liberation Army
Namibia
' â\200\230 inside that
resolute
goal of the termination of the Angolan people to,
(â\200\234 support the Namibian struggle to provide â\200\235 '
: ~rs domestic â\200\230 of the fascist regime's

counts â\200\234 and the

; _weaknesses and its

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Our Increasing Strength

The chief features of the South African
' _ , situation today are. on the one hand, the
, profound crisis being experienced by the
oppressed and on the other hand,
the increasing strength,
resilience and.
â\200\234 growing legitimacy of the armed liberation '
__stirring the eyes of our people.

The African Nations! Congress design

the South African system as it is â\201â\200\230 hrs. It is
an organic crisis one that cuts to the nature
of the system. It is a crisis that could last
_ some time, but the duration does not lessen
' its severity. For this is a crisis of authority,
a crisis at power, - which the apartheid
system cannot resolve. It is the fact of this
crisis, inter alia, which reinforces our firm
belief in the certainty of victory.

Within its own ranks, the regime has
abandoned the pretence of cabinet govern-
ment.
seen ' the
"increasing militarisation of practically all
â\200\235 Peck! of governments and the so-called
comprising top
State

Since 1972 we have

Security

Council,

investors and for arms manufacturers and ..
dealers from west European countries, the
United States and Japan.

industrialised economy and infrastructure
_ of south Africa. The nine states of the
" region are today struggling to break this
economic dependence, and the result is
a retaliating with economic obstruction and
.- sabotage. No state in our region is safe from
; aggression. For as long as apartheid survives,
; no independent African state is free. Africa
herself remains captive. In its turn, the over-
throw of apartheid will usher in an era
A of unprecedented reconstruction of these
Secondly, the struggle against apartheid " African countries, under conditions of peace

In its struggle for survival, the apartheid
system relies on the support of its posterni ,
international allies. The overthrow of one of
the most brutal systems of oppression in
the world is our responsibility, but it
is
also your responsibility, - And our meeting
here today is an expression of our common
determination to achieve that objective.

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People's

fighting planes

artillery, and

is an international responsibility because
apartheid as a system has gone far beyond
its borders in escalating aggression, against
the states of Southern Africa. The racist
army today occupies Namibia. Its tanks.
heavy

-

manufactured by European patent, supplied
by European countries - have invaded
the
Republic of Angola, and
continue to occupy parts of that country.
Where is the international outcry? Why is
South Africa allowed to commit this flagrant
breach of national sovereignty and inter-
national law with impunity? Why has the
United States administration consistently "
vetoed efforts to impose sanctions
this Criminal regime? '
Scandal of our Time _

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It is one of the scandals of our time that the
states of the West and the Western Contact "
Group have raised the Pretoria rogues, the
aggressor, to the status of. fellow mediator
in the resolution of the Namibian issue:
even while the racists are in the process of
the A
sovereignty of the Peoples' Reps
c of

Angola

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Angola is the victim of South Africa's
most blatant aggression, but the racist army
and its generals have active contingency
plans for the destabilization of all the
countries
of Southern Africa. We are
witnessing the unfolding of grave dangers:
As the
struggle ., reaches new
heights, the racist regime has extended to i
the whole region the type of aggression
it first launched against Angola in 1975.

liberation

This is blatant aggression, open war.
Pretoria's strategy also leans heavily on
economic destabilisation.
In our region
of the continent, colonialism left a legacy
of countries locked into dependence on the