

QUOTE FROM PRESIDENT TAMBO:

Sanctions are not to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid, nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can and must use against the racist regime **EM**- a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself.

EMSanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They are not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it. The effect of sanctions, properly implemented, will be to limit the scope, scale and duration of the war that is now raging in Southern Africa. Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of the conflict will almost certainly engulf us all ...

EMSince the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. After all, it was Britain who asked the UN to impose sanctions on the rebel Smith and who was one of the chief offenders in breaching oil sanctions **EM**- so there is a lot of experience there. But we should not be deterred. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes; why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions can be made effective and can have an impact ...

EMApartheid's collaborators must be made to realise that they cannot defend racists and claim to be non-racist. They cannot support apartheid and preach freedom. They cannot exploit cheap labour in South Africa and continue to trade with Africa and the Non-Aligned countries ... So I make this ~~final~~ appeal to all those who support the liberation struggle: Put these choices before the collaborators. They must be forced to choose between links with apartheid and relations with the majority of the international community, 'between links with apartheid and links with Africa. Collaboration must be made unprofitable, and it will cease.'

Speech for Womens Conference.

- 1) Greetings — I would like to greet the delegates, to greet all those participating in the gathering, to greet on behalf of all people who are interested in the work of the women. Also on behalf of all the people of all races for whom this meeting has a meaning.
- 2) Let us look at a woman as a contributor to the general effort of bringing up a nation. The value of a woman lies in her bringing up children. Without this ability there would be no one in the world and that makes a woman the most honored person in society. Work can equally be carried out by men or women. There are places where there is a shortage of men. These countries with an inadequate number of men result in women not being given enough births and the nation suffers. This again makes the value of a woman absolutely unique.
- 3) Now let us consider the efforts of the women over the years in setting themselves up as an organization, beginning from the years when the organizations ~~were~~ were all started in 1960. Women have shown great courage when

addressing the difficulties which confronted them. Firstly they were not recognized, certainly not the African women - they could not be recognized ~~fully~~ because they were women. Secondly they could not be recognized because they were assumed to be too weak to form themselves into a powerful force. Thirdly they could not be recognized because men were recognized and what they were hoping to do, men were already doing.

4) The regime's conduct^{was} in seeking to eliminate all the people who opposed it over the years. The work it did to suppress them; in making arrests, detentions, imprisonment and hangings. While this is a day of triumph, triumph in the sense that the regime has failed in its objectives, and although it has not succeeded in stamping us out, we are more powerful than we have ever been. We stand ready to move forward to seize victory. However

5) I am concerned that there are women in different parts of the country who have not heard of this conference because no word has reached them, otherwise they would have done something to be represented at the gathering. I am equally concerned about those women who still do not know about the work being carried out by you

generally.

- 6) The future must of course begin with the members of the women's group. It is they who must decide on the proper function of a representative of the organization, so they shall have a good basis when they ask other people to do likewise.

The first undertaking will be the children but the children will take the example of their elder ones. These elder ones must be influenced by the behaviour of their mothers. The system will repeat itself until a fundamental change is made in the new generations.

I have one personal request of you — It is that when this conference ends and you disperse to various areas — What will be the task of each one of you be?

How will you address the children and direct their everyday lives?

How will you react to the older ones? What will you say of the matter of their education? How will you respond to the older ones whose methods and behaviour you consider wrong?

In other words, I am asking you to insure their future and the future of our country.

A War in Europe, among the colonial powers,
where the winner took the colonial possession
of the loser.

Thus Britain took over the Cape in 1795 because.

Today the tensions are ideological - a conflict, not in colonial interests,
but of socio-economic systems; the tensions in Europe are about ideas
and their practical expression. These ideas cannot be confined within
territorial boundaries.

No colonies but "spheres of interest", "spheres of influence" is now the
basis for actual or potential conflict. To some extent, the idea of a
country having a sphere of interest of influence beyond its borders
has a colonial connotation, especially because, where it relates to other
sovereign states, it does not imply any reciprocity. Sao Tome e Principe
is not expected to regard Italy as its sphere of interest or influence.

It then ceases to be a sphere - whether of influence or interest.

Botswana is not a sphere. Equally, she has no right, she does not
want, she is hardly expected, to tell the people of, say, the US, that they
are her sphere of influence or of interest. The notion of spheres is
strictly colonial.

Southern Africa is a zone of interest for the whole of humanity, including
the people of Southern Africa.

We have taken the problems of this zone to every quarters of the globe -
to every government, directly or indirectly, as a matter that affects
human and international relations and man's struggle for a stable,
peaceful world.

The problems of Southern Africa cannot be solved in the interests of a particular country or group of countries within or outside Africa.

In our long association with the Governments and leading personalities in Europe, we have been gratified by concrete, practical support for our struggle. But on no occasion have we heard it said that the decision to take some supportive act was guided by national interests rather than to support a just cause and help put an end to a system that was an outrage to the conscience of humankind.

International or regional problems will remain unresolved under a doctrine which places us ^{U.S.} (?) interests above all else. For, such a doctrine is incompatible with objectivity, has no respect for reality and has accommodation only for surrender.

Behaving exactly like Nazi Germany - a heavy jackboot in South Africa and Namibia; total militarisation of South Africa, and aggression against neighbouring countries - ostensibly to slaughter "terrorists" but in reality, to demonstrate the regime's non-recognition non-acceptance of the country's independence and sovereignty, and that it has the capacity to overrun and take over the country.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO CALLS FOR SANCTIONS



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Since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. After all, it was Britain who asked the UN to impose sanctions on the rebel Smith and who was one of the chief offenders in breaching oil sanctions — so there is a lot of experience there. But we should not be deterred. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes; why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions can be made effective and can have an impact ...

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