



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

Statement of the Extended Meeting

Of the National Executive Committee

The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

Lusaka, Zambia

January 21, 1990

An Extended Meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC was held in Lusaka, Zambia on the 19-21 January 1990. It was attended by members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) as well as the leaders of the ANC recently released from prison.

The meeting took place subsequent to the designation of the year 1990 by the NEC as our Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa. Its deliberations therefore centered on the key question of what needs to be done to end apartheid and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country in the shortest possible time.

In this context, it reaffirmed the centrality of the tasks contained in the Statement of the NEC issued on January 8th, the occasion of the 78th Anniversary of the ANC and examined ways and means of ensuring their implementation.

The meeting reiterated the importance of the engagement of the masses of all our people in united action against apartheid as a key element in the continuing offensive against the repugnant system of white minority domination.

In this regard, it considered and agreed on the role of the leaders recently released from prison in mobilizing and uniting all the people of South Africa so that these masses can act as one force pursuing the common goals of justice and peace for all. It recognised with great appreciation the work these leaders have carried out already and paid tribute to them as national leaders of our people.

Emphasising the importance of the unity of the people in the struggle for their own liberation, it considered the role of these leaders in ending without delay the fratricidal strife in Natal. It viewed this continuing massacre of the people as totally unacceptable and a national problem which requires the direct intervention of our national leaders to interact with the people in ending it.

The meeting further called on all those working within the Bantustan structures, including the participants in the forthcoming meeting of Bantustan leaders, to commit themselves to the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and therefore ally themselves with all other forces fighting for this objective. It congratulated those who have already taken this step and urged them further to deepen their involvement in this struggle.

Having carefully assessed the situation within the country, the meeting reaffirmed that the conditions which forced the ANC to resort to armed struggle have not changed. This situation continues to make this struggle a key component part of our strategy.

It must therefore continue and be intensified. All necessary measures must be taken to strengthen our army within its theatre of operations so that it can carry out its noble tasks with even greater effectiveness. At the same time, the meeting reiterated the

commitment of the ANC to negotiate and agree to a mutual suspension of hostilities as provided for in the Harare Declaration.

The meeting paid tribute to the international community for the role it has played and continues to play in the fight against racial tyranny in our country, by isolating apartheid South Africa through the imposition of sanctions, and supporting our national liberation movement and its struggle for the emancipation of our people.

It calls on the world forces united against apartheid, for a democratic South Africa, to continue along this path and act together for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. It also calls on all who wish to see South Africa transformed into a non-racial democracy and peace in the region secured, to support and extend assistance to the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement of our country.

The meeting expressed its grave concern at the unfriendly act of the government of Hungary which, against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, its own international commitments and in contemptuous disregard of our own representations received representatives of the apartheid regime. It therefore makes an urgent call to the Government of Hungary to return to its traditional positions of opposition to racism and abandon any plans it might have to establish economic, political and other relations with apartheid South Africa.

The meeting reaffirmed the significance of the Harare and United Nations Declarations, the latter unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, as the basis for the political settlement of the problems facing our country. It emphasised the importance of the fact that these documents are supported by the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa, the rest of Africa and the international community.

It reiterated that, in keeping with the provisions of these Declarations, no negotiations can take place until the necessary climate for such negotiations has been created. The refusal of the Pretoria regime to take the appropriate action in this regard is yet another element confirming its unwillingness to see the apartheid system ended with as little bloodshed and destruction as possible.

In this regard, the meeting reaffirmed the importance of the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. It paid tribute to our dear comrade and fellow leader, Comrade Nelson Mandela, and expressed its full support for his continuing actions even from within prison, which are fully in keeping with the policies and objectives of our movement, to take the struggle to end apartheid further forward.

The meeting further reaffirmed the preference of the ANC for a settlement arrived at by political means. The ANC has held this position from its very foundation. It has, throughout the 78 years of its existence, done everything it could, to prevail on successive white minority regimes to adopt the same positions, to no avail.

The meeting reaffirmed that our commitment to these positions is not in doubt. It is

fundamental to the nature of the ANC as a movement which seeks democracy, peace and justice for all. At the same time, the process of ending apartheid through negotiations requires that the Pretoria regime should itself also demonstrate its commitment to a political solution by taking the necessary actions which would make such a solution possible.

The meeting warned that no solution can be arrived at while the apartheid regime seeks to impose its will on the majority of our people and their representatives. A negotiated settlement must address the fundamental aspirations of all the people of our country, with those aspirations having been expressed by the people themselves in open political activity and debate. The Nationalist Party and its government therefore need to take a decisive step forward by meeting the conditions for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations and recognize the central importance of the genuine representatives of the people of our country.

The meeting expressed its grave concern that there are still some patriots languishing on death row in Pretoria. It demanded that these should under no circumstances be hanged. It further demanded that the apartheid regime should stop all its acts of repression, including the banning of meetings and attacks on demonstrators and striking workers, as have happened with the opponents of the rebel cricket tour and the railway workers.

Mindful of the evolving situation in our country, the meeting resolved that the ANC would respond to any positive change, to encourage further movement forward towards the speedy elimination of the apartheid system. Work would therefore continue to strengthen all organisational structures of the movement so that they can play their historic role in this regard. Furthermore, preparations would continue for the convening of the next National Conference of the ANC, later this year, at which would be represented the entire membership both from inside and outside the country.

The meeting reaffirmed that the senior leaders who have been released from prison are part of one, united leadership of our movement. They will operate together with the National Executive Committee of the movement to provide the necessary leadership as we advance towards the goal of the fundamental transformation of our country.

The meeting looked forward to the forthcoming Summit Meeting of the Frontline States. This would provide an opportunity, especially for our home-based leaders, to meet the leaders of our region, extend our deep appreciation for the unswerving support for our movement and struggle and discuss with them what needs to be done further to intensify the offensive against the apartheid system.

The meeting reaffirmed the urgent responsibility of the ANC, the mass democratic movement and the people of South Africa to take all necessary action within our country to oppose Pretoria's destabilisation of the countries of our region. It confirmed our historic task to liquidate the apartheid system as soon as possible so that peace can prevail throughout Southern Africa.

The meeting resolved to convey to President Kaunda, that outstanding statesman and eminent man of our continent, UNIP, the government and people of the Republic of Zambia our sincere gratitude to them for their selfless support and involvement with us in the struggle in Southern Africa for justice and peace. Special thanks are also due to Comrade President Kaunda for everything he has done to enable the leaders from home to travel to Zambia and beyond. The people of Zambia should rest assured that, deeply appreciative of the sacrifices they and other peoples of our region have made, we will not rest until the apartheid system is destroyed once and for all.

The meeting further resolved to extend the congratulations and solidarity of the ANC to SWAPO and the sister people of Namibia, as they advance towards their emancipation. It considered the successes registered by our comrades in arms of SWAPO as a major victory for our people as well and looks forward to the day when our representatives will join the people of Namibia at their independence celebration.

The meeting resolved to extend its warmest greetings to our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo and wished him a speedy recovery. All the necessary steps will be taken immediately to acquaint him with the results of this historic Extended Meeting of the NEC. Our leaders from home look forward with enthusiasm to their meeting with the President before they return home.

The NEC took advantage of the presence in Lusaka of leaders of the mass democratic movement of our country to express its appreciation to them for the way they have received our leaders from jail. It also discussed with them further cooperation in the common struggle for the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

The meeting reaffirmed the perspective that victory is in sight. It urged all the people of South Africa and all their formations to unite around the call for United People's Action for a Democratic South Africa so that we do indeed achieve freedom in our lifetime.

STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS

I. THE 1986 PASTORAL LETTER

1. In 1986 the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a pastoral letter on economic pressure for justice in which we made this statement: "We ourselves believe that economic pressure has been justifiably imposed to end apartheid". We went on to say that, should there be little hope of fundamental change, "We believe that such pressure should continue and if necessary be intensified" (1986 : 10)
2. We cautioned against causing hardship greater than the injustice we seek to eliminate and bringing about the total destruction of the economy. Although we stated "that the most effective of non-violent forms of pressure left is economic pressure" (5), we did not attempt to give advice on specific pressures. We urged that experts be consulted before decisions be taken and that "the most important factor in deciding on how much suffering should be allowed to flow from economic pressure is the opinion of the oppressed of our land" (10).
3. We have endeavoured to ascertain this opinion, but have not come to clear conclusions. While political groups and labour organizations representing the oppressed are overwhelmingly in favour of sanctions, surveys of cross-sections of the population reveal hesitations in the face of possible job loss.
4. Our position remains today what it was in 1986: we remain deeply concerned about the suffering of people and we still believe economic pressure to be justified. Our dilemma is like that of people who work to free hostages but fear that the operation may result in casualties.

II. EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE SINCE 1986

5. There can be no doubt but that economic pressure has produced results. It has played its part in curbing the governments military power and causing it to negotiate peace in Namibia and Angola. Internally we have witnessed such developments as the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six and the release of prominent Black political leaders. As a result of international pressure reform and negotiations became important issues in the election of September 1989 and are now firmly at the top of the political agenda.

III. THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PRESSURES

6. This welcome change of climate has come about not only as a result of external pressure. At home too, non-violent action has become a ~~potentially~~ powerful factor. The long struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa has played its part. It has recently been given new impetus by the Standing for the Truth Campaign which, proposed by a convocation of churches in May 1988, ~~the Standing for the Truth Campaign~~ has encouraged church people to take stronger action to expose and remove the evils of apartheid. In the political sphere the Defiance Campaign has put pressure on the government to create an atmosphere in which genuine negotiations can take place.

IV. THE PRESENT SITUATION

7. The present situation is one of cautious hope. Hope arises from the recent upsurge in peaceful action for justice. Marches and rallies have demonstrated the hunger of the people for freedom and their desire to achieve it in a peaceful way. Hope arises too from the more tolerant attitude of the government and its police in regard to these events.
8. But hope remains cautious for as yet there is no explicit promise of fundamental change. Still firmly in place are such cornerstones of apartheid as the political constitution, the land laws, the homeland policy discrimination in education and the Population Registration Act. While these remain their consequences remain too: multiple forms of repression, widespread poverty, insecurity, unemployment and starvation.

V. THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA : DESTRUCTION OR NEGOTIATION

9. Two paths lie ahead of South Africa. In the words of Jeremiah "Look, I offer you a choice between the way of life and the way of death". (Jer. 21 : 8) The way of death lies in stubborn adherence to the policy of apartheid under whatever disguise it may be presented. The way of life lies in realistic negotiation leading to the dismantling of apartheid and justice for all.
10. ^{the wrong way is chosen} If we ~~choose the wrong way~~ an immediate consequence will be the intensification of international pressure. This intensification could come in waves involving step by step further cultural and sport boycotts, restrictions on

tourism, air travel and diplomatic relations; the halting of coal exports and imports of oil and computer technology; further pressure on loans and even on trade credit. As each wave fails to produce the necessary political changes it could be followed by another wave of more stringent measures until all trade is affected and comprehensive mandatory sanctions are in force.

11. Another consequence will be the intensification of internal pressure to the point of severe social disruption. The Black majority has reached the end of its patience. It will not rest until justice is achieved. In the absence of fundamental change the armed struggle could increase and become a more violent civil war than it is at present with little likelihood of a quick resolution. The result will be not only increased suffering and loss of life but also further destruction of the economy. As we witness the spiral of violence which war generates in the world's trouble spots the prospect of such a future fills us with dread but honesty compels us to warn of its possibility.

12. The second path before South Africa is the way of life, the way of realistic negotiations about the future. With this in mind many groups have called upon the government to open the way for negotiations by agreeing to

- 1 - release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally;
- 2 - lift all bans and restrictions on proscribed organisations and persons;
- 3 - heed the call of the people concerning the removal of troops from the townships;
- 4 - end the state of emergency and repeal all legislation prohibiting free political activity;
- 5 - cease all political trials and executions.

13. Having made similar pleas in the past we endorse this call and resolve to work with all people of goodwill for the removal of obstacles to negotiation and for the creation of the atmosphere of confidence, freedom and equality necessary in any genuine process of negotiation.

14. To reach this point the government elected by the White people of South Africa must recognise that the issue to be negotiated is the dismantling of apartheid. We accept that owing to historical circumstances this will make an enormous demand on White South Africa. No political community relishes the prospect of surrendering the sole control of its destiny and that is what the dismantling of apartheid requires of the White community, for there can be no

suppression of apartheid without the dismantling of the political structures that perpetuate White control. White attitudes must change profoundly to render this acceptable.

15. The White population and all other people must be willing to say: we are called to a nobler destiny than that of our ethnic self-preservation; we are called to manifest a genuine christian spirit and place the well-being of all the people of South Africa above our own, realising that this is the greatest service we can render to South Africa, to humanity, to ourselves and to God. Given this attitude we can hope for a spirit of unity and co-operation that will make South Africa a happy and prosperous people and a respected member of the world family of nations.
16. We realise that this sounds more like a dream than a realistic forecast, but the dream ~~could~~ carry with it some hope of fulfilment once the first courageous steps are taken along the path of genuine negotiation. We urge all Catholics to support this process through prayer and the promotion of the public opinion necessary to make it possible. As Bishops we dedicate ourselves to this cause and humbly pray that many in South Africa may be worthy of this mark of the Lord's approval: "Blessed are the peacemakers; they shall be called as children of God".
(Matt. 5 : 9)

**PRESS STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS LUSAKA - ZAMBIA - 2ND MARCH, 1990**

A meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC was held in Lusaka, Zambia on 1st and 2nd March, 1990. It was also attended by leaders of our movement based inside South Africa, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other comrades.

The meeting reviewed the situation since the historic release of Comrade Nelson Mandela. It reiterated the fact that despite the undoubted importance of this release, the majority of political prisoners are still in gaol.

It is urgent that this matter be resolved. This urgency is emphasised by the fact of the heroic hunger strikes on which our comrades in prison have now embarked.

It is also of vital importance that the Pretoria regime moves without delay to remove all other obstacles standing in the way of negotiations.

In this regard the NEC reaffirmed its earlier decision to meet the Pretoria regime to discuss the issue of removing these obstacles. It welcomed the positive response of FW de Klerk to their initiative. Having discussed various matters of detail concerning this meeting, the NEC decided that it was necessary to initiate contact with the regime immediately to seek agreement on the dates of the meeting, the venue and other matters relating to the preparation of the meeting.

The NEC also discussed as a matter of urgency the implementation of its earlier decisions to send into the country some of its members who would, together with the ANC leaders inside the country, carry out an extensive process of consultation with all democratic and anti-apartheid forces on the current situation and our perspectives. The NEC group will be selected and sent home as soon as the necessary arrangements are made.

The NEC considered a report by Comrade Walter Sisulu on work done to re-establish the legal structures of the ANC. It decided that the Headquarters Office of the ANC will be opened in Johannesburg without delay. It also approved the constitution of other headquarters, regional and local structures which will be put in place as soon as possible.

It resolved to approach its international allies to assist in providing the resources that are necessary for the rebuilding of the ANC.

The NEC considered future international visits by Comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders based inside the country. It confirmed that Comrade Mandela will, from Zambia, visit Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Sweden before he returns home.

It expressed its appreciation for the very many communications it had received, inviting Comrade Mandela to visit various countries. It therefore directed the National Working Committee of the NEC to look into this question to elaborate a programme of international visits for Comrade Mandela and other leaders based inside the country.

The NEC expressed its profound thanks to Comrade President Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP, the government and people of Zambia for the unprecedented welcome they extended to Comrade Nelson Mandela, his family and the rest of his delegation. This outstanding demonstration of solidarity and unqualified friendship is a vital factor strengthening our movement and people in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid system and transform our country into a non-racial democracy.

It also expressed its warm appreciation to the Frontline, Commonwealth, EEC and other leaders who travelled to Lusaka to meet Comrade Mandela. The discussions which took place with them have helped further to reinforce the continuing international struggle for the isolation of apartheid South Africa. The NEC also thanked the rest of the international community for the mobilisation carried out to welcome the release of Comrade Mandela.

The NEC saluted Comrade Mandela and other comrades who have served prison sentences for their opposition to apartheid. It paid tribute to them for their outstanding contribution to the struggle for the liberation of our people.

It resolved that immediately the comrades who were members of the NEC before they were arrested, namely Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, will resume their places with the NEC. The NEC further elected Comrade Nelson Mandela as Deputy President of the ANC.

The NEC resolved to convey its greetings to Comrade President Sam Nujoma, SWAPO and the people of Namibia on the occasion of the accession of their country to independence. It further decided to send a high-level delegation to participate in the independence celebrations.

Finally, it paid its tribute to the National Reception Committee, the democratic and anti-apartheid movement and the masses of our people for the manner in which they received Comrade Mandela into their midst. This process has helped further to reinforce the unity of our people and emphasise the necessity further to intensify the struggle.

The NEC conveyed its warm greetings to Comrade President Oliver Tambo, thanked him for his invaluable contribution to its discussions and wished him a speedy recovery. The NEC is confident that he will soon return to his post to lead our organisation and people to victory.