



**COMMUNIQUE OF THE  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
Lusaka — 27th June, 1989**

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress met in full session during the early weeks of June 1989. During a meeting which stretched over four days, the NEC received and considered reports dealing with the South African situation, the changing regional balance of forces, the implications of recent initiatives to find a negotiated resolution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa and the international situation.

The NEC condemned the extension of the State of Emergency for a further twelve months. This is an admission of failure by the Botha regime which clearly demonstrates the bankruptcy of the policies of apartheid. There could be no clearer indication that the regime has no strategy other than the application of additional and more massive brute force to solve the deep crisis into which its policies have precipitated our country.

The NEC noted that during the past five years of virtual martial law, we have witnessed the effective illegalisation of 32 democratic bodies, the deployment of army units in black residential areas, schools and universities, the arrest and detention of 10 000 individuals — including a large number of children — the planned increase of external aggression and destabilisation; yet the spirit of mass resistance, which reached its pinnacle during the uprisings of 1984 to 1986, has not been crushed.

After the initial dislocation occasioned by the State of Emergency, the democratic formations, activists and militants have creatively devised the means of operating under conditions of total illegality. We can measure the extent to which these skills have been mastered by the inauguration of several mass organisations under the bayonets of the regime during this period. The spontaneous stay-at-home strikes of March 21st and June 16th, the hunger strike waged by the detainees, the rising incidence of defiant action — all these are an index of the rising militancy of our people. It is this spirit of no surrender and the will to resist that the regime vainly hopes to crush by an extension of the State of Emergency.

The NEC examined the drive towards a workers' summit to mobilise and co-ordinate resistance to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. We unequivocally endorse these efforts and call upon all patriots, democrats and Liberation Movement militants to assist in the convocation of a successful workers' summit. Resistance to the Labour Relations Amendment Act cannot be regarded as a task exclusively for the organised working class and the democratic trade unions. Every democrat and freedom fighter must regard this law as an assault on the democratic movement as a whole and as an attempt by the racist state and the employers to reverse the gains scored in the last two decades of mass struggles.

The ANC leadership pledges its unstinting support to any initiatives taken by the democratic trade unions and the democratic movement to resist and defeat the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The ANC believes the forthcoming tri-cameral elections are an insult to the majority of our people. They are yet one more attempt by the regime to win sorely-needed legitimacy and credibility. We therefore call on all South Africans to boycott these elections and thus deny the regime the credibility it craves. It is the task of the oppressed Coloured and Indian communities in particular to demonstrate their total rejection of all apartheid institutions by a massive stay-away from the polls on election day, in the immediate future.

And in the period after the elections, it shall be one of the principal tasks of our people to demonstrate, in action, that the tri-cameral apartheid parliament is irrelevant to the process of change, that the new South Africa is being shaped by the action of our people through militant struggles — in the factories, on the mines, in the rural areas, in the community, in the schools and the universities and on the battlefield.

The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, based on the Freedom Charter, which we have placed before the people of South Africa for discussion and amplification, provide the only realistic basis for a future democratic dispensation. The NEC calls on all our people, in whatever formations they are organised, to regard these guidelines as their document — to be discussed, critiqued, amended or revised as they see fit.

In the course of its work the NEC also received reports on new initiatives, emanating from the Thatcher administration of Britain, to find a negotiated resolution of the South African question. Inspired by our commitment to explore seriously any avenue that holds out the possibility of reducing the level of suffering, the NEC considered this issue with the intellectual rigour it deserves.

We remain convinced that the Botha regime, and the racist President-elect, FW de Klerk, are today mounting the rhetoric of 'a political settlement' as a means of buying a longer lease on life for the system of apartheid and to ward off international pressure for sanctions. In this context, we are alarmed at the apparent credulity of certain Western governments who are greeting the prospect of a De Klerk presidency with the same chorus of approbation with which they inaugurated PW Botha's. De Klerk has already displayed his true colours by supporting the imposition of the State of Emergency. It is the logic of the apartheid system that, like his predecessor, De Klerk will employ internal repression and external aggression to secure white power and racial privilege. The NEC re-affirmed its adherence to the October 1987 ANC statement on negotiations and underscores that only the continued escalation of internal resistance, including its armed component, complemented by increasing international pressure, will bring down the edifice of apartheid.

This NEC session was held on the eve of the return of former exiles to their homeland, Namibia, in the run-up to democratic elections. It is the NEC's considered judgment that the events presently unfolding in South-Western Africa are a practical indication of our movement's strategy of a multi-pronged attack on the structures of apartheid through mass mobilisation, underground activity and armed struggle, supported by international solidarity. The changes in the geo-politics of the region are the finest fruits of decades of struggle on the part of the Namibian people and the unswerving solidarity they have received from the Frontline States, the rest of Africa and the international community. As we look towards the forthcoming democratic elections, we call upon the people of South Africa, through the entire range of organisations and activities in which they are engaged, to devise the means of expressing our solidarity with the Namibian people and give every form of practical and moral assistance for a SWAPO victory at the polls in November. Namibia's victory is our victory. A SWAPO victory shall be our victory.

For the peoples of our region the ever-growing tide in favour of the reduction of international tensions and the peaceful resolution of conflicts can only be considered a boon. The NEC reiterated its commitment to the struggle for world peace and disarmament and noted that in our region the sole responsibility for violations of peace rests with the apartheid regime. In Southern Africa peace and freedom are indivisible, the former cannot be purchased at the price of the other. Consequently, the greatest contribution the people of South Africa can make to the peace and security of our region is the overthrow of the racist regime of Pretoria. It is in this spirit that the NEC reiterates our appeal to the international community to join us in isolating this regime by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

Finally, the NEC noted with appreciation and profound gratitude the continuing all-round support our movement and our people receive from the Frontline States, the Organisation of African Unity, the socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of humankind. We are confident that with this support we shall banish apartheid racism from our country and reduce the amount of bloodshed that would otherwise be necessary to achieve that goal.

**The Struggle Continues! Victory is Certain!**  
**Amandla! Matla! All power to the people!**