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The papers in this Special Congress Publication are discussion documents aimed at guiding and facilitating debate during the ANCYL's 22nd National Congress. These documents do not reflect any official position of the ANC Youth League.

EDITORIAL

SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES OF DEMOCRACY



TO CONFRONT THE FUTURE,

by *Fikile Mbalula, Secretary-General*

The Special NEC Meeting of the Youth League resolved on the phrase "Seizing the opportunities of democracy to confront the future" as the theme for the ANCYL 22nd National Congress.

We convene this 22nd National Congress within the context of celebrating our 60th Anniversary. We must take stock of the various epochs we have traversed as an organisation since the historic launch of the Youth League on the 10th September 1944 at the Bantu Men's Hostel in Johannesburg. The various leadership and generations of our youth who led and belonged to the youth during difficult and trying times must provide inspiration to our delegates and the membership at large.

As the ANC Youth League, we come a long way since the idea to establish what was then called the "Congress Youth League" was first officially muted in 1942 at the ANC Annual National Conference. The phrase used then as a slogan mapping out the main task of the Youth League was "Freedom in our lifetime".

The attainment of political freedom in 1994 fulfilled the historic mission of this slogan and simultaneously opened new challenges for our country and by extension new challenges for the ANC Youth League. This changing of times was most succinctly captured by the late former President of the ANCYL, Comrade Peter Mokaba when he paraphrased the late former President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, in that there comes a time in the lifespan of an organization that it must adapt to changing times or face death hence the famous phrase "adapt or die".

Our organization has traversed these changing times, re-defining what entails its key tasks at the same time. It was within this context that the ANCYL resolved that the twin-tasks are its main mission, that of championing youth interests and mobilizing them behind the vision of the ANC.

The 22nd National Congress of the Youth League must evaluate whether or not it has succeeded in its mission as enumerated by the twin-task theory. This congress is the gathering of our youth to evaluate what they themselves have done or failed to do to make real this mis-

sion in the past decade of freedom and democracy.

Most importantly, this 22nd National Congress is a platform for our youth to democratically engage with the issues raised in the discussion papers, which highlight the main challenges for the next decade.

This congress is important also to dispel the notion that our youth are apolitical, simply because they are not throwing stones against the security organs of our democratic State like in the era of racial oppression.

The character of this congress therefore will underline the differences in the nature of the challenges faced by our youth today as opposed to those who fought for "freedom in our lifetime".

This congress is a gathering of our structures, most particularly the branch as the basic unit of our organization to map out our common developmental agenda towards the year 2014. This follows the disbanding of our structures and re-building the organization from scratch in order to align all our branches and regions with the new Local Government demarcations. The NEC recognized that the completion of this process of re-alignment signalled the completion of a process of transition in terms of what our organization must do to lead the youth of our country. This therefore means as an organization, we have come full circle in redefining ourselves with regards to how we must be constituted in order to effectively confront the challenges of the future.

There is no room therefore for careerists and opportunists, who merely seek to advance their own selfish interests and disregard the collective interests as underlined by our conceptualization of the twin-tasks.

The congress will resolve on what needs to be done by our organization in the next decade to massively respond to the marginalization of our youth due to the economic structural defects of decades of apartheid misrule.

The delegates to the congress will grapple with the implications of the ANC 51st National Conference in advancing the cause of youth development. This will also be an affirmation of the 21st National Congress resolutions with regards to their relevance to the current conjuncture.

Critical will be a review of the institutions and programmes on youth development and how these have fared in advancing their stated objectives. In the main, this congress must state clearly what are the major decisions that can enable the organization to lead towards massively redressing youth economic marginalization. This the congress will do by clarifying the opportunities as enabled by the advent of democracy.

While many recite the slogan that the "*youth are the future*", the youth as they will gather at the congress will decisively confront this future and build a firm path for the development of our country within the opportunities that obtains due to the new democratic dispensation. This congress must clearly state where there must be change and where there must be continuity, on both programmatic and leadership issues.

PREPARING FOR 22ND NATIONAL CONGRESS RESPONSIBILITIES OF BRANCHES

The 22nd National Congress of the ANC Youth League will be convened over four days, starting from 18 - 22 August 2004 at the Nasrec in Johannesburg, next to Soccer City. The National Congress is constitutionally the highest decision making body of the ANC Youth League.

In order to fulfill the principle of proportional representation, the NEC decided to be wholistic and capture issues of branch representation as well as gender balance. Accordingly, 90% of delegates will hail from branches while there will be a minimum of 50% female comrade representation per branch. Each branch must therefore send two delegates with at least one female comrade.

All members of the ANC Youth League must belong to a branch, and within this context participate in the activities of the organization at all times.

Through participation in branch activities, ANC Youth League members will ensure the BEC's deals will the following issues:

The branch discusses the key issues before National Congress at Branch General Meetings to afford all members to input on the issues to be discussed at National Congress. This will inform the mandate branch delegates take along to National Congress.

The branch members (not just the BEC) democratically elect their delegate to National Congress. In electing their delegates, members must ensure that their delegates are members in good standing, capable of influencing other delegates from other branches in discussions at National Congress on the basis of the mandate of the branch. At the same time, each branch delegate must be able to weigh various arguments and act in best interests of the organization.

The ANC Youth League is the only youth organization in the country to amass such huge numbers of delegates, representing the greatest possible number of

organized youth in our country.

KEY ISSUES FOR BRANCHES TO DISCUSS AT NATIONAL CONGRESS

The election of branch delegates is critical as these become the majority voices to define the course of action the organization must undertake in the next term of office as well as the next ten years.

Each branch delegate must be very much familiar therefore with the National Congress discussion papers as well as the precise mandate of the branch. This delegate must be capable of presenting the aspirations of the branch, and context other views but remain principled to the principles, cohesion and unity of the organization, and in this instance the principle of democratic centralism.

This National Congress Edition presents various papers for discussion, which are to be presented to all structures of the organization, and these are:

1. "Congress Perspective" paper which summarises and introduces all the other documents.
2. "Uvuk'ayibambe" paper which touches on organizational development issues.
3. "Youth and social transformation" paper.
4. "Youth and economic participation" paper.
5. "Governance and legislative issues" paper.
6. "International Affairs" paper.
7. "Information and Technology" paper.
8. "Gender transformation" paper.

GUIDELINES ON THE PAPERS

A. CONGRESS PERSPECTIVE

1. What are the key challenges facing the youth of our country in the second decade and where do we see the youth of our country in the next 10 years in terms of development, capacity and socio-economic affluence?
2. Do we comprehend the terrain as it attains today and the future dictates, as they will attain then?
3. Why must youth join the ANCYL and what binds them to be loyal to its values, culture and tradition?
4. What are the international balance of forces within which our struggle takes place?
5. What are the ideological and political struggles that our movement has had to contend with against the opposition in our country?
6. What have been the gains & setbacks recorded by the ANC-led government over the last decade in addressing the plight of youth

in our country?

7. What are the key task facing young people in seizing the opportunities of democracy?
8. What are the challenges facing the ANCYL over the next decade in pursuing the twin tasks of championing youth economic participation interests and mobilizing young people behind the vision of the ANC?

B UVUK'AYIBAMBE

1. What is the ANCYL and what are its strategic objectives and tasks?
2. What has been the historical evolution of the ANCYL over the last 60 years?
3. What have been the organizational challenges that have faced the ANCYL over the last decade?
4. Given the challenges of the next decade, what mode of organization and methods of mobilizing the youth in the struggle for reconstruction and development are required?
5. Where are the youth now, what are their issues and how are they organized?
6. What do we understand to be the vanguard role of the ANCYL in the fold of progressive youth?
7. What has been the role of the progressive youth alliance (PYA) and what are the key challenges facing this structure in advancing the struggle for reconstruction and development?
8. What is the ANCYL relationship with the ANC?
9. What are the tasks facing the ANCYL branch in carrying its mandate over the next decade, and what campaigns must it champion in undertaking its revolutionary tasks?

C. YOUTH and SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

1. What are the socio-economic challenges facing youth in our country?
2. What has been achieved by youth over the last decade?
3. What has been the comprehensive and programmatic response to the plight of youth over the next decade?
4. What have been the institutions for youth development that have been created and what challenges are they facing over the next decade?
5. Is the NYC in its current configuration an adequate mechanism to respond to the situation facing young people in the current context?
6. Is Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) in its current modus operandi and criteria for allocating resources the appropriate response in dealing with the access of funding for the youth?
7. What are the organizational challenges facing the South African Youth Council (SAYC)?
8. What role should the ANCYL play in co-ordinating and rationalizing the youth

development institutions to effectively respond to the urgent plight of young people?

9. What are the other specific Youth Development interventions required to alleviate the socio-economic situation of youth? (NYSP, EPWP, NSFAS, Cooperatives, sports, volunteer youth corps).

D. YOUTH AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

1. What are the challenges facing the movement in integrating youth into the mainstream economy as we move towards the second decade of democracy?
2. What is the framework that should inform the youth economic development strategy in the next decade of our democracy?
3. What is the current material state of young South Africans against the past ten years of transformation?
4. What is the significance of characterizing the South African economy of comprising the first and the second economies that are distinct but interrelated?
5. What has been the key milestone achievement of the ten years of prudential economic management?
6. What are the critical programmes that will have to influence our integrated youth development plan, and in particular the youth development strategy over the next decade?
7. What should be the pillars of an employment creation strategy focusing on halving youth unemployment by 2014 ?
8. What should be the economic targets for young people in NYSP, EPWP, especially young women and rural youth?
9. What should be role of the Youth Solidarity Fund in addressing the economic participation of youth?
10. What interventions towards youth empowerment should be devised in the implementation of the land reform and restitution together with agricultural support for emergent young farmers?
11. What measures are required in the promotion of youth entrepreneurship and access to finance?
12. What legislative interventions are required to accelerate the institutionalization of co-operatives across the various sectors of our economy, particularly in assisting youth economic participation strategy?
13. What is the role of ANCYL in mobilizing for the acceleration of the Apex Fund dedicated to the extension of micro-credit, a major milestone for the second economy?
14. What should be our approach to skills development and in strengthening SETAs in delivering on their mandate?
15. What should be the ANCYL intervention in ensuring that government procurement

- promotes effective youth empowerment?
16. What should be the role of the ANCYL in ensuring that BEE process would benefit the youth including setting targets or percentages?
 17. What are the ANCYL tasks in engaging our international friends and allies in the campaign to restructure the international financial architecture?
 18. What should be the ANCYL key strategic focus areas on youth employment and self-employment?
 19. What major intervention mechanisms that would quantitatively and qualitatively respond drastically and holistically to the problems of youth economic marginalization particularly to accommodate all matriculants?

E. GOVERNANCE AND LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

1. What is it that should be done through governance institutions to deliver prosperity and sustainable livelihood for our people in the next ten years and beyond?
2. Given the enormous challenges of the second decade, what are the shortcomings of the political management of our governance institutions?
3. What are the critical tasks for overhauling the state in the present epoch of national democratic transformation?
4. Is the new philosophy that should guide each state organ in place and do they command public resources to improve the lives of our, particularly poor?
5. Have we appropriately determined the size of the state congruent to the developmental tasks charged to the state?
6. What are the tasks facing the local government in mobilizing the masses of our people to actively engage in matters of governance, including integrated development plans (IDP's), budgeting, performance management and restructuring of service delivery?
7. What have been the key milestone achievements in governance and legislative issues over the last decade?
8. What is the ANCYL perspective on governance and what is our role in governance transformation?
9. What are the governance and legislative programmes and challenges facing the ANCYL over the next decade?
10. What are the Legislative amendments that must be made to unlock youth development with regards to government and private sector support to youth owned SMME's?

F. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. What are the challenges faced by the movement on issues of the global economy and the contradictions of the North vs South

- relations?
2. What is the ideological approach of the ANCYL in the conduct of international struggle against imperialism?
 3. What is the ANCYL approach to solidarity with progressive forces internationally?
 4. What is our principled approach to the globalisation phenomena?
 5. What are the ANCYL challenges of the next decade in the complex web of international relations, in ensuring our self-interests are intertwined with those of the SADC, the African continent and the rest of the South Solidarity formation?
 6. What measures should the Youth League put in place to ensure bridging the digital and technological divide to boost South Africa's development?
 7. What are our task arising from our leadership role of the International Union of the Socialist Youth (IUSY), WFDY and our bilateral relations with fraternal organisations on the international front?
 8. What are our tasks in strengthening the ANCYL International Affairs organ?
 9. What goals to put in place to ensure the Youth League benefit from the ANC International Affairs Subcommittee and the Department of Foreign Affairs in pursuit of our objectives?
 10. Our key challenge remains ideologically defining what must become a world priority in the world developmental agenda of multilateral institutions amidst the arrogance of powerful countries.
 11. What measures to strive for in pursuing our objectives of a multilateral world order?

G. INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY (ICT)

1. What is the ICT's and the role of state in developing a national platform for research and development in order to improve our resource-based industries?
2. What are the geo-politics of the information society?
3. What have been the key milestones over the last decade in the transformation of the ICT sector to meet the national goals of development?
4. What is the ANCYL role in lobbying and advocating for the representation of youth in ICT governance structures?
5. What should be the role of the ANCYL in lobbying and advocating for the youth friendly convergence law?
6. What should be our tasks in supporting the initiative of establishing a national youth radio station with a strong public focus?
7. What should be the ANCYL role in determining the feasibility of twinning the ICT skills development institutions with the ICT SETA to

- establish youth ICT literacy programmes in all districts?
8. What should be the role of the ANCYL in ensuring the de-racialisation and transformation of the advertising, print and electronic media, telecommunications and broadcasting industries?
 9. What are the tasks of the ANCYL in ensuring the establishment of the Presidential National Commission on Information Society?
 10. What should be the ANCYL approach on the training opportunities for non-graduate and the unemployed youth in the ICT sectors?
 11. What should be the role of the ANCYL in Arts and Culture sectors, particularly lobbying for youth focused programmes with regard to the work of the National Film and Video Foundation and the National Arts Council?
 12. What should be the ANCYL role in supporting the President's call for the transformation of the governance of the research councils to focus on poverty eradication?
 13. What are the tasks of ANCYL in ensuring that we work with the NEPADISE-Africa Commission to establish youth forums on ICT's, and this should take place ahead of the World Summit on Information Society scheduled for Tunisia in 2005?
 14. Given rapid advances in ICT's, what are the implications for the ANCYL internal systems, modus operandi and mode of organisation?

HOW NATIONAL CONGRESS WORKS

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The National Congress of the ANC Youth League is held every three (3) years. It is our highest decision making body which has the power to set policies and programmes of the ANC Youth League, to amend the Constitution and to elect the Officials and additional members of the National Executive Committee.

Delegates, Observers and Guests

In attendance to the National Congress will be delegates, Observers and Guests. The process of finalizing all the above is work in progress. A total of 4000 delegates, observers and guests are expected at the National Congress. The participation fee for the National Congress will be as follows:

- R50 per branch delegate, (R100 for two delegates).
- R300 per REC member,
- R700 per PEC member
- and R1000 per NEC member.

Conference programme

The National Congress programme is divided into a number of important issues:

Opening Address: The ANC Youth League National Congress will be opened by the President of the ANC,

Comrade Thabo Mbeki.

Political Address: The President of the ANC Youth League, Comrade Malusi Gigaba will give the political overview, citing the challenges of the organization and the main tasks for the decade ahead which in turn must give tone to the congress deliberations.

Organisational Report: The Secretary General, Comrade Fikile Mbalula, will present on behalf of the NEC an overview and assessment of the work by ANCYL structures and youth developmental institutions over the past three years.

Finance and Fundraising Report: The Treasurer General, Comrade Nikiwe Num, will present on the State of Finances for the Youth League over the past three years.

Perspective Paper: The Congress Perspective Paper gives an overview of all the papers presented at congress and therefore will be presented in plenary. All the other papers will be presented in commissions.

Commissions: There will be commissions informed by the congress discussion papers and will be constituted as follows:

1. Ideological struggle
2. Organisational Development
3. Social Transformation
4. Economic Participation
5. Governance and legislative
6. International Affairs
7. Information and Technology
8. Gender Transformation

Organisational Design and Constitutional Amendments: This commission will table a report at plenary, dealing with proposals on how to make the ANCYL more effective to meet its mission. These proposals will be debated and must be adopted by plenary.

The commission will then present the proposed Constitutional amendments, one after the other. Amendments must be adopted by two-thirds of voting delegates at National Congress. All constitutional amendments must be tabled before the election of the NEC.

Election of Officials and members of the NEC:

All branches must convene BGM's that must amongst others nominate leadership into the NEC. Nomination forms have been circulated in all provinces. The Electoral Commission receives and process nominations filed prior to National Congress. A minimum of 25% of voting delegates' support is required for any nomination raised at the congress floor. Voting times and exact venue shall be announced at congress. Voting will be by secret ballot. The newly elected NEC will be announced during the last session of the congress.

Resolutions: Resolutions from Commissions will be tabled, discussed and amended at plenary. At the start of the congress, a drafting committee will be appointed that works throughout conference with commission rapporteurs and facilitators to compile draft resolutions.

Congress Declaration: During the last session, a Congress Declaration will be adopted that summarises the decisions of the National Congress.

Closing Remarks: The newly elected President delivers this address, focusing on the main issues and political direction for the country and our people that being the outcome of the National Congress.

Congress Perspective

22nd National Congress Perspective

INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of this document is to develop a congress perspective that cements and synthesises the strategic role and character of the ANCYL in the coming decades. If there's anything certain about the future, it is that 10 years from now will be significantly different from the present. Thus the demand for visionary leadership has never been more compelling.

2. Consequently the challenges facing the youth in the coming decades call for sombre choices and robust engagement, particularly from the youth leadership. Do we want to "live in a house with weak foundations" or do we "want to be the dawn of the new frontiers" working hard for a better tomorrow.

3. If we choose the latter, what then are the challenges facing the youth of our country in the coming decades? Where do we see our country's youth in the next 10 years in terms of development, capacity and socio-economic affluence?

4. Do we understand the terrain? How do we mobilise the social forces to better the lives of the many millions of young people in the years to come, particularly those trapped at the margins of the mainstream economy?

5. At our 21st National Congress in 2001, we correctly declared that the mission of our generation is to build a united South Africa that is truly democratic, non-racial and non-sexist and to build a better life for all. We reaffirmed the ANCYL as a mass political formation of South African youth, a champion of youth interests in the ANC and in society and a political school of young revolutionary democrats.

6. The Youth League must also add organisa-

tional vibrancy and youthful political debate to the movement and society, and must strive to be the home of the best, most developed and disciplined youth committed to transformation. It must position itself as the leader of the motive forces of the youth sector - unemployment, working and professional youth, rural youth, students and young women. It must be a reliable ally of the progressive youth of the continent and the world.

CONTEXT OF THE 22ND CONGRESS

7. Our National Congress will take place in the context of rapid and far reaching developments both nationally and internationally. Congress also takes place at a time when our country is celebrating the end of the 1st decade of freedom. It takes place in the year of the 28th anniversary of June 16 uprisings, when we commemorate the heroic role of youth in the struggle against apartheid-colonialism. Congress equally takes place during the 60th anniversary of the ANCYL; when we celebrate the traditions of the League, particularly its role as the youth wing of the ANC, championing the cause of democracy and the economic emancipation of our people.

8. At Congress we will review our historical tasks as a revolutionary youth organisation, engage ideologically with the prevailing challenges and accordingly identify the new tasks our organisation must adopt.

9. We just emerged from a humbling landslide victory of the ANC nationally and in all provinces. The movement has received a decisive mandate from the masses to fasten the pace of delivery, and decisively address job creation and poverty alleviation. There are heightened expectations that the ANC government will in the next five years push back the frontiers

of poverty, arrest the spread of HIV/AIDS and reduce the levels of crime.

10. Our organisation is in the final throes of radical, fundamental and thoroughgoing re-alignment and building of structures across the length and breadth of our country. This renewal process has sharpened our organising and mobilisation tools and guided our membership in branches in active programmatic work in local and regional struggles and campaigns.

11. Thus, there is renewed enthusiasm, exuberance, dynamism, commitment and selflessness among our leadership. There are however challenges remaining in some quarters related to engagement in factionalism, corruption, destructive cliques and organisational ill-discipline.

GLOBALISATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER WORLD

12. Our struggle takes place within a national, regional and global context with many constraints, yet many possibilities for success. The international balance of forces has been radically transformed by the posture of by the Republican administration of the USA which has embraced unilateralism and big power politics as its principal thrust.

13. It employs official development assistance to reinforce a USA-centred Alliance system, and as an instrument to pressurize countries into conformity. The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 also serve as a pretext and stimulant for US unilateralism. Overt interventionism has become an explicit feature of the US foreign policy, with openly stated policy of forcefully implementing a regime change. Since international terrorism is a global threat, this new direction of the US policy has encountered very little resistance from and other nations.

14. In pursuance of this policy direction, the Republican administration supplements unilateralism with the creation of "coalitions of the willing" which it then employs for its foreign policy objectives. Pre-emptive military strikes and gunboat diplomacy has once again become a key feature of some countries in the west and there has been an upsurge of islamophobia.

15. The world remains divided between rich and poor nations and this gap is widening, as is the gap between rich and poor in all societies. The South African reality, of a divided society, one section rich and well-resourced and the other poor and under-resourced, reflects this international dichotomy. We live in a deeply unequal world where the forces of production, spurred by the information and communications revolution, have reached unprecedented levels of development, thus increasing the mobility of capital, finance and skilled labour and have also led to the disappearance of barriers to trade and cost of transactions.

16. Accordingly, we advance the principled position on this issue of globalisation:
- a. We must as developing countries, deliberately and consciously intervene in the process of ethics, equity, inclusion, human security, sustainability and development in favour of the poor;
 - b. Government of developed countries must eliminate protectionism by eliminating blockages experienced by developing countries, expand access of products from developing countries to their markets and promote fair trade that mutually benefits all;
 - c. Increase the flow of (private) foreign direct investments to Africa;
 - d. The countries of the South must work in a collective manner to mobilise more resources for development, increase trade between them and together advocate, lobby and campaign for the transformation of international trading and financial institutions and the development of new rules, ethics and regulation to guide international trade, financial and capital flows; and
 - e. Within this entire process, continue to uphold the labour standards of workers.

17. Part of our approach to globalisation involves working within the Socialist International to ensure that it represents the interest of all youth internationally. As a socialist/socio-democratic movement it must truly subscribe to the progressive values of internationalism and international solidarity, and its ideological orientation must be towards the poor and working people.

18. We must salute Cde Fikile Mbalula for being elected on behalf of the ANC Youth League as President of IUSY and we need to take stock of the challenges this responsibility brings to the YL and African youth in general.

19. Furthermore, our Congress must reiterate its previous call on IUSY and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, for the sake of the progressive youth movement in the world, to bridge their differences and unite in common struggle for the elimination of global poverty and the attainment of world peace and social justice.

PILLARS OF OUR ORGANISATION

20. We are a mass-based organisation of the ANC, the Youth League of the unemployed, professional youth, student youth, and all sectors of youth in our country. We must provide a real political home to all these youth. We are a revolutionary youth organisa-

tion, an army of young revolutionary democrats and a school of excellence for the ANC. We are leaders of the progressive youth movement and have embraced internationalism as we have learnt throughout history that our destiny is tied with that of the rest of humanity.

21. The National Democratic Revolution remains the central outlook within which the ANC seeks to map out our struggle agenda. The ANCYL remains committed to the twin tasks of championing youth interests and mobilising them behind the NDR as the vision of the ANC.

22. We owe our history and origins to O R Tambo, Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Mxolisi Majombozi, William Nkomo, Joe Modise and many others who were pioneers in the establishment of the organisation in 1944 and subsequent years. Our history also include those youth who in more recent years who took the baton of the liberation into a new and precarious epoch, such as Peter Mokaba, Solomon Mahlangu, Maniki Motlohi, Vusi Mzimela, Stitch Ngubane - the "Young Lions" of the 1980's. In this sense, we owe our history to various generations of youth who sacrificed their lives for the freedom that we have enjoyed for the past ten years.

23. The ANCYL continues to live amongst the youth of our country, being at the forefront of their struggle for economic participation since 1994. The congress of the Youth League will take stock of the challenges we have faced as an organisation towards championing youth economic participation as well as ensure that the youth are mobilised behind the vision of the ANC.

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

24. The steady progress to which we have referred above takes place in a context of a difficult political and ideological struggle. Precisely because this is a struggle whose ultimate goal is fundamental social change, including among others re-configuring property relations, it must, out of necessity, evoke intense opposition from those seeking to preserve the status quo.

25. Poised against us are a range of forces deriving their mandate from the stubborn and selfish interest of a privileged minority. These forces are led by the DA and consist of those social forces among the national minorities that are driven by racism, the liberal and conservative forces internationally, and the mass media that has positioned itself, in our country as an opposition to the ANC and the democratic government.

26. The overwhelming support we enjoy among the ordinary masses, the increasing domestic and international strength of our movement, the greater coherence we have introduced into the functioning of

government, our judicious management of the economy, the success we are beginning to record with regard to the systematic targeting of poverty in an integrated manner and others simply serve to frustrate these forces.

27. They have launched an intense ideological and political war against our movement, negation every step forward, advancing their own ideas and programmes which they demand that we should adopt, and which they present as the ideas and programme of the nation as a whole.

28. They expect us never to depart from the neo-liberal paradigm and ideas proffered from the "North" which includes the notion that to undertake this mammoth task of fundamental social transformation we need to rely on the market forces and a minimalist state that is emasculated, with no power, resources and programmes to achieve the goals of our revolution.

29. They are determined to destroy the ANC and the progressive movement both in South Africa and the rest of our continent, especially in Southern Africa, seeking to isolate South Africa by surrounding it with government formed by indigenous liberal and right-wing forces.

30. Thanks to the resilience of our people, their unyielding will to be free and their high level of consciousness we have been able thus far to force our way up the high road of fundamental social transformation. We are duty-bound, therefore, to rise in defence of our revolution, our movement and its leader, remaining completely focussed and shifting our posture from the defensive to the offensive.

31. The complexity of their struggle has posed a challenge for the movement to review the instruments and cadres we have to wage this battle including, among other things, reviewing the challenges of organisation.

Achievements of the decade of freedom

32. Over the past decade, immense political and social changes have occurred to change the lives of young people, together with the rest of the people of South Africa. These include:

- a. Freedom from apartheid tyranny, which has been an obstacle to our political, social and economic progress;
- b. Freedom to participate in arts, sports, culture and recreation, to enter the terrains we have never been exposed to or allowed to participate in and, therefore, to contribute to the process of shaping our national identity;
- c. Freedom to enhance our knowledge and skills base, to advance our national human resources development and embark on a comprehensive and integrated skills development strategy, resulting among others, in

- improvement the quality of public education, the transformation (albeit inadequate) of higher education and of further education and training;
- d. The creation of opportunities for black youth to now enjoy a wide spectrum of careers and professions;
- e. The provision by government of water, electricity and basic services, which freed millions of youth especially young women, from the burden of darkness, and from the burden of fetching water and collecting wood;
- f. The creation of National and Provincial Youth Commissions as well as the Umsobomvu Youth Fund - that have raised the profile of youth needs and contributed towards youth development.
- g. The adoption by government of the National Youth Policy and the National Youth Service Programme to be at the centre of government delivery to the youth of our country.

33. However, given the fact of deepening level of youth unemployment, it will not be to exaggerate, whilst acknowledging all these political and social gains, to make the point that, economically the youth have remained marginalised. The greatest yearning for the youth of South Africa today is for an all-round and broad-based economic empowerment in order to integrate them into the economic mainstream.

34. Economic marginalisation of the youth creates the situation where they do not feel part of the greater changes taking place in the country and feel they have no role to play or contribution to make. It is only when they get involved on a vast scale in productive activity that they will develop the sense that they are part of the nation at work building a better life for all!

Seize the opportunities of democracy

35. Today, our struggle has entered a new epoch. The critical question of the day is the mobilisation of the youth to take responsibility both for their own development as well as the reconstruction and development of our country.

36. What this means is that the youth must seize the opportunities of democracy and take responsibility to raise to raise the level of struggle. It is about the vitally important spirit and practice of Vuk'uzenzele! To seize opportunities of democracy will demand of the youth that they improve their competencies in all fields in which they are involved; social, economic and cultural including science and technology, to raise their level of political understanding and their discipline, to become better cadres for the victory of our struggle.

37. Seizing the opportunities of democracy is central to pushing back the frontiers of poverty. It means we must make progress on all fronts and in everything we do, strive for excellence. It means that we must:

- a. Intensify the campaign for youth economic participation by developing their skills, job and self employment opportunities, taking advantage of the Growth & Development Summit (GDS) Agreement;
- b. Engage the challenges of science and technology, increasing the volumes of youth studying natural and mathematical sciences, leap our country into the information age, and to improve our country's capacity to develop and enhance our people's lives.
- c. Participate in sports and continue to fight for transformation. Increase support for women's sports and mobilise the active participation of young women and strengthen our local, school and higher and further education sports clubs and associations.
- d. Confront the challenges of health by leading the offensive against poverty, volunteering for health and education and awareness, fighting HIV/AIDS comprehensively and supporting community service for health professionals;
- e. Build a Youth Contract for a better South Africa by forging partnerships with the other sectors against poverty; in the process strengthening the broad youth front for reconstruction and development;
- f. Continue to strengthen and support the youth development institutions;
- g. Empower women, fight sexism and create gender equality through conscience and concerted political and socio-economic programmes.

38. This is what it must mean for the youth of South Africa "to seize the opportunities of democracy" always bearing in mind the truth of the words of Anton Lembede, our founding president:

"We are not called to peace, comfort, enjoyment, but to hard work, struggle and sweat. We need young men and women of high moral stamina and integrity, of courage and vision. In short we need warriors. This means that we have to develop a new type of youth...of stoical discipline, trained to endure suffering and difficulties. It is only this type of youth that will achieve the national liberation of African people."

39. This new type of youth is what will take South Africa from an era of political victory to that of social and economic liberation.

ORGANISATIONAL CHALLENGES OF THE NEXT DECADE

40. We must remain cognisant of the enormous challenges facing our and future generations:
- a. The challenges of unemployment, lack of access to education, training, sports and recreational facilities, HIV/AIDS and other STDs, lack of access to economic opportunities and finances, etc.
 - b. Strengthen the capacity of the ANC Youth

- League so that it has strong structures and coheres politically.
- c. Build the mass character of the ANC Youth League and its leadership of the youth sector through campaigns aimed at mobilising young people around their issues and as active participants in their own development;
 - d. Drastically and urgently improve the socio-economic situation of the youth to address their economic marginalisation;
 - e. Working tirelessly - using our position as the Youth League of the ruling party, our young representatives in government, lobbying and advocating our course through mass mobilisation of the youth - to ensure that the instruments of the state at all levels are effectively utilised to ensure a better life for all young people.
 - f. Build vibrant branches as centres of popular participation, information and activities for young people in communities, that mobilise and organise young people through programmes, projects and campaigns to address their problems and contribute to community renewal reconstruction and development.
 - g. Expand our programme of political education, training and induction to ensure that this generation of youth knows the history of our country, our struggle and the challenges facing our communities, county, continent and world today.
 - h. Build the profile of the Youth League, communicating and popularising our policies and programmes amongst the youth in a simple and effective manner.
 - i. Unite and strengthen the youth sector through the Progressive Youth Alliance, the South African Youth Council and a united front of youth - to ensure that the sector contributes to youth development, nation-building and to the transformation of our society.
 - j. Build and strengthen the Southern African Youth Forum and ensure that it became our instrument, autonomously as young people to critique the present and plan the future, and develop the future leadership for this region and continent that would take over to the completion of the decolonisation struggle.
 - k. Prepare and mobilise the youth for a decisive ANC victory in local the upcoming local government elections to be held in 2005.

CONCLUSION

41. A great challenge awaits the generations of youth in the ANC today, to mobilise, organise and educate youth to act for revolution. To do so means that we must adapt our organisation and all its organs to the demands and dynamics of the new era and devise energetic and versatile methods to mobilise the youth. We must strive to become the repository of the best youth in society and make ours the catalyst for community and particularly youth development.

42. We have over the recent past faced many organisational challenges ranging from the poor quality of some of our cadres, to divisions, weak branches, weak regional and provincial executive committees, and the surrendering of our organisation for use by corrupt and opportunistic individuals simply for material rewards. We have faced serious challenges in many provinces, regions and branches in our cause to act as bulwarks for unity of the ANC and ANCYL. There have been problems in the manner in which many leaders and structures of the ANC have dealt with the ANCYL leaders and structures and this poses a challenge for the organisation.

43. A great decade lies ahead of us to continue to champion the all-round political and socio-economic aspiration of the youth! Critical also to what we have to do is to intensify the global war on poverty, for peace and Africa's development. This also means that we must NEPADise the South African youth and foster personal, political and economic exchanges, interaction and co-operation between the South African youth and the youth of other parts of our continent.

44. We must seize the opportunities of democracy because history has charged us with the obligation to become masters of our own destinies. Our generation is called upon to put an end to legacy of apartheid colonialism.

45. Our country is richer for the role the youth continue to play and the contributions they continue to make to our national life.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE - UVUK'AYIBAMBE

INTRODUCTION

1. The basis for the existence of any revolutionary organisation is to alter the material conditions of people it represents. The ANCYL derive its existence from the constitution and policies of the ANC whose programme of action is the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), which define its outcome as the creation of a free, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic prosperous South Africa.

2. The continuous understanding of progress our struggle is making in pursuing the objectives of the NDR is key to understanding the imperative role of a revolutionary organisation. There can be no successful national democratic revolution without a machinery to drive it, lest it can only remain a theory without experience to test relevance, correctness and material change. Comrade Lenin cautions us against 'emphasising theory at the expense of practice'.

3. In the "Perspective document" we make the point that, 10 years from now the material conditions of our people and the youth will be different as a result of the qualitative achievements of the struggle. This will require new forms of engagement and organisation, because a strong organisation is imperative to the success of any revolution.

WHAT IS THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE?

4. The ANCYL is a "political school" for the training and education of young revolutionary democrats whose task is to continue with the process of fundamental social transformation of South Africa in favour of the millions of ordinary people, both black and white. It is the home of the most developed and disciplined young revolutionary democrats of our country.

5. It is the vanguard of the progressive youth of our country both organized and unorganized. It is also the leader of all youth who have an interest in the transformation of our country into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous democracy.

6. A front rank combatant in the progressive African youth movement that fights for the victory of African Renaissance, during the African Century.

7. A reliable ally of the progressive youth of the world as it engages the struggle for a process of globalization that helps to end poverty and underdevelopment throughout the world and works closely to close the gap in living standards and the quality of life between North and South.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

8. The ANC Youth League has since its inception in 1943 positioned itself as a political movement of South Africa's youth. It has fought for its right to exist and its autonomy within the structures of the ANC; based on the conviction that young people's appreciation of democratic ideals is better consolidated if validated by their independent experience in struggle.

9. Our country's history is incomplete without mention of the special place occupied by the youth through their organized formations during various phases of our struggle. In the 1940's & 50's the Youth League founders played a pivotal role in revolutionizing the ANC, resulting in the ANC's militant action plans and the famous "Defiance Campaign". In the 60's and 70's, the youth of Umkhonto we Sizwe were prepared to take up arms in pursuit of freedom and many paid the ultimate price.

10. And the ANC Youth Section created in exile after the ANC's banning made an important contribution towards mobilizing international solidarity against the apartheid regime by conscientising international youth and students to the anti-apartheid movement. Within the country, the youth and students of the 70s and 80s through organized formations such as SASO, SASM, COSAS, AZASO/SANSCO, NUSAS and SAYCO, ensured the intensification of mass resistance, which made apartheid unworkable.

11. The key features of the 1990 to 1994 period were the continued mobilization of youth organizations in support of the negotiation process, even though the youth, (unlike the women's movement) were not part of the formal negotiation structures. For example, the Youth League's contribution to the negotiation process was, mainly, to receive briefings from the leadership and to explain the positions taken by the movement to young people. With youth, especially in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, at the receiving end of the Third-force violence orchestrated by the De Klerk regime as part of its negotiating strategy, the Youth League spearheaded the call and programme to form Self-Defence Units (SDUs) to protect our communities.

12. The League started, as early as 1992, to engage the then South African Police with a view towards winning over young people from within the enemy ranks. One of the consequences of this engagement was the formation of POPCRU and the first conference on Community Policing organised by

the League in Gauteng in 1993. The Youth League was instrumental in implementing the mass action campaigns around the release of political prisoners, the campaign to end Bantustan rule in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and strengthening the hand of the ANC at the negotiating table. This period saw the emergence of a vibrant youth development sector, united under the banners of the NYDCC and the NYDF, aimed at profiling youth issues and addressing the levels of youth marginalization.

13. For the ANCYL 1994 represented the victory of the first phase of the National democratic revolution. The transfer of political power to the people created the conditions for the national liberation movement to embark on the second phase of the NDR. Whose objective is the achievement of progress at all levels - political, economic, social, and cultural.

TEN YEARS ON

14. This qualitative shift also changed the terrain for the youth sector. Former ANCYL President Peter Mokaba - in handing over the reigns at the 18th Congress of the League in January 1994 - urged the incoming leadership to ensure that the League 'adapt to these changes or die'.

15. As was the case during the negotiations, the League had to position itself in a manner that took into account the fragile nature of the transition. It had to ensure that youth understood the opportunities and constraints of the negotiated settlement.

16. At the same time the League had to fight an uphill battle within the ANC to ensure youth issues are taken seriously. The RDP - which also became the programme of the newly elected GNU - noted in its Introduction "that special attention must be paid to the youth" and committed the movement to a dedicated National Youth Service Programme.

17. Other youth programmes identified included; efforts to reform the youth justice system, ensuring that youth benefit from media diversity programmes (hence Yfm), HIV/AIDS and the deracialisation of all sports. Young people were also to become one of the main beneficiaries of the transformation of our education system and improved school infrastructure, as well as access to higher education through the National Students Financial Aid System (NSFAS).

18. Much of the Youth League's energies during this period were focused on improving and sharpening its policy, lobbying and advocacy capacity to meet the challenge of governance. Learning from our peers in other countries, we deliberately did not choose a youth Ministry for fear that it would marginalise youth issues into a single ministry. The National and Provincial Youth Commissions were established to develop and monitor the implementation of an integrated youth development strategy within the overall national development priorities i.e. RDP.

19. At a policy level there had been a number of qualitative developments including the establishment of Umsobomvu Youth Fund, adoption of the Integrated Youth Development Strategy and National Youth Service Programme.

20. Large numbers of the youth movement's most experienced activists and leaders left, either because they were no longer youth or had to take up other responsibilities brought about by the new situation. The organisation has had to grapple with the membership and levels of activity of most youth and student organizations at this point were also declining

21. The League at its last Congress resolved that we need to engage in a process of organizational renewal and realign structures inline with municipal boundaries. We resolved to strengthen our branches by taking up mass campaigns around social issues facing the youth and by actively supporting branch work.

22. The generation before us established beyond doubt, that the youth movement is a reservoir of militancy and selfless sacrifice. These important achievements continue today to be the key defining features of our organisation, a mass based organisation of the ANC youth drawing into its ranks the unemployed, student youth and the working youth. The challenge however, is what mode of organisation and methods of engaging the youth in the struggle for reconstruction and development is required?

23. The struggle for total liberation must continue in a "Second Phase of the NDR". The mass involvement of the people is a necessary condition for the success of the NDR and the national liberation movement has the responsibility to ensure that these masses are involved as an organized and conscious force. The ANC YL is also central to this mobilization by drawing on the resources of an organized and conscious youth.

YOUTH MOBILISATION

24. Youth as social strata is capable of assimilating ideas of different classes, strata and political groupings in a society. And, although they assimilate ideas of the society in which they live, this is generally articulated as distinct from those of children and the older generations in the society, hence the phenomena of 'youth culture and sub-cultures'.

25. It should, however, be remembered that many youth sub-cultures are potentially progressive because young people are more idealistic. For example, the black consciousness movement drew inspiration from African American and other Diaspora sub-cultures.

26. Youth culture finds expression around issues of identity, music, fashion, language, and engagement

with institutions of society, involvement in-group activities of their age mates and relying on the standards of their peers.

27. In a globalising world, ideas and 'global culture' transmitted by the print media, advertising, music, television, the Internet, radio contest this terrain with other traditional socialising institutions such as the family, school, political parties, trade unions, the community, etc. Hence the complaint that 'our children are acting like Americans and don't know their culture.'

28. Amongst the challenges facing us therefore is for the League to root itself amongst the youth, wherever they are and seek to engage with youth cultures, advocate for its support and in the process win support for a national identity that is African, non-racial, non-sexist and patriotic and caring.

WHERE ARE THE YOUTH NOW, WHAT ARE THEIR ISSUES AND HOW ARE THEY ORGANISED?

29. The League seeks to organise, mobilise and lead young men and women between the ages of 14 - 35 years. This constituency, according to the 2001 census makes up about 40% of South Africans, numbering 16 million people.

30. Most of 14-18 year olds are found in the 16 000-odd secondary (public and private) schools and in further education institutions. The deracialisation of education has resulted in large numbers of black students attending formerly white or Model C schools.

31. Despite statutory provisions for SRCs at schools and for learner participation on School Governing Bodies, student organisation at this level is very weak and COSAS is but a shell of its former self. With completion rates much higher than before, and in the absence of leadership development programmes, SRC's (and COSAS in particular) do not play an effective role in organising and educating learners and are often seen as a disruptive force by the department, teacher and parents.

32. There are emerging single-issue movements at schools, focusing on issues such as HIV/AIDS, peer counseling, anti drugs and crime programmes and environmental issues. However, these tend to be school-based and - except for the HIV/AIDS movement - do not (yet) constitute social movements amongst youth of any significance.

33. Those amongst this age group who are not in school are in correctional facilities or places of safety, teenage mothers at home, on the farms and in the rural areas, in urban gangs, street urban gangs, street children, kept at home because they are disabled or AIDS orphans looking after younger siblings. These groups tend to have an insignificant voice in the mainstream youth organizations, with a few exceptions. The Disabled People's Organization over the last few

years has played an important role in raising the profile of issues of young people with disabilities and actively lobbies the NYC and other structures.

34. The 18-26 year olds are more diversely spread with the majority of them being part of the unemployed or the informal (often subsistence) sector. The formal economy still absorbs only a very small percentage of new entrants into the job market. The majority of people who have never been employed are young people (about 69.2%). African youth, youth with disabilities and young women have a disproportionate share of the youth unemployment burden. And the more rural a province is, the higher the rate of youth unemployment. Some amongst the unemployed have opted for crime and gangs, with this age cohort comprising the highest percentage of people in the criminal justice system.

35. Over half a million of this age group are in institutions of higher learning - technikons, universities and colleges. Access to admission, lack of funding and academic exclusion remains some of the key issues facing this constituency.

36. The working youth. Starting at the bottom, they are often the first out when it comes to job cuts (retrenchment). Together with women, they comprise the majority of casual and informal workers. They also form a significant percentage of the working poor (employed people who live below the poverty line). Levels of unionisation amongst this sector of the youth have decreased over the last few years (Mahoney. 1999). Initiatives by the Youth League to engage COSATU in joint programmes towards the organisation of young workers have not taken off.

37. The working youth also include those in the professions - holding positions in the private and public sector. They, more than any amongst their peers have benefited from the opportunities provided by freedom from racial and gender discrimination, affirmative action, employment equity policies and the reduction of the Apartheid wage gap in the public sector. Yet they too find themselves in institutions that simply expect them to adapt to the prevailing organisational culture, which still is largely racist, sexist and ageist. These young professionals form an important part of the public sector unions - as teachers, nurses. They also form a significant section of the newly integrated security forces (defense, intelligence, and the police).

38. In the professional associations, they are often discriminated against because of their age, lack of experience or not being in positions of power in their companies. However, they are a more confident generation than the older (blacks and women) in the professions: -they do not have to face the same odds in a formal sense and often have the benefit of so-called hard skills. This, unfortunately, is mainly true of the young graduates from the Historical White Institutions. The discrimination faced by those from

the Historical Black Institutions from the time that they apply for jobs, means that they must work much harder to prove themselves and often get overlooked for promotion simply based on where they got their degree.

39. Sandwiched between your 'kwaito generation' and the mature Black consciousness and exile tradition, are the 27-35 year old age cohort. Increasingly - in their outlook and position they are assuming more of the responsibilities of adulthood in society - and thus gravitate towards the older generations in outlook, though they do relate to the younger generation.

40. They are the generation most affected by the crisis of Apartheid of the late 70's and 80's, and the target of most of our policies to eliminate poverty and provide basic services. This age group were part of the youth and student struggles of the 1980's, have memories of June 16, they lived through the negotiations and through the transition.

41. The middle strata amongst this group have benefited significantly from access to advancement in the work place, in the public sector and through opportunities for economic empowerment. They increasingly form an important and vocal component of opinion and decision makers in a range of sectors of our society - the media, public service, the private sector, the labour movement, etc. These activists of yesteryear generally are passionate about politics and follow events in the country, even though they may not be actively involved in political organisation. Increasingly in the private sector, this group have more hard skills, than the founding fathers (and few mothers) of the affirmative action and black empowerment movements.

42. However, this is a small, though significant sector of this generation. What has happened to the youth unemployed and school dropouts of the 80's and early 90's - the so-called 'lost generation or marginalised youth'? They like their middle class peers are taking on adult responsibilities and are increasingly treated as such. This group form a large portion of the unemployed, the beneficiaries of anti-poverty and RDP programmes of the last decade - the Community based and other public works and SMME programmes; the poverty alleviation programmes.

TASKS FACING US

43. Thus far we have discussed the political orientation of the ANCYL, its historical role and the character of the youth we seek to mobilise. The political objectives of phase II of the NDR is to achieve progress in all social spheres - political, social, economic, and cultural.

44. We must educate every member about the history of our movement and struggle and our objectives of every stage, including the current phase. Every member of the youth league must be exposed

to the best traditions of our movement of: commitment to principle, dedication to serve the people without expecting any reward, comradeship and working together as a collective, courage, truthfulness, readiness to sacrifice, democracy and openness within the league, accompanied by discipline and respect for decisions of the organization.

45. We must teach our members to exercise leadership within the league and the progressive youth movement and among youth in general. Getting them to understand that a Youth Leaguer is never arrogant, does not dictate and wins support of other organizations and the youth in general by being a true representative of their interests.

46. We must ensure that every member of the YL is not just a theoretician but an activist, who participates in the implementation of the programme of action of the YL, especially as they relate to the mobilization of youth and the people in general to participate in the process of the reconstruction and development of our country.

47. We must actively build the capacity of every structure or level of the organization, to maintain the proper composition, to be the true representative of the youth of our society, including the working, the student and the unemployed youth.

THE VANGUARD

48. The ANCYL is the front rank combat force in the fold of the progressive youth. It is a vanguard because it seeks to mobilize into its ranks the broadest section of youth. Over the past ten years the ANCYL have been able to hegemonize itself among the masses of the youth of our country. Its leadership role in the ANC and in society has been felt. Today the ANCYL enjoy popular support among the youth of the country, the student youth, the professional youth, the unemployed.

49. The key challenge for the ANCYL is to further root itself among the working youth and the cultural and national minorities. The bulk of the ANCYL membership is mainly the unemployed and student. Although national and cultural minorities are historically defined as part of the black majority, they continue to hold a perception that they are threatened by equity and redress, they perceive black empowerment as a process of affirming the African majority at the exclusion of other national minorities.

50. This perception arises from the assumption that when development process first redresses imbalances within the black majority is in effect discriminating against national minorities. The majority of the indigent are Africans who were at the cold face of oppression, it will be ahistorical not to recognize that benefit under apartheid was in line with the divide and rule strategy.

51. The ANCYL needs to be cognizant of these fears as they continue to undermine all efforts aimed at their mobilization. Youth from national minorities experience the same material conditions as African youth of economic marginalization, lack of skills, unemployment, HIV/AIDS etc. The strategy for their mobilization has to be sensitive to these fears as they impact on how they perceive the organization, and its relevance to the resolution of their plight. Educating them about the history of our struggle, the leaders of the liberation movement being drawn from different experiences our people have endured. Educating them about the thesis of colonialism of a special type, the historical principle of African leadership, the strategic objective of the NDR being the liberation of the black people in general and Africans in particular. That the unity of Africans is the precondition for the unity of all the oppressed and South African people in general.

52. The integration of communities through new settlements and the influx of blacks into historical white areas will create a possibility for mobilisation of these areas i.e. Randburg, Pretoria. However the extent to which we can transform these branches from special status to fully fledged may not be in the immediate.

53. The social forces represented by the ANCYL are primarily the black working youth, the unemployed youth, and the rural youth. The empowerment of these forces is fundamental to the resolution of youth marginalization. Their material conditions constitute the worst form of exclusion from decision-making, economic participation, lack of access to education and training. The political mobilization of these forces is fundamental to building a vibrant organization. ANCYL branches must prioritise the development of programmes aimed at resolving their situation.

54. The black middle strata and the emerging black bourgeoisie constitute an important social force whose long-term interests coincide with the immediate interests of the black working youth, unemployed and students. These forces need persistent engagement in order to mobilize them always to realize that their long term interests resides in joint efforts to build a better life for all.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ALLIANCE

55. The progressive youth alliance was born out of a historical necessity. The banning of the ANC meant that we had to evolve new forms of mass mobilisation that were to occupy the political vacuum caused by the banning of the ANC and its Alliance partner organisations. The student formations, progressive faith based formations and sports bodies etc. The basis of the existence of these formations was to pursue the programme of the NDR.

56. The ANCYL has an objective interest in the mobilization students as they form part of the social

interest it represent, whose contribution is vital to the pursuit of the goal to mobilize youth for the NDR. The YL has to imbue the students with the congress spirit and traditions, of deep political and social consciousness, organizational culture and discipline. The League needs to channel their energy and militancy into activities that shall develop them into organic intellectuals whose contribution to the struggle for the development of the country and continent will be formidable.

57. The continued existence of a fragmented PYA has not accelerated efforts to take youth development to higher heights. The building of progressive intelligentsia cannot be out sourced any more. There has to be a deliberate strategy on the side of the ANCYL to directly engage with students.

58. The PYA is a crucial organ for the pursuit of youth mobilization and an organizational expression of their participation in the NDR. The YL has to review its strategy of engagement within the PYA, given the fact that there has been a constant challenge to its leadership and in it being undermined.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

59. The ANCYL is an integral youth component and a mass organ of the ANC. It exists out of a conscious political decision of the ANC to establish an organisation of youth, which will rally youth behind its vision and champion youth interests.

60. It is an autonomous organ always bound by the political directive of the ANC in whose deliberations it participates.

61. Autonomy does not mean that the ANCYL can develop its own ideological stance different from that of the ANC, but it can initiate debates within the movement on any matter, and can disagree with the ANC on certain matters, within the discipline of the ANC.

62. We remain committed to the twin tasks of championing youth interest and mobilising them behind the vision of the ANC as contained in the NDR.

63. We are born of the motive forces represented by the ANC (black working people, workers, the unemployed, rural masses and the middle strata in general)

THE ANC YL BRANCH

64. The realignment of YL structures has seen a quantitative process with the mushrooming of structures even in areas where we were weak or non-existent. The interest young people continue to show in the organization has surpassed any prediction, with thousands of young women and men taking the con-

viction that they are their own liberators.

65. There is an outcry for jobs, skills, work experience, about the negative impact of preventable diseases including HIV/AIDS, lack of access to recreational facilities, in summary the youth want to seize opportunities of democracy.

66. Organisationally we have seen our ranks swell with new members who are not steeped in the traditions and politics of the movement. The YL must take action to urgently develop a focused cadre development programme that takes a form of a prescribed curriculum over a period of time.

67. The branch must be in the forefront of issues facing youth in communities ranging from engaging ward councillors about local government programmes, volunteerism for community based public works and health care, initiate environment projects, local sports teams in various codes, political debates, work with local schools.

68. We must strengthen and expand our campus branches, ensure that our members are active both on and off campus. We should have focused capacity building programmes for campus branches because it's still a new terrain. We must actively develop organic intellectuals.

69. The League must make use of the advances in information and technology by mobilizing for the expansion of services for all young people. Link up with Universal Services Agency, GCIS etc, to look at roll out initiatives that may advance the stated objectives.

70. The League must encourage amongst the youth a thirst for knowledge and of reading and debate. It must discourage dogmatism and rhetoric and build a youth cadre that enthusiastically engages in debating the issues facing the nation, on radio, in the newspapers, in community forums and in the ANC.

CAMPAIGNS

71. YL branches must develop campaigns to:

- Mobilise youth around their sub-cultural expressions of music, fashion, sports, arts & culture.
- Engage local schools for the establishment of LRC's including training them on basic organizational skills and their roles.
- Initiate and support single-issue campaigns to inculcate a culture of volunteerism and awareness on such issues as substance abuse, sexuality education including HIV/AIDS, crime prevention etc.
- Engage labour centers and Umsobomvu Youth Fund around their programmes and access to learnerships for the unemployed youth.
- Engage with National Youth Service Programme, Public Works Programme, Poverty alleviation programmes, about local

initiatives

- Strengthen Friends of the Youth League (FOYL) not just for fundraising but to ensure that we create a link with those who have an interest in youth development
- Initiate programmes to develop the girl child and campaign against women abuse

CONCLUSION

72. Such are the strategic tasks of the ANCYL as it braces itself for the future. They require an organization with both the depth of experience, political maturity and clarity that the YL possesses, as well as the cadres who have the depth of political understanding and commitment to the vision of the NDR.

Source Material:

- Document - "Coming of Age" 21st YL Congress
- Speech by President Thabo Mbeki, 21st YL Congress
- Document - "Congress Perspective, 22nd YL Congress
- ANC YL Manifesto of 1944
- ANCYL Policy Document, 1948
- YL Congress & Annual Reports

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

YOUTH AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

1. The pursuit of the fundamental objectives of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) remains central in fostering social transformation in South Africa, which is the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous and democratic society. This denotes the total liberation of black people in general, and Africans in particular from their socio-economic difficulties characterized by extreme levels of poverty inequality, lack of skills, unemployment and family disintegration.

2. Amid the socio-economic achievements since 1994, challenges facing youth of South Africa remains enormous. By the same token, it is incumbent to youth of our country as a social stratum to take advantage and exploit the numerous possibilities and opportunities presented by the new democratic order as we move to the next decade of our democracy and beyond.

3. In this regard, youth imagination, idealism, and energies are vital for advancing and consolidating these gains of transformation that have been achieved during this, the first decade of liberation. It is as well important for the youth to define their new mission, which will be used as a yardstick to measure the success of the Second Decade of Liberation.

4. Quite obviously, this generation of youth finds itself in an interesting and yet difficult period to ensure the resolution of society's challenges; i.e. poverty, deprivation and inequality - in doing so they should be discipline in carrying out their tasks, they should strive to be the best and most advanced ideologically.

BACKGROUND

5. The watershed political transformation ushered in 1994 was not a coincidence but "a consequence of active support to the course of democracy by the mass of the people" says the ANC Strategy and Tactic (1997), not as a spontaneous response, but as a calculated move in an organised way under organisational leadership.

6. In planning for the future, the ANC's Ready Govern document (1992) outlined in detail the immense challenges facing the country and the nation. This is to be the total transformation & resolution of:

" the extreme levels of poverty and disease in the rural areas; the creation of urban ghettos where people have been denied even the most basic means of survival as a result of severely limited access to

decent homes, electricity, water-borne sewerage, tarred roads, and recreational facilities; an education system preparing the majority of South Africans of lives of subordination and low wage jobs; a social security system geared almost entirely to fulfilling the needs of the white minority; a health system that has seriously neglected the well being of most South Africans; the social and political marginalisation of the majority of people, the African community in particular..."

7. Young people, as amongst the vulnerable groups in society, were not spared from this discrimination and marginalisation from all socio-economic opportunities; hence today their conditions are characterised by high levels of poverty, lack of skills, unemployment and yearn for economic participation.

8. The youth form a significant percentage of the South African population. Of the 44, 5 million people in South Africa 18,1 million are youth, constituting 40.5 % of the population. And yet they are a social group that faces particular problems regarding their future.

9. Cde OR Tambo, the former President of the ANC once said that "a nation that does not value its youth, does not deserve the future".

10. Therefore, youth demographics makes the case that more programmes and policies should be implemented in order to alleviate their socio-economic situation, especially as we plan for the future. And if the youth are to be an integral part of that future - our country and nation should invest in the youth TODAY!! FIRST DECADE OF FREEDOM: What has been achieved by the youth?

11. This discussion document will in brief assess how far our country has gone to address youth challenges in the past decade, and how the youth suggest these challenges should be address in the next decade.

12. On April 27, 1994 we laid a foundation for youth development to find expression in the policies and programmes of our democratically government. And at the end of our first Decade of Liberation, young people can rightfully claim the following as their victories too:

The National Youth Commission

13. The establishment of a national youth mechanism that will facilitate for the empowerment of young people - the NYC was inaugurated in June 1996. NYC was established to monitor and lobby for the development of young people by putting in place policies and

strategies to respond to their needs and aspirations. These policies and strategies are to lead to tangible programmes to be implemented through various agencies, government departments, provincial and local governments and broader civil society organisations.

14. In the year 2000 a Comprehensive Youth Policy was unveiled to guide government and broader society to respond to the challenges and responsibilities of youth in an integrated and sustainable manner. And in 2002, the NYC launched the National Youth Development Policy Framework.

The South African Youth Council (SAYC)

15. SAYC was a culmination of various processes and lessons learnt from as early as the 1990s through the then National Youth Development Forum and the NYDCC. In 1997 we saw youth and student organizations from all walks of life joining the effort to create the most representative and inclusive voice of youth.

Public-Private Partnerships

16. In October 1998 the Presidential Job Summit was held which was to be one of the first collaborative initiatives between government, labour, business and broader civil society. The aim of this Summit was to reach consensus on poverty alleviation initiatives, boosting the demand for local products, job security, skills development and special programmes targeting women and youth. One of the specific outcomes was the creation of a fund to "facilitate for youth economic participation and skills development". From this came the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF).

17. With our government understanding and listening to our cries for youth employment, access and greater opportunities the UYF was established in 2001 with a mandate to further our objectives of real youth empowerment and economic participation.

18. A further collaboration has been around the Growth and Development Summit (GDS) held in June 2003 which aimed at integrating the activities of government and harness the efforts of communities, labour, civil society and business to focus on the long term development and growth objectives for the whole country.

19. It also led to some very concrete targets for all parties concerned specific goals i.e. learnerships, youth service, sectoral issues, BEE, etc. We also succeeded in having the GDS incorporate a whole range of youth-specific agreements and targets.

Skills Development

20. Through these and other processes we have more resources than ever before directed at young people for education and skills training. And although there are still serious shortcomings with various

Sector Education & Training Authorities (SETAs) and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), we do note the scope and potential of these institutions to provide and standardize education and training opportunities for big numbers of young people.

21. We also need to explore and challenge SETAs and other such institutions to increase the participation of young people and their organizations in issues of governance i.e. Boards.

Multipurpose Centres

22. The government is establishing numerous Multi-Purpose Community Centres (MPCCs) across the country to bring government services closer to the people. These MPCCs are ideal for young people to gather and access information and a range of government services.

Development Programmes

23. Programmes to broaden access to basic services such as electricity, water, sanitation, etc have vastly improved the lives of millions of people, including our young people.

24. Nutrition and healthcare programmes are reaching more and more communities and learners. And our government and others' efforts to comprehensively respond to HIV/AIDS have increased over the last period leading to a stabilisation in the infection rates for young women below 20.

TOWARDS 2014 WITH A COMPREHENSIVE AND PROGRAMMATIC RESPONSE

25. Although the transformation and the delivery of basic services has been impressive we are still hampered by a range of challenges and problems facing many of our people i.e. the high levels of poverty and inequality, HIV/AIDS, high youth unemployment, etc. Below we list priorities areas and highlight possible interventions to be considered in order to drastically improve the situation facing our youth:

Poverty and Deprivation:

26. The majority of the youth find themselves outside of the mainstream of the economy. There are almost "structural levels" of poverty and deprivation i.e. those that are suffering the most are predominantly black, are women, are rural - a legacy of our past. There is also a need to redefine how we determine poverty and deprivation levels i.e. not just by lack of income but also the lack of other social security aspects. Our understanding is that poverty is linked to lack of access to skills, information, land etc.

Comprehensive Social Security:

27. In order to deal with this crushing poverty experienced by a majority of South Africans various interventions are being explored and implemented i.e.

social assistance grants, food parcels, emergency relief, etc. Even though there has been a drastic increase in those accessing these grants and social services there are still serious shortcomings i.e. age limitations, reach of these services.

28. The YL should:

- Advocate and lobby for the gradual expansion of the Child Support Grant to cover children up to the age 18.
- Develop a national campaign aimed at young parents, especially young fathers to take responsibility for maintaining their children - this programme is to be lead by YL branches.

Economic and social integration of youth:

29. Between now and 2014 we must drastically improve the socio-economic standing of youth and reduce by half their levels of poverty and deprivation by ensuring that vast numbers of young people participate in the Expanded Public Works Programmes (EPWP), the NYSP, Learnerships and other dedicated programmes aimed at youth. These interventions should be linked to proper exit strategies that will ensure that after acquiring skills they are able to be absorbed permanently in the labour market.

30. We should launch dedicated community youth enterprises or co-operatives from 2005 as part of the poverty alleviation and income generating strategies in all 284 Municipalities.

31. The League should promote fact finding missions with other countries to learn about their poverty eradication strategies - prioritise India and China because they have been identified as the countries that will meet their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to reduce poverty by 2015,

Food Security:

32. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 identified Food Security as a priority and as a result our Government developed the Food Security Strategy in 2002 in order to streamline, harmonize and integrate the diverse food security programmes. In order for the majority of the people, especially the youth to have an active and healthy life, increase food production and job opportunities - young people should be assisted and capacitated to establish their own Community Youth Gardens as part of the CYE programme - targeting the youth in the rural areas. These projects should also be linked to the Department of Agriculture's programme on small-scale farming i.e. funding, capacity building, etc. The ANC YL branches, especially those in rural provinces should be actively involved with these programmes. Comprehensive Health Care

33. The wealth of a nation resides in the physical, spiritual and mental health of its people. YL should support and follow-up on the implementation of a

comprehensive national healthcare insurance and ensure its implementation by 2005. This would go a long way in creating equitable access to healthcare for South Africa's people. We must also show our support for the government's efforts to ensure affordable access to medicine for the poor.

HIV and AIDS

34. HIV/AIDS remains a serious challenge to SA's young people. We need to increase the support for NGO's that work in combating the spread of HIV and AIDS among the youth, i.e. NAPWA. The ANC YL should continue its efforts for voluntary testing, awareness, providing support and care for those infected and affected in order to half the number of new infections by 2014.

Substance Abuse

35. We know that young people face huge socio-economic challenges and many fall prey to drug and alcohol abuses. The consequences of which is other evils such violence, crime, etc. The Youth League should play an active and leading role in campaigns aimed at raising awareness and reducing substance abuse as part of its programme. We also need a dedicated study on the extent and impact of drug and alcohol abuse on South Africa's young people. Human Resource Development (HRD)

36. The ANC YL Human Resource Development Strategy (2003) noted that "the chronic problem of unemployment stems from a lack of skills and a dedicated Human Resources Development Strategy". The HRD strategy has since been developed and places a great emphasis on the need to strike a balance between what education and training is provide and the needs of our economy. From this we now have a Skills Development Strategy, a Skills Fund, SETAs all of which aims to link training directly to the workplace and wider economy.

Primary and Higher Education:

37. The country's constitution guarantees that all South Africans have the right to 'basic education, including adult education'. Along with other states we further pledged to strive for "universal primary education" as part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's).

38. The process of transforming Higher Education needs to happen in earnest so as to match such education provision with the needs our country and economy. We need to advocate for more entrepreneurial training for graduates and promote high standards in public education. As captured in the YL's HRD Strategy we need to ensure the harmonization of legislation related to Higher education and Labour market policies to be able to make significant dent in the levels of youth unemployment..

39. We must continue pursuing various "redress

mechanisms" to achieve equity and broader admissions into institutions of higher learning. We must develop and utilise key national approaches i.e. youth & community service as part of the education process at this level.

40. The ANCYL needs to analyse and support the positive implications inherent in restructuring Higher Education that should lead to greater access and improved quality in education.

THE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

National & Provincial Youth Commissions

41. Since its inception in 1996, the National Youth Commission was tasked with developing comprehensive strategies and policies for youth development in SA. In this regard it has produced a National Youth Policy in 1997 and later the National Youth Development Policy Framework (2002) outlining the situation facing young people and the key strategies to address them. The NYC has also:-

- Initiated and launched numerous pilot programmes in concert with various government departments and institutions.
- Created and co-ordinates the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs.
- Successfully established and run a national toll free Youth Line,

42. But, over the past 8 years it has become clear that the NYC is experiencing a range of challenges such as:

- a. The profile and standing of national and provincial youth commissions are very low due to weak internal management, lack of adequate resources, ineffective policy & research capacity, poor co-ordination, confusion about roles and tensions in the sector,
- b. Inconsistent and disjointed alignments between the national and provincial commissions,
- c. Not a comprehensive strategy or plan on how to get government departments to support and implement youth policies and programmes,
- d. Inadequate resources and capacity to initiate effective youth programmes at national and provincial levels,
- e. Absence of a comprehensive action plan flowing from the Youth Policy,
- f. A clear lack of public awareness about its mandate and role,
- g. Unable to effectively monitor and evaluate whether government departments are implementing youth programmes,
- h. The role and function of Youth Commissions are being questioned once again especially with the existence of SAYC, UYF and with many youth leaders assuming key responsibilities in other structures of governance as

either Ministers, MEC's, MP's, MPL's, and Councillors, etc.

43. These challenges and realities have brought to the fore the question of whether the NYC in its current configuration is an adequate mechanism to respond to the situation facing young people in the current context?

Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF)

44. The Fund was formally established in 2001, with a very specific mandate to "facilitate for youth economic participation and skills development". As a demand and product of youth struggles it was announced by government at the Presidential Jobs Summit in 1998. This represented the most significant government intervention and would serve as a huge boost to our efforts for youth empowerment in South Africa.

45. The fund has allocated the bulk its resources for entrepreneurship support, training and financing. There have also been some initiatives and allocations to youth service and school-to-work programmes, youth advisory centres, establishing a youthline and capacity building. But the Umsobomvu Youth Fund itself has been challenged in a number of areas including:

- a. Inflexibility and lack of access to the resources by the majority of young people and their organisations,
- b. Problems of leadership and management style at the Fund,
- c. Bad and negative perceptions amongst the public and other youth organizations,
- d. Lack of accountability and collective ownership,
- e. Not really working with other youth agencies in the sector i.e. NYC, SAYC, etc,
- f. Operating like a youth organization and thereby undermining the role and place of the other important players in the sector,
- g. Lot of intermediaries which hampers youth's ability to access funding speedily,
- h. Openly operates like "a bank", taking limited risks and use very commercialized financing policies thereby excluding rather than including the majority of young people,

South African Youth Council

46. As indicated above the South African Youth Council was formed in 1997 in order to be a rallying point and a broad voice for the young people in South Africa. The Youth Council has however been beset with a range of problems since its inception. These include amongst others:

- a. A serious lack of vision and organizational capacity,
- b. No real and consistent youth programmes,
- c. Lack of resources and no consistent strategy to acquire such resources,
- d. Poor and ineffective leadership at both a national and provincial level,

e. Absence of constitutional forums for long periods thereby undermining accountability and representation of member organizations, ANCYL to take Corrective Measures

47. It is clear then that these three institutional structures which collectively represent our current efforts at dealing with the issues facing young people in SA are serious need of review. The ANCYL should thus as a matter of urgency take corrective steps to improve and sharpen our efforts with these youth agencies. We should consider the following:

- Open and honest questions should be asked about whether the NYC has not outlived its initial mandate, and if so, what other youth institutional mechanisms need then to be created. The ANC YL should ensure that there is a thorough review of both the National and Provincial Commissions. This review should in particular look at its achievements over the last 8 years, its role and mandate, structures and capacities. With regards to the NYC it might also be necessary consider other options such as engaging the ANC and other relevant players to change and/or increase the powers and functions of the NYC to become a more effective and relevant agency in responding to the needs of young people.
- On the other hand, the UYF strategies and structures are seriously flawed and we risk making very costly and serious mistakes. The YL should ensure that the Umsobomvu Youth Fund review and change its strategies, structures, programmes and broader funding policies in line with our broader youth development objectives. The Youth League should engage the Ministry of Labour with a view to also extend the mandate of the UYF beyond its current lifespan,
- Furthermore, the South African Youth Council has been slow and ineffective in performing its role i.e. represent and publicly campaign for the issues of youth, build organisation and ensure credibility, unity and overall co-ordination of the broader youth sector, etc. The YL should continue its efforts in rebuilding the South African Youth Council and ensure it assumes its rightful place. The YL Congress should identify these specific steps to be taken at strengthening the Youth Council at both a national and provincial level.

48. A more radical option would be the merging of the UYF and NYC into a single youth development agency with broader and clearer mandates. Such an agency could then focus on youth policy formulation, research as well as effective programme implementation. Such an agency should also be able to eliminate confusion about roles, tensions and competition and improve the overall political impact and influence on

other sectors and stakeholders. Together with the South African Youth Council such an agency could be able to collectively develop and guide the achievement of national youth development priorities.

Other Specific Youth Development Interventions

49. We now have a detailed implementation plan for the National Youth Service Programme (NYSP) and should see it launched in this year with clear achievable targets. The ANCYL must ensure that this momentum is not lost and ensure that we have a consistent rollout of Youth Service on a mass scale across the country. We must very clearly and proactively identify EPWP programme that can be converted as youth service programmes.

50. The ANC YL must also explore possibilities of merging or integrating the financing functions of various micro/macro lending institutions i.e. Khula, the UYF, Nations Trust, etc into a single entity such as a National Co-operative Bank.

51. YL should actively engage with the review of the National Student Finance Assistance Scheme (NSFAS) with a view to improving access to student finance for all youth.

52. There have been all kinds of delays and obstacles to the professionalisation of youth work in South Africa. The ANC YL should actively support the developing of standards for youth work, the creation of a professional board, etc.

53. The ANC YL should explore and support the process of creating co-operatives or youth community enterprises at local levels across the country. It would be important to identify the institutional mechanisms, set the necessary targets, funding etc for such co-operatives or youth community enterprises.

54. Sports play an important role in the development of the youth. It can reinforce a sense of national unity and reconciliation whilst at the same time fostering a healthier nation, i.e. Rugby World Cup (1995), Africa Cup of Nations (1996) and recently announcement that South Africa will be hosting the 2010 Soccer World Cup. The ANC YL should create a volunteer youth corps to build a spirit of voluntarism and patriotism in South Africa especially in the run up to World Cup 2010. Transforming sports in South Africa is still a long way off and the YL should play a proactive role in speeding this process. The ANC YL could establish a dedicated Sports Desk to develop policies and strategies of transforming and promoting the different sporting codes, encouraging greater women participation, etc. The YL should also explore ways to promote indigenous games and invest resources for the OR. Tambo Games.

ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

YOUTH AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Introduction

1. Benjamin Disraeli wrote in the 19th century that "The Youth of a Nation are the Trustees of Posterity". Amid Disraeli's conservative politics, his pronouncements underline a fundamental paradigm that youth development is seen as a fulcrum for societal articulation by many social forces, be they liberals, traditionalist, conformists or revolutionaries. By the same token, the integration of youth into the mainstream economy has become one of the fundamental challenges facing our country and our movement as we move towards the Second Decade of Democracy.

2. On 14 April 2004, the majority of the South African populus voted in their resounding majority for the African National Congress (ANC). This historical event did not only epitomize the successful closure of our first decade of constitutional democracy, but it also signified the confidence bestowed onto our movement in the next ten years of our national democratic transformation.

3. Despite loads of socio-economic strides which have significantly ushered a better life for many South Africa, scores of young people still remain outside the realm of labour market, and the majority of them still lack potable skills to effectively compete on the open labour market system, particularly blacks, young women, people with disabilities and the rural youth.

4. In a society like South Africa which is characterised by massive inequalities (as measured by the Gini co-efficiency index – which ranks South African as one of the top countries on the list of countries with skewed economic distribution), the democratic state should play a pivotal role in reversing these colonial and pseudo-colonial apartheid anomalies. A developmental state will always be charged with a responsibility to play a pivotal role in economic transformation.

5. Hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup by South Africa presents one of the most strategic milestones for the country to tactically mobilise its resources to fight poverty and grow the economy. The World Cup will provide South Africa with a spectacle within which the international community will look at the country, particularly in terms of capital injection, risk appetite and economic asset allocation. It presents a rally point for social capital investment, infrastructure development, foreign direct investment, wealth creation and economic empowerment.

6. It is these myriad of benefits presented by our second decade that a robust youth economic strategy need to be crafted and engineered in line with the ethos of our national democratic revolution (NDR). The

10 year visionary plan or strategy should provide a magnetic north which the focus and pull the country towards a better economic life for all. It should sharply depart from the many common theoretical philosophies and provide a robust action oriented and programmatic strategy.

7. In a sense, it will entail translating the 2004 ANC election manifesto in real terms into an actual programme of action to take South Africa in five and ten years to sustained growth and development. Accordingly, a radical move to micro-economic delivery and intervention should become an indispensable feature of second decade of democracy.

8. In sum, this document seeks to provoke critical thinking whilst providing a framework that should inform the youth economic development in the next decade of our democracy. It reviews the current material state of young South Africans against the past ten years of transformation. It delineates broad parameters of what could be the motive drivers of the youth economic programme. It argues that the Youth League should play a central role in the championing and rekindling of youth development through creating a 'nerve centre' to lead in youth development. It further argues that a robust youth economic strategy needs to take the characteristics of an integrated plan with comprehensive and bold objectives, focused with realistic milestones, and target based with practical time lines.

9. Its overarching philosophy will be the acceleration of socio-economic delivery to the majority of young South Africans. Invariably, this holistic programme will entail short-, medium- and long-term implementation strategies.

COMPREHENDING DIALECTIC DISPOSITIONS

10. Despite hostile global and domestic forces, South Africa prides itself of robust macro-economic stability, which remains the biggest challenge to be maintained and deepened as we move ten years forward. Inflation is at an all-time low in decades, labour markets remains peaceful, budget deficit and government indebtedness remains very low with surplus funds for social development, and trade is thriving with positive economic output.

11. In this context, the Stellenbosch Conference, and specifically the Mafikeng resolution stressed that the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy adopted in 1996 – the Gear – aimed, not replaced the RDP, to implement its commitment to macro-economic stability. The Conference saw Gear as a basis for

achieving macro-economic stability.

12. The key imperative is how do we productively deracialise and transform the South African economy from its legacy of colonial and apartheid past which has manifested in what our President correctly characterises as the two-economies: the few rich with vast opulence which is white in the main, and the majority black which is locked and languishing in grinding poverty. It is against this backdrop that our firm objectives to draw in the majority of our people and the youth (women and the disabled) will have to take a non-apologetic, radical and interventionist method.

13. The debate on the South African economy continues to draw interesting analysis and comments. There are those who believe that the South African economy is unison, and any changes to the economy should attract a minimalist role by government with the private sector commanding prominence.

14. The other view is the South Africa economy is a single economy which is dualistic in terms of articulation, i.e. the formal and peripheral economy. This view holds that we need to move towards fusing both these manifestations and move towards economic egalitarianism.

15. It is our view that the South African society is characterised by two economies, the first economy and the secondary economy which are racially skewed. It is our view that real economic transformation would be delivered if the racial disposition of these economies is radically overhauled through targeted, focus and systematic strategy by the government. It is incumbent to any developmental state that government should play a central role in bridging the economic gaps between the few opulent and the millions indigent.

16. Whilst government succeeded in achieving macro-economic stability which has delivered in the first economy, the biggest challenge of the second decade of our democracy is to intervene in the second economy. The second economy constitutes the structural manifestation of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation in our country. We concur with government strategy to further investment in the first economy to spur growth, development and modernisation of this economy.

17. Targeted intervention is required in the second economy to overcome poverty and unemployment, and to create opportunities from which all economic citizens can benefit, thus building a single economy.

18. There has been lack effective implementation of access to capital, particularly to those historically excluded from the economic mainstream. Access to finance is the heartbeat of any economic integration strategy and vibrancy. The current financial institutions in South Africa continue to apply a racially influenced credit extension practices.

19. While we endorse the spirit of the Financial Services Charter, its real impact on the majority of South Africa (looking at its numerical targets and qualitative milestones) will be very minimal. Government should set broad targets and timelines which will be the guide for these charters and accordingly measured.

20. Government should move towards establishing as part of the parastatals a financing house to avail capital to the majority which are still victims of racial oriented credit policy practices. It's only through such a state financing house that a real break of the current economic bridge would be eliminated.

21. Naturally, we endorse the financial commitment made by the government on injecting capital on these two economies.

22. However, the key strategic objectives will be to transform them from the current configuration. The first economy whose make-up is that of highly industrialised first world countries should be benefiting the majority of South Africa.

23. It is our position that there is nothing untoward or wrong with the championing of young people as entrepreneurs as we continue to transform our whole society. In this regard, youth should be understood as strata, and not as a class. The Strategy and Tactics document identified and endorsed a strategic disposition of creating a "patriotic bourgeois" as part and parcel of economic transformation. As the President pronounced at the 1999 BMF Conference that 'a black bourgeoisie' was a central pillar of government empowerment policy. It is also our view that the creation of black entrepreneurs will have to be congruent to a "broad-based empowerment strategy".

PROGRESS REVIEW – PRECEDING TEN YEARS

24. The Census 2001 found that the material conditions confronting young South African are worryingly ominous. The statistical evidence by Statistics South Africa demonstrates that over 70 per cent of the unemployed economically active population are young people (ages 14 to 35). Within the category of young people, African youth, rural youth and young women bear the brunt of grinding youth unemployment and under-employment. These high levels of unemployment among young people surely denote a national crisis to say the least. Moreover, these many young people lack skills and capital resources to integrate themselves into the mainstream economy.

25. It has always been our understanding as cadres of the movement that the NDR is a process of struggle that seeks the transfer of power to the people. When we talk of power, we mean political, social and economic control. The NDR has been understood in terms of phases at which certain objectives should be achieved which include the transformation where all organs of the state are controlled by the people.

26. The 21st Congress re-affirmed that the ANC Youth League 'is a critical instrument to ensure youth participation in the NDR'.

27. It is against this philosophy that we briefly review of where we come from, how far journey have we traversed and what has informed our journey as an organisation in achieving our goals, what detours have we come across, how many off-and-on ramps we had to take to strategically steer our course, and how far we have to travel and what locomotive measures will aid us to achieving our strategic revolutionary objective?

28. Clearly, the democratic forces in South Africa are not yet in control of all layers of power. Before looking at where this power is located, we must first understand what makes up the NDR. "Any revolution is defined in terms of its character and motive forces". When looking at the character of the NDR, we look specifically at the issues of power and the objectives of transformation.

29. The political power has yet to translate to the economic power to the majority of our citizens. On the one hand, though the first ten years of freedom have been ten years of growing unity in action; ten years of peace and stability; ten years of increasingly making resources in the hands of the state available to uplift disadvantaged South Africans; ten years of expanding opportunities to build a better life for all, quite clearly, a lot still have to be done to alter the distorted economic construction of colonial and apartheid racism.

30. On the other hand, we should be confident that major strides have been attained in dismantling the pillars of the apartheid economy which has been characterised by racial inequities, high inflation, economic stagnation and sluggish growth, depressed domestic and foreign investment, distorted market for factors of production, weak competition laws, hostile environment for new entrants, black-owned enterprises and small businesses, raise of unemployment and little value-addition to primary commodities.

31. Before 1994, economic growth in this country had ground to a halt. Since then, our economy has grown by 2,8% on average a year. It has become more competitive, with increasing volume, diversity and destinations of exports, and it has created 2 million net new jobs between 1996 and 2003. In summary, the ten years of prudential economic management have produced:

- Fiscal prudence with epitomised by low government's debt, thus providing necessary capital and real increases in spending on health, education, housing, social grants and other services.
- Improved Industrial relations typified by institutionalised protection of fundamental workers' rights, the critical role that is played by the

trade union movement in growth and development, and improved relations between the employers and workers.

- Increased numbers of black professionals in executive and technical positions, and necessary legislation on employment equity and Black Economic Empowerment.
- Job growth through the creation of 2-million net new jobs since 1995. But the number of people seeking work has sharply increased, thus resulting in the supply surpassing the demand.
- Monetary stability and the radical reduction of inflation which bodes well in protecting the purchasing power particularly for the poor.
- The strength of our currency remains a concern for our exports competitiveness.

32. In the overall for the youth of this country, today issues affecting young people are firmly placed on the national agenda. The institutionalisation of the National Youth Commission, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund, the South Africa Youth Council and the impending National Youth Task Group on Information Society are but few examples of the gains that we have secured as young people.

33. The adoption of the National Youth Services Programme, the National Youth Development Policy Framework, the National Youth Service programme, Policy framework for Youth Development and many other programmes on youth empowerment are remarkable milestones. Therefore, it becomes imperative that we maintain these gains and build on them.

PRE-EMPTORY INTERVENTIONS

34. As part of our revolutionary paradigm to transformation our country, we should ensure that our economic contradictions in social relations of production which manifest themselves in race, gender and demography are eliminated.

35. These include the engineering of a single South African economy away from the twin racial economy. Hence, the current economic antithesis can only be effectively eradicated through concrete and material reform of capital, landed property, wage labour and profits, state, foreign trade, and world markets (current international financial architecture).

36. Our 2004 Elections Manifesto through Vision 2014 commits us to job-creation and increased investment, poverty alleviation, broad-based Black Economic Empowerment and skills development.

37. It further outlines some of the critical programmes that will have to influence our integrated

youth development plan, and in particular the youth economic strategy which will have to be in strategic phases of implementation leading to 2014. These programmes include:

- Bringing down poverty by half through economic development, comprehensive social security, land reform and improved household and community assets.
- Reduction of unemployment by half through new jobs, assistance to small businesses, opportunities for self-employment.
- Supply of skills required by the economy, with an education system that is geared for productive work, good citizenship and a caring society.
- Ensure continued low interest rates and low inflation.
- Ensure a low government debt so that more resources are spent on attacking poverty, building economic infrastructure and creating work opportunities.

38. Further, the President in his 2004 state of the nation address committed government to:

- Invest more than R100-billion through government and state-owned enterprises in improving roads, rail and air transport as well as telecommunications and energy;
- To encourage more investment in key economic sectors such as manufacturing, information and communications technology, mining, and business services - this will further enhance our economy's competitiveness.
- Spend over R15-billion to facilitate broad-based Black Economic Empowerment which also benefits communities - including youth, women and people with disabilities - as well as workers and small businesses.
- Take more and more young people through learnerships so they can gain skills and work experience in order for them to access jobs; and intervene to ensure proper functioning of skills development authorities.
- Encourage the use of labour-intensive methods in sectors of the economy, including through the government procurement system.

39. We endorse these strategic economic interventions as a fundamental trajectory to integrate the majority into economic life.

40. The 21st Congress resolved that for economic

transformation to be meaningful and deepened, it is imperative that the state make strategic intervention in the economy through social and physical infrastructure investment, regulate the economy and offer financial and material support to the historically deprived. Our biggest challenges are to ensure that many of these initiatives translate into concrete programmes which will benefit the youth.

TOWARDS 2014: A PROGRAMMATIC PLAN

41. The piecemeal approach to youth development has undermined sustained efforts to addressing harsh realities facing young people. It has also robbed youth of this country the material benefits brought about by our constitutional democracy.

42. Hence, an integrated youth development programme, which is action-oriented, becomes pivotal to addressing mammoth challenges faced by youth of this country. In brief, we should further welcome the President's committed during his state of the nation address to raise the rate of investment in South Africa's formal economy, and implement a detailed programme to respond to the challenges of the informal economy.

43. However, more could have been said about the radical transformation of the South African financial and banking sectors which still remains a big impediment to economic absorption of many South Africans, in what could be called 'neo economic apartheid'.

44. Surely, government can and should create employment, but long-term employment depends largely on higher rates of private investment.

45. The programme should hinge, and rigorously address some of the tripartite economic hardships confronting the youth, incidentally which were identified and adopted at the 2003 Growth and Development Summit (DGS), that is lack of opportunities in labour markets, lack of youth self-employment resources and support, and lack of skills and critical training. This strategy should be take both a short and long term horizon, and be time orientated if it will succeed.

46. Accordingly, in the next ten years, youth unemployment should be halved to less than 35% of the unemployed economically active citizens.

EMPLOYMENT CREATION

47. Invariably, the existing initiatives on job creation should be retained and/or reinvigorated, as well as new measures should be introduced to accelerate youth integration into the labour market. These measures include, inter alia, (i) the National Youth Service Programme, (ii) Public Works Programmes (creation of 1 million job opportunities), (iii) infrastructure investment, (iv) land restitution and land reform, and (v) the

intensification of the Umsobomvu Youth Fund.

48. Job creation should be anchored on short-term interventions and long-term economic intervention. The former centres on large-scale public works programmes, measures to reduce job losses and intensive labour methods. The latter would include social capital investment, infrastructure development and systematically targeted mass labour measures of production, which many would be incongruent with the digital or information age. Furthermore, a "buy South African campaign" would also help expand domestic demand for South African goods.

NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMME

49. The NYSP should be linked with other initiatives which promote national development such as public works programme, infrastructure development and other relief funds, and accordingly be utilised as one of the key delivery mechanism on youth development. The labour-intensive nature of the PWP has proved significant absorption mechanism for drawing in youth into the labour market.

50. Particular PWP programmes should be assigned to young people, and 30% of the PWP budget should target youth, particularly rural youth. These projects should be co-ordinated under the NYSP. The NYSP Unit should be established as a matter of urgency with a clear action programme to oversee effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

YOUTH SOLIDARITY FUND

51. The fund which will be formed through a one-day wage by youth should be speedily launched. It is very pivotal in augmenting financial resources for youth development.

INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT

52. Clear guidelines (construction and post-construction phases) should be developed to provide for a particular focus on young people in terms of skills transfer, job creation, SMME development and maintenance.

53. The 2010 Soccer World Cup and the events around it should create jobs and fast-track some of the country's biggest projects. The over R21-billion investment that this event will attract should surely benefit young people. This effort will need an integrated approach which should display a full implementation of the current initiatives and other strategic programmes.

LAND REFORM AND RESTITUTION

54. The land restitution programme and land reform should speed up with 30% of agricultural land redistributed by 2014, combined with comprehensive assistance to emergent youth farmers. There can

never be a legitimate and credible land reform process if it does not benefit young people. The Department of Land Affairs should be engaged in this regard to ensure that land reform is sensitive to youth aspiration in this country.

55. Land ownership remains one of the strategic objectives of our revolutionary agenda, and as such our movement should be charged in the coming decade of our democracy with the task of ensuring real transformation in this area.

56. The debate about foreign ownership of South African land should be raised. This debate should be on the back of ensuring that the majority of South African is not left out of the arable and prime land in the country. The price of prime land in South Africa has become a worrying factor. A regime/system could be initiated where foreigners lease the land for a specified number of years with a full security of tenure, but not the deeds. This system should create a balance between access to land for majority of South Africans, whilst promoting foreign investment in our country. This arrangement will not be unique to South Africa.

SELF EMPLOYMENT AND ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

57. Despite numerous initiatives to promote entrepreneurship in South Africa, the effectiveness of this endeavour remains abortive. Both Ntsika Enterprise and Khula, and other statutory bodies such as Independent Development Corporation (IDC) have thus far failed to provide innovative leadership and strategies in real terms to integrate many small business aspirants. Youth is no exception. Ntsika and Khula should be reviewed with the aim of dissolving them and creating a new institutional mechanism.

58. The National Empowerment Fund as well as the Isibaya Fund of the PIC should strongly integrate in their mission statements how they seek to benefit in real terms the previously disadvantaged and particularly the youth.

59. While Umsobomvu Youth Fund has assisted numerous youth entrepreneurs, its impact has not been felt by many young people.

60. The 21 National Congress resolved that these agencies, including the National Development Agency (NDA) should explore at creating a Youth Bank, Credit Union and Food Bank, and lend financial and advisory support to youth in enterprise development. Evidence suggests otherwise. In addition, another Congress resolution that hasn't seen the light of the day is the formation of Youth Entrepreneurship Strategy.

61. Mineral development is one of the fundamental areas of focus that we should engage government in, and campaign around as a key measure to ensure youth integration in the economy.

62. In view of that, the promotion of youth entrepreneurs should primarily engender a reform to the current regulatory environment, promotion of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship education, small business support infrastructure, and access to financing and seed capital.

63. Youth entrepreneurship education is an integral strategy to sustain small business development. The Human Resources Development Strategy should be reviewed, and take into account provision of portable skills and opportunities for small business operators.

ACCESS TO CAPITAL

64. As noted above, the role that played by development funding institutions has been dismal, and should accordingly be re-evaluated against the performance of SMMEs in the country. Benchmarks should also be introduced to access their impact on entrepreneurship, and in particularly youth entrepreneurship.

65. Legislation should be promulgated to ensure those commercial banks avails funding to SMME development. This criterion could be part of the licensing of bank which would require amendments to the Bank Act or be part of the proposed Community Reinvestment legislation. Banks should visibly and practically demonstrate their departure and practically do away with their continued racist practice of "red-lining". We need to strengthen the campaign of the South African Communist Party in this regard which seeks to halt this discriminatory practice. Also, commercial bank should relaxation their lending credit policy to loans by youth entrepreneurs.

66. Government should seriously investigate possibilities and necessities to establishing a state financing house which will be part of the broad empowerment strategy. This financing house should be set to compete with commercial banks (at competitive rates), and aimed at empowering blacks, youth women and people with disabilities.

PROMOTION OF CO-OPERATIVES ENTERPRISES

67. The legislative framework on co-operatives should be rigorously implemented and linked to local economic development strategies. In addition, resources should be allocated for appropriate training and support.

68. Co-operatives, especially in the agricultural and tourism industry, can be used to address unemployment among rural youth, and ICTs in urban areas. Agriculture and tourism for example, have a huge potential for employment growth in the South Africa. This has the potential to generate food security for the nation, while generating wealth for the economically depressed rural communities. Accordingly, each Municipality across the country should at least have one youth co-operative.

69. A delineation of critical industries should be identified such as finance, mining, manufacturing, tourism information communication and technology as well the agriculture

70. In sum, benchmarking mechanisms and measuring tools should be formulated to track progress on youth entrepreneurship. The already existing institutional initiatives such as Umsobomvu Youth Fund, the National Youth Commission should play a pivotal role in this regard. An annual review on the progress should be integrated as but one of such critical measures. In view of above, in the next five years, youth entrepreneurship should reach 10%, improving to 15% levels in the next coming five years.

THE APEX FUND

71. In his 2004 national address, the President finally committed to a creation of an apex fund, which he said would be operational by the end of this year. The fund would be dedicated to the extension of micro-credit which will be a major milestone for the second economy, and youth development initiatives. The YL should engage with this issue very intimately.

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

72. Our approach to skills development should combine both academic and technical skills training, as well as in the main on-job-training. The key focus areas in this regard should include access to schooling, sufficient funding for post high school education, business development, learnerships and mentorship. The GDS resolution on this should be integrated as part of concrete goals and targets for youth capacity building. This endeavour is on-going, and after 10 years we should be able to have moved dramatically from the high social science output bias to a more technology, science and commerce output.

73. The state owned enterprises should play a critical role in human capital development, and government should accordingly position these institutions to discharge such functions.

74. SETAs need to be radically overhauled to be made more efficient and productive. Setas are at the core of government's skills development strategy for the reason that they fund the training of learners in different sectors of the economy. But, some of them have been plagued by underspending. In last year's audit, Setas had a total of R2,3bn in unspent funds, about half of which was reported to be committed to learnerships. As the organisation we should ensure that the targeted 72000 Seta learnerships set by the GDS for the end of May are met, and new target are set for the next five years.

PROCUREMENT

75. The current policy on government procurement falls far short to promote effective youth empow-

erment. One way to promote direct youth absorption into the labour market is through the government's procurement policy. When government awards its tenders, it takes into account various criteria, such as the racial and gender composition of the companies tendering.

76. Accordingly, other criteria should be added i.e. the proportion of young people on the company's payroll. The state's procurement process should also ensure that the current criteria set specific measures for empowering young people in terms of the stake in the procurement process. The same principle should be applied to the private sector. In the next 10 years, over 15 per cent of the state procurement should be by youth companies or organisations. The same principle is applicable to the private sector. Youth companies would participate on their own in this empowerment process, but also as part of consortia arrangements.

BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

77. While we fully support the targeted empowerment through the global and sectoral charter approach to redress the existing economic inequities, these initiatives fall short of clear benefit and empowerment of youth. Therefore, both youth and government should agree on how the BEE process would benefit the youth including setting of targets or percentages. Other measures could include:-

- Sectoral charters as well as the global charter should also include a particular percentage of youth ownership.
- Youth should be represented on the BEE structures and office(s), including the Black Economic Council.
- Clear policy guidelines should be agreed upon with regards to the R10 billion allocated to the Advisory Council on BEE, in terms of how it will be spent, and what percentage or what resources will be directed to youth empowerment.

78. The Empowerment Act still has various shortcomings. The lack of national guidance targets provides little benchmarking or synergy in terms of national BEE targets.

2010 SOCCER WORLD CUP – AN ECONOMIC CUP

79. South Africa will benefit from hosting the tournament, particularly in the long term. For example, before the World Cup was hosted in Seoul, the annual growth rate was about 4%. Afterwards it improved to 8.8%. The same could happen for South Africa. The 2010 World Cup will boost not only infrastructure, but the economy of South Africa as a whole. The World Cup will generate between R13-billion and R30-billion

for South Africa, according to estimates by planners in South Africa.

80. Thus, the ANCYL should strategically plan around this issue of how the benefits should extend directly and indirectly to young people. If the status quo is left unchallenged, big business and other opportunists will benefit at the expense of young people.

IMPLEMENTING THE STRATEGY

81. Unless we begin to think strategically, and strike while the iron is hot, we would find ourselves chasing behind the wave of transformation, a non-revolutionary trait that is not required of our cadres. Niccolli Machiavelli, a revolutionary that could not have summarised this paradigm any better asserted that:

"Once problems are recognised ahead of time, they can be easily be cured; but if you wait for them to present themselves, the medicine will be too late, for the disease will have become incurable. And what are the physicians say about the disease: at the beginning a disease is easy to cure but difficult to diagnose, but as time passes, not having been recognised or treated at the outset, it becomes easy to diagnose but difficult to cure" (The Prince, first published in 1532)

82. Accordingly, a social compact should be engendered in our strategic manoeuvres as we seek to champion a youth economic strategy in line with the broad integrated national youth development programme. It will have to include government, business, labour, academics, international development agencies and other strategic actors in economic development, and in particular the implementation of the government Micro-economic Reform Strategy. It will provide an impetus to our policy and strategy implementation whilst achieving our goal enunciated by our President when he proclaimed;

"Let us get down working in a people's contract to build a better South Africa and a better world".

83. Invariably, our focus will be futile if it take solely a national focus in view of the ever globalising economy. It is precisely the reason that we should reaffirm the YL 21st Congress resolution which enunciated that 'we should engage our international friends and allies in the campaign to restructure the international financial architecture. Given the foregoing, it is crucial that we emerge from the 22nd ANCYL

Conference with three clear programmatic objectives:

- The adoption of policy pointers and guidelines on the development of a long term youth development and empowerment strategy;
- The adoption of key strategic focus areas on youth employment and youth self-employment; and
- The necessary timelines and benchmarking mechanisms.

GOVERNANCE AND LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

1. The overwhelming victory of the African National Congress at this year's national election is a testimony that our people in their largest numbers believe that the ANC can provide a better life for them. It is testimony that as a movement we should embrace with humility. But, the task brought by this level of confidence presents the test to our movement to accelerate delivery to the masses of our people whom many still suffer from grinding poverty and unemployment.

2. By the same token, the national democratic revolution speaks of the need for the democratic forces to take charge of the commanding heights of our country. "when we talk of power, we mean political, social and economic control". Whether the democratic forces are in control of those commanding heights is debatable. Put differently, the democratic forces in South Africa are not yet in full control of all layers of power.

3. Thus, the biggest question we should be asking ourselves is: What is it that should be done through governance institutions to deliver prosperity and sustainable livelihood for our people in the next ten years and beyond?

4. Naturally, the effective emancipation of our people from the shackles of poverty and joblessness is through systematic plan of action, which sets clear time bound targets. The developmental state should be a central instrument to achieving these strategic objectives.

5. Our biggest governance related challenge as we move towards our second decade of our democracy is to get to the bottom of the problem regarding the shortcomings of the political management of our governance institutions.

6. We need to identify and understand the systemic problems that are preventing performance as we anticipated, above all finding workable, implementable mechanisms that will eventually lead to a better life for the urban and rural poor.

7. Governance relates to the systematic co-ordination in which a particular state or country is governed. Put simple, the government of the day would include the cabinet working hand in hand with the government departments and other institutions assisting government on governance. In its totality, governance would also include the legislature as well as the judiciary working as autonomous entities in the tri-

partite democratic governance.

8. The Balance of Forces document re-examines critical tasks for overhauling the state in the present epoch of national democratic transformation.

Some of the fundamental questions raised include:

- Whether the new philosophy that should guide each state organ is in place and do they command public resources to improve the lives of our, particularly the poor,
- Whether we have achieved in determining the size of the state congruent to the developmental tasks charged to the state,
- Whether we have been successful in prioritising the key focus areas (and accordingly identify those strategic objectives in line with our vision 2014),
- Whether we have created the sufficient balance between the macro-economic needs and the micro-economic imperatives to adequately address the basic essentials within the context of sustainable livelihood.

POINT OF DEPARTURE

9. ANC policy in the area of Public Service and Administration is contained in a variety of source documents, the most important being Ready to Govern (1992), the RDP document of 1994, the Constitution of 1996, the 21 National Congress, the most recent Strategy and Tactics adopted by the 51st National Conference of the ANC (2002), as well as resolutions on Public Service and Administration adopted by successive national conferences.

10. Transformation of the public service is key in achieving the overall aims of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). It has been our strategic mission in the last decade of our democracy, which should also be the driving force as we move towards the next ten years of democracy that we seek to build a developmental state, capable of implementing the objectives of our national democratic revolution, including the creation of a better life for all, addressing the legacy of apartheid colonialism and patriarchy, and acting as the driving force for socio-economic transformation.

11. Accordingly, the state as the key instrument for the delivery of basic services should develop appropriate systems and structures in order to facilitate a more quality and sustainable service delivery machinery.

12. The state owned enterprises should be an integral part of the state machinery, some of whose mission include operations as focused vehicles to enhance service delivery and achieve sustainable development, whilst others operate primarily as key input sectors in the economy.

13. Furthermore, the effective implementation of the new local government system will considerably advance the course of the NDR. Local government machinery faces the challenge of mobilising the masses of our people to actively participate in matters of governance, including integrated development plans (IDP's), budgeting, performance management and restructuring of service delivery.

14. The very fast pace of urbanisation poses a serious challenge on the governance objectives as the trekking of many from the rural communities put strain on the social capital, and undermines efforts to fast-track basic services.

15. Thus, the ANC's 51st Conference paper on governance outlined four strategic areas of engagement as central in the transformation of the public services, namely; leadership, structure, capability, and culture.

OVERALL REVIEW OF 1st DECADE OF DEMOCRACY

16. The last 10 years of our democracy witnessed an introduction of a range of institutions supporting democracy, manifesting the ANC's commitment to an active democratic, transparent and developmental state.

17. These institutions include: The Public Protector, The Human Rights Commission, Commission for Gender Equality, The Auditor General, National Prosecuting Authority, The Independent Electoral Commission, The Public Service Commission, Financial and Fiscal Commission, the Reserve Bank and others.

18. Government has enacted legislation such as the Public Finance Management Act and Protected Disclosures Act to limit the areas in which corruption can take place and is in the process of passing further legislation necessary to combat corruption.

19. Since April 1994, process of legislation making has also undergone fundamental transformation by introducing the values and principles of popular participation by forces outside the state through public hearings. The legislative formulation process which has been the domain of cabinet and government departments has been opened up for forces outside the state to advocate and initiate legislation or public policy.

20. A sombre evaluation of our engagement with

governance as we move towards the second decade of democracy points to the fact that we do not have an all embracing, coherent and integrated organisational strategy.

21. Therefore, it becomes imperative that as the ANCYL we develop a strategy in this regard to intensify political pressure and ensure that issues facing youth are rigorously part of the national discourse. This approach would integrate our analysis on national, provincial and local government, and more importantly the strategic decision by our movement to view local government as strategic points of delivery.

22. The 50th Conference of the ANC in Mafikeng adopted a detailed resolution on local government, which sought to give effect to the vision: "The people shall govern" and since then government has developed the necessary policy and legislative framework in the form of the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Demarcation Act, the Municipal Structures Act and the Municipal Systems Act and that as a result, a new system of local government was inaugurated in December 2000.

GOVERNANCE IN PERSPECTIVE

23. There may be many perspectives on governance, in terms of which institutions constitutes government. This comprehension would assist in the nature and kind of engagement that as an organisation (and as a society) we could be able to channel our efforts in influencing policy direction and implementation.

24. Governance in any society is understood within the context of the doctrine of trias politica. This principle denotes that governance in any state within the democratic framework is delineated into three pillars, and as such they should function and operate independently from each other and without undue influence.

25. These pillars are: the legislature (parliament) which passes the laws, the executive (cabinet) which implements and execute the so passed legislation and policies, and the judiciary (courts) which adjudicate on the laws in cases of abrogation as well as interpretation of laws. This division is also known as the separation of powers.

26. In the stricter sense of the law and this doctrine, only the executive arm is referred to as government, that is the cabinet (the presidency and the ministers, which include the state bureaucracy). It is interesting to note that the conference document of the ANC Stellenbosch Conference on this subject was titled "Governance and Legislative Issues".

27. However, there are other interpretations, which would include the legislature as part of governance. For the purposes of this discussion document, governance will denote the executive arm of governance, including the Chapter 9 institutions (institution

supporting democracy) as provided for in our constitution, and the legislature will be referred to as separate from government.

28. Thus, the focus should be placed on how these state governance machineries further enhance delivery of our programmes, and how we accelerate the pace of overhauling public service, making parliament more accessible to the general populace, looking at the current electoral system, and combating corruption.

29. By the same token we would want to know how these processes assist in placing issues of young people onto the "national agenda".

30. The consolidation of the democracy requires that the transformation of institutions of governance to ensure that they are capable of facilitating the pursuit of the goal of creating a better life and fostering sustainable livelihood, and promoting the culture and respect of fundamental human rights, non-racism and a new patriotism.

31. The challenge of nation building remains the primary task of the ANC for the full realisation of the NDR.

OUR ROLE IN GOVERNANCE TRANSFORMATION

32. Our role in the transformation of the state and the related governance institutions should be premised on our twin role that as an organisation we have set ourselves in the pursuit of the ANC vision and the realisation of the basic tenets of the NDR.

33. Our first point of call will be the consolidation of the gains that we have secured in our first decade of constitutional democracy, and particularly the reinvigoration of the institutional mechanisms such as the National Youth Commission, and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund.

34. Our role in influencing policy direction should embrace an integrated approach which will include not only the making of submission on pieces of legislation passed in national parliament, and the other two organs of governance, that is provincial and local governments.

35. Consequently, we need to establish within our organisation policy and parliamentary capacity or a unit to co-ordinate youth input and evaluation of policy and legislative developments.

36. We should utilise our deployed cadres in government to further push forward our strategic agenda in this regard. We should create strategic corridors of communication with government departments to pursue of goals of placing youth issues on the national agenda.

37. We should further utilise other institutional

mechanism within the movement such as the ANC study groups at the National Assembly and provinces, the Caucus, the Parliamentary Research Unit.

38. Other key multi-party forums such as the portfolio committees and the sub-committee on women, youth and people with disabilities should also be fully utilised in this regard. In addition, the Question and Answer session at the National Assembly should be strategically utilised to raise pertinent questions affecting youth to relevant Ministers and committees of parliament. This strategic engagement will equally apply to provincial and local governments.

39. All the structures of the youth league and our deployed cadres should accordingly work out a plan around these issues and ensure that the plan is carried to the letter.

40. Clearly, though we have succeeded to influence policy direction at national department, very little has been achieved at the legislative level as well as provinces and local governments.

PROGRAMMES AND CHALLENGES FOR THE NEXT DECADE

41. The Youth League needs to undertake a comprehensive assessment of the institutions that promote democracy and transformation, including the current youth structures created by the state.

42. The Youth League should develop mechanisms and strategies to strengthen the role of our branches and other appropriate organs of civil society in order to inform policy and legislation on issues that affect their lives by engaging with Parliamentary and Provincial Legislature committees through making submissions and participating in hearings.

43. We must intensify the fight against corruption in the private sector, the state and amongst our own cadres where-ever they find themselves. We should join the ANC nation-wide anti-corruption campaign, including a media campaign. We must promote mechanisms and institutions such as the national anti-corruption forum.

44. We must strengthen capacity to formulate, establish and implement policy in key areas of tariffs, revenue collection, target, priorities, human resources equity, performance utilization, service delivery and standards, with a special focus on access for the poor and marginalized in society.

45. The development of capacity for service delivery through the integration of a skills development workplace plan, greater standardisation of training across the public sector in line with the Human Resource Development strategy adopted for the public sector, the expansion of learnerships across all spheres of government, strategies to deal with the impact of HIV/AIDS on the public sector, service delivery targets in performance contracts of officials and

integrated development plans.

46. The Youth League should champion the integration of a number of state owned enterprises, including provincial and municipal enterprises, as significant strategic public assets that must be vigorously engaged to building an active developmental state.

47. Moreover, the accountability of public servants, particularly of deployed cadres should be monitored, by concentrating on service delivery indicators and the provisions of the code of ethics for public servants. The systems and capacity of frontline staff members, particularly of major service delivery institutions should be prioritised.

48. The Youth League should develop a programme to engage with the legislature in all three tiers of government with the aim of influencing and ensuring that lawmakers do take issues facing young people seriously. The Youth League should strengthen its guidelines and measures to improve accountability of our public representatives. We must also explore possibilities of increasing our cadres in these institutions. The NEC should provide leadership to ensure that deployed cadres wherever they are deployed in government or in legislatures organise themselves into a structure and forge a common agenda. This might include establishing an informal "youth caucus".

49. The NEC should investigate the co-ordination of the three tier of our governance system with a view of assessing how they constraint and contribute to effective delivery.

50. Local governance as fundamental measure to delivery should develop local development strategies taking into account youth principal development objectives. Thus, building strategic leadership within the municipal governance structures is crucial.

51. The consolidation of the institutions of traditional leadership should be in line with the ethos of the democratic order.

52. The NEC should lead in the development of both structural and human capital to pursue and benchmark our engagement and influence in policy formulation, state transformation and ensuring youth developmental agenda is on the national agenda.

CONCLUSION

53. It is imperative that as an organisation we should formulate strategies around the deepening of state transformation and governance. This is because many of our goal and objectives, be they economic, social or political, depend to a large degree on a strong system of governance which is responsive to the needs of young people.

54. The last 10 years of democracy has seen enormous changes on the apartheid state that we inherited, but the residuals of the apartheid past in

terms of management, culture and structures still remain.

55. Accordingly, we should build within our organisation the capabilities to respond to these critical challenges, ensuring that issues affecting youth are firmly placed on the national agenda. The development of our own policy objectives with clear time lines and benchmarked continuously, will be key.

International INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTRODUCTION

1. As the Youth League of the ANC, the organization's task is to support the policies and programmes of the ANC and the ANC-led government internationally and this informs our approach to international affairs. The challenges faced by the ANC on issues of the global economy and the contradictions of North-South relations are by extension challenges of the ANC Youth League.
2. Socio-political conflicts around matters of the economy transcend political borders. Communism as a major ideological current defining the global political-economic environment ceased to be a major force after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the Cold War era in the late 1980's and the subsequent abandoning of communist ideals by the Eastern block of European countries.
3. As the world experienced rapid globalization as most notably observed and acknowledged in the 1990's, neo-liberalism became the dominant ideology which defines our world, challenging the autonomy of nation-states and by extension challenging the ideological current of nationalism.
4. The Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC dialectically acknowledges the liberation and development of South Africa as a nation-state: "The liberation of South Africa was both a local expression of a changing world and part of the renewed efforts aimed at attaining international consensus on the most urgent questions facing humanity"
5. This statement correctly locates South Africa's freedom as an opportunity afforded by global dynamics and amongst these the demise of the Soviet Union which removed the threat of communism long associated with the ANC as South Africa's main liberation movement.
6. Of course the struggle by the masses of our people was decisive in putting internal pressure to the apartheid regime resulting in the political unbanning, release of political prisoners and the beginning of negotiations for a new democratic settlement.
7. This liberation was enabled granted the condition that the new ANC majority government would nonetheless exist within the dominant sway of market economy which would act as a constraint in terms of policy choices to meet the high economic expectations that accompanies political liberation. It was a result of the combination of internal pressure by the

masses of our people as well as the changing political configuration globally resulting in the end of the Cold War era.

SOLIDARITY

8. The ANC took over the reigns of government within the context of these possibilities and constraints. While on the national front a lot of policy measures and programmes have been put in place to advance the cause of the National Democratic Revolution the emergence of various movements to challenge the dominance of the North over the South resulting in huge economic inequalities has given the ANC an avenue for international solidarity.
9. This solidarity is premised in the main through interaction with international organizations that pursue the same interests as South Africa such as the Non-Aligned Movement, Socialist International, and the newly established G21 of countries that provided a "solidarity platform" at the Cancun WTO trade talks as well as the long existing former liberation movements of which some of them are now in power.
10. Solidarity is the principal phenomenon in the foreign policies of weaker nation-states such as South Africa, which alone may not be able to take on the might of the powerful blocks such as the US, the EU and Japan.
11. The strategy and tactics also acknowledges the centrality of solidarity amongst others of a differentiated approach between the role of the ANC as a liberation movement and the role of the State as government.
12. In this context, the ANC has pursued both party-to-party relations as well as governmental diplomatic relations.
13. The notion of solidarity finds more concrete expression in the growing recognizance of the role of economic regional blocks, highlighted by the rapid unification and expansion of the European Union.
14. The premise that the Strategy and Tactics moves from is that South Africa is an African country and her solidarity finds location within this reality.
15. It is the basic philosophical tenet of every nation-state that its foreign policy is to influence self-interest and this was captured more succinctly by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger when he declared that America had no permanent friends but

permanent interests.

16. South Africa's international interests therefore find this expression in the solidarity amongst international organizations and nations-states that holds objectives underlining our interests.

17. Such platforms of solidarity include the SADC and the AU, and of the latter, by extension include all the other regions in the continent. This gives meaning to the fact that South Africa is by natural disposition an African country and her priorities must reflect that her destiny is intertwined in the immediate with that of the SADC and the rest of the continent.

18. The whole concept of the African Renaissance explains the significance of solidarity at the level of all the African people. This is a call for unity in action and purpose; underpinned by the clarity that our destiny is intertwined by virtue of geographical location as well as the common history we share of oppression by the common oppressor that being the North.

19. Solidarity to us as South Africa is not just a policy choice but also a necessary dialectical disposition, in that we cannot survive on our own given our strength and the balance of forces internationally. It is for this reason that solidarity is so dominant in all our international activities.

OUR VISION, PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

20. Indeed South Africa must pursue at all internationally permissible costs her own interests. But the pursuit of these interests do not occur in the proverbial jungle but is one governed by values and principles which through application the country would create a precedence by which those values and principles may most likely be reciprocated and thereby act as international law or framework of international relations.

21. The constitution with regards to principles and values enshrines the kind of Africa the country would like to assist establish. Human rights, peace, democracy and stability are some of the principles that the country promotes throughout the continent and beyond.

22. Our participation as the ANC and as the ANC Youth League in international platforms and institutions is precisely to promote these values and principles.

23. The NEPAD represent our most comprehensive contribution towards modelling Africa's development to date. Together with the African Union, both initiatives serves as benchmark and framework within which Africa's political and economic path to progress, stability, democracy and prosperity for all can be achieved.

24. The sum of our values and principles which informs our interactions with other nations-states enabled us to stand against the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan on so-called pre-emptive actions by the Bush Administration against what is termed terrorist or terrorist supporting organizations and nation-states following the September 11 debacle.

25. This we argued was contrary to the principles of democracy and multilateralism in which instance the United Nations would have to give or deny the right of such invasions. Terrorism did not start on September 11, as in 1994 for instance, more than half a million perished in the Great Lakes while the whole world looked on.

26. We also fought to ban the manufacture of terrorist weapons such as landmines while the biggest manufacture of these weapons the US refused to agree to the banning.

27. South Africa's role in Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC, Lesotho and other parts of the world reflect our principles on peace and stability which would enable in turn the development of the continent and by extension our own country.

28. Our principles and values at times may therefore appear on the surface to be egalitarian but they are in fact underpinned by our selfish interests to ensure a sustainable environment for the development of our own country in the neighbourhood provided by the SADC region and the African continent. Our opposition to war is a firm undertaking informed by the promotion of our principles of human rights, peace, stability, democracy and combating the immensely negative impact conflicts have on women and children as many get raped and undergo various forms of gross human rights abuse. While assisting in brokering peace in other countries, we must steadfastly be conscious of our own interests, hence it is essential that in places like the Sudan, our peace negotiators must be accompanied by local business people to ensure that trade and investment deals post the conflicts on issues such as oil accrue benefits to our country, region and continent in that priority order.

29. Our vision is a world underpinned by justice enforced by multilateral institutions that must determine issues of global relations as opposed to the unilateral actions of the powerful countries. Sustainable development that balances socio-political relations in the exploitation of wealth on the one hand and the sustaining of the global environment to avoid global warming and environmental degradation on the other are some of the values that necessitated our hosting of the WCAR as well as the WSSD and our participation and support of the Millennium Developmental Goals.

30. Our vision includes the eradication of poverty and bringing about equity and sustainability on matters of international trade and finance.

GLOBALISATION

31. International finance and trade is governed by the fundamentals of the neo-liberal order, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the apparent demise of "communism" as pursued by the Eastern Europe block of countries.

32. The rise of the multinational corporations (MNC's) / transnational corporations (TNC's) has threatened the sovereignty of particularly the weaker states, including those of middle-income category such as South Africa.

33. One area of contestation around globalization is not the acknowledged irreversible integration of economies into a "global village" but the huge inequalities in this "global village" due to the fact that the differentiated impact which is negative to the South while positive to countries of the North.

34. Trade liberalization has been the pre-condition for international finance through the World Bank or IMF, where the former finances through the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) system to offset developmental backlogs not covered by the market while the latter through the Structural Adjustment Programme regime finances economic growth programmes.

35. While globalization as a phenomenon gained popularity more in the 1990's following the collapse of the Soviet Union as a serene heralding the universal hegemony and monopoly of neo-liberalism, actual unfolding of globalization is much older than this recent popularity.

36. The prevailing contradictions can be traced to decades and sometimes centuries of international development. One example is the inconsistency in the application of the rules around which developmental assistance is given such as the SAP regime of the IMF.

37. While the IMF pre-conditions were rejected duly so by the war devastated Western Europe after the Second World War, the same rules which amounts to underdevelopment of recipient nation-states are forced into the economies of Africa and other South economies with devastating effects.

38. Regulation of globalization with specific reference to international finance and trade, including the role of the volatile speculative financial markets, has become the universal call by the weaker economies.

39. The weaker economies call for fairness in the application of international economic rules such as those that applies to subsidy particularly of the agricultural sector. The EU and the US continue to subsidise massively their industries, particularly those experiencing difficulties in competing in the global market while this is refuted when suggested by economies of the South as part of the international

finance pre-conditions.

40. The tariffs in the developed countries are continuously high, making expensive Africa's exports to these countries while trade liberalization is again a precondition in Africa's case to receive international finance which ironically opens our economies to cheap imports that crowd out local entrepreneurship and by extension employment.

41. Solidarity underlines all our international interactions as we are by comparison to the EU, China, US and Japan a very small economy. Within the ambits of the international political organizations and the emerging voices of social movements collectively call for a globalization that is governed by the people as response to the negative effects of globalization. Some of these social movements are fairly conservative in their outlook and their role must be monitored not to offset our principal objectives internationally.

42. Our collective emphasis is to call for the hegemony of multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and the WTO, but to equally call for the democratization of these institutions to reflect the will of the people of the world as opposed to the interests of the powerful nation-states and MNC's / TNC's. These MNC's / TNC's benefit the owners of these entities as well as their home countries basically on three counts.

- Firstly, these MNC's / TNC's reinforce the neo-liberal agenda in practical form beyond the borders of their home countries.
- Secondly, these MNC's / TNC's assist with Balance of Payments in their home countries, thus enabling their home countries to have foreign currency outside the nexus of international trade to subsist in purchases of scarce foreign raw materials and commodities.
- Thirdly, these MNC's / TNC's assist to hold raw materials such as oil in foreign countries in the interests of their home countries in times of crisis such as sky rocketing prices by moderating such price increases in favour of their home countries.

43. This is why the powerful nation-states of the North holds in high esteem these MNC's / TNC's and even protect their global operating field.

44. Power, be it physical, political, economic or social, is the motto of all history, and as agents for global change, dialectically the avenue of people's power as in democracy (people's power) holds avenue with which to tilt the tide of globalization to our favour and the interests of the poor people of the world.

COMPLIMENTARY CONTRADICTIONS

45. Our foreign policies reflect traits that on the surface may be misread to be contradictory to our

national policies. This is largely due to the fact that the national scenario provides with a combination of possibilities and constraints slightly different from those of the international landscape.

46. As a nation-state, the global powers do not take us directly responsible for international environment while they take us closely responsible for our national policy as we are the presumed sole custodians in terms of final say.

47. Besides, the international front provides with allies that suffice to take on the powerful North and their MNC's / TNC's dialectically informed by the huge numbers of the people of the South and their powerful combined economic power and thus their political power.

48. These contradictions between national and international policies are not necessarily hostile towards one another but complementary as they individually demonstrate our tactical reading of the balance of forces within the given landscape.

49. It is this reality that may give us the outlook of leniency on the national front towards the free market economy while giving us a face of more radicalism on the international front because this is the objective environment globally under which we exist.

50. These complimentary contradictions give opportunity to our movement to express outside the limits and formalities of government diplomacy to challenge the dominant unfair system of international finance and trade.

51. On the international front, we have the opportunity to take the struggle against international capital (MNC's / TNC's, IMF, World Bank and countries of the North) because of the solidarity front provided for by the South to South relations we are party to as well as international organizations such as Socialist International, IUSY, WFDY and the Non-Aligned Movement.

52. Nationally though, we must continue to find survival and progress within the prevailing global economic order, ensure that foreign direct investment amongst others is injected into our economy.

53. There is therefore a complimentary relation between what our movement calls for nationally and internationally on the one hand and what government does both nationally and internationally. For example, while our movement may be critical of Ronald Reagan's policy towards South Africa in the 1980's, our government has the obligation for diplomatic purposes to honour his passing on. These are some of the complimentary contradictions between the role of the ANC and government.

54. On the local front, the NDR explains that the balance of forces has determined that we take the tac-

tical detours that we have assumed while the struggle for socialism in the Marxist-Leninist sense can only find practical expression on the international front ideologically.

55. All nation states that contest the current order ideologically implement a combination of free market principles and welfare state because the global system has not yet determined that socialism must become practical political and economic framework which case would be suicidal for one state alone to pursue as the Cold War confrontation may attest.

CHALLENGES FOR THE NEXT DECADE

56. The challenges of the next decade in the complex web of international relations are manifold. The collapse of the Soviet Union did not mean the end of ideological struggle and this must be explained to the oppressed people the world over.

57. People must understand that the ideas that we uphold about our political and economic environment emanates from our own advantaged or disadvantaged positions with regards to the means of the economy. Therefore the first and foremost challenge is to refine our ideological struggle as to understand correctly and comprehensively the powers at play in the international struggle in order to access the benefits of the world economy.

58. The second challenge is to understand that as a nation-state, we need to export principles and values that would be reciprocated to us in one form or the other, directly or indirectly. For example, nation-states that export terrorism and military conflicts into other countries may be the most likely recipients of terrorist attacks. Our developmental space is not defined exclusively by our political boundaries, and indeed what goes around comes around.

59. Having clarified to ourselves the balance of contradictions in the global landscape in terms of the pursuit of selfish interests by nation-states and MNC's / TNC's, the next important challenge becomes building viable institutions to make real our solidarity.

60. The G21 states of the South in Cancun represented amongst others by South Africa, China, India and Brazil demonstrate an axis around which the solidarity of the G8 can be countered in a realistic form. For the ANC Youth League, this entails ensuring that youth organizations that are progressive in these countries play a pivotal role in mobilizing their own people to ensure this emerging solidarity front is sustained.

61. The problem of the African continent is the problem of the lack of visionary, principled and democratic leadership that can ensure the establishment of the sustainable institutions of governmental and non-governmental development in order to realize the aims of the NEPAD. In addition, the youth of the Southern

African Youth Forum provide an immediate platform which must be strengthened to realize the stated historical objectives of leading in the African Renaissance, and of late in the consolidation of the NEPAD.

62. The PYU must move a step further and ensure that it represents the youth of all the nation-states member to the AU and not just a few countries. Statutory organs, in our case the NYC, must partake in shaping the affairs of their respective regional blocks' based youth organs such as the as yet to be formed SADC Youth Council as well as the PYU which latter has already resolved to be aligned to the AU structures.

63. The ratification of the AU organs and establishment of the African Parliament are some of the indicators of a continent in progress. Another challenge in the next decade is to eradicate poverty, combat the spread of HIV / AIDS and most importantly enable the youth to acquire skills and financial support to enable to lead in the economic reconstruction and development of the continent.

64. The main challenge facing the world today is not its lack of scientific knowledge to development but the North - South contradictions that make others super affluent while others remain extremely poor. This scenario is not a mere co-incidence but the result of decades of underdevelopment programmes engineered by the North against the South as part of the global struggle to accrue maximum benefit in the wealth of the world.

65. The Youth League's participation in IUSY and WFDY must reflect these ends. The Youth League must in general work for the creation of institutions capable of translating policies into real Programme between South Africa and the rest of the continent. In this regard, the Youth League must closely work with the DFA and the ANC International Affairs Subcommittee to enable better understanding, influence and support of ANC international policy.

66. The institutions that we must thrive to create and sustain must explain how we can make concrete meaning out of our solidarity with the people in areas of conflict and dictatorship such as Palestine, Haiti, Western Sahara, Spain, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Burundi, the DRC and other parts of the world as the situation may arise.

67. Bilaterals with organizations that are progressive such as the Cuban Communist Youth League, the All China Youth Federation, SWAPO Party Youth League, FRELIMO Youth League, JMPLA, ZANU PF Youth League, Chama Cha Mapinduzi Youth League, etc as well as IUSY, WFDY as well as member structures to these international youth bodies in all regions are key as starting points in pursuing international solidarity.

68. We must work to increase our capacity on international work as well as assist our bilateral partners in this regard to enable effective pursuit of our common internationalist ideals. The challenges of the past decade of freedom and democracy were to establish our values and principles in order to realize our common challenges of a just world order.

69. The challenges of the next decade towards 2014 is to put more effort in realizing our self interests which are intertwined with those of the SADC region, the African Continent and the rest of the South solidarity formation.

70. Through such solidarity formations and international networks, we must pursue making real the objectives of the NEPAD, Millennium Developmental Goals, the WCAR and the WSSD to eradicate global poverty, bring about stability, democracy and sustainable development.

71. All these issues we can pursue if we have a functional and vibrant international affairs organ of the Youth League that would work daily to implement these objectives.

CONCLUSION

72. Neo-liberalism is an ideological paradigm that benefits the powerful North and their surrogate MNC's / TNC's and have over the years destabilized the world through underdevelopment and the negative effects of speculative financial markets. When the interests of neo-liberalism are threatened however, as in through the recent spates of terrorism, the whole world is forced to make terrorism a national security priority even though other parts of the world including Africa experienced terrorism in far greater proportions before.

73. The challenge remains ideologically defining what must become a world priority in the developmental agenda of multilateral institutions amidst the arrogance of the powerful countries. It is an ideological battle to tilt development to the benefit of the South, the world poor and within this broad context these benefits must filter to us as a nation-state.

74. Our immediate challenge is that we ensure a South biased solidarity front exist and is strengthened, taking opportunity of our current favourable disposition amongst the progressive forces internationally.

Information Technology

INFORMATION & COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

1. South Africa celebrates its first decade of democracy with many achievements registered in terms of improving the lives of many of its citizens through access to development opportunities, access to information and social capital development. Invariably a lot still need to be done to ensure that the developmental agenda of the government is carried forward to attain the goals set in the Vision 2014 of the movement. Information technology and communication plays an integral part in this regard, particularly as a catalyst to achieving these objectives.
2. Pushing back the frontiers of poverty and the creation of a democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist South Africa are the focal tenets of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).
3. Bridging the digital divide is but one of the critical imperatives in ensuring that South Africa transformation is both deepened and sustainable.
4. The movement and government are committed to increase the role of innovation-led growth in our economy learning from other successful modern economies. It is recognized that inadequate investment in the drivers of innovation, in particular research and development, poses a threat because we risk the loss of key knowledge upon which our strategic industries are anchored.
5. The state has a key role in developing a national platform for research and development in order to improve our resource-based industries, for example mining and agriculture.
6. The Growth and Development Summit identified communication and technologies as amongst the sectors that should be attended to, given its wider impact on other economic sectors.
7. Notwithstanding the progress of the last ten years, a lot still need to be done to ensure that access to ICTs is not just a privilege, but a basic requirement of social transformation.
8. This document seeks, therefore, to reflect on some of the successes and future challenges, while at the same time proposing recommendations for adoption by congress.
9. In the context of this document, information and communications technologies refer to broadcast-

ing, telecommunications, Internet and printed media especially the newspaper industry.

GLOBAL INFORMATION SOCIETY

Technological revolution

10. In the last few decades of the second millennium, the world experienced an unprecedented technological revolution marked by the advent of digitization and recently the convergence of the information (computers) and communication technologies i.e. telephones, broadcasting, etc. In particular, the advent of the Internet in the last few decades of the 20th century ushered in the information revolution with far reaching impact on the global and national economies.

11. By its very nature the Internet has no boundaries and cuts across all sectors of the economy and social processes. As an enabler of technological convergence, the Internet has increased the use and applications of ICTs such as e-commerce, e-government, and tele-medicine.

The geo-politics of the information society

12. The wider application of ICTs across a spectrum of human activity is commonly referred to as the information society. The notion of the information society could be defined in terms of the maximum utilization and applications of information and communications technologies to achieve the national, continental and global development goals.

13. We talk about the maximum utilization and applications of ICTs because, in our view, technology is not just for the privileged few, but a strategic resource that could play a significant role in addressing the development challenges of the 21st century and possibly those of the entire or the greater part of the third millennium.

14. Our definition however resonates with the views of the range of progressive forces across the world that in the last few years have campaigned for the creation of an enabling environment for the wider diffusion of ICTs to address the common challenges of humanity, especially poverty eradication.

15. Different institutions have been established to co-ordinate the emerging development agenda such as the UN ICT Task Force which advises the Secretary-General of the UN and the Nepad e-Africa Commission that champions the development and

growth of the ICT sector within the broad Nepad agenda. Within the commission, focus programmes have been created targeting youth and women. The challenge is obviously to translate these commitments into tangible outputs.

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE INFORMATION AGE

16. In the last ten years of democracy, government made significant strides in the transformation of the ICT sector to meet the national goals of development. Regulating the sector to achieve these goals has not always been easy, considering the competing national and global vested interests.

17. There exists a strong lobby, which argues that government should not be involved in the regulation of the sector, as this task should be left to the markets. In the absence of progressive ICT policy thinkers outside government, at certain stages government appears to be under-siege [as presented by the media] although at the end national objectives are being met non-the-less.

18. The path adopted by government could be traced back to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which committed our movement and government to create a telecommunications sector which responds equitably to the needs of all South Africans.

19. The RDP noted that the telecommunications sector was crucial in the development of not only the ICT sector, but also other sectors of the economy as well. The crucial role of this sector in sustainable development was recognized from the outset, hence the RDP mandated government to address issues of affordability and access for priority customers such as schools and clinics as an attempt to encourage wider applications of telecommunications.

20. The democratic regulatory environment commenced with the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which laid foundation for the transformation of the telecommunications sector. Universal access, skill development, facilitating competition, was identified as some of the major policy options that would guide the growth and development of this crucial sector.

21. In 1999, the Broadcasting Act came into being. It repealed the apartheid legislation of 1956 and consolidated the earlier policy positions articulated in the Telecommunications Act.

22. Although regulating different sectors, both the telecommunications and broadcasting laws sought to promote the universal access to ICTs as part of the wider national effort aimed at addressing the apartheid legacy.

23. The new dispensation also saw the review of the Charter governing the SABC, and further committed government towards diversification of the sector to promote economic participation, local content includ-

ing language, cultural diversity and other critical values underpinning the democratic dispensation.

24. In an attempt to position South Africa as a model user of electronic commerce, government passed the Electronic Communications and Transaction Act in 2002, which create a legal framework for online transactions.

25. Amongst other provisions, the Act provides for the safety and security of online transactions including the verification of what is called electronic signatures. The Act also seeks to promote universal use of electronic commerce across the country, targeting all business segments especially Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs).

26. Different mechanisms are being created to implement the objects of the Act, including the recent establishment of the Domain Name Agency (DNA) to manage the country top-level domain name dot za (.za). The mandate of this agency is to determine and manage any domain name linked to dot.za, such as biko.za or tambo.za. In future it should be possible to have e-mail addresses that bear African names as well. Government proposed the creation of the agency because in its view, the dot.za top-level domain belongs to all the people of South Africa, and not the privileged few.

27. While the youth are considered the model users of the Internet, they are not represented in the DNA, a challenge that should be address as a matter of urgency. Besides lobbying for representation, the youth can also work towards the introduction of domain names, which identify with them and their interests such as youth.za.

28. The wider impact of the ICT sector across other sectors has also been accentuated by the convergence of telecommunications, Internet, and broadcasting technologies. Unlike in the past, today these services can today be delivered on a single platform. For example, a television can also act as a computer as vice versa; mobile phones can be used as radio sets and to access the Internet.

29. As a result of this convergence, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain the current separate regulations for the three sectors, and in the long run this could even inhibit growth in the sector. To maximize the advantages and opportunities of convergence, South Africa is in the process of finalizing a convergence law, which will merge the telecoms, broadcasting and Internet legislation.

30. One of the key proposals of the Convergence Bill is the change in the existing market structure, which will see the opening of more economic opportunities. Three license categories will be introduced as infrastructure, network and applications. Once this regime is introduced, it will be possible for a young person to apply only for the infrastructure license and

lease the infrastructure to the big players. It will no longer be compulsory for a telecom license to include infrastructure, network, and applications at once.

31. The debates around convergence are complex and still at an early stage. The Youth League should continue to empower members to understand the accompanying dynamics and the possible opportunities.

CURRENT PROGRAMMES

Universal access and diversity

32. Generally, universal access in this context refers to access to a basic telephone. It does not necessarily denote affordability, as outlined in the RDP, which noted the critical role of ICTs, particularly telecommunications in social and economic development.

33. To achieve universal access all operators, mobile and fixedline ones were given certain targets to implement as part of their license obligations. Critics continue to point out that Telkom's rollout of telephones to under-serviced areas, especially the poor households, were followed by massive disconnections. Reasons cited include high cost of telecommunications, difficulties experienced with regard to accessing certain rural communities, billing problems, etc.

34. To resolve the address problem, the SA Post Office has been asked to introduce a national address system as a matter of urgency. The process to rollout the extended address system, which will also cater for the informal settlements, is underway. The Youth League should pronounce its support for this initiative and call for its speedy implementation because of its impact on economic participation. People without access to addresses cannot access loans and credits from the financial institutions and other businesses.

35. The SABC is continuously being transformed into a people centered public broadcaster, although the challenges remain enormous. In 2002, the Broadcasting Act was amended to provide for the introduction of two regional services to promote the use of African languages on television.

36. There are serious challenges arising from the limited definition of universal access to infrastructure as it ignores other critical issues such as content. It really does not help to provide Internet and broadcast infrastructure whilst the content does not resonate with the needs and the aspirations of the people.

A national public sector youth station

37. An example of this anomaly, its the tendency to commercialize all services that target young people especially in broadcasting. All youth radio stations in South Africa are commercially based, a tendency we

wish to debunk with the proposed national public sector youth radio station.

38. As South Africa moves deeper into democracy, there exist a related need to create platforms for national youth discourse. Facilities should be created for engagement between the rural and urban youth, as opposed to the neo-liberal tendency to define young people in terms of their locations, yet they share a common future and challenge as South Africans of tomorrow.

39. It is our unwavering belief that a new youth station with a strong public focus can exist without distorting the current market configuration. The envisaged station should be 100% funded by government so that it does not side track from its mandate in the name of self-sustainability.

Skills development

40. In the mid 1990s, Government introduced and sponsored ICT Policy training in partnership with Wits and UNISA. Many of the current managers in the ICT sector were trained through these programmes.

41. The Institute for Satellite and Software Applications (ISSA) and the National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa (NEMISA) targeting especially young women from the disadvantaged communities were established to offer ICT postgraduate studies.

42. ISSA provides training in software and satellite applications while NEMISA is concerned with broadcasting technologies. Hitherto, a sizeable number of graduates have been produced, although the challenge remains the extent of which they are absorbed by the economy, especially those from NEMISA. To address this, ISSA has over the years evolved a model of encouraging its graduates to establish their own businesses as opposed to being job seekers; and NEMISA is beginning to follow that path.

43. Another challenge is the extent to which the country is able to use these resources to produce a wider skill base, beyond the training of graduates.

44. Congress should determine the feasibility of twinning these institutions with the ICT SETA to establish youth ICT literacy programmes in all districts. Economic participation,

45. The Presidency in its ten-year review document notes that the licensing of Cell-C made a significant contribution to the economy. As a result of this growth, many young people across the country operate phone shops and related services. The licensing of the Second Network Operator should also contribute positively to growth and development.

46. Telecommunications is certainly one of the strategic sectors of the economy such that, in addition to lobbying government, the youth through the Youth

Commission and Umsobomvu Youth Fund should lobby for more opportunities from the operators themselves.

47. Government has also implemented the first phase of licensing under-service area operators in areas with teledensity of less than 5 telephones for 100 people. These operators, with strong youth involvement, will be required to provide telecommunications services in rural areas.

48. Our experience with the broadcasting licensing, when young people were bought out upon the issuing of licenses calls for a stringent defense of the gains of young people.

49. Government should be lobbied to continue supporting these SMMEs, also using them to subsidize Internet access in rural areas.

50. The sale of SABC stations such as Highveld and Jacaranda to economic empowerment entities - although the content and format remained unchanged - was another significant development of the last 10 years.

51. It would seem from this case that the country managed to deal succinctly with ownership while control remains a challenge. We understand that the lack of control by black economic empowerment groups is mainly a commercial issue as many financed their shares through loans from the largely conservative financial institutions which have a long history of putting unworkable conditions on black business.

52. In addition, the racist advertising industry continues to be the ultimate arbitrator of broadcasting content in South Africa. Through the applications of outdated measurements, the advertising industry does little advertising in stations that target black people and the new empowerment black bourgeoisie has not helped the situation, hence the need for urgent state intervention.

53. Since this problem also affect the print media industry, government needs to raise its own muscle as the biggest single advertiser in the country. It is our unequivocal belief that government can alter the current media architecture by refocusing its advertising in a more focused way.

54. Towards the end of the 1990s, e-TV and green field radio stations (YFM, Kaya FM, etc) were licensed in the major urban areas. The commercial radio licensees were issued by the then Independent Broadcasting Authority in 1997.

55. At that time, all licensees boasted strong economic empowerment credentials. But soon after the licensing, many stations such as Kaya FM and YFM, KFM were ravaged by controversies related to the change in ownership as many empowerment groups struggled to finance their shares.

56. There were many casualties, including the youth. For example, the initial youth stake in YFM was severely diluted, as the bigger players could not meet their commitment made to the regulator to finance such stakes. While there is no friendship in business, congress should not shy away from the fact that some comrades were involved in dealing ruthlessly with empowerment groups, and Hosken Consolidated Investments is known for its heavy handedness.

57. In fact, government should consider the introduction of a window period, which will forbid the sale of shares by empowerment groups.

58. While there has been an upsurge of community radio stations, in the last ten years, the country has not been able to establish new newspapers in the tradition of the alternative press.

59. As a result, the print media is one of the most commercialized sectors of the economy. It is for this reason that the Media Development and Diversity Agency was established to support community publications.

60. While it is too early to measure the success of the agency, congress should reflect on possible mechanisms that could be employed that the MDDA, like other funds, do not perpetuate the current rural-urban divide, but work on the basis of clearly defined targets to meet the over all national objectives.

CHALLENGES AND ISSUES FOR ENGAGEMENT

Co-ordination and leadership

61. It is apparent that the ICT sector has become a new area of focus for the youth movement

62. From an institutional point of view the Youth League has been working with the Presidential National Commission on Information Society and Development to establish a Youth Task Team that will lobby and advocate for youth interests in the ICT sector.

63. The process is at an advanced stage, and congress should determine how we consolidate this initiative to ensure that the Task Group does not become a white elephant with no impact at all. Our experience with the Youth Council is very instructive.

Governance

64. A strategy is needed to guide the deployment of young people in state owned institutions so that our intervention should not only be structural, but should impact on policy issues in favour of youth. This participation should be linked to the efforts aimed at consolidating these institutions as active participants in social transformation.

65. Key state-owned institutions in the ICT sector

include the SABC, Sentech, the Universal Service Agency, and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa.

Policy direction

66. The youth of our country should also influence the national ICT policies. Our policy input should seek to promote broad based youth participation in the sector, as part of the broader agenda of our movement and government.

67. In this day and age of governance, the ANC YL needs a strong policy and research think tank to influence policy. While a lot of work should be carried by the Youth Task Group, the Youth Commission and to an extent the Youth Council that should not preclude the importance of a strong policy oversight responsibility that lies with the Youth League.

Human capital development

68. In the last few years, a number of training opportunities were created focusing on the production of a medium to top end skill base, indirectly (even though unintentionally), isolating a large mass of young people from the information society.

69. Congress should pronounce on the further need for training opportunities for non-graduate and the unemployed as intimated above.

Applications

70. In our submission to the ICT Charter we called for the establishment of the Regional Innovation Hubs across the country to facilitate youth entrepreneurship.

71. The hubs should also be utilized for young people to access distance education and to participate in electronic commerce. Moreover, the hubs should be focused on the applications of ICTs and other technologies in manufacturing, agriculture and tourism.

72. Resources should also be invested for sustainable youth participation in research and development, including the benefaction of the indigenous knowledge systems to address current economic challenges.

Media diversity

73. A variety of challenges continue to unfold in our efforts to broaden media diversity. In part our history of apartheid control of the media makes it difficult at time for the democratic government to intervene in the quest to create an equitable paradigm.

74. The media is an important shaper of public opinions, we should continue with innovative ways to influence the media agenda especially the policies

that define the media landscape.

75. In this path, congress should amongst other interventions consider the following:

- We should continue to monitor and influence the transformation of the SABC, by encouraging and supporting youth based programmes and productions.
- The process to establish a National Youth Radio station based at or as part of the SABC should be accelerated.
- Umsobomvu should partner with the Media Development and Diversity Agency to establish district community newspapers and radio stations as access to information and communications resources should not be on first come first served basis, but clear targets should be established.
- In the arts and culture sector, the Youth League should lobby for youth focused programmes particularly with regard to the work of the National Film and Video Foundation and the National Arts Council.
- Diversity cannot be achieved on first come first served basis, rather should be based on clearly defined national targets.

Universal access

76. Universal access plays an important role in the applications of information and communications technologies.

77. Rather than working haphazardly, congress should determine how different role players complement each other, by working on the basis of defined targets.

Interventions for consideration include:

- Roll-out of multi-purpose community centres, telecentres, cyber labs, public internet terminals should be accelerated with strong focus on poor local municipalities and priority sectors such as schools and clinics.
- The Universal Service Agency and the Post Office should be asked to franchise telecentres and Public Internet Terminals as an attempt to widen economic participation in the sector.
- MPCCs should be used as centres of excellence for youth training in different skills.

Economic engagement

78. The importance of youth participation in the ICT sector cannot be over emphasized. And learning from past experiences, the YL Congress should pro-

nounce on key principles that should underpin youth participation, including how to defend youth interests.

79. Support the call by the President for the transformation of the governance of the research councils. Rather than self-fulfilling research outputs, these councils should focus on poverty eradication, innovation and national development.

80. We need to build a strong monitoring and effective accountability in the implementation of the ICT Charter.

81. Strong institutional mechanisms and reporting lines should be developed to ensure that our youth representatives account to their constituency.

REGIONAL, CONTINENTAL AND GLOBAL CHALLENGES

82. African renaissance has evolved from being a foreign policy concern into a national policy imperative.

83. Congress should in view of the geo-political implications of the information society, reflect on how best the youth our country can work with other youth on the continent, the South and the world at large to advocate for the creation of a youth friendly ICT environment.

84. As a matter of utmost urgency, the Youth Task Group should work with the Nepad E-Africa Commission to establish a continental youth forum on ICTs, and this should take place ahead of the World Summit on Information Society scheduled for Tunisia in 2005.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ANCYL INTERNAL SYSTEMS

85. The Youth League as an organization is affected by the changing media and ICT landscape, such that innovative ways should be created to position the Youth League as a model user of ICTs.

86. The Youth League should establish itself as a model user of ICT resources, including the establishment and maintenance of a strong knowledge management facility.

87. All tiers of the organization should have well streamlined communications strategies and plans for youth mobilization.

88. Horizon, should be revived as a matter of great urgency to provide a forum for debates within the organization, and the ANC in general.

89. To also introduce an ANC YL History Monitoring Project to capture the history of the organization as it unfolds.

