

INTRODUCTION

1. Throughout its history and its various generations, the youth movement in our country has always demonstrated the **supreme understanding of the critical role that a strong and revolutionary organisation plays in the success of every revolution.**

2. A **strong organisation as a critical tool and platform to direct the course of revolution is crucial in the current phase of our struggle.** This must be coupled with a critical understanding of the conditions of struggle, a deeper appreciation of the conditions of the people it serves and most importantly the need from time to time to pause and assess the role and relevance in relation to the strategic objective of the revolution.

3. this is crucial for the ANC YL particularly as we prepare for our 23rd national congress scheduled for 1 – 6 April in Mangaung. It is this important and highest decision making forum of the YL that provides us with an opportunity **to assess and reevaluate our role within the broader context of the unfolding national democratic revolution.**

4. Naturally, and cognisant of our achievements and progress thus far, the main thrust must be on the **historical role and our tasks** of the YL as an organisation towards the success of the national democratic revolution as led by the ANC.

5. organisationally the review must attempt to continuously answer the question of the need to **adapt** (as an organisation) to the new political environment in a manner that must consolidate the role of the youth as the front rank combatant to advance and defend the gains of the revolution.

Common understanding on the historical role of the YL is critical as a common premise for all of us to engage with the assessment and review we must undertake.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE ANC YL

6. The ANC YL since its inception in 1943 has been established as an organisation of young people within the ANC, tasked with the responsibility to mobilise youth behind the vision of the ANC and champion its interest both within ANC and society in general.

7. Mobilisation of the masses of our youth behind ANC vision (of “new, democratic, non racial, non sexist and prosperous SA) and the ability to produce large reservoir of advanced, politically grounded cadreship that is steeped in the traditions of the congress movement has always preoccupied the YL throughout its history to date.

8. It is understood that success of the revolution and the future of the ANC is dependent on our ability to develop a politically conscious and front rank combatant/cadreship ready at all times (uvuk’ayibambe) to defend and advance the revolution.

9. Guided by the above, and the belief that, young people’s appreciation of democratic ideals is better consolidated if validated by their independent experience in struggle. The YL has fought and defended overtime the right to exist as an autonomous body within the structures of the ANC capable of fulfilling its mission.

10. Over time and based on its work (emancipation of our people) within and amongst the youth, the YL has emerged as a political movement of the youth, a vanguard of the progressive youth of our country committed to cause of fundamental change in our society. Consistent with our internationalist character the YL has and must always

remain a reliable ally of the progressive youth of Africa and the world committed to a just world order. This is the role that the youth league has played through its various generation who made immense contribution in our struggle.

ROLE OF VARIOUS YOUTH GENERATIONS (60s – 90s)

11. In the recent past (years) the YL has been engaged with the “continuous” challenge to **adapt to new conditions** and an “on going need” to modernise as an organisation. We argue that this task is continuous as it cannot be achieved overnight. Secondly any attempt that fails to understand the history (of the YL), the role and impact of the past generations of Youth will certainly not understand how the YL has evolved over time and therefore is bound to commit mistakes in locating the role and space of the ANC YL today.

12. The history of the **national democratic struggle** (in SA) is coloured with many heroic acts and sacrifices that youth has made in pursuit of freedom. Throughout different generations the youth of our country have made a huge impact in shaping the course of struggle and influencing the evolution of the broad national liberation movement as led by the ANC.

13. In the 1940s the YL led by its founders, played a critical role in the evolution of the ANC as revolutionary movement capable of organising the masses of our people behind various programmes i.e. mass defiance campaign etc. Through their conduct they changed the face of the ANC and the nature of the South African struggle at that time. Critical to this was the mobilisation of masses of our people (as their own liberators) against the apartheid system.

14 the direct consequence of this was the rooting of the ANC amongst ordinary masses of our people and the placing of

the youth at the cutting edge of the struggle for freedom, including occupying key leadership positions within the movement itself. Clearly during this period and through their conduct the ANC had entered a turning point in its life and has evolved into the movement we know it to be today.

15. with the banning of the national liberation movements in the 50s (including the ANC) the youth continued to play key and leading role in the establishment of MK, its operations and the overall underground political tasks.

16. In the 60s and 70s young people played a critical role in the life of MK and many political fronts where the struggle was waged. Committed to the struggle for freedom and sacrifices they made this generation inspired millions of our people behind the peoples struggle. in exile and through the ANC youth section they continued to play a critical role in the political life of the movement in exile, including the mobilisation of international solidarity against apartheid.

17. The era of the 80s was characterised by mass mobilisation and resistance to the apartheid system. Once again and through their various formations such as SASM, COSAS, SASO, AZASO/SANSCO, NUSAS and the glorious SAYCO the youth were on the fore front leading mass resistance against apartheid system. It is during this period and through their heroics in challenging the regime, that the youth of this era won themselves the name of the “Young Lions” from the late ANC president general Cde OR Tambo.

18. The era of the early nineties was characterised by the continued mobilisation behind the negotiations process as a terrain of struggle. Chief to our task was the mobilisation of youth and broader society behind this process, in terms of both challenges (mass protest in support of our demands) and the victories achieved on this front. With

the negations characterised as a terrain of struggle, support and confidence of our youth was critical if we were to succeed as movement.

19. on the other hand the apartheid regime orchestrated third force violence (against our people) as part of its negotiating strategy, and once again the Youth (in response to this) we central in spearheading the formation of the SDU to protect our communities. Organisationally this period was also characterised by the task of rebuilding the ANC YL in the country, both towards and past the re-launching congress.

20. The victory of the democratic movement during the 1994 elections marked the strategic breakthrough for the NDR. We say strategic in sense that the transfer of political power (through democratic elections) to the people created conditions for the liberation movement to embark on a process of fundamental transformation of our society in line with the vision of the freedom charter.

21. In line with this the immediate task of the newly elected ANC led Govt was to lay the required foundation (institutions and policy) necessary for the implementation of the process of change to build the new society.

22 correctly so the YL had to position itself to contribute in a manner that entrenches change and integrate youth development (institutional and at Policy level) as central to the developmental agenda as pursued by the new democratic state.

ORGANISATION: OUR EXPERIENCES IN THE LAST DECADE OF FREEDOM.

23. Guided by dialectics we fully understood that our relevance to the youth (even under democracy) will be determined by the ability to respond (in concrete and principled way) to material and concrete conditions that are facing

our youth.

24. Politically our task continued to be mobilisation of the youth of SA behind transformation project as led by the ANC and the democratic state. At a policy level our focal point was both the institutional mechanism as well as policy intervention that had to place youth development at the heart of our transformation.

25. but it was also clear from the onset that the nature and pace of transformation in our society was going to be affected by the nature of transition as emerged from the negotiated settlement. Our key political task therefore was the mobilisation of our youth behind the transformation and as at the same time champion youth development.

26. This mobilisation was to be undertaken with the objective of strengthening the democratic state in reversing apartheid legacy and build a new united non racial, non sexist a democratic society.

27. The establishment of the youth commission, UYF, national youth service etc were some of the interventions in an attempt to respond to challenges of youth development in our country.

28. Organisationally this period was characterised by the continued challenge of locating the role and space of our structures. This was the case as there lacked sufficient clarity on the role of structures as opposed to those of the democratic state, this related to rudimentary peoples organs like SDU, peoples courts etc. an issue which also contributed to low levels of youth activism within and amongst our structures.

29. during this period most of our senior cadreship also left due to age and some went to take up responsibilities within

institutions of the democratic state.

31. Politically this presented a departure of a generation baptised in the battles (and organisational methods) of the 80s does allowing the death defying generation/young lions of the late 80s and early nineties to ascend leadership responsibilities.

32. In membership terms and character of our cadreship was also changing from the hard core activist of the eighties and the early nineties to much more new cadreship initiated into the organisation during the period of legality and later democracy.

33. This period was marked by negotiations process, third force violence sponsored by the NNP govt and heightened mobilisation of our people behind the negotiation process as terrain of struggle. Secondly this period also witnessed the first democratic elections with the ANC being elected as a new democratic government tasked to lead transformation in our society.

34. It is during this first decade of democracy that in terms membership and cadreship there began to emerge those who were born after 1990. this generation which is still emerging within our ranks, is joining at a time when incarceration and death is no longer a factor as compared to the eighties. In fact their experience of struggle is that of normality and democracy.

35. This YL as an organisation had to find ways and means of responding to this change within its cadreship, constituency and the youth in general. The organisation had to find a way to adapt to this change in order to remain relevant and appealing to our youth.

36. This era was also beginning to influence how we operate and conduct our normal organisational work. We began exploring new methods of

organisational work (as opposed to the old) and some of the emergent youth cultures influenced the youth in number of ways.

37. Advances in the Information technology affected the manner we interact on conduct our work as an organisation, even though we still lack behind in exploiting new technological advances in pursuing our work amongst the youth.

38. That fact youth could access information (through new media platforms) much faster and efficiently than before, required a different approach on our side. The launch of the now defunct Horizon YL magazine distributed widely and lately Hlomelang as an online magazine was part of the attempts to respond to some of the challenges.

39. the so called information highway opened up our youth to various ideological onslaught led by forces of imperialism, that sought to depoliticise the youth weaken their link with the revolutionary movement. To this extend this agenda sought to hijack new and emergent youth cultures such as Kwaito and Hip-hop to define youth outside revolutionary movement (including the broad political task facing the youth in transforming society).

40. More dangerous to this were attempts to define the progress youth was making and opportunities thereof outside the achievements of the democratic dispensation. This presented itself as the most arrogant in attempts to depoliticise youth and de-link them from the movement.

41. ideologically the YL contested this space and managed to defeat this agenda and engaged with new youth cultures as part of continuous attempt of youth to define itself and their cultures under conditions of democracy.

42. we also experienced a decline in the

political education brought about a challenge in relation to the political conciseness and grounding of our leading cadres within various structures. This resulted in decline in the level of both organisational and political discipline within structures, thus undermining political capacity of our structures.

43. some of the challenges in relation to issues of discipline, unity and cohesion within our structures can be attributed to some of this issues. This can also include some of the foreign behaviours witnessed recently that the organisation has never witnessed before.

YOUTH MOBILISATION

44. the ANC YL is a critical tool of south Africa's youth in pursuit of total liberation. It functions as an organisational and political preparatory school of young activist of our movement. In its conduct it is guided by the strategic and tactical directions of the ANC.

45. Its twin tasks is the mobilisation of youth behind the vision of the movement and champion youth interest within the ANC and society in general. Guided by this we have an obligation to mobilise into our ranks majority of our youth and ensure their political consciousness. To this extent we must win over to our side young people form the broadest sections of society including those in minority areas.

46. Through out history the YL has been able to mobilise young people during different stage of the struggle. Even under democracy the YL and its programmes still enjoys the support of the majority of our youth. However we must acknowledge that there have been challenges in this regard.

47. We have over time understood the importance of understanding the nature, character, plight and location of the SA

youth. Any agenda that seeks to mobilise youth as sector must be informed by clear understanding of the youth it seeks to mobilise.

48. Obviously youth as a social strata is characterised by different interest groups and this may vary from school going age, working youth, unemployed etc. even these groups have their own different dynamics that as organisation we have to understand.

49. briefly we can argue that youth in its different age cohorts are found in different locations and are somehow faced by different challenges. Those in the 14 – 18 are largely found in secondary schools and have specific challenges facing them. Apart form the need for better schooling conditions and improved quality education this sector continues to be faced by challenges of teenage pregnancies, Hiv/aids, racial tensions and recently violence in schools.

50. The 18 – 27 is scattered between tertiary institutions, informal sector and limited formal sector employment. Those who graduate still faced by limited opportunities in terms of broad economic role and or quality decent job opportunities. We must emphasize that a large section of the category remains unemployed and battles conditions of poverty in our communities.

51. The 27 – 35 is confronted by challenges of unemployment, lack of relevant skills, housing, limited opportunities in terms of economic role either as workers or youth entrepreneurs. This category is also affected by challenges of alcohol/drug abuse, crime and Hiv/aids.

52. Despite the above, the advent of democracy and the gains the struggle has achieved, has presented young people with both opportunities and challenges. Today young people play an active role in the development of our

society and continue to explore various opportunities in areas of education, economy and skills development.

53. Consistent with the sustained economic growth in the last decade, we have witnessed a growing number of young people joining the ranks of the new and emerging black middle strata in our country.

54. whilst the section of the middle strata is increasing amongst our youth, the reality is that the majority of youth still remains confronted by challenges of poverty, access to education, lack of required skills (economy), unemployment etc.

55. it is in pursuance of our work that we must clearly understand each and every category, their plight including how we locate their role in building a new society and defending the revolution.

56. An example is the music industry and our role of ensuring that it produces positive role models who can contribute in building positive values in society. Our development angle must be a need to transform this industry in manner that can create quality and sustainable jobs amongst the youth.

57. the above simply illustrate the challenge, that we must be able to understand young people in a manner that enables our strategies to speak to both their task in developing society and issues of their own development.

58. we must be able to improve on the campaigning capacity of the YL around variety issues and politically mobilise youth in pursuance of a better society. Our organising strategy must pay a special attention to this particular point and this must include the role of YL branches.

59. despite this challenges the YL still enjoys the popular support amongst the youth in our society and this is

regardless of their social status. the organising strategy must seek to consolidate on this and speak to our approach in relation to minorities.

TOWARDS 2012 DISCIPLINE AND COHESION

60. having clarified issues in relation to the historical role, character and the political orientation of the YL, we must now focus on the tasks we face in consolidating the nature and type of organisation to drive this programme.

61. our entry here must be premised on the fact that ours is to educate and mobilise youth about our history, our struggle and the current content of the revolution, including its strategic objectives. .

62. in view of some of the experience and challenges highlighted in preceding sections we have a responsibility to consolidate and deepen the best traditions and practises of our movement amongst the new and emerging cadres of the organisation.

63. key to this is respect of the collective nature of organisation, commitment to discipline, comradeship, truthfulness, principle, democracy and respect for the decisions of the organisation. This must also include understanding the process of fair, open and democratic debate guided by the principle of democratic centralism.

64. We must be able to understand democratic centralism not as principle only, in its application within a democratic organisation like the ANC YL. A deeper appreciation and common understanding of this principle is crucial to ensure both political and organisational discipline and cohesion within the organisation.

65. This point is emphasised primarily because some amongst us have sought to undermine this in a manner that gives

prominence to individual view as opposed to collective discussions and binding decisions guided by broader engagement within structures.

66. for leadership structures the execution of this principle is at all time guided by the broader mandate assigned at congresses and as well as policy decisions made. This mandate and the manner in which our structures are constituted (representation of lower structures) this empowers higher structures to make decisions empowered by the view of lower levels.

67. Whilst leadership must form time to time ensure extensive engagement on crucial decisions within the organisation, this does not meant consultation on every aspect of decision making in the organisation.

68. In its own nature this principle is based on foundation of democratic debates in decision making processes, where open, robust and democratic debates are encouraged. However we must note that democratic engagement does not mean endless debates.

69. On the same note we must defeat a tendency that deliberately confuses dissent with endless debates that seeks to undermine the ability of the organisation to make decisions.

70. In its nature our movement and guided by this principle has always ensured a free and open democratic debates as a strength and principle, but at the same time demonstrated impatience with indecision particularly as it seeks to hold organisation at ransom because of an individual view.

71. the strength of every cadre is determined by the ability to respect and adhere by the majority view. YL has to continue to provide leadership to our youth by being true representative of their interests, and to this extent we must know that leadership is not

decreed but earned in the course of struggle to champion youth interests.

72. Therefore the capacity of our structures to execute our task will always be determined by our common appreciation of the above and ability to remain true to the interest of the poor and the unemployed youth.

73. our march to the centenary of the ANC and capacity to further deepen the revolution will be consolidated by our ability to develop a cadreship steeped and grounded around this principles.

TASKS AHEAD

74. **Modernisation:** like all living organisms the YL has to continuously keep pace with the changing environment in order to remain effective and relevant to the youth. At every stage /epoch of revolution the organisation is always required to structure and position itself in a manner that ensures maximum and dynamic link with the masses of our people.

75. this also applies to the YL in terms of its **organisational design** and structuring. We have to ask the question as to whether the current structuring is enabling enough for maximum and dynamic impact amongst the youth of our country.

76. Earlier in this document we did allude to the impact of the new era amongst our youth, we noted that over and above the traditional sections of youth (students, unemployed, working and rural youth) the new dispensation has seen the emergence of the middle strata which we must also mobilise and organise.

77. critical to our ability to reach and politicise these sections of youth is our structures and their design. To answer this we might have to probe deeper the

following questions

78. is the option of a **normal branch** as we know it today the best option of organisational presence our areas.

79. we raise this question because in the recent past branches of the YL have been battling with their roles in communities. This has over time affected the sustainability of our structures as organs of youth development in communities.

80. most of them seem to find it difficult to survive beyond congresses and even struggle with regular BGMs. what approaches do we need to ensure effective branches that meet regularly, implements programmes and continue to appeal to youth throughout.

81. In essence what type of programmes do we pursue. **How do we localise youth development** in a manner that makes sense and impact amongst young people in communities. How and to what extent (from the development point of view) can YL branches become watch dogs and pioneers within local development as led by municipalities.

82. majority of our wards are spatially large areas with population of no less than 3000 minimum. Most of our branches are made up of 100+ members with a handful of the BEC who battles to provide overall leadership to ward and ensure broad youth activism within the youth population.

83. **what type of structural and organisational set-up do we require to enable the YL to effectively reach/engage broadest sections of youth in our wards.**

84. Youth at **secondary schools** is not organised at school level (except in their communities and those where cosas exist). In the past schools used to be centres of heightened political activism

where both educational and many political battles were fought. The last few years and with the weaknesses of cosas we have seen a decline in the levels of political activism at schools level, which has left a vacuum.

85. Many challenges in relation to how we **deal with racism, transformation, violence and alcohol and drug abuse have gone unguided politically.** Without contesting the political space with cosas, can the YL re-engages with the student politics at secondary school.

86. Can we entertain the idea of establishing **YL units in schools** and if yes, what should their role be, what do they take and how do they relate with cosas.

87. Youth in the **creative industry** (whilst they belong to communities and should participate there) require a different approach and focus as they also command huge influence amongst the youth. What is the best platform to organise and keep them in the revolutionary camp.

88. How do we define our approach and permanent interaction with them in a manner that focus on development issues and consciountise them in relation to their tasks in the revolution.

89. what is our approach to the **working youth** that is located in various industries in the economy. Whilst some of these are unionised large part of them still remains unorganised. Working with COSATU the YL must develop methods to engage this category an industry based approach and focal points must be their task in strengthening progressive trade unions, including their role as workers in the development on industry and skills required amongst our people.

90. the emerging **middle strata** majority of which is located in the strategic centres of the economy is critical in the

overall development and transformation of the economy. The YL must be able to engage and define the tasks of this section consistent with our development paradigm.

91. We must ask a question, what constitute the task (today) of these **youth located in the critical centres of the economy**. Serious challenges have continued to confront us in relation to the organisational presence in rural areas.

92. The current format of the branch as we know it does not answer to challenges of **farms as small holding and villages** where population dynamics makes it difficult for a normal branch to exist as we know it.

93. The same will apply to **institutions of higher learning** where recently we have seen progress in the establishment of campus branches including improved working relations with SASCO, except in few area relations have deteriorated.

94. Inroads into the **minorities** still remain a challenge. Whilst we have branches in some traditional coloured areas, it still remain a challenge particularly in western cape and Gauteng. The other difficulty is in relation to both white and Indian youth. At a political level we need to find best platforms to engage with these sections of youth in terms of mobilising them into mainstream youth activism.

95. This more urgent as we continue to witness **incidents of racism amongst some sections of white youth** that is still made to believe racial discrimination can still survive in our country. The incidents of UFS and some traditional white schools are but a few examples of this.

96. In terms of future membership and cadreship there has emerged a discussion of the **so called "born frees"**, referring to those young people

who were born after 1990. this will be group that will not have experienced apartheid and its effect on the African majority in our country.

97. the assumption that is being made about this section of youth is that, by the mere fact of having born on the eve and or after the advent of democracy equals to being "apolitical" or less interest in the political life of society.

98. As the YL we believe that this is not the case as this youth is born out of a generation that not only suffered under apartheid but is still affected by its legacy. The fact that this youth lives and grows under conditions created by the system of apartheid, it is equally conscious of its history and shares that same passion to end it.

99. Our experience is that in the last general elections this section demonstrated its political awareness by registering and declaring their intention to vote for the movement. In our structures our membership and leadership is beginning to reflect to reflect the presence of this generation.

100. As the YL we must form time to time engage and ensure that the emergence of this generation is guided by congress tradition and culture that seeks to harness its potential. Politically we must prepare them to undertake challenges of struggle and development as pursued by the movement.

101. engagement with this questions must be aimed at how do we develop an approach that empowers the organisation to reach various sections of the youth in our society.

102. in the same vein we must ask whether the nature and design of the **membership system** is consistent with our agenda of development. Can we use this as a platform to link and facilitate development opportunities for young people.

103. we must also pay a special attention to the **organising strategy** of the YL. The engagement with some of the above sections must also be guided by a clear strategy that seeks to root the YL amongst various sections of our youth and as at the same time acknowledge the nature, creativity and some of the progressive youth cultures with the aim to positively enhance them.

104. as the YL we do acknowledge that youth does go through various stages of development and more often characterised by different behaviours, interest and sub-cultures. More often this behaviours and sub-cultures are misunderstood as some do when they relate with the so called "born frees".

105. our strategy must be able to correctly characterise every section of the youth, their interest and behaviours aimed at finding a way to link this with the broader developmental agenda we pursue as an organisation.

106. we have a challenge of building a more formidable **cadreship capable of tackling modern day challenges**. This must not only be grounded in terms of politics of the congress movement but must also be versatile and capable of tackling challenges of development in our country.

107. key to our weaknesses is also the development of **female cadreship** which in the recent past we have not been able to pay sufficient attention. Linked to this is the impact the constitutional clause on gender parity of ensuring 40% female representation in our structures has had on this challenge.

108. Clearly more women have been able to ascend to leadership responsibilities since the last congress. However we must assess whether as the YL guided by the task to develop broad female cadreship we have been able to

harness positively this decision and ensured that it further contribute to the creation of broad base of quality and capable female cadreship we require as an organisation.

Relationship with the ANC

109. the ANC YL is an organisational, mobilisational and training youth mass organ of the African national congress, in whose policy formulation we participate. The YL exist out of a conscious political decision of the ANC and as its youth organ our task is to rally youth behind the vision ANC and champion its interest. We therefore operate as an **autonomous organ** that is always bound by the political directives of the ANC.

110. to us autonomy does not mean political independence nor own ideological stance different from the ANC. however it provides space for the YL to convene and run congresses/programmes, initiate debate, engage, even disagree with the ANC on certain issues. This is done within the political discipline of the movement.

111. to us this autonomy is crucial in enabling YL the space and platform to champion youth interest (in the ANC and society) and defend the ANC at all times.

112. Because of our role (character and the dynamism we bring to the movement) around variety of issues, our autonomy has come under attack from those who do not believe in the youth league. Various attempts have been made to erode and reduce the YL from being an organisation to a sub committee type with limited space to play any political role in the life of the movement.

113. Youth faces challenges of poverty and unemployment that makes them vulnerable to all sorts of manipulations

within the movement. This has become a serious issue since our ascendancy to political office, which came with lots of opportunities and power for those deployed.

114. Youth has since become victims of patronage and manipulation, where their access to job opportunities is based on their support of certain positions within the movement. This is negatively affecting the youth league as the position and role you play around certain issues determines your access or lack thereof opportunities.

115. In some branches and regions structures of the YL are not supported or recognised by some in the ANC based on what and they support particularly on leadership question within the movement. This is demon we must defeat to enable a proper growth of YL cadreship and ensure a free environment that encourages independent political thinking and choices by our members and structures.

116. our task to defend the YL must be strengthened by heightened political consciousness, vigilance and discipline in engaging with challenges facing our movement. This must the task of every branch and every member of the YL and we must continually win ANC support on this. For us a strong YL will always mean a strong ANC.

Progressive Youth Alliance

117. Throughout history and since its conception the PYA has evolved into a platform of the mobilisation of various youth sections/organisations behind the NDR. PYA as a forum (alliance) of all progressive youth formations in the country has been able to mobilise youth across different sections of society behind the struggle against apartheid.

118. guided by the common vision of the freedom charter young people led by ANC YL, SASCO, COSAS and lately the

YCL have continued to mobilise youth behind the transformation (task of building a new society) and youth development. Broader sections of youth are continuously engaged behind various programmes.

119. this is done with a full understanding that our task is to continuously imbue youth with the congress spirit and traditions, ensure their political consciousness and commitment behind the ANC led transformation.

120. whilst all member components of the PYA have had to contend with the challenges of adapting to the conditions, they have also managed to sustain their contact with the youth of our country. Our structures continue to enjoy massive support amongst the youth as demonstrated by the recent political developments and major campaigns (as held).

121. some of the challenges/programme the PYA has successfully dealt with in the recent past include education, jobs for youth etc. at a political level we need strengthen our coordination and campaigning capacity on issues facing young people.

122. This must also include the political consciousness and ideological clarity of the youth in relation to the new society we seek to build. A PYA summit has to find a way in which we improve our engagement with issues of education, poverty, jobs for youth campaign, transformation etc, this must include the revival of SAYC and the need to broaden to involve more civil society youth

Closure

123. in pursuit of the revolution and cognisant of the both political and organisational challenges the YL faces, it is incumbent upon us the current generation of youth, at all times to

master the terrain and fully understand the type of environment under which we operate.

124. our work as front rank cadres of the revolution charged with the task of developing young cadres for the movement, must always be guided by deeper understanding our revolution, its content and contradictions it seeks to resolve. A deeper appreciation of the above must inspire all of our youth to, at all times sharpen their revolutionary theory, the role and space the YL has to play in defending and the advancing the national democratic revolution today.

125. The building of a strong organisation as a critical tool for the success of the revolution cannot over-emphasised.

Aluta continua

Annexure: ANC YL Branch Manual

Source material

ANC YL Manifesto 1944

ANC YL Policy document 1948

21st YL Congress “coming of age”

22nd YL congress document

Uvuk’Ayibambe

ANC strategy and tactics 2007 limpopo