

BUILDING A STRONG CAMPAIGNING YOUTH ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME

“Entrenching the hegemony of the ANCYL as a vibrant and militant economic freedom fighter”

The 1948 ANCYL basic policy document states the aims inter alia of the ANCYL as follows :

- At rallying and uniting African youth into one national front on the basis of African nationalism
- At giving force, direction, and vigour to the struggle for African National freedom, by assisting, supporting and reinforcing the National movement-ANC.
- At studying the political, economical and social problems of Africa and the world;
- At striving and working for the educational, moral and cultural advancement of the African youth.

1. It is clear from the above that the intention of the founders of the ANCYL was to build a vibrant, militant and a dynamic youth movement that will rally the youth behind the vision of the ANC. This generation even went further to radicalise the ANC. This was evidenced by the policy documents and the historical campaigns that changed the character of the ANC forever. The cry “Freedom in our Lifetime” became a rallying call for the youth to be active in the liberation struggle. It is therefore this character of the ANCYL that must be revived and renewed within the context of organizational renewal. The process of organizational renewal is initiated to renew the organisation to discharge its mandate as stated by the constitution, founding policy documents and congress resolutions. The process of renewal must strengthen the organization to be able to campaign for economic freedom in our lifetime.

2. The preamble of the ANCYL Constitution states the following:

3. The African National Congress Youth League was founded in 1944 as an organization of the Youth committed to the ideals of democracy, freedom and peace, it is governed and adheres to the policies and programs of the ANC, and its existence is derived from the constitution of the ANC. The Youth League is a mass youth formation of the ANC committed to the creation of a non sexist, non-racial, democratic and a prosperous South Africa.

4. It shall rally all the youth of our Country to play an active part in the struggles of the community and in the building and defence of democracy. In doing so the ANCYL shall strive to achieve fundamental social change for the benefit of all young people. It shall endure to unite the youth of our country to take their rightful place in the affairs of the country. The Youth League has over the years organised young people to play a critical role in the struggle for liberation culminating in the democratic breakthrough of 1994 which opened up opportunities for the democratic government to advance the NDR.
5. It is this campaigning capacity of the ANCYL that we must revive in all structures of the organization. From our branches, regions and provinces, the organization must be vibrant and dynamic as a living organism. Organizational renewal must heal the cancer of seasonal branches; revive the manner in which our structures operate, from being meetings only structures to being political forums and campaign structures. With the influence of information technology in society, the Youth League should be more innovative, creative and dynamic without eroding organizational culture to be able to mobilize the youth of today. The youth league must effectively utilize the creative talent and knowledge that exists within its membership to be able to influence society.
6. Organizational renewal must also strengthen the organization to be able to implement congress and meeting resolutions. The renewal process must enable the organization to effectively use modern technology to strengthen the campaigning machinery of the organization.

A CAMPAIGNING ORGANISATION

7. A Campaigning organization has the following features but not limited to:
 - It's a militant representation of its own constituency.
 - Is the one that works together with youth civil society organizations on issue based projects and on sectoral campaigns.
 - It's an organization that has daily and weekly programs that involves its membership.
 - A campaigning organizations should be comprised of an activist membership that is ready to volunteer its services in all sectors of society. It must be a membership that is ready to campaign on all community issues. An activist membership must be found in all sectors of society, non-governmental organisations, sports federations, community development forums etc.

- An activist membership that will spend its time, life and dedicate itself in the service of the people.
 - A campaigning organization is a weapon in the hands of the people and the youth in our case to change the material conditions of the poor.
8. An organization whose interest is to serve the people and champion the socio-political interest of the youth in society at large.
- The Imvuselelo campaign is an ANC campaign aimed at building strong and vibrant ANC branches, which are capable of providing leadership to all sectors of the population and which are visible in community development efforts and struggles at ward level.
 - The 52 Polokwane National Conference resolved that the Imvuselelo campaign will intensify branch work in each community, to ensure sustainable mass work and establish ANC branches as vanguard of their communities, and to make branches the focus of political and ideological work for cadreship of the movement.
 - The campaign's primary target is the membership and branches of our movement and it finds expression through dynamic contact with the masses of our movement.
9. In recognition of its history of campaigns and the desire to renew it, the ANC resolved to implement the Imvuselelo Campaign:
- The Imvuselelo campaign is an ANC campaign aimed at building strong and vibrant ANC branches, which are capable of providing leadership to all sectors of the population and which are visible in community development efforts and struggles at ward level.
 - The 52 Polokwane National Conference resolved that the Imvuselelo campaign will intensify branch work in each community, to ensure sustainable mass work and establish ANC branches as vanguard of their communities, and to make branches the focus of political and ideological work for cadreship of the movement.
 - The campaign's primary target is the membership and branches of our movement and it finds expression through dynamic contact with the masses of our movement.

10. Broadly, the ANC Youth League should seek to renew itself within the context of the Imvuselelo Campaign as it is aimed at rebuilding the structures of the movement. Branches of the ANCYL should use this opportunity to rebuild its interaction and connection with the youth. Mass mobilisation should be the cornerstone of the organisational activities complemented by the productive intellectual discussions that seek to influence society. These ideas should never be about who should be deployed or lead structures, but should forever be located within a political programme. With the Youth League political programme being that of Economic Freedom in our lifetime, whatever the organisation does should be aligned to this programme.
11. The ANCYL serves as a preparatory school for young members and leaders, by harnessing their energy, innovation and enthusiasm in the transformation process. As a mass movement of young men and women, it should also provide young activists with practical experiences of mass work, problem solving and services to the people. In addition it should mobilise and champion youth interest in the ANC and broader society.
12. It is through creativity, innovative campaigns that the ANCYL must maintain its mass based character and its dynamic role in society.

THE BEST OF WHAT THE ANCYL STANDS FOR

13. The African National Congress will be celebrating its 100 years of existence in 2012. The ANC's 100 years of existence is a celebration of a dynamic organisational growth, development and renewal which was neither homogeneous nor constant in political strategies and ideological stances that were taken to adapt to evolving history. The durability and sustenance of the ANC happened because it was able to re-adjust and adapt to various objective and subjective conditions in its historical development and growth. The role of the ANCYL, which was launched 32 years after the launch of the ANC is undeniably profound and contributed immensely to many features that define the ANC to this day. Organisational renewal, growth and development of the ANC Youth League should therefore be understood within the character and politics of the ANC because the ANC Youth League is a political wing of the ANC.
14. At its formation in 1944, the ANC Youth League was not only positioned to mobilise young people behind the vision of the ANC, and championing their interests, the Congress Youth League (earlier reference to the ANCYL) was rather positioned as a formation determined to give new impetus, radicalise and energise the African National Congress into a fighting force for people's liberation. The ANC Youth League's relationship to the ANC is historically more of a political relationship than a paternal/maternal relationship, clearly defined more by political programmes and strategies which sought to give the ANC new energy. The League was never a junior congress, but a political youth wing of the ANC, with profound influence on its direction.

15. The ANC Youth League's 1944 Manifesto and 1948 Programme of Action went a long way in re-shaping and revolutionising the political, organisational and ideological character of the ANC. Only five years after its formation, the ANC Youth League was able to influence and change the ANC into a fighting liberation movement with clearly defined ideology, strategies and methods of engagement. This happened against massive opposition from the ANC leadership, which sometimes believed that the rise of youth militancy would compromise the earlier character of the ANC of peaceful resistance, deputations and petitions with the hope that the colonial masters will show goodwill and allow rights and freedoms to civilised black people.
16. It is against this background that the renewal perspective should strengthen the ANCYL to perform its historical task of being a militant campaigning youth movement. It must discuss and develop concrete positions on the following aspects of organisational growth and development:
- Character of the ANC Youth League and its relationship to the ANC;
 - Autonomy of the ANC Youth League;
 - Organisational Democracy;
 - Organisational discipline;
 - Organisational development and growth;
 - Political education;
 - Political programme of the ANC Youth League.
17. It is important to make precise political reflections on organisational renewal in order to politically, organisationally and ideologically prepare the ANC Youth League for the revolutionary political programme it will pursue in the present conjuncture and times ahead. This generation of young activists have defined the political programme as that of '**Youth Action for Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime**'. The struggles for attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime is not empty rhetoric, but a political programme that requires resolute, very firm and decisive individual and collective efforts of all ANC YL members and structures. Organisational renewal should therefore be understood within a political programme of economic freedom in our lifetime.
18. Again, to carry this revolutionary programme the ANCYL must capture the imagination of the ANC and convince its structures that this is meant to achieve the total emancipation of our people. Unlike in 1949, the ANCYL today uses the Freedom Charter, which the ANC has adopted, as a guiding document to its perspective. This must happen through rigorous and fearless engagement with the ANC at all levels, and the working strategy is for the ANC YL to significantly engage with regional structures and branches.
19. As argued somewhere, the ANC is the strategic centre of power. For effective and fundamental alteration in the ownership of the means of production in favour of the historically oppressed black majority, the ANC YL must place the ANC at the centre of this programme. As a ruling party and leader of progressive forces it would enact laws, adopt progressive policy in government and mobilise all the social forces to support the programme of action. The ANC YL must posit a militant and radical programme of action

at the doorstep of the ANC, as the last massive onslaught on a apartheid legacy and the visible change in the ownership patterns of the economic power in the country.

CHARACTER OF SA YOUTH

20. The advent of colonialism, capitalism and apartheid in South Africa has subjected young people to adverse political, social, cultural and economic conditions which define their existence. Capitalist oppression and patriarchy lineation and ideological domination by the bourgeoisie (through culture, education, media, and religion) suppressed their potential for development. Even though young people have always been a social strata of South African society, they have been overlooked and controlled by governments that had little intention in advancing their well being. They experienced abject poverty, restricted and segregated access to education, social degradation and brutal oppression of their potentials by the system and their communities. The Apartheid government did not develop specific policies or programs to address the equal development of young women and men.
21. However from the earliest decades of the last century young people have asserted themselves by forming youth organizations, protesting against injustices, fighting for better education and better living conditions.
22. As the old Apartheid order was being destroyed, and the transition to post apartheid South Africa was clearly irreversible, key issues that the South African youth has had to grapple with were:
 - Levels of political mobilization of young people;
 - The growth of youth development discourse;
 - The institutionalisation of youth development;
 - The reorientation of the progressive youth movement;
 - The weakening of the progressive youth sector; and
 - The development of significant youth culture, identity and expression.
23. Youth is a dynamic social construct which is characterised by youthful energy, enthusiasm, ambition and creativity. In modern day society many observers have described the youth as political born frees, ayoba generation, consumerist and

materialistic. Recently a study has said the youth as a social construct is a segment of the population that is violent, unruly and indisciplined.

24. On the contrary the high turnout of young people in all the previous elections and recently the National elections show the level of consciousness amongst the youth and their appreciation that the ANC is the only organization that can address their socio-economic challenges. Their enthusiastic support for the World Cup has also shown the people of the world that South Africa has a largely young caring population. This youth that constitutes the majority of our population is mostly influenced progressively, and continues to stand on the side of change. Majority of the youth is more determined to resolve the challenges existing in our society.

25. In broad outline, as reaffirmed by our first ever NGC, key issues that define the circumstances of the South African Youth today are:

- High levels of youth unemployment and the exclusion of the youth from the mainstream economy;
- Alcohol and drug abuse;
- HIV/AIDS;
- Education;
- Sports and recreation;
- Nationalisation of mines;
- Generational mix in all sectors of society;
- Cultural identity.

26. Thus Marx and Engels said that, "thoughts were not passive and independent reflections of the material world, but products of human labour, and the contradictions of our thoughts had their origin in the contradictions within human society". The manner in which the youth think and behave as a social factor has its origins from society. The youth's thinking and consciousness is largely influenced by societal conditions. For us to build a campaigning organization, we need to clearly understand the character of today's youth as a dynamic social construct. We need to campaign to address youth issues and social ills in general.

CHARACTER OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE ANC

27. The history of the African National Congress Youth League is undeniably a revolutionalising history of South Africa. The young and dedicated activists who gathered at the Bantu Men's Social Centre on the 10th of September 1944 to launch the ANC Youth League subsequently became the true and dedicated revolutionaries who altogether changed South Africa's political atmosphere. When the founding generation of the ANC YL proclaimed **FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME** in 1944, few people had the hope that there was a possibility that ultimately, black people and women in South Africa will gain the freedom, rights and independence to choose a government of their own and collectively define their political, social and economic destiny. The formation of the ANC YL radically reshaped the methods of struggle against oppression and gave new energy to the entire ANC led National Liberation Movement.
28. The ANC YL was formed to supplement, consolidate and give new impetus to the struggle against racial oppression as championed by the ANC. Although presented as a means to mobilise young people behind the vision of the ANC and mobilising their interests, the formation of the ANC Youth League was more about a concrete political intention and programme to radicalise the ANC within its original objectives of uniting the black majority and Africans in particular. Somewhat, the ANC Youth League's political strategies and tactics towards the ANC were entryist due to the reality that in character, the ANC has accepted pacifist methods of mobilisation without offending the illegitimate colonial government, which excluded the black majority. At the outset, the ANC Youth League acted not as a subordinate of, but as a body of opinion in the ANC, and this feature was elementary to its success in reshaping the character of the ANC.
29. Within the first five years of its formation, the ANC Youth League was able to decisively influence the ANC to adopt a more radical, forthright and confrontational political programme which fundamentally transformed the ANC into a mass mobilisation movement and campaigner against racial segregation and economic subjugation. This happened against a backdrop of serious political and ideological resistance from within the leadership of the ANC. Almost the entire leadership of the ANC was convinced that ANC YL sponsored radical decisions and steps in changing the character of the ANC will lead to its downfall. The extent of resistance to the political programme was not insignificant because the then (1940s) incumbent ANC President General A.B. Xuma and Secretary General James Calata, both of whom had played a critical role in the renewal of the ANC after what was understood as ANC organisational decay under President Pixley ka Isaka Seme; did not agree with the ANC YL propositions for radical political renewal and action.
30. Former ANC Youth League Secretary General, Comrade Duma Nokwe who was elected ANC Secretary General when he concluded his term as ANC YL SG at the age of 31 made this observation in a 1946 perspective titled "**Problems Facing the Youth Movement**". In that perspective, Comrade Duma Nokwe says, "From 1944 to 1949, the Youth League concentrated on working out African Nationalism, criticising the old methods of struggle of deputations and resolutions to the Government, and tried to impose a militant outlook. This culminated in the adoption of the *Programme of Action* at the Annual

Conference of the A.N.C. in 1949". He further acknowledges that, "The ANCYL played an important part in the adoption of that programme of action. The salient features of the programme were mass political actions, in the form of boycott, national days of protest, and civil disobedience".

31. The transformative 1949 ANC Conference had to elect a relatively inexperienced and young leadership of President James Moroka (who had just joined the ANC) and Secretary General Walter Sisulu (aged 37) because the older and more organisationally experienced generation was unable to adjust and adapt to the new strategies and tactics proposed by the Youth League to fight racial oppression and segregation. The 1949 Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign, which goes into history as one of the most successful campaigns to be led by the African National Congress. Recalling the fruits of the Defiance Campaign, E.S. Reddy says, "**The Campaign generated a mass upsurge for freedom. The membership of the A.N.C. increased from 7,000 to 100,000 during the campaign and it became a truly national organization of the people. The Campaign also led to the formation of the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of (white) Democrats, and then a "Congress Alliance" which played a crucial role in promoting multi-racial resistance to apartheid in subsequent years**".
32. If the reading of history was mechanical, it could be simplistically deduced that the transformation of the ANC into a truly national organisation of the people, and the formation of the alliance are direct consequences of the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944. Yet history evolves in far much complex and systematic realities than that, because the combination of prevailing material conditions of that period and the subjective determination of the founding leadership of the ANC Youth League dialectically called for decisive action and defined history. Certainly, the passage of time spelled a different trajectory with regards to how the Youth League relates to the African National Congress, yet notably the ANC Youth League's founding generation's commitment to "*freedom in our lifetime*" took practical shape and was led by that particular generation.

The overall assessment and understanding of the character of the ANC Youth League and its relationship to the ANC is that it has been more of a political than a maternal/paternal relationship. The notion of being a preparatory school of the ANC is out of this analysis of history because the young founding generation of the ANC Youth League did not just see themselves as leaders of the revolution in the distant future, but as agents of change in the present, willing to make all the sacrifices for a progressive revolutionary political programme. The best preparatory programme in anyway happens within a robust political programme and actions, not through blind observation of older leaders and what they did.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

- 32 Both the ANC Women's League and Youth League are integral structures of the ANC allotted specific tasks in the Constitution of the ANC, to mobilise the women's and youth sectors respectively behind the programme of the ANC.

However, the YL as a mass organ of youth irrespective of their sexual orientation serves as the training ground for both the ANC and the Women's League. The membership records of the YL indicate the growth in numbers of female members, these means young women are in majority in the organisation. These put the YL in a position to meaningfully contribute in the building and strengthening of the Women's League.

It should also be the ambition of the young women to fill the ranks of the WL to ensure its future survival. The YL should not be ashamed to discuss and be concerned about the future of the WL, and it calls that the YL should be preoccupied with the tasks to determine future leadership of the WL.

33. The best preparatory programme in anyway happens within a robust political programme and actions, not through blind observation of older leaders and what they did.

AUTONOMY OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

34. The Constitution of the ANC Youth League says *"The ANCYL shall function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC of which it shall be an integral part. It shall be based on the political and ideological objectives of the ANC"*. The ANC Constitution supplement this and states that, *"The Youth League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC"*.
35. The Constitutions of both the ANC and ANC YL as recited are giving a form of a autonomy, but not independent relationship between the ANC YL and ANC. The autonomy of the ANC Youth League is a vital political relationship, which can never be reduced to a Constitutional relationship and sacrificed in the course of the revolution. Autonomy of the ANC Youth League is not a by the way issue, but a revolutionary organisational practice which if ignored, could undermine the impetus and energy that young people should impact in any radical political, economic and social change of society.
36. The autonomy of the ANC Youth League and generally young people in all revolutions is elementary to a revolution's progress and success. Revolutions are by their very nature activities of young people, and marginalising young people merely into a preparatory

arrangement within revolutionary movements stifles the political and ideological development of such movements. History proves that almost all if not all national liberation and revolutionary movements that do not have autonomous youth formations degenerate into insignificance with the passage of time. So reducing autonomy into a constitutional matter without politics is a political blunder with massive consequences. That is why the autonomy of the ANC YL to formulate novel ideological and political tactics within a broader strategic vision should forever be protected. Autonomy of the Youth League should not just be reduced to organisational autonomy of organising own meetings, but not taking own decisions. It should fundamentally mean the right of the Youth League to formulate independent political, ideological and strategic perspectives in the cause of struggle and independent capacity and ability to robustly advocate for such perspectives.

37. Addressing this question, the early 1990s ANC Youth League Provisional National Committee said in a perspective that was subsequently adopted by the KwaNdebele re-launching congress in 1991 that, ***“The youth can only effectively participate in the liberation of our country and get involved in the building of a democratic South Africa on the basis of the totality of knowledge and experience handed over to it by older generations. At the same time young people should not be encouraged merely to copy or assimilate what is handed over to them. They should do that through an investigative and critical approach. Real education in struggle on the part of the youth cannot be separated from their independent political involvement. A profound appreciation by the youth of the democratic ideals we are fighting for is better consolidated if verified by their independent experience in struggle. Autonomy of the League offers the opportunity for the realization of the boundless resources of energy, enterprise, initiative and free application of the creative potential of our youth”***.
38. This observation is so profound and should, as the May 2010 National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League resolved, be disseminated and taught to all leaders of the ANC. Education around autonomy of the ANC Youth League should be programmatically intensified so that all activists and leaders of the ANC internalise this principle, not for the sake of it, but for the durability of the revolution and its ideals.
39. Those who argued for the formation of the ANC Youth League in the early 1940s, notably former ANC President Joshua T. Gumede, argued that the YOUTH LEAGUE had to be formed because that was the only way to make the ANC live forever. By its very nature the ANC Youth League has to be youthful, re-energize and radicalize the ANC and those who are opposed to its ideals should never be tempted to liquidate the ANC Youth League, nor destroy its leadership. It does many things, some of which would cause consternation and discomfort to the older generation.
40. Many generations before this generation defended the autonomy of the ANC Youth League and this generation owes it upon these generations to protect and defend the autonomy of the ANC Youth League. This generation of Youth League owe it upon the generations of Walter Sisulu and subsequently Peter Mokaba to defend the autonomy of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE. A possible respond to the 1940s ANC Youth League call for defiance of the apartheid system could have been disciplinary action against the Youth

League leadership, but its autonomy allowed space for measured discussion which took the ANC forward. When former Presidents Robert Resha and Nelson Mandela called for armed struggle, it was not policy of the ANC, yet they were allowed space to ask why the ANC had to take armed struggle. In all efforts to defend the autonomy, it should be understood that autonomy of the ANC YL is a political matter.

ORGANISATIONAL DEMOCRACY

41. Organisational democracy is fundamentally the culture of broader and equal participation in organisational decision making process. This includes equal rights for all members to elect and be elected in all structures of the organisation. This democracy further includes the rights and obligations as provided for in the Constitution of the ANC YL. In the Congress movement, the organisational democracy is understood within the following principles, contained in a 1997 discussion perspective of the ANC on Organisational Democracy and Discipline:
- Elected Leadership;
 - Collective Leadership;
 - Consultation;
 - Powers of National Congress;
 - Mandates, Accountability and Reporting;
 - Criticism and Self Criticism;
 - Democratic Centralism.
42. It is important to highlight that this perspective on organisational renewal is going **back to basics** to re-assert the principles of organisational democracy because of the challenges the ANC Youth League is facing. The autonomy expatiated above should be exercised within these principles of organisational democracy.
43. **Elected leadership** refers to the principle and practice that says, Leadership of the ANC Youth League is elected at all levels, and re-elections are held at regular intervals. Within this principle, an emphasis should constantly be made that no single individual must become irreplaceable. In addition, elected leadership can be recalled before the end of their term of office if they are not disciplined. Members, according to the Constitution, have a right to take part in elections and be elected to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC League.
44. **Collective leadership** refers to the principle that ANC YL has leadership collectives, instead of a single leader, at all levels of organisation - BECs, PECS, the NWC and the NEC. The constitution sets out the powers of each of these structures and they are expected to operate as a collective. This means that there must be continuous and ongoing consultations on matters affecting the ANC YL. In addition, it means that all members must take responsibility to explain and ensure the implementation of decisions taken by these collectives. Collective leadership also means that leadership skills, experience and knowledge must be shared.

45. **Consultation** refers to the reality that the structures of the ANC Youth League are set up in such a way that it allows for meetings at regular intervals. The ANC YL branch is the basic unit of the organisation and membership participate through monthly meetings and branch Annual General Meetings (AGMs). Furthermore, branches are represented at other structures of decision-making such as regional and Provincial Councils and Conference and, finally, at the highest decision-making body of higher structures through a system of ex-officio representation at all levels of the ANC YL. For example, all provinces and Leagues have representation on the NEC.
46. **Consultation** is not an end in itself. We have consultations to ensure that there is popular support in the ANC YL for certain decisions and policies and are able to explain them to others and to the public in general. Consultation is also part of ensuring that as a liberation movement we remain true to our calling that our people should shape their own destiny, and that the ANC YL is the correct vehicle through which to do this.
47. **Powers of National Congress** means that the National Congress of the ANC YL is the highest decision-making body of our unitary organisation and can ratify or change any decision or policy adopted by structures at other levels. National Congress consists of mandated individuals from all constitutional structures of the movement at all levels of organisation. That is why we have discussion papers before Congress, general meeting, PGCs and other forums to discuss issues and to elect our delegates to Congress.
48. **Mandates, Accountability, Reporting** speaks to the reality that in the context of the above, our organisational structures should provide elected members with mandates to guide them when they represent us in various structures of the ANC YL and elsewhere. When we elect Youth Development Officers, MPLs, MPs or councillors, we should have policies and broad strategies for how we want to transform a particular sector, and the role our cadres should play and combine towards this process.
49. This is not to say that we do not encourage individuals deployed to express their views, nor that those elected to leadership position. All members of our organisation are expected to think for themselves, to be able to raise and debate their ideas at any time, and to be able to take initiative to further the goal of our struggle. We expect leadership to lead our movement, ensuring that we respond to challenges and that we implement our programmes. However, when there is a need to change in strategy or policy, we expect leadership and elected representatives to consult and get fresh mandated on the new direction.
50. **Criticism and Self-Criticism** refers to the fact that ANC YL does not believe that any of our members are beyond criticism. Our movement and our strategies are also not beyond criticism. This means we have regular evaluations, questions must be asked and constructive criticism encouraged. We must also have a cadetship and leadership who are humble and prepared to listen to constructive criticism. Part of being a cadre also means an ongoing process of self-criticism, evaluation, learning improving our strategies, tactics and policies as a movement.

51. Most of us would broadly accept the above. However, the challenge is to integrate this understanding into the work of our constitutional structures. For example, should the NEC, PEGs, RECs have, at least once a year, a session built into their regular constitutional meetings to assess themselves as leadership collectives and the strengths and weaknesses of individual cadres who serve on these collectives?

52. **Democratic Centralism** is derived out of the fact that the ANC YL is a unitary and national organisation. Its operations are guided by the principles of democratic centralism which includes the following:

53. Decision of the majority prevail

After debate and discussion on a particular issue in the correct structures, a decision is taken which is binding on all members of the ANC. Even if an individual has motivated or voted for a different position, that individual will have a responsibility to implement and defend the decision that has been taken. This approach presents a number of difficulties. One of the central problems with this approach is the following question:

54. Decisions of higher structures bind lower structures.

As a unitary organisation, this principle applies. Because of this there is the provision for ex-officio representation of lower structures in all higher structures in all higher structures of the ANC. The NEC is the highest decision-making structure between national conferences and therefore has the overall responsibility of ensuring that conference resolutions are implemented, that the constitution is upheld, that it leads lower structures and maintains the character, discipline and unity of the ANC YL and that national interests are balanced with sectoral and geographical consideration and interests.

55. Responsibility of leadership and cadres

The nature and character of the ANC YL means that cadres and leaders must take their responsibilities and rights seriously. For example, leadership collectives at all levels often have to take decisions in the interest of the movement which may be unpopular. A leader who is part of such a collective has the responsibility to understand the motivations for such decision and explain it to the membership and the public in general.

This also means that leadership collectives must be in touch with popular sentiment in our structures as well as with public opinion. In this way, when decisions are taken, the movement can take along its support base and not make errors of judgement which may backfire.

Cadreship must display strength of their convictions to raise matters and problems in forums where they have the opportunity to do so, even if this may risk individual promotion. The interest of the organisation must be placed above self-interest. Leadership, on the other hand, must ensure that there is a climate that allows for the open debate and raising issues and deal with victimisation should this arise. The responsibility for the democratic character of the ANC is the responsibility of both leaders and cadres.

Our cadreship and our leadership must strive for personal attributes such as commitment, dedication, loyalty, respect for others, modesty, incorruptibility and critical, independent thinking. Overall, the membership of the ANC Youth League should be schooled in these principles and forever be expected to live through them.

56. The ANC Youth League should constitutionalise principles of organisation, more especially the essence of the ANC Youth League as a unitary organisation. This will go a long way in guaranteeing the sanctity of the ANC Youth League being unitary organisation, which adheres to principles of organisational democracy. As much as rights and obligations of members are constitutional, the principles of organisational democracy should also be included in the constitution of the ANC Youth League.

ORGANISATIONAL DISCIPLINE

57. The most outstanding acknowledgment in the ANC and entire national liberation movement is an observation that ***“Discipline is a weapon of struggle and transformation. It does not exist for its own sake, but to safeguard the unity of the movement, ensure that it is able to fulfil its historic mission and achieve its objectives”***. This is so profound and goes to the heart of our organisational values and principles, because all our objectives and political programme can be undermined if we are not ready to exercise maximum discipline.

58. As a political matter and again going back to basics, discipline entails that all members are able to adhere to the principles of organisational democracy and adhere to all the Constitutional obligations outlined in the ANC YL Constitution. All ANCYL members are obliged to:

- pledge their unswerving loyalty to the ANCYL and place themselves under its overall discipline;
- carry out decisions, duties and directives with diligence;
- organize, participate and contribute positively to all ANCYL activities and to contribute to the strengthening of its organic unity;
- rally all youth to support and unite behind the ANCYL and actively participate in the creation of a united, non-racial, and non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa;
- protect the ANCYL and its property at all times by exercising maximum vigilance;
- exercise discipline and exemplary behavior at all times and maintain harmonious relations with all members of the ANCYL and the community in general;
- combat all forms of tribalism, regionalism, nepotism, and other forms of discrimination based on race and sex as well as combating factionalism and malicious gossip within our ranks;
- initiate and participate in activities aimed at promoting international solidarity, peace and social justice;
- every member of the ANC Youth League above the age of 18 shall be obliged to join the ANC.

59. These principles and obligations have got to be re-emphasized because members tend to take them for granted and treat organizational process and protocol as something that is a side issue. At all times, members should be guided to respect and abide by these obligations.
60. As a broad principle, organisational discipline means that members of the organisation should not engage themselves in divisive and factional activities. This should not be misunderstood as meaning that members should not canvass and lobby each other of political, ideological and leadership matters of the organisation. Members should appreciate that once decisions are taken and once leadership is elected, lobby groups become factions, which do not have interests of the organisation.
61. The matter of factionalism should be addressed because lobby groups in the organisation are getting institutionalised with various names, budgets, paraphernalia, coordinators, Lawyers and meeting venues. In most instances, the budgets for factional purposes and activities exceed the budgets for normal organisational work. It is conspicuously very difficult to draw a thick line between a lobby group and a faction, but at organisational management level, certain issues should be guided so that they do not seem like acceptable practices in the movement. This includes a complete illegalisation of factional materials and paraphernalia being used in organisational meetings. It should be punishable for members to wear or display factional materials such as t-shirts, caps, posters in organisational meetings at all levels.
62. These kinds of factional offences should be dealt in a standard way across all branches, regions and provinces of the ANC Youth League. The National Executive Committee should issue out guidelines, including a minimum sentence of how branches should administer disciplinary process of members who wear and/or display factional materials and paraphernalia in organisational gatherings. This approach is necessary and avoids a situation where one member would be given a harsher sentence, whilst the other gets a lighter sentence for similar offences.

ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

63. In the present conjuncture, both qualitative and quantitative organizational growth and development is elementary and should never be discounted. The founding generation of the ANC YL maintained and sustained a relatively smaller organization of intellectuals with profound capability to influence the African National Congress. The conjuncture we are living in requires both quality and quantity because our noble ideals should be translated in actual numbers with regards to support for our programs and ultimately electoral support for the ANC as a political party in a multi-party state, and the character of today's youth as a dynamic social construct.

ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGN

64. The task of rebuilding ANC YL after unbanning has been done parallel to the structures of the ANC. We have always followed the realignment processes in the ANC. President Nelson Mandela described challenges the ANC was facing during the rebuilding process as follows: "The ANC is emerging from the shadow of 30 years of underground existence and is engaged in establishing itself once more as a legal political movement. The problems relating to this transition are innumerable. We have been obliged to reconstruct the organization from the smallest local branch unit to the National leadership structures during a period of very rapid change and high expectations in our country. That the process is uneven should not dismay us or alarm us. That it is fraught with new and unique challenges was to be expected. That we do not all see the problems in the same light was inevitable given the differing strands of experience that shaped our membership, from its leading bodies to the branch level". The post 1994 period also witnessed a vibrant youth organization seized with an agenda to seize, advance and accelerate the opportunities of democracy. We created structures of youth development and mobilized the youth to focus on building a new society free from apartheid injustices organized around our well-defined program, the RDP.
65. It is high time we review our organisational structure in line with our strength. Unlike many structures of the ANC, structures of the ANCYL are mostly constituted of unemployed youth who cannot afford to attend organizational work, meetings, rallies etc due to the cost involved. This can be attributed to the fact that while we share the same boundaries with structures of the ANC, the ANC and its leaders are better resourced than members of the ANCYL to execute organizational programs but we are expected to service the same boundaries.
66. This challenge affects all our structures from Branch level. These challenges affect us because we must do more on political education. Our structures must therefore be more creative to find ways of financing our organizational campaigns.
67. The phenomenon of seasonal branches has opened space in society where the youth start violent service delivery protests without any political guidance from the ANCYL. As a direct response to the above mentioned challenges a model of an ANCYL branch should:

- be primary organ for maintaining direct contact with the youth where they live, at a local level. They serve as the organic nexus between the ANCYL and the youth community, between the membership and leadership structures of the movement;
- The mobilization and political education of our youth rests squarely on the shoulders of our branches. In the post Apartheid context, a strong ANC YL branch is both a school of politics where members are trained into community leaders and agents for community development;
- It should serve as an information centre for the local youth;
- It should serve as a creative centre for innovative ways of campaigns and new songs.
- It should serve as direct contact with community based NGO's, Social Clubs and Sports teams within its locality;
- It should be visible in all community campaigns throughout the year and not only during elections and congresses.

68. The critical question that faces us as we review the twenty years since the re-launch of the ANC YL is whether the democratic breakthrough changes have improved the organizational capacity of the ANC YL at local level to give effective leadership of the motive forces, put differently have the structural changes of the ANC YL branches enhanced our capacity to unite and serve communities effectively.

69. We need to campaign for intergenerational mix in all structures of society. Young people must lead Sports Federations, Social Clubs, NGO's, Companies etc. The youth must be in the fore front in all social and economic struggles in this country.

70. The other organizational challenges that we need to phase and debate is the functionality of our committees. All MDM structures are having a challenge of non-functional committees. Comrades only attend NEC, PEC, REC and fully branch meetings. The above situation can be attributed to various factors like misunderstanding of committee roles by committee members, unwillingness to attend, resource constraints. In many instances it is resource constraints as members must attend committee meetings and deployments. We have to tackle the resource constraints challenge if we are to implement organizational programs and comrades must commit themselves to implement programs of the organization.

71. Most branches of the ANC Youth League tend to limit membership (gate-keeping) and recruit only up to 100 members or a little bit above that. They do so because they want to avoid a situation where they will not reach quorums for Constitutional Branch and Annual General Meetings of the ANC Youth League. This tendency works against the character of the organization as a mass youth movement and the leader of the youth generation. The perpetuation of these seeks to kill the hegemony of the organization and the broader appeal it should enjoy in the community of youth. There should be a way to alter this phenomenon because many young people want to join the ANC YL, but cannot because they are kept outside for quorum purposes by branches.
72. As an immediate solution to this problem, perhaps the 24th National Congress should amend the Constitution to say that quorum for all Constitutional meetings will be 50 members plus 1, even for branches that have members above 100. This would encourage branches to recruit hundreds of members into the organisation and broadly prepare them for membership of the ANC and loyalty into the movement. This would also avoid the question of gate keeping for purposes of reaching a quorum. Alternatively, the minimum number of members per branch can be increased to 200, with a quorum of 100 plus 1 member.
73. These are some of the considerations that should be made as a way of setting the stage for the quantitative expansion of the organisation. It should be emphasised that the matter of proposing quorum to be 50 members plus 1, even in circumstances where membership of a branch is above 100 is not to shy away from the legitimate role that branches should do in mobilising members to meetings. It is an appreciation that by their very nature, young people are not static and they frequently engage in many other educational and social activities that require them to relocate or utilise their spare time for various other engagements.
74. The emerging middle class 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.
75. With South Africa's growing middle class most of them being young people professionals like, Doctors, Lawyers, Engineers, Entrepreneurs etc, the ANCYL is phased with a challenge to recruit them into the organization and ensure their full participation in organizational programs. Their skills and experience could be used on many policy discussions and platforms that the youth league is dealing with on regular bases. Secondly, the recent elections outcome in urban areas where there is a black middle class should serve as an indicator of our declining influence, there is a rapid growth of an unconscious middle class.
76. This middle class has also endured difficulties and ills of apartheid that have exposed the depth at which transformation in this country should go. What has come to the fore and confronting this section of the youth is the deep racism that still inherent or exist in the professional bodies and the continuing deliberate denial of opportunities perpetuated

by the dominating white males. There is an indirect job-reservation for the white youth in practise here, if not there is lack of upward mobility for the black young professionals. The professional bodies deliberately pursue professional exams that are unreasonable and expensive to deny the historically disadvantaged the opportunity to register as professionals. We need to have targeted campaigns that speaks to the interest of these young lawyers, doctors, engineers and many other professions, firstly our target should be to transform the professionals bodies and seek to change their working conditions. We need to recruit them into our ranks through regular meetings and campaigns in their sectors of interest and encourage them to contribute meaningfully in expanding the frontier of the most scarce skills. Our campaigns should also be targeted to the children of the above mentioned professionals and the affluent groups leaving in the up market suburbs' and security estates.

77. The ANC YL should also broaden its focus on various sections of young people who could participate in the organisation. It should expand to active mobilisation of religious youth and consider the creation of religious youth desk to coordinate this activity. In a similar manner that the Youth League organises the Young Women's Assembly, there should be efforts to organise religious assemblies for young people in order to enhance and harness the organisation's appeal to religious youth in all our structures.
78. As part of expanding the kind of membership the ANC Youth League recruits in society, there should be a consideration of allowing membership application through the Internet. If such is agreed upon, potential members could be allowed to apply for membership through the internet and only get admitted as members after they have been referred to their Branches for formal acceptance and payment of membership fees in person.
79. Youth league structures should also look at institutionalising certain campaigns by forming NGO's, Cooperatives or establishing partnerships with community based organisations in line with a particular campaign, for example an NGO for unemployed youth that will train the youth on different skills, and other means of creating employment.
80. The ANC Youth League should develop practical efforts to mobilise young workers, particularly casual workers working in the various industries. Most young workers are hired through labour brokers and spread across restaurants, hotels, chain stores, airports, construction companies, security companies and many other sectors as casual labourers. The ANC Youth League should develop a focused programme which mobilises these young people and raise their concerns in a more effective way.
81. Another important component of mobilising youth should be what most ANC Youth League structures did during the 2009 General elections. In the elections, new methods of mobilisation were adopted, such as Rides and Braai, Bikers, Mini Coopers, Chill Sessions, etc. Most of these activities were complimented by attendant trendy

paraphernalia with organisational branding. This kind of mobilisation should not only happen during elections, but should be adopted for ANC Youth League rallies and other activities. This keeps the ANC YL in constant touch with young people across all spectra.

82. The ANC Youth League should also infiltrate and effectively utilise the new platforms of communication and interaction in society, the social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, etc. These platforms are at times utilised to undermine organisational principles and processes, yet the ANC Youth League should in a regulated manner utilise social interaction platforms to spread its messages and information. These are new platforms and forms of communication in as much as websites and e-mail were when they began.
83. Our liberation struggle has taken the form of an African tale, characterised by song as a means to mobilise society and our people into war and victory. This is an inheritance that cannot be left unattended without a proper perspective on how to protect and sustain it. It constitutes part of the monument of pride to our people and reminds them of their effort and sacrifice to liberate the land of their forefathers.
84. Firstly, there is a need for a comprehensive protection and defence of this heritage against the attempts of the reactionary forces to deface and delegitimise the struggles of our people against colonial oppression and apartheid segregation. Secondly, as we celebrate the Centenary of the National Liberation Movement, the ANC, we must seek to remind ourselves of the war of engagement with forces of oppression through our songs and enhance them as instruments of mobilisation to express the demands of today. The ANC community and members sing songs of praise, bravery and those that express the progressiveness of our agenda. Demeaning and reactionary songs do not belong to our ranks. Our historical songs shall be sung without limit, like our battle to declare any area said to be a 'no go area' to be a free zone for all.
85. Another critical component of organisational management that requires revision is the whole question of expanding and clearly defining the roles of sub-regions and zones. With the approval of Zones and sub-regions as per the 2008 Constitutional amendments, the ANC Youth League should consider granting RECs more responsibilities and status within organisational gatherings. This would additionally entail granting regional Chairpersons and Secretaries full ex-officio status and voting rights in National Congresses and extending full ex-officio status and voting rights to regional top five officials in all Provincial Congresses. This should be expanded and resolved in clear guidelines.
86. As argued somewhere in the document, the capacity of the ANC YL to implement and execute its decisions is a matter of concern. The following is what is proposed to effectiveness of the organisation to ensure the realisation of the objectives of Congress resolutions. Maybe the ANC YL must consider:

- Making increasing the number of National Working Committee members who are full time, especially the Deputy Secretary-General, Secretary for Youth Development, and introduce Secretary for Projects and Campaigns or make the whole National Working Committee full time, specifically to increase supplement the capacity of provinces and regions in the execution of the programme; or
- Propose to make Regional Secretaries to be full time officers of the organisation at that level to lead and complement the work of Regional Organisers, and manage the organisation on daily basis.
- YL in provinces and regions must have designated offices properly furnished with working computers and telephone, e-mail and internal mail network that links regions, provinces with national office to ensure smooth transmission of memorandums and letters between offices.

87. Previous Congresses of the ANC Youth League have adequately dealt with the question of multi-capping in the organisation through constitutionally forbidding members to hold more than one position in the organisation. This was constitutionally captured in the Constitutional clause that says when elected to an upper structure; those serving in lower structures should automatically resign their positions in the lower structures. This principle should be developed to say that those serving in upper structures should automatically resign their position once they accept nomination for election into lower structures. This will avoid members of upper structures contesting leadership in lower structures with guarantees that they will be retained in the upper structures, which amongst other things carry the responsibility of overseeing the political and organisational work of lower structures.

88. The principles advocated for in the paragraph above should be advocated for in the African National Congress to ensure that ANC leaders are not conflicted in the roles they play within structures of the organisation. Another leadership principle that the ANC Youth League should constitutionalise is that of automatic resignation from ANC Youth League structure if an executive committee member of the Youth League is elected as an official in the ANC structure on the same level. This means that a BEC member elected into the top five of the BEC of the ANC should resign their position in the Youth League if they are also in the BEC of the Youth League. This will assist the ANC to constructively relate to the ANC Youth League, but also allow space for leadership progression within the organisation.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

89. Political Education is the lifeblood of the organisation and should forever constitute the day to day activities of the ANC Youth League. It is an objective reality that any revolution that does not reproduce its ideas is bound to fail. All ANC Youth League structures should standardise political education into their mainstream programmes and constantly ensure that all members have a proper grasp of the politics of the African National Congress.

90. Branches of the ANC Youth League should forever learn and teach themselves about the politics of the ANC Youth League, the ANC and the alliance. Even in instances where there are limited resources, branches should convene to discuss the Constitution of the ANC Youth League and share amongst members, their interpretation of ANC YL Constitution.
91. Political education for members should not be limited to organisational theory only, there should begin to be sessions on soft skills and other empowerment educational content that is given to members. Members should be given information and education on how to apply for jobs and how to speak in public, make presentations and various other important components which will contribute to personal developments. ANC Youth League regions and branches should organise Career development programmes to guide members on career options and various other opportunities offered by the State, private sector and civil society.
92. The National Executive Committee should intensify education on organisational management for provincial and regional leadership to increase their understanding of all organisational management matters. This programme should necessarily include education on issues relating to membership filing, audit, induction of members, and organising. This is very important because matters of organisational management should not be faltered, particularly that our recent past history has demonstrated that organisational mismanagement has potential to disrupt political work in regions and provinces.

POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

93. Organizational renewal, growth and development should forever be understood with a clearly defined political program. The emphasis on organization democracy and discipline is not the ultimate end, but methods and amour that should guide and help the ANC Youth to attain its objectives. The ANC Youth League's 1948 Basic Policy Document made a clarion call that, "political democracy remains an empty form without substance unless it is properly grounded on a base of economic and, especially, industrial democracy".
94. The political program of the ANC Youth League towards the centenary of the ANC is summed up as that of attainment of "**ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME**". This simply means that all the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter should be given practical meaning and implemented in our lifetime. The people shall share in the country's wealth should not just be a clarion call, but should be turned into a concrete program, which includes Nationalization of Mines, banks, monopoly industries and land redistribution. Perspectives in that regard are developed.
95. The Freedom Charter has envisioned the Opening of the Doors of Learning and Culture. Our key historical demand which we still grapple with today is access to quality education by all the children of South Africa. This means a deliberate effort on the part of the state to provide free and compulsory education for all with intention to ensure high levels of literacy and numeracy as the basis to eradicate poverty and

underdevelopment. The ANC YL shall not fail to realize the full implementation of the Polokwane Conference resolution, for it would have failed the aspiration of the youth of this country.

96. The campaign to build a healthy society and promotion of healthy lifestyle lies in the ability of the state to provide basic health infrastructure to all. The youth population is confronted with a variety of fatal diseases, which if not attended early have the potential to decimate the future nation. The ANC YL must campaign for at once the implementation of the National Health Insurance Scheme as a means to ensure access to health facilities by all. Secondly, it must lead in awareness campaigns on HIV and Aids, cancer, a buse of alcohol, teenage pregnancy, access to sanitary towels for young women and better food.
97. This generation of the ANC Youth League carries a responsibility to defend the Freedom Charter and ensure that all its aims and objectives are realised and implemented. Efforts to undermine the meaning of the Freedom Charter should be isolated from the ANC, and should not even be supported for leadership responsibilities from within the organisation. This is a matter the ANC Youth League should not be ashamed of because reality is that the ANC requires determined and ideologically clear adherents and proponents of the Freedom Charter to take us forward. Those who continue to account to imperialist forces should be isolated from the organisation because they have potential to undermine our future.
98. What members should appreciate is that all the issues we are raising on economic freedom in our lifetime are elementary to the success of the revolution and continued support for the ANC by the masses of our people. This program constitutes our future and we should do everything to defend the principles because this generation will inherit the ANC which cannot blame past injustices for massive inequalities and suffering of our people. Our generation will have to take full responsibility on why young people do not have jobs and why there are no proper houses for all our people.
99. So in summary, attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime means that we should do everything we can to make sure that the ANC government utilises the mandate of the people to realise all the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter.

THE PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ALLIANCE

The first ever NGC of the ANCYL has directed us to revive the Progressive Youth Alliance. We need to critically assess the current political conjuncture and put forward concrete proposals for a vibrant PYA.

100. Our strategic and tactical perspective derives its political and strategic orientation from the Freedom Charter.
101. We should be conscious of the fact that the question of the Youth Alliance and its functioning is essentially about consolidating and deepening the NDR through ensuring that the alliance acts as a united and coherent force to face all the challenges.

Let us quote Cde OR Thambo in this regard from his political report to the Kabwe conference in 1985: ***“We must act as a vanguard force, the repository of collective experience of our revolutionary masses in their struggle for National liberation. We must be organized to act as such”.***

102. Throughout history and since its conception the PYA has evolved into a platform of the mobilization of various youth sections/organizations 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.

103. Guided by a common vision of the achieving the entire freedom charter objectives the PYA should continue to mobilize youth behind the transformation (task of building a new society) and youth development. Broader sections of youth and society in general should be continuously mobilized behind the vision of economic freedom in our lifetime. A vision for the attainment of all the freedom charter objectives.

104. Congress must emerge with programs that will reaffirm the ANCYL as the leader of the PYA. The ANCYL must provide strategic political direction to the PYA. The ANCYL must ensure that there are programmatic relations through mass based campaigns in the PYA.

REVIVAL OF MASUPATSELA

105. Masupatsela has played a crucial role in the past to empower young children on the culture, values and political direction of the ANCYL and the ANC. Research has proven that early childhood development is a key to the future educational success of young children. Kids today are exposed to a lot of technological material like the power stations, you-tube and many others which do not conscientise them at an early stage. We therefore have to revive the young pioneers' movement from the age of 8 to 13 years to develop cadres at an early age, teach them the values and the mission of the ANC and the ANCYL, inculcate the spirit of patriotism, prepares the young ones to swell the ranks of the ANCYL.

CONCLUSION

106. Organisational renewal, democracy and discipline should forever be understood within a political programme and not depoliticised into a programme of building strong branches without a concrete political direction and programme. The ANC Youth League's founding generation possessed adequate and decisive clarity on what the political and ideological direction of the ANC should be, yet had limitations with regards to organisational structures on the ground. Their massive influence was amongst others

grounded a proper comprehension of the politics of liberation and a daptation to evolving history.

107. The most important component about the founding generation of the ANC YL was that they did not treat themselves as a junior league or pre-school arrangement of the ANC. The founding generation appreciated that as young people; they had a critical role to play in the ANC and were therefore a decisive critical body of opinion in the African National Congress. Such characterisation and understanding of the ANC Youth League gave it the massive influence it had on the direction of the ANC and reshaping of South Africa's history.

108. The current generation of the ANC Youth League has to carry on with the struggle of realising the entirety of Freedom Charter objectives. The most important weapons for such a struggle are ideological/political clarity and the ability to marshal a quantitatively and qualitatively expanded organisation. This should be characterised by a thorough comprehension and adherence to principles of organisational democracy and discipline. The tasks ahead of this generation are not insignificant and deeper understanding of the character of the African National Congress and its concomitant programme, the National Democratic Revolution.

109. In his call to the Nation to make South Africa ungovernable through Radio Freedom OR Tambo said the following: "let us therefore mobilize and march together in even greater unity towards freedom. At all times we must expect that the enemy will respond with greater repression. We must withstand this campaign of terror with the same determination that we have displayed over so many months. But more, we must defeat campaigns that are aimed at undermining us and raise our struggle to higher levels. Our watchword must be organization, mobilisation and struggle. All our people must be mobilised into action. All our people must be organised for action. All our people must engage in the struggle. This call by Tambo remains relevant even today in that we need our members to be engaged in all our struggles. As our struggle is against white monopoly capital, they will throw all kinds of propaganda against our membership and leaders, in certain instances take them to Court. We must campaign to build a better society.

110. Now is the time for the youth of SA to be organised to face the enemy using modern weapons of war.

111. END END END END END END

Source Reference documents:

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