



*"Rebuilding a united and radical
ANC Youth League for the advancement
of economic freedom in our lifetime."*

ANC Youth League 25th National Congress

GALLAGHER ESTATE

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**POLITICAL & ECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION**

The National Democratic Revolution and Social Transformation

The State, Social Transformation and the catalytic political choices necessary to achieve change

A Prelude

1. The people of South Africa and our movement, the ANC, are marking 20 years of democratic rule and freedom in 2014. This is a significant milestone in the noble effort of transforming South Africa's political and social system towards a National Democratic Society founded on the principles of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, collective prosperity and equality.
2. The South African cause for democracy and freedom is essentially a struggle for fundamental social transformation whose strategic objective is the burial of the social architecture of the Apartheid state. It is about the creation of a democratic order whose political, social and economic dividend can transform our race relations, diffusing the dichotomy of blackness as a symbol of underdevelopment whilst whiteness coincides with exclusive privilege, and the forging of a common national identity that transcends the racial cleavage of our past.
3. All Social Transformation discussion documents of both the ANC and the ANCYL have, hitherto, only concerned themselves with the resolution of the social expressions of society's challenges. Less of the structural causes of these social challenges have been deeply interrogated in most, if not all, offerings of the social transformation discussion documents.
4. To the extent that this has been repeatedly done, it has been a deliberate effort to point out the interventions of the movement in mitigating the most adverse social ills of our society. Primacy has been given to initiatives of social cohesion, social welfare, drugs and alcohol abuse campaigns, crime, poverty eradication, fighting underdevelopment, sports and recreation amongst others.
5. In this edition of the Social Transformation discussion paper, we have elected to probe the systemic fault lines that reproduce the above stated social ills. Central to this thus is the matter of the economic trappings upon which social transformation hinges. This is within the context of laboring to draw out a strategic plan that is capable of fundamentally

transforming our social system in a manner that will limit the reproduction of these problems.

6. The intention is for the 25th National Congress to make catalytic political choices that will unlock a sweeping transformative tide over our social system. These political choices must, within the context of radical socio-economic transformation, assist the organisation to adopt political campaigns whose success will fundamentally alter the country's social system.

Introduction

7. Over the years, the ANC led congress movement has understood social transformation within the context of the National Democratic Revolution whose central thesis is to extricate South African society out of the trappings of national oppression, gender subjugation and class super-exploitation.
8. Thus, 20 years on, it is necessary that we reflect on the progress that has been registered in the creation of a new society and to reflect on such social and political obstacles that threaten our total advance towards a National Democratic Society.
9. In the 2007 edition of the Strategy and Tactics document the ANC posits that South Africa's modern identity bears the hallmarks of many historically evolved nations bound together by a common state. It makes the point that ***"The South African nation is a product of many streams of history and culture, representing the origins, dispersal and re-integration of humanity over hundreds of thousands of years. Archaeological findings in various parts of the country and the rest of Africa have located South Africa and the continent at large as the cradle of humankind and early forms of human civilization."***
10. Central to this 'dispersal and re-integration' has been the role of the state and its evolved character; it's genesis from a classically colonial state to an apartheid state (a colonialism of a special type) and today's democratic state. The more critical fact is the historical output of the apartheid state in whose hills the democratic state comes.
11. In terms of this 'historical output', the apartheid state evolved a ***"...Colonialism of a Special Type, with both the coloniser and the colonised located in a common territory and with a large European settler population. The deal between the descendants of Dutch settlers and the British imperial power at the end of the so-called Anglo-Boer War formalised, in 1910,***

South Africa`s statehood, premised on the political oppression and social subordination and exclusion of the majority of the people.”

National Identity and Social Cohesion

a) Allegiance to the Democratic State

12. At the collapse of the Apartheid regime the democratic forces, led by the ANC, had to contend with the task of appropriating the state and making of it an instrument of democratic social re-organisation. The objective of this social re-organisation was, and still is, the reversal of the grand colonialism of a special type and the building of a united nation whose citizens owe allegiance to the same democratic state, same constitution and the same flag without the oppression of one national group by another.
13. Broadly speaking, we have succeeded in entrenching the legitimacy of the democratic state. The culture of elected leadership, the democratic value system articulated by our constitution, the rule of law, the national anthem and the national flag; all of these have been engraved in our national conscience.
14. Our national discourse is littered with a common deference to the constitution, notwithstanding the varied and sometimes diametrically opposed interpretations of some provisions of the constitution. However, the very fact of this common deference asserts the constitution as a commonly accepted basis for social and political imagination. Effectively, the threat of counter-revolution from right-wing groups has been buried and all political contests are pursued without posing threats to the democratic order.

Race relations and Social Cohesion

15. Given the nature of our past and its social dynamics, the foremost leading measure of social transformation and social cohesion is the improvement in race relations. This combines the question of transformation of race-relations in economic production, social relations and access to political institutions and social capital.
16. Just as our constitution prescribes it, there is a broadly accepted common citizenship amongst all national groups. Amongst the African people there has been a burial of the tribal cleavages that the Apartheid regime had sponsored. The remaining legacy of the 'homeland policy' is the fact that some provinces of our country are still definable as houses of definite tribal groups.

17. Essentially there is no visible potential for degeneration of the state on the basis of tribal fallouts. Of course there is a resurgence of political mobilization around a mooted struggle against 'tribalism' in the state etc. For all intents and purposes this is political opportunism determined to foster discontent and even tribalism under the pretext of waging an anti-tribalism struggle.
18. However, we have seen the resurgence of a very perverse racial rhetoric in our political space. There have emerged new political organizations that accentuate the divisions of our racial past and whose political objectives seem to be intertwined with the collapse of the non-racial social objectives that the ANC strives to achieve.
19. This racial chauvinism attaches itself to the objective situation of persistent racial inequalities and the related social dynamics of the stubbornly sustained matrix of whiteness representing privilege and blackness symbolizing underprivilege.
20. As a result- the build up to the recent General Elections proved this; our public discourse has systematically reneged to racial profiling. There is a growing sense of racial polarity in our political discourse pitting blacks against whites around questions of social transformation.
21. Instead of this trend going down with the passing years of democracy, the recent years have seen an upswing in racialised political sentiments owing to the deepening levels of racialised inequality and underdevelopment. This polarization seems to take place across all sections of our class society, asserting the point that there is racial differentiation of asset accumulation even in the upper classes of our society.
22. Essentially, we need to study and understand the structural basis of these persistent inequalities and actively pursue their resolution in a manner that still reinforces the cohesion of all citizens towards the total consolidation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united country.
23. The decisive point that requires our vigilance is the need to confront transformation questions of social, economic and cultural inequalities without eroding the vision and objective of our movement; the creation of a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it, black and white.
24. Significant progress has been registered in all these stated areas. We have succeeded in transforming the civil service to reflect the demographic dynamics of modern day South

Africa. Critical platforms like the judiciary, the military, the police etc continue to undergo progressive institutional transformation within the context of creating non-racial and non-sexist public institutions.

Judicial Transformation

25. Central to the question of social transformation is the creation of a society founded on the principles of justice. This in turn places a high premium on judicial transformation as a critical arena of transformation in line with the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.
26. Although much progress has been registered in transforming the judicial system, this has however occurred with an unevenness of sorts. Whatever slow pace it is experiencing, there is a forward much in transforming the racial, gender and disability profile of critical positions in the judiciary. At the tail-end, there are perennial weaknesses in the discourse of transforming the substantive elements that govern the accessibility of justice by ordinary masses of our people.
27. For South Africa to be a truly democratic society belonging to its entire people- deriving from the progressive vision of our NDR- and for its constitutionalism to sustain its legitimacy in the face of the masses of our people, the judicial system needs to be organized in a manner that promotes the highest possible access to justice at the lowest inconvenience to its subjects.
28. To achieve this objective, the questions that arise and must be answered stretch from the physical location of judicial institutions in relation to the people up to the questions of accessibility of representation inside those very institutions.
29. Quite commendable has been the ANC's capacity to build magistrate's courts in remote areas that historically had none. This progressive action has been bolstered by the decision to institute specialized courts to deal with rape cases etc as an attempt to fast-track prosecutions.
30. In so far as the costs of legal representation are exorbitant the vast majority of poor people, most of whom are blacks in general and Africans in particular, the only available representation is that of the public entity- Legal Aid Board.

31. The legal aid has been significantly junior(-ised), with mostly candidate attorneys and inexperienced attorneys providing service. As repeatedly proven by events the result of this is inefficient representation of the poor. Conversely, poorly represented people may end up behind bars without having committed offence or rich offenders winning against the poor in rape cases etc.
32. Related to this situation is also the question of poor communities pursuing 'class action' against big mining and industrial corporations. If not for an advocate genuinely volunteering or opportunistically lurching onto a money-making scheme, poor communities find it hard to access justice in the High Court against big business.
33. The result of this is the looting of resources located in poor communities and the stunting of transformation with respect to our country's property relations. The ANCYL must consider a campaign to call for the transformation of legislation relating to access and petitioning of the High Court in so far as 'class action' by poor communities is concerned. Human rights cannot and should not be traded in the money market as it is currently the case in our judicial system.

The Strategic Economics of Social Transformation

34. To begin with, the South African economy is a capitalist economy with a definite system of property relations. It has a given mode of wealth generation and a given method of appropriating this wealth for consumption that qualifies it as capitalist. It extends to having definite mechanisms of distributing the accumulated social surplus from this generated wealth. These laws governing our economy are general to all other capitalist economies the world over.
35. However our economy, although capitalist, has unique features that distinguish it from other capitalist economies. These features in turn produce and are reproduced by social relations that are unique to the South African situation. This speaks to the racial underpinnings of our social relations and the political value of these racial dynamics in the whole economic life of our society. This is the chief legacy of colonialism, the Apartheid State and their related social engineering.
36. Thus, not only does our economy have classes inherent in a capitalist economy (the 'owning' capitalist class, the 'producing' working class and the 'managerial' intermediary classes) but the social formation of these classes is determined by racial differentiation. So our economy does not only allocate a graded share of its overall wealth to these classes in a typical

manner of the exploitative hierarchy of all capitalist economies, but it proceeds to grade the 'intra-class dividends' from each 'class share' across racial lines.

37. In this context, the accumulation of economic assets in the South African political economy has not only been capitalist but has also been initiated through racialised accumulation mechanisms. These mechanisms were also engraved into the social system as a whole. The building of social assets like infrastructure, education institutions, human settlements, healthcare systems, cultural institutions, sports, accumulation of pension funds etc was racially accentuated by the Apartheid state. These state sponsored mechanisms were systematically entrenched over decades such that the mere overthrow of apartheid political rule has not dented them significantly.
38. The aforementioned features of our economy constitute the first tension with our development trajectory: that ownership of economic assets and access to social assets is not only capitalist but racially differential too.
39. The second tension is related to the structure of this capitalist economy and its related distribution mechanisms as a result. South African capitalism emerged and consolidated around the mining sector. This development thus merged mining capital, finance capital and the development of the energy sector; producing what is commonly known as the minerals/energy/finance complex. This has been the bedrock of our economy ever since.
40. The productive output of this industrial matrix is in the form of mineral commodities as the base line and a chain of financial services, legal and managerial services as well as the trade linkages that constitute the tertiary sector of our economy. In so far as the minerals output is concerned, the industrial trajectory is a pit-to-port structure in which the mining products are dug out from mining pits, driven to air and sea ports and are then sent out of South Africa without much local processing, diversification and beneficiation.
41. All of this constitutes the major industrial trapping of our economy and our social objectives of inclusive and sustainable economic growth. The export of these minerals robs our economy of critical industrial inputs necessary for the creation of broad industrial assets around which we can achieve our much needed reindustrialization.
42. Given this bedrock, the development of our economy has maintained a rigid spatial character. The minerals belt is in the northern regions of our country, stretching between Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Limpopo, and North West in the main. Of course in history this has

also been complemented by the rise of manufacturing, fishing and shipping industries in other metropolitan regions like Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town.

43. This brief overview of South Africa's economic structure and dynamics of social class formation are a crucial premise from which we must understand the challenges to our social transformation project. The various social ills and challenges of social inequality that play them out today are rooted in these systemic structures.
44. Thus to bring into practicality what the ANC 53rd National Conference has suggested as an urgent need for 'radical economic transformation' the most urgent intervention will have to be the disruption of particularly the minerals/energy/ finance industrial complex.
45. This disruption has got to be a combination of four things: a) we need to evolve a regime of financial institutions that avails start-up capital to new industrial assets. This necessarily suggests a financial regime that considers low-profit venture in the short-term but with long-term gains within a progressive macro-economic strategy canvassed by the state. Transformation of the financial sector through, amongst other things, the building of a mega state-owned bank is critical in this regard. B) We need to break the pit-to-port export trajectory. The loss of mineral goods by our economy on account of private mining capital pursuing profits in international markets is unsustainable. The state needs to lay-hold on mineral assets that serve as industrial inputs in our envisioned aggressive strategy of reindustrialization. We correctly call for the Nationalization of mines as a means to the achievement of this objective!
46. C) The reindustrialization of our economy will have to take into account the need to diversify the spatiality of development. This asserts the need to use minerals advantage of other regions to boost the economic activities of less-endowed regions by deliberately locating the industrial bases of beneficiation, manufacturing and transportation in them. Thus, the sort of mining value-chain that we must imagine should see the emergence of new towns if not cities on the basis of this industrial decentralization strategy: **industrial dispersal**.
47. D) The monopolistic nature of the South African economy has hitherto hindered the entrance of even new capitalist players into the mainstream economy. This largely derives from a combination of the rigid credit market that makes it difficult for new industrialists to emerge and the market domination of monopolies. Thus, the state has got to not only

fashion itself as a source of investment capital but also act as a market incubator for emerging enterprises.

Unemployment, inequality and poverty

48. As earlier pointed out, the decisive measure of the progress that we have made as a country would be the economic and social dividend of the post 1994 democratic transition. This is true particularly in relation to the capacity of the majority to enjoy economic reproduction in a manner that validates their sense of humanity.
49. To achieve this human validation, and as the Freedom Charter posits, it is critical that *the right and duty to work* for all citizens be upheld and advanced. Attached to this need thus is the role of the state in mobilizing all our country's political, social and economic forces towards the creation of an economic regime that is continually capable of absorbing a great section of citizens fit and ready to engage in various forms of productive enterprise.
50. The foregoing underscores the central role that the modern state plays in relation to the development of social relations and the improvement of the human condition. This departs from the understanding that the wealth of society derives from the collective labour of its able-bodied citizens and that this wealth should be equitable disposed of amongst its citizens.
51. The cultural, political and social enterprise that obtains in society -as part of the general pattern of human life- is better achieved upon the establishment of a firm foundation of material (economic) reproduction. Consequently all endeavors of social transformation must critically encompass the systematic re-organisation of society's economic assets and the progressive redistribution of all generated economic value.

Structural unemployment: Youth, women and racialised unemployment

52. The democratic transition of the post 1994 period, founded on the thesis of the ANC led National Democratic Revolution, has as its central content the erosion of the national, class and gender barriers that have hitherto determined access to economic, social and political opportunities. This consists of not only removing the legislative framework of the apartheid state but extends to replacing the embedded cultural mechanisms that reproduce exclusion along the stated fault lines.

53. As we mark 20 years of democracy, there is a broadly canvassed and self-evident truism that South Africa is plagued by a crisis of rising unemployment. Naturally, this unemployment affects the youngest sections of the South African population owing to the constrained capacity of the economy to create new jobs. All of this is in defiance of the fact that the country has enjoyed steady economic growth rates for extended periods before the 2008 global financial slump.
54. Whereas the crisis of unemployment militates against young job seekers, it still carries within it a racialised underpinning. The expression of unemployment and underdevelopment is acute within the black sections of society and more so the African population. Thus the mechanisms of apartheid social and economic engineering retain a profound impact on the dynamics of democratic South Africa 20 years later.
55. Expressive of the patriarchal foundations of modern society's social formation, there is continued marginalization of particularly young women from the central arena of economic life. This is asserted by the fact that despite women constituting the demographic majority of our population, yet still unemployment is highly steeped against young African women particularly and young women in general.
56. Essentially the democratic transition has not succeeded in eroding the structural trappings of our economic history that fomented, and continue to foment, the systematic exclusion of African and women.
57. It also asserts the truth that our transition has managed a social transformation that has not heralded the transformation of our major economic assets or the creation of new assets to achieve an expanded capacity to absorb new labor in line with the growth of the population.

Inequality: intra-class and wage inequalities

58. It has been stated to the extent of becoming conventional wisdom the fact that South Africa today ranks as the most unequal society in the world with respect to the Gini co-efficient. The precise account of this dynamic is that the gap between the rich and the poorer has widened over the years.
59. The gap is stretched by the percentage share of the total GDP that the richest 1 % disposes of in comparison to the poorest 20%. Amongst the contributing factors is the dynamics of worker-wages against the salaries of executive managers in companies.

60. Particularly in mining, construction, agriculture and manufacturing; the wage-rate of labour when gauged against rising inflation is very low. Because of inflation dynamics there is real cause to believe that real wages have been on the decline in the past 15 years. This effectively means that the cost of living has been increasing for the lowest sections of South African society.
61. All of this is compounded by the family nucleus for which the pittance of wages that particularly African workers are responsible for. This is contrasted with the small family unit that the exorbitant salaries of business executives are responsible for.
62. The 'family size' deduction holds true considering two critical points amongst many. Firstly, the top management of big business is predominantly white and male whilst the bulk of labour consists of black and mostly African people. Secondly, the sociological dynamics of South African society detail the evolution of wide family networks amongst the African people and smaller units amongst the white population.

A living-wage campaign

63. The recent situation in the platinum mining belt has resuscitated debates around the question of a living wage. There is a growing political sentiment that the wage structure in South African industrial relations retains its Apartheid core elements. This is justified by the historic fact of particularly the mining sector being founded on the exploitation of cheap migrant labor.
64. The siphoning out of super-profits by big industrial corporations in a semi-colonial economy like ours has visited devastating effects on the livelihood of workers and has led to the reproduction the migrant labour network- feeding off the industrial backwardness of our rural provinces from which the cheap labour is drawn.
65. Explaining the nature of the National Democratic Society that it strives to achieve the ANC, in the 2007 Strategy and Tactics, states that *"Such a society should be premised on the obvious fact that workers' rights are human rights; and these rights should find expression in law-governed measures to ensure decent jobs, job security and a living wage."*
66. Therefore side-by-side with the ANCYL campaign for greater state control of strategic sectors of the economy is the need for us as the organisation to lead the charge in canvassing

government to impose a living wage that will be calculated on modern inflation and consumer prices.

Intra-class inequalities

67. Recognizing the fact that there have been objective changes to South Africa's social class formation since the fall of Apartheid, the concept of the 'black middle class' (so-called) has gained traction in our national discourse. Whatever academic wrangling may exist about this very concept, its popularity helps assert the fact that the democratic transition has fostered great upward mobility in economic and social ranking amongst the black population of SA.
68. What is mostly understated is the question of the driving factors of this social class upward mobility. Of course the rising education levels, lifting of industrial mobility barriers and access to formerly white-reserved opportunities is chief amongst these.
69. However, social upward mobility is objectively measured not just by the stated factors but by the asset-accumulation that attaches to those factors. Critically, the question arises: what has fuelled the change in social class status amongst the black middle and upper strata?
70. Deriving from the absence of historically accumulated financial stocks, family savings and other capital-assets; first generation professionals in black society accumulate a lot of credit to finance their education, housing, mobility etc. This combines with the fact that, at most, the very salary that must service the accumulated credit is also expected to finance the livelihood of family expectations.
71. So that we do not fall into the trap of economic reductionism when gauging social progress, it is crucial that we refer to the cultural dynamics of modern day South Africa. In so far as social culture, political cultures etc relate to social upward mobility; the transition of black individuals in South Africa is mostly from a decidedly African cultural space to a white metropolitan culture of suburbia.
72. To justify their newly found class position, often the middle and upper strata African has to accumulate expensive assets owned by their white counterparts. They inherit a cultural need, imposed by location, to pursue recreational activities associated with their new class status even if the dynamic pressures on their disposable income do not permit this.
73. The net effect of all this is a situation in which, whilst all fitting the category of middle and upper strata, there are visible material differences in the economic comfort of blacks and

whites belonging even to the same social class. The white sections of these class categories facilitate their upward mobility through historically accumulated capital-assets like savings, education policies and inherited property spanning successive generations.

74. All of this reality of inequalities begs the question of the transformation of our economy's asset base. The democratic transition has thus far proceeded in parallel developments when pitting political transformation against economic transformation. If crudely speaking we were to say blacks are a political majority, we would have to extend the argument and say that blacks are an economic and cultural minority in South Africa 20 years into democracy.
75. In light of all of this, and within the context of our agitation for Economic Freedom In Our Lifetime, it is critical that the ANCYL considers some social wage dividends that will deepen our social transformation agenda. As we campaign for the State to acquire economic assets from which it will expand its revenue base, we must conceive of a 'social wage campaign' that will increase the tempo on our Free Education and NHI campaigns, adding a general housing subsidy campaign; all of which can be funded if the state acquires more productive economic assets.

Poverty and Underdevelopment

76. Amongst the systematic outputs of the apartheid policy of 'separate and uneven yet combined development' was the creation of conditions of abject poverty and underdevelopment. Great numbers of the oppressed were placed in the margins of the productive economic mainstream and thus locked into conditions of poverty.
77. This marginalization was not only racialised but undertook spatial dimensions in line with the industrial objectives of the apartheid political economy. To this extent, the poverty profile of South Africa articulates itself in rural areas, amongst women and youth and peri-urban areas or townships. These areas are systematic boxes of the migrant labour system that serves our industries.
78. Recognizing this fact the ANC government undertook with great success to create a social safety net whose primary objective is the mitigation of this abject poverty as part of the building of a National Democratic Society. To this end it says "*particular attention should be paid to conditions of the poor in rural areas. This also applies to life circumstances of such groups as citizens of informal settlements as well as female-headed and single households.*"

79. The core thesis of our movements understanding of poverty and thus the set of things that should be done to overcome it is mainly two-fold. It is about using the state's resources to establish welfare net and secondly to actively build the productive capacity of the poor. Firstly, as it has become common practice of governance and the behaviour of the state, the movement has succeeded in establishing a social safety net. This is in the form of social grants and other social wage dividends like free basic education, medical care, subsidized transportation etc.
80. Amongst the beneficiaries of these social welfare schemes are young people who, as a targeted group, enjoy the provision of basic education, a public scholar transport system, free medical care in public clinics etc. The quality of these provided services needs vigorous improvement.
81. All of these state interventions have managed to ward-off the adverse impact of absolute poverty in rural and peri-urban areas. What is required now is for the movement to increase its capacity building initiatives with a view of unlocking the productive potential of our people so that they could be less dependent on the welfare system.

Rural Development

82. Our country and economy consists of urban and rural differentiations with various communities inhabiting these spaces. In the vast expanses of rural land, communities are confronted with serious challenges of social and economic underdevelopment. Amongst these challenges are such things as underdeveloped social assets like school and medical care facilities; road infrastructure and telecommunications.
83. Central to these weaknesses in development is the stunted and rigid dynamic of economic activity. With the public sector being the leading employer and a minute industrial base if any in majority of these areas, there are high levels of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. Significant numbers of the people in these regions are dependent on social grants for survival.
84. Our rural development initiatives consist, among others, of agrarian reform and land reform broadly. It is common knowledge that in commercial farms, majority of which are owned by white people, the bulk of labour is constituted by black workers.

Land restitution

85. In most commercial farms, the workers are property-less people who in most cases were born in those farms and have no other place to go. All of this owes its being to the history of colonial dispossession of black people's land and their conversion into property-less wage-workers, resident in these farms, but without claim to any land or property.
86. It is in this context that the strategic need for land restitution arises. It is necessary to resolve the historical injustice of dispossession and pauperization of the great masses of our people. This is necessary not for ideological or political grandstanding but rather as a critical instrument through which the impoverished black workers and masses can acquire productive assets upon which they can build a better life.
87. To achieve this objective we have to lead a vigorous land reform campaign consisting of the transfer of ownership of a non-negotiable 50% share of each commercial farm to the workers in its employ. The sustenance of their commercial viability must be borne of a state financed 'farm recapitalization fund' established to assist the farm workers who now would be part-owners. This fund will serve as capital stock for investment in productivity of the farm and as a financial aid scheme for advanced agricultural studies to be availed to the brethren of these workers and these workers themselves.
88. The political and social value of joint ownership between the white farm owners and the workers is of great significance. It assists in building a trans-generational class of black commercial farmers alongside the established class of white commercial farmers. It reinforces united economic development amongst all peoples of our country in a manner that progressively affirms the humanity and dignity of Africans.

Radical Agrarian Reform

89. Owing to the historic apartheid policy of a spatially rigid industrial development and regionally concentrated investment allocation, the non-metropolitan regions of South Africa are significantly underdeveloped. Indeed this underdevelopment combines heavy infrastructure backlogs and weak economic activity let alone economic diversity.
90. The most abundant resource, with much needed industrial potential, in these regions is land. This is in respect of the fact that land combines and differentiates the functions of farming for subsistence and commercial objectives; has mineral properties for mining and has tourism dimensions.

91. While recognizing this fact the democratic government, and indeed the ANC, has not managed to evolve a social policy narrative that locates itself within a deliberate drive to build the economic productivity and industrial capabilities of these regions. We have sustained the spatial concentration of industry that we inherited and have thus been reliant on the few industrial assets that are dominated by white males.
92. The ANCYL must lead the charge of a radical agrarian reform that promotes the conversion of the subsistence farming of our people in rural areas into commercial co-operative ventures engaged in large scale farming. The state, in line with the ANC manifesto commitments, must be the incubating market for these cooperatives by buying from them its agricultural goods for hospitals, school feeding schemes, prisons, government departments, SOEs etc.
93. Whereas there are cooperatives that already exist, the support that they have been receiving is minimal. This in part derives from the fact that they have not be seen as a deliberate driving force for transforming the ownership patterns of the country's productive assets. Our campaign must articulate a systematic plan to increase the aggregate market share of these agricultural cooperatives not just in the public sector but in the retail sector too!

Financing industrial development

94. Amongst the leading trappings to rural development is the untransformed financial sector regime. To this extent, this lack of transformation has had a negative impact on the capacity of South Africa to produce independent black (collectivist and individual) industrial forces across all sectors of the economy. Instead, the South African banking sector has availed credit for consumption as opposed to credit for industrial development; creating a situation of increasing indebtedness of the black upper, middle and working classes without viable capital-assets with which to finance the debt.
95. Already our economy is experiencing an investment strike by private capital, with massive financial resources stacked up in bank accounts. Of course the nature of resource ownership in our economy, particularly financial resources, suggests that even if this strike were to end-the industrial outcome would produce the same racial monopoly of asset ownership.
96. Our pursuit of industrial transformation and development has at its belly the strategic question of a racially transformed asset ownership. Precisely because this is a political

objective of the National Democratic Revolution, the necessary industrial strategy and its financing must be led by the developmental state; crowding in private capital where strategic cooperation can be fostered.

97. Thus the question of a state financial institution dedicated to transforming the arena of development credit is crucial. In the present moment there are various Development Finance Institutions established by the state. However, they have not achieved much success in transforming the patterns of asset accumulation and diversity in our economy.
98. Amongst others, the leading contributor to these failures of the DFIs is their inaccessibility to the vast majority of our people. To this group belong the Land Bank, Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA), Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), and the National Empowerment Fund (NEF) among others. Their organisational infrastructure and physical location is decidedly removed from the ordinary masses of our people. Combined with a conservative legislative framework and sectoral mandates, their mere existence has only assisted the already empowered sections of black society; including the recapitalization of narrow BEE schemes.
99. Our political and organisational capital should be directed at the renewal and upgrading of the mandate of the Post Bank. The Post Bank must acquire sufficient financial resources to avail en masse to all people, cooperatives, young entrepreneurs, SMMEs etc; determined to develop assets in a manner that reinforces our industrial transformation agenda. These resources should, amongst other means, be acquired through the incorporation of some DFIs into the Post Bank.
100. The Post Bank, existing within the fold of the South African Post Office, enjoys an unmatched physical presence in all corners of the country. It is physically rooted amongst the masses of our people and is the most accessible institution in comparison to all DFIs combined. Our capacity to sustain a productive and aggressive agrarian reform, rural development and industrial revolutionary strategy will be greatly enhanced if, like the Afrikaner Nationalists did, we create development finance institutions of the people rooted amongst the people.
101. The billions of rand spayed monthly to the social grants system must also be used as investment in the capacity building of the Post Bank when it has been licensed. In similar vein, the stokvel industry of South Africa has well over R25 billion in savings. Currently these

savings are residing with different banks as chosen by each stokvel. The state, through the post-bank, needs to put in place incentives for these stokvels in order to attract them to bank with the post bank.

The Housing Question

102. Central to the ANC government's social policy discourse has been the commitment to the provision of social assets such as housing amongst others. This derives from the recognition of the historic injustice of Apartheid social and economic engineering whose central thesis was the dehumanization of the oppressed masses through deprivation of decent housing and other basic human rights.
103. Thus the movement has, over the past 20 years, actively rolled out houses to millions of South Africans, bringing to life the injunction of the Freedom Charter that *there shall be houses, security and comfort* for all the people of South Africa. This is also central to the constituent value system of the nascent national democratic society we are laboring to consolidate, in which the State actively intervenes to the needs of the needy and promotes their standard of living.
104. These interventions notwithstanding, there continues to be a great demanding in our country and more so amongst the core social forces that our social transformation agenda is dedicated to uplifting. This demand is manifest in the degree to which informal settlements around our cities continue to grow and the protests that have now attached to them.
105. Already the preeminence and cyclical growth of these informal settlements, and thus a housing demand, around our major cities communicates a structural crisis. Since the rise of industrial capital in South Africa; the mining, manufacturing, textile and shipping industries have evolved in and around the few metropolitan regions we earlier referred to.
106. The long term implications of this industrial discourse was and still is the continued migration of our people from rural regions of the country to the cities in search of employment opportunities and a better life. Having no other means of shelter, they proceed to collecting simple material with which they can erect shelter, and thus create settlements that were unplanned.

107. Essentially the migrant labour system of industrial enterprise and development is the cyclical source of the housing challenge that our cities are currently confronted with. Scores and scores of youth and poor people will continue migrating to the cities from rural areas as well as from other overpopulated townships into these informal settlements.
108. The irony of all this is that whilst the migrant labour system is now entrenched in the notions of job opportunities and centers capable of providing these opportunities, the evidence in reality points to a saturated industrial base with contracting capacity of absorbing new labour. Thus the centuries' long guarantor of endless labour for private industry has become a burden on the state with the eroded capacity of our economy to create more jobs with its existing productive assets.
109. Essentially, and because of these historic urban migration pull factors, our strategy of housing provision is unsustainable in the long-term. The sustainable strategy would have to drive demand for housing out of the major cities. This can only be achieved if we can create new centers of massive job opportunities. This already suggests an industrialization strategy that will build new towns and new cities around which new settlements can evolve.

Sports and Recreation

110. The social dividend of sports and recreation is far reaching in the cause for social transformation and social cohesion. Within the context of transforming race relations, the common passion for sporting activities amongst and between diverse communities can bridge whatever political and cultural divide, placing such peoples on a progressive course towards a united identity.
111. Amongst the leading drivers of the social ills of alcohol and drug abuse is social idleness amongst the youth. In the absence of any socially productive activities the youth tends to drift towards replacement activities like drugs and alcohol. Without being a panacea to these challenges, however sports and recreation adds significant value in the fight against these.
112. In the context of this then the question of sports transformation becomes a critical and must necessarily go beyond the racial quotas. The ANCYL needs to imagine transformation of sports in a manner that will broaden and universalize sporting activities amongst the youth, rural and urban. This is also critical in improving and democratizing the development phase of our national sporting codes.

113. The ANCYL must campaign for the development of a schooling system that has a sport as a critical pillar. To this effect, we must agitate for the development of a government model of a school whose physical infrastructure must include a sporting complex with multiple sporting facilities. This model must be enforced in the building of particularly rural and township schools.
114. To strengthen the developmental goals of this initiative the government must, working together with various sporting associations, establish school sporting leagues. These leagues must be supported financially and society mobilized to support them.
115. This will cultivate a culture of sports within society broadly and will achieve the long-term outcomes of a mass output of talented and well trained sporting professionals. The professionalization of school sports will go a long way in managing even the high dropout rate within the system.

Social Delinquency: CRIME, DRUGS AND ALCOHOL ABUSE

116. Society is governed by an evolving set of standards, norms, values, ethics etc; all of which are designed to reinforce cohesion and social decency. These norms are designed to sneer upon any act or behaviour that threatens these objectives of decent development and decency.
117. Criminal acts of various sorts undermine the thrust of all the social articles of cohesion stated above. Amongst these criminal acts are such things as violence, abuse of women and children, robbery, theft, hijackings, fraud, corruption etc.
118. At the same time society battles the prevalence of the abuse of various substances whose impact on the human being is both hazardous in relation to body health and particularly moral and ethical judgment. This is in reference to drugs and alcohol abuse particularly amongst young people.

Crime

119. In general terms criminal offences in the range of theft, robbery, high jacking etc are a product of need for material things. This presupposes the lack of capacity to acquire these material things in legitimate ways. Of course to overstretch this argument may lead us to a point of justifying criminality.

120. There is a direct relationship between the rise of inequalities, unemployment and underdevelopment on the one end and the rise of criminal offences in the bracket stated above amongst young people. Thus there's sufficient cause to make the point that with high levels of inequality, poverty and unemployment there'll be a corresponding rise of these crimes.
121. Quite concerning has been the rise of violent crimes that end in death during robberies and high jacking. This makes it necessary for law enforcement entities to increase their vigilance amongst communities in order to discourage these acts. The judicial system must also be harsh in its administration of justice against offenders.
122. The ANCYL must increase its agitation for radical socio-economic transformation in order to create conditions for more young people to have employment and developmental opportunities instead of relying on criminality for survival. The state must increase its social investment in education, basic and higher, in order to overcome the crisis of social-idleness that drives the youth towards crime.

Drugs and alcohol abuse

123. The youth of South Africa faces many challenges amongst which is substance abuse; from alcohol to drugs. Various social factors are responsible for this situation and must all be tackled. Amongst others, and this being the leading, is the question of poverty and underdevelopment which leads to social idleness amongst the youth.
124. So the reforms in sports and recreation, transformation of education, the creation of more employment opportunities and community service platforms constitute a broad basket of social interventions that can address this problem.
125. There is an increasing use of extremely dangerous substances like *whoonga* and *nyaope* that lead young people to very violent crimes. Government must, working with civil society organisations, increase its programmes of community-based education initiatives to raise awareness about these. The ANCYL must root itself in these campaigns permanently and speak about the causes and effects of these issues.
126. With particular reference to alcohol usage and abuse, there is a perverse element of social grooming. This is through the mass advertising of alcohol as a reflection of social

status to which young people should aspire. Undertones of wealth and swag are attached to these advertisements.

127. Thus the psychological impact of these marketing campaigns must not be underrated. We must reassert our historic campaign for the ban of alcohol advertisements. This has succeeded before in relation to the advertisement of tobacco products.

CONCLUSION

128. Our country, South Africa, is marking its 20 years of freedom and democracy with an increasing political anxiety about whether or not the social dividend of this democracy is worth applauding. This is borne of the increasing gap between rich and poor, with an equally racialised wealth and poverty matrix.

129. As a wing of South Africa's ruling party, the ANC, and as a revolutionary force for progressive social change; we are charged by history to respond to this anxiety. This we should do through rigorous political debate about the very objective trappings upon which our progressive social transformation currently hinges.

130. As the ANCYL we have boldly committed ourselves to the service of history and this we did by declaring that we shall labor for the achievement of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime. We arrived at this historic conclusion having noted that the major obstacle to the advance of the National democratic Revolution is the delayed transformation of our economic relations.

131. The 25th National Congress, building on the historic mission conceived of in the 24th National Congress, has to set itself the strategic task of ironing out a systematic plan of action and a set of campaigns through which we can bring to practicality our revolutionary program. It is for this reason that this edition of the Social Transformation discussion paper has unfolded as it has; locating social transformation questions within the broad narrative of the dynamics in our economy.

132. Likewise, the proceeding of this paper owes partly to the recognition that slogans in themselves are insufficient and that they need to give birth to a practical program of social

transformation. Thus the mission of economic freedom in our lifetime, for it to succeed, needs to be conceived in a manner that evidently engages the various social challenges of our people. It must articulate itself in a non-sectarian manner, combining the interests of various social forces, and channeling the totality of South African society towards a common transformative end point.

GENDER RELATIONS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Overview

1. The year 2014 marks exactly 20 years since the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa following the victory of the forces of the National Democratic Revolution, as led by the ANC, over the apartheid state and its political forces. It is a significant milestone which affords us introspection and compels us to assess gains and regression, if any, in the course of the democratic dispensation ushered in by the ANC led democratic movement.
2. It goes without dispute that South Africa has evolved and society has transformed; with life having vastly improved for the majority of our people overall. However, and to the extent that the transformation agenda has the objectives of national, gender and class exploitation at its core, we need to disaggregate our reflections into the specific progress made in relation to the achievement of each objective.
3. Thus as we note the progress which has been made, corroborated by an increase in the quality of life and better access to fundamental services, we must assert that there is still much to be done. The social structure upon which human relations are negotiated needs vigorous analysis so that social change is not limited to 'deliverable services and goods'.

Of the NDR and Gender Relations

4. South Africa's colonial system, like elsewhere in oppressed countries, evolved in it a system of gender relations whose core thesis was the relegation of women into positions of subservience. This logic articulated itself in all facets of life; in the family institution, the workplace, asset accumulation etc.

5. In pursuit of transformed gender relations, with women empowerment as key objective, the national democratic revolution had to organise and fashion the state in a manner that pursues a gendered perspective of democratisation.
6. In this regard the ANC has implemented policies and legislation which is aimed at institutionalising the values of transformed gender relations and the practical extrication of women from political and economic bondage. However, there have been unintended consequences which have seen a crass manipulation of policies by various social sectors, particularly the private sector.
7. Women in general, African women in particular, are still vastly marginalised and suffer segregation not just in the racial milieu, but also extending largely to economic exclusion. The Private Sector disowns the responsibility it has to society in the broader developmental agenda.
8. They are great beneficiaries of conducive economic policies in terms of growth, yet their role in ploughing back to society is minimal and asserts their intransigent attitude towards government and communities overall; particularly the poor and the working class.
9. A tacit posture has been taken by the private sector to only contribute in overall development when incentivised. This has become a norm which must be reversed. A lot of young people end up entrapped in internships and short term programmes which teach soft skills and linger in programmes which do not necessarily result in sustainable careers.
10. It's worse for young women who end up in occupations/work which re-affirms stereotypes about their capabilities to move beyond industries and sectors which were always perceived as jobs for women
11. Young black women in South Africa aren't immune to social contradictions and still find themselves lingering in abject poverty, exploited and generally relegated. A number of variables contribute to these socio economic challenges largely perpetuated by inherently systemic ostracism.
12. Conversely, the political sociology of our gender relations has hitherto been proceeding in a sort of a parallelogram. The central purpose of legislative interventions that enforce the recognition of the equal capacity of women in politics, economic life and social institutions is really to erode the material basis of gender oppression.
13. This is driven by the understanding that gender oppression is rooted in the power structure in which economic and political authority is designed to be the exclusive preserve of males. Thus a disruption

of this system of power relations immediately calls into question the erstwhile justification of the superiority of males to women, from which the exploitative logic of gender oppression emerged.

14. However, just as our institutional legislation cultivates a progressive narrative of equality there has been a resistant reflection on this at the level of cultural discourses. There is a rampant increase on women abuse, sexual crimes against women and murder.
15. Even our movement, the ANC, has a disjointed relationship between its 50/50 gender policy and the centrality of women in senior positions within governing structures. It is common cause that the ANC has not had a female provincial chairperson throughout the 20 year period of our democratic rule. This point is worth stating without eroding the commonly held notion of 'collective leadership'.
16. However, collective leadership does not discount the strategic value of the gender struggle and the symbolic impact this lack of change implies. The absence of female political heads in the organisation across provinces is amongst the various pointers to the fact that power in the movement still has an embedded masculinity.
17. This points us to a sharpening 'cultural inertia' in which there is no correlation between social culture and the democratic value system espoused by our constitutions both in the organisation and the state. The ANCYL needs to lead the way in understanding the apparent contradiction between the transformative legislation that has been institutionalised in the state and the resistance mounted by the dynamics of our social culture.
18. In relation to gender dynamics in the ANC; what sort of questions should we be asking as part of an effort to advance the practical tasks of the NDR, and that being transformed power relations? Since the gender struggle is a deliberate act of social construction, what deliberate policy choices must we advance in order to overcome the masculine underpinnings of leadership, which have led to the absence of even a single female political head in all our provinces for the past 20 years?
19. As we go towards the ANC National General Council in 2015 the ANCYL needs to consider all of these important questions. Perhaps we can propose a policy intervention that enforces structures to elect a female to one of the two positions of secretary and chairperson?

Gender Policy in the State

20. The **National Youth Policy** inter alia serves as an overview guide for government and society in general on how to tackle challenges largely affecting the Youth. The Policy does attempt to give an

outline of challenges which largely affect women; however it's minimalistic on solutions and sustainable interventions.

21. It lacks a substantial mandate on how to transform the current economic status quo unfortunately is a disservice to young women. Section 12 for example, which speaks to Target Youth Groups, defines the various groups and categories found in the Youth section of our population.
22. In relation to Young women, section 12.5 specifically narrates on how to deal with social ills confronted by young women; unfortunately it lacks tangibility and comprehensive outlines in its attempt to provide solutions. The solutions are passive, border on Vanity Fair and do not comprehensively speak to economic participation, re-engineering of fundamental and inherent socio-economic hindrances. It perceives young black women as charity cases or mere victims in dire need of aid intervention. The programmes for intervention risk unsustainability which really fail to address their plight e.g. take a girl child to work and 16 days of activism programmes.
23. This by no means is undermining the concerted efforts and intercessions made by government or civil society to create awareness and expose many young girls to new career paths, their rights etc. however a consistent and holistic approach is required for the emancipation of young women. It requires an assessment of all sectors i.e. health, education, the economy (access), social orientation and building sustainable career paths etc.
24. We can't afford to undermine the role of Civil society in our communities, however without a qualitative assessment of their contribution and the post impact of their work, government risks unintended consequences of unilateral benefiting of just NGO's and not the target people it is supposed to benefit. The ANCYL shouldn't shy away from interrogating civil society or NGO's whose role is to assist government in addressing some of the social ills in our communities.
25. Notwithstanding the impact of civil society and formalised NGO's in our communities, a comprehensive study and research must be conducted by the Youth League to actually see if there is a reciprocated benefit with respect to major NGO's that are utilised to assist young women in communities. Lest we facilitate organised ways of building "get-rich-quick-schemes" to the detriment of many young women especially those in our poor communities. Civil Society was never inherently revolutionary or progressive, it's our bestowed duty as revolutionaries that we channel organising of civil society in a manner that advances our ideological connotations and progressive agenda in our quest to realise a **National Democratic Society**.

26. Young black women are still victims of violence and domestic abuse and many other social mischief, however the failure to correlate perpetual social tribulations with viable economic outcomes, will subsequently result in simplistic elucidations which do not address causations of these socio-economic entrapments.
27. The ANC Youth league has the mammoth responsibility of ensuring that it advocates for concrete policy interventions within the broader clarion call of economic freedom, which will subsequently give rise to long term and implementable strategies. It should be the ANCYL that advocates for this and on behalf of many young women. The ANCYL does have a substantial number of young women who are members, however over and above them being members and leaders in the organisation, the ANCYL must occupy the public discourse in championing young women's interests and issues beyond membership.
28. Patriarchy is a historical stark reality in society which even affects young women of today. It's a reality in the workplace, in homes, in culture etc. it is still a major determinant of many women's economic standing in society. The sharp increase for example of single parent headed households (which are largely young black women) creates vulnerability for many young women as they carry the burden of parenting alone. Some young women resort to other means of supplementing their income resulting in dire strain.
29. Many of the challenges faced by young women are still embedded in the socio-economic imbalances and therefore our role as the ANCYL is to ensure that clarion call of economic freedom addresses all these aspects as well as target groups of Youth including Young women. The continuation of patriarchy for example is re-affirmed by these very contradictions and if the current economic status quo isn't dealt with at a policy level, it will be defeatist even for young women

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE AND MOBILISATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

30. The Youth league remains the League of the ANC. The preface in which the YL must move from is that the ANC leads society. This compels all leagues of the ANC to mobilise beyond traditional constituencies. We must be the first to admit that we haven't mobilised all sectors where young women are visible and active. Introspection should be done on the crippled state of the ANCYL's ability to mobilise young people across race, dimensions, class or creed.
31. The YL's failure to mobilise defeats the objective of having anon-sexist, non-racist and democratic society. Young women are found almost in all sectors of society, however they don't find resonance with the ANCYL, and this is visible in our structures and membership we attract.

32. The YL must intensify mobilisation in key areas where young women are exploited such as the retail sector, farming sector, mining sector, even sex workers. They remain the most vulnerable and due to labour broking, casual labour and its intensity in these aforementioned sectors, young women are subjected to severe exploitation. As the ANC has asserted, it remains bias to the working class and the poor and that is where the YL must find expression and be able to intervene on behalf of young women who find themselves chained in these sectors.
33. Given the vigour and robustness in which the YL has made the call for economic freedom, we must intensify mobilisation amongst young professional women and women in business. Most young women in business are largely organised in the informal sector with small businesses. They are normally excluded in broader participation in the economy, especially the mainstream economy. The informal sector sustains livelihoods of many households and more young women, especially African, have tapped significantly in the service sector industry.
34. The footprint of the ANCYL has weakened, yet has immense potential for resuscitation. Our primary constituency which largely remains the poor and the working class must never find a reason to shift political homes. The ANCYL must re-affirm its role as the key mass mobiliser of young people.
35. Its presence must cement beyond branches, it should be its ideological orientation, its intellectual depository in the academic space, its ability to run campaigns that find expression in communities and attract constituencies beyond electioneering and events

ECONOMIC FREEDOM – A CLARION CALL BEYOND THE ORGANISATION

36. The economy of South Africa has always been characterised as two parallel economies masqueraded as one. The one economy is that which is baptized as the main stream economy. It's owned and managed by white Monopoly capital. All those that own means of production are players in this economy and continue to exclude the majority of South Africans from this economy.
37. The bulk of income comes from this economy yet it serves an elite few. Black women have been marginalised in this economy and if it wasn't for policy and legislative intervention, the status quo of this economy would have not been representative.
38. Historically, black women were always the most oppressed; this sadly hasn't transformed and it's illusive to assume that a lot has transformed in the first economy and particularly in the private sector. For young African women it has become worse and even if they are qualified just as their white counterparts, they are expected to work three times harder.

39. The myth which is normally used to keep Africans out of the main stream economy and professional occupations in the main stream economy is lack of skills. This argument and debate largely impacts on women, Africans in particular. In the service sector industry they are reduced to call centre agents, in legal firms they are associates only on paper and never elevated to handling strategic cases and legal projects which will give them exposure.
40. Most private corporations have bombarded their H.R. positions with relevant African faces in order to deal with government. A lot of positions in fact have been created by Major Corporation in order to avoid placing black women in key strategic positions.
41. Young black women barely feature in the private sector and those that have occupied key strategic positions are found mainly in the Government sector. The ANCYL needs to challenge this status quo not only through media statements, but proposing tangible monitoring and evaluation measure for departments such as the Department of Trade and Industry as well as the Labour Department in order to ensure that harsh sanctions and punitive measures which will hit Capital where it hurts the most, which is the profit margins.
42. Young women remain exploited in the retail sector working abnormal hours, expected to work beyond the call of duty at times risking their lives. The YL has to intervene and vigorously raise these issues with the ANC giving rise to policy interventions.

MINING SECTOR

43. What happened in Marikana was a much needed wake up call to expose perverse exploitation and racism in the mining sector. It's quite unfortunate that the issue was largely reduced to a security issue when the crux of the problem was the sharpening contradictions between labour and Capital.
44. The Mining Sector has a historical perception that it's only men that work there and exploited, no one talks about the women in this sector especially the young women who find themselves in this labour intense industry. The Mining sector continues to profit billions and over pay senior executives whilst exploiting workers. It should be imposed that Young women must be trained as engineers by these mining conglomerates.
45. The ANCYL has made a progressive call on state intervention in this commanding height of our economy. The Marikana massacre affirmed that state intervention is needed in the mining sector in order to redress historical imbalances and injustices which still characterise this sector.

46. Many women (young and old) were largely affected by the tragic incident and the ANC led government must be decisive on what must happen moving forward. The Youth League must propose that every widow be taken care of by the mine and children be taken to school by the mines until tertiary. The area Marikana is underdeveloped, characterised by abject poverty and unrest.

47. It is treason that such a mine continues to be operational yet the matter of all the workers and their families was never addressed. A lot of Young women are in a worse of economic position as now some have lost bread winners. The ANCYL must call for the State to use Lonmin as a catalyst in driving towards state intervention in the Mining Sector.

THE SECOND ECONOMY

48. A lot of Young women found in the retail sector whom are highly exploited and are administrated by labour brokers. The retail sector is organised (union), however more and more young people find themselves non-eligible for union membership as most are not permanently employed. The ANCYL must be able to organise young people in the sector especially young women.
49. Black women remain the bedrock of the retail sectors as they make the bulk force of workers in this industry; e.g. food processing, packaging, actual chefs in stores. This is a multi-million rand industry yet young women aren't benefiting from this. Young women must be mobilised as schemes to be suppliers of these retail chains and a share scheme must be initiated by the stores as well as a programme to train them to ultimately own retail stores.
50. We can't merely focus on job creation if our objective is ultimately realising economic freedom. This revolutionary cause can't merely be driven by the state, however it's the State that must be the catalysts and impose this call to the private sector. We must be explicit in even championing the interests of young women in ensuring that they partake in the mainstream of the economy.

THE INFORMAL SECTOR

51. There are immense opportunities in the Small-medium size businesses; however there is a deficiency with respect to creating awareness about the opportunities and disseminating them to people that need them the most. Young women in poor communities have defied their conditions and used their skills in order to supplement their income through small businesses.
52. These businesses range from beauty, retail, arts, hospitality and entertainment. the informal sector in the economy has played an instrumental role in keeping poverty at bay, however such businesses can't just merely be on survival mode, however its time that incubation and funding initiatives benefit women. There are a number of structures which have a mandate on ensuring that these opportunities have a far reaching impact, yet this is still a major challenge and largely prejudicing young women.
53. The irony of it is that it's largely women that are more organised in businesses and even households. The ANCYL must champion funding models which aren't based on discriminatory rules of current financial institutions; this includes facilitating the usage of stokvels to build a capital base which will be owned and managed by the young women in business.

54. The YL must advocate for the creation of a Systemic Monetary fund based on the traditional stokvel mode which has actually proven to be one of the most successful ways of encouraging communal and collective savings and working towards a common objective. Its models that could give rise to constructive co-operatives as opposed to some of the ones we have seen, collapsing due to mismanagement and ill-informed objectives.
55. The overall informal sector must be driven, developed and supported financially as it remains an instrumental pillar in driving the economy and expanding participation. However it must be integrated into the main stream economy.
56. This is the economy which is largely perceived as the economy which provides labour reserves for the first economy. It's largely driven by the informal sector, participants have minimal or no means of production. The majority of our people are entrapped in it and women are worse off. Formalisation of this economy must never result in a parallel process which will frustrate those that seek assistance financially or in the form of mentorship. Women must be prioritised as they contribute immensely in the sector

BEYOND THE PYA

57. Organisations in the PYA have historically been in the confines of the MDM; this has been informed of historical political relations and the Youth of yesteryears in realising their generational mission. However this isn't dogma and should never be treated as such, as the ANCYL strives towards realising economic freedom, it's imperative that for tactical reasons it mobilises organisation of many young people in driving its objective.
58. Young women are found in various formations such as the BMF Young Professionals, Black Lawyers Association, NAFCOOC youth and even the spiral of charismatic churches which largely attract young generations. These women must be encouraged to be members of the Youth League and actively participate as members.
59. The ANCYL must resonate with all kinds of young people i.e. Intellectuals, artists, religious groups, academia, entertainers, workers, etc. The onus rests upon us ensuring that in the process of rebuilding we integrate this diversity even in structures of the ANCYL.

SUCCESSION

60. The ANC leads society and succession shouldn't be inward looking. The ANCYL must advocate for the training and development of future women leaders in all echelons of society. The ANCYL remains a

reservoir for the ANC for tomorrow's leaders; however our confinement of this understanding only in the space of the organisation is detrimental to our future and that of South Africa.

61. Inward looking will create a perverse urge to occupy positions only in the state machinery. We must build future leaders in women in business, in politics, institutions that require transformation etc. This can be done if the ANCYL imposes this on the ANC. YL leaders and members must be exposed to the international arena, go to the best institutions in Africa and abroad. This will expand opportunities and possibilities for many young people from the ANCYL, but all instil a sense of patriotism as all those skills will be effectively utilised to lead the country and its economy.

62. This must be a policy position and young people must be identified at a very early stage of their lives. The ANC must produce leaders which will respond to the economic challenges, long term plans such as the NDP to address disparities. These leaders must lead and transform banks, create empires which will compete with the best around the globe, however all this will be achieved if there is a reciprocated commitment from the mother body

THE OBSCURE LEAGUE RELATIONSHIP (YL AND WL)

63. The ANCYL and the ANCWL have enjoyed cordial relations within their proximity as constituency representatives of broader society. However there has never been a comprehensive and consultative approach on how to ensure that Young women of the ANCYL join and find expression in the ANCWL.
64. The reality is that the sustainability and continued existence of the WL rests upon the ANCYL as a youth formation and league of the ANC. The WL and the YL must with respect to forming a functional young women's desk which will mobilize young women to structures of the ANCWL.
65. The YL must ensure that all young women join the ANCWL, however they must be active members as well, and they must propose programmes of rejuvenation and resuscitating the ANCWL. It's imperative that the stereotypes around the WL must be curbed that it's inherently an organisation for older women. The baton from 1956 must be passed on.
66. There are growing new challenges informed of the current dispensation, the ANCWL must re-affirm its social standing as a key women movement attracting women of all ages, races and class. The YL must be instrumental in driving this rejuvenation. The YL must initiate this initiative so that the ANCWL is continuously led by progressive women from all walks of life.

CONCLUSION

67. The paper seeks to instigate discussion and possible debates which will result in tangible policy positions. They should ultimately culminate into implementable programmes. The plight of young women especially Africans, remains a stark reality in our society. The ANCYL must champion their interests and re-affirm itself as the true revolutionary vehicle in realising their economic freedom.

African National Congress Youth League

Discussion Paper on Youth Development

Introduction

Youth Development is not a new concept in the South African Economic Landscape. Youth Development has always been one of the priorities of the ANC and the new dispensation government. For continuity and enhancement of the intervention strategy, this paper begins with providing the context and background of the interventions taken thus far.

This paper primarily informs its perspective by looking at a question of efficiency and effectiveness (fitness of the strategy for purpose), sustainability (integration plan for support of the strategy) and inclusiveness (maximal coverage of targets).

Therefore, the paper is both analytical of the past and current, and further proposes improvement strategies and interventions going forward. It is worth mentioning that the overarching ideology which informs the proposal is drawn from the broader political and economic agenda of redress.

The adopted perspective on Youth Development in South Africa is within the context of the Integrated Youth Development Strategy (IYDS). The Integrated Youth Development Strategy was adopted by over 600 youth delegates convened by the National Youth Commission in 2005 at the Emperors Palace (Ekurhuleni), with the ANCYL playing a leading political role. It is essentially against the background of lack of implementation of the IYDS that this discussion paper is drawn.

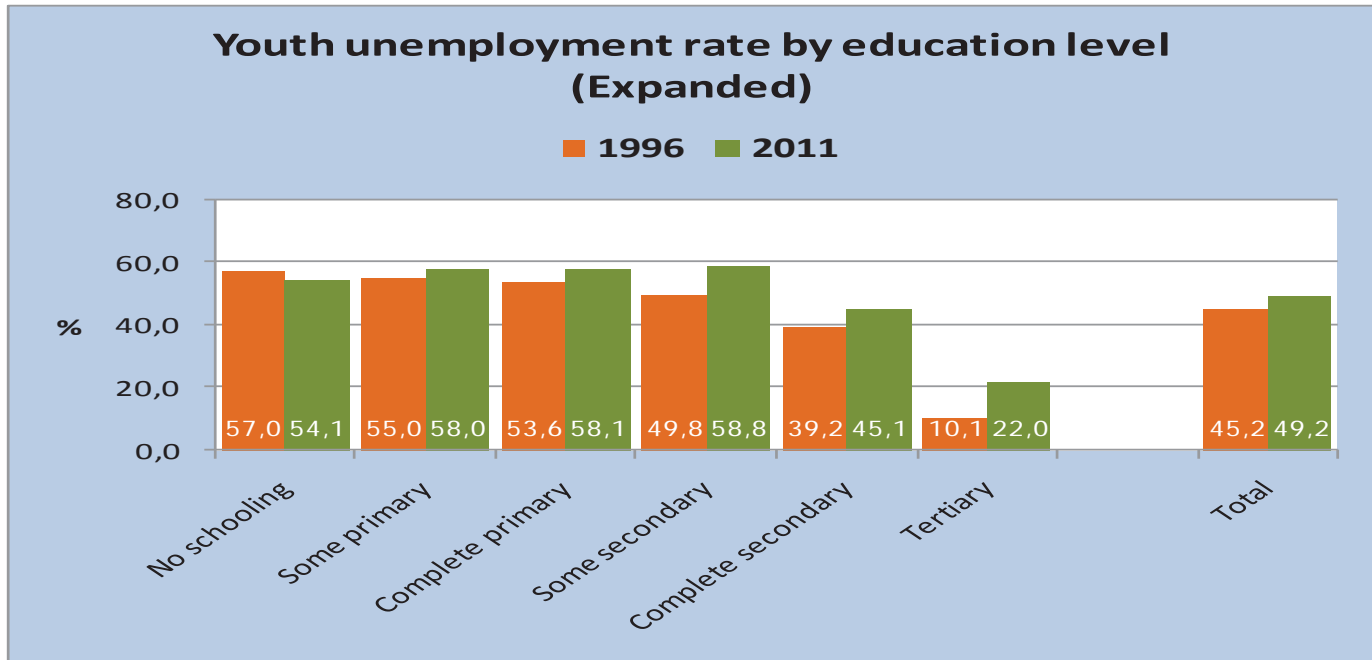
Key issues to be dealt with are firstly the strategic approach to Youth Development programmes and secondly, flowing from the strategic Youth Development programmes, what then becomes the appropriate institutional support.

South African Background on Youth Development

Youth Development in South Africa occurs against the backdrop of hundreds of years of colonialism and decades of apartheid which have structurally marginalised the majority on the basis of race, gender and class. This structural inequality has been perpetuated in what has become a vicious cycle where poverty begets poverty and wealth begets wealth. As a result, almost 70% of the unemployed

in South Africa are young people below the age of 35 years. And many of these young people are without skills or sufficient support for own entrepreneurship.

Figure 3: Youth unemployment rate by education level (Census 1996 and 2011)



Source: StatsSA, Census 1996 and 2011

The current view and pursue of Youth Development is defined outside the mainstream Development Programme of Government, Business and NGOs and that resulted in the majority being economically marginalised; youth continuing to suffer from the perpetuated structural defects of economy as inherited from apartheid structural and racist designs.

Prior to 2005, various initiatives were implemented by government to spearhead Youth Development. This was after the recognition that the legacy of apartheid was most felt and also perpetuated as vicious cycle through continued structural socio-economic marginalisation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general. The National Youth Commission (NYC) and Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) were instituted in 1996 and 2001 respectively. NYC was tasked with policy matters on Youth Development, specifically with the role of lobbying government through advocacy to implement the identified policy priorities, monitoring and evaluation whilst UYF was commissioned with the responsibility of funding youth business initiatives. Funds were allocated by government to enable achievement of the goals of both NYC and UYF.

The Youth Conference of 2005 that adopted the IYDS failed to agree on the format of youth institution that should spearhead Youth Development in light of the IYDS. Others called for a youth ministry whilst others called for a youth desk. The ANCYL subsequently lobbied the ANC National General Council sitting in 2006 in Pretoria, to adopt the IYDS. The implications were clear that Youth Development could not be treated through the traditional “silo” approach which inevitably further marginalised youth from the modern mainstream economy. In other words, all development programmes adopted by the ANC had to speak to Youth Development within the context of employment, skills development and entrepreneurship.

It was only after the 2007 ANC National Conference that some speedy resolutions were made to adopt the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) Act of 2008. The NYDA was formally launched the following year in 2009. NYDA was formed to ensure that the IYDS was realised. However, due to the structural setting NYDA defined its role in terms of the funding it received and the allocations it made towards Youth Development. Again, interventions of Youth Development strategies were deemed inadequate because the annual funding for NYDA was considered inadequate. In as much as the NYDA stated policy objectives are to spearhead the IYDS, its programmes did not speak much to the IYDS as an integral part of all national, provincial and local development programmes of the country.

Content and Context of Youth Development

Before outlining how Youth Development should be spearheaded in South Africa, it is important to first and foremost unpack what *Youth Development* means within the context of the agenda of redress and social development. Various countries have embraced Youth Development and the United Nations recognises Youth Development as an important aspect for the modern world to achieve its general development goals. Amongst the key challenges globally are those that pertain to youth unemployment. Related to this problem of unemployment is lack of or minimal skills development and entrepreneurship.

In understanding what is meant by Youth Development, one has to first understand what is meant in general by *Development*. The business dictionary defines Development as **“the systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements”**. Adapted to economy, it would imply the use of economic knowledge and instruments to meet economic objectives. Therefore, where Youth Development is concerned in South Africa, it is precisely to meet the economic development of the population within the brackets of young people meeting the definition of youth, between the ages of 16 and 35 years.

It could be argued by some that it may be pointless to speak of Youth Development because young people are part and parcel of the population as a whole. Arguments in this regard could point out that there could never be constitutionally valid reasons to reserve employment for young people as young people are not static but are ultimately poised to grow and inevitably would end up participating in employment and economic activity. This argument suggests that Youth Development is a myth and that we should just speak of Development in general, instead of focusing on youth.

It is precisely because of some elements of the argument above that youth development cannot be separated from the mainstream economy, as indeed Youth Development problems are essentially problems of the economy as a whole, as justified by the gravity of Youth Development challenges as a majority fraction of the economy as a whole. Conventionally, Youth Development is a global agenda also recognised by the UN system. Therefore, it is very rational to assume that Youth Development does not make sense outside broad Social, Economic and Political Development.

Agenda of Youth Development in South Africa

Youth unemployment in South Africa and the patterns of structural inequality persisted and continued to define the South African socio-economic landscape. Former President Mbeki defined the South African Economic landscape as a two nation state. He described it as one nation remaining poor (third world for Blacks); not integrated into the international economy, and as the other remaining wealthy (first world for Whites); integrated into the world economy. The situation as described by the former President Thabo Mbeki persisted despite efforts at bridging the historic socio-economic divide with Developmental Instruments as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

The adoption of the Growth and Economic Redistribution (GEAR) strategy by government was also blamed by some as ineffective in rapidly redistributing wealth in South Africa. As a result, debates on what comes first between growth and redistribution dominated the Alliance for the greater part of the decade following the adoption of the GEAR Strategy Document. The debate about development is also ideological, in that amongst others it contrasts the liberal view that insists on non-intervention by government in the economy.

The Keynesian Paradigm insists on a periodical intervention especially in circumstances where there is a remarkable disequilibrium such as high levels of unemployment as it is the case in South Africa given the legacy of apartheid. These debates ensued under the cloud of a rapidly changing and

uncertain world, with the demise of the eastern communist bloc signalled by the collapse of the Soviet Union and consequently what was seen as the triumph of capitalism and the free market leaning economy. GEAR found resonance within this nexus of a changing world.

However, informed by the assumption that there is no such thing as a “free market economy” as all supposedly “free markets” are in fact “mixed economies”, both the State and the private sector play crucial roles in spearheading economic development. The South African economy should be understood within the context of a “mixed economy”. There are State Owned Enterprises (SOE’s) with which government can leverage its policy interventions both within their respective industry sectors as well as across the entire economy. The State also intervenes through policies to influence the private sector environment in order to realise the stated progressive development goals. Critical to consideration of the macroeconomic environment is the extent to which this gives impetus to Youth Development in particular and National Development in general.

Given the status of a “mixed economy”, it became even more possible to imagine such concepts as a “Developmental State” in which the State consciously intervenes in favour of the articulated development goals. Amongst these articulated development goals are the challenges facing South African young people with regards to their general economic marginalisation owing to the legacy of apartheid.

South Africa as part of BRICS, on-going development points to better position for trade and finance with regards to South Africa’s development must prioritise on Youth Development. Without doubt the youth must internalise these massive opportunities. South Africa need to explore and maximise its potential as “Africa’s Gateway” to economic development where trade and investment is concerned. The youth must seize these opportunities very proactively, setting the agenda for national and continental development.

As often stated, South Africa cannot succeed in being an island of success amidst a sea of regional or continental poverty. So far the youth has not decisively moved beyond the progressive rhetoric of regional solidarity to ensure real economic trade amongst African States. This in part could be blamed on the traditional silo approach to Youth Development wherein mega development programmes such as those pertaining to international trade and finance are viewed as reserved for government and big conglomerates. It would thus be essential that the “IYDS” approach to Youth Development is canvassed throughout the SADC region and African continent.

Integrated Youth Development Strategy

The key strategic intervention in realising the IYDS would be **to institutionalise Youth Development agenda across all levels of Government spheres**. The National Youth Policy 2009 – 2014 is succinctly instructive where the Integrated Youth Development Strategy is concerned: *“It is in that spirit that former President Thabo Mbeki, in his 2007 State of the Nation address, urged all key role players to “intensify efforts to integrate youth development into the mainstream of government work”. This call was also echoed in the Government’s Social Cluster Programme of Action for 2007 and 2008, which directs the cluster to:*

- *“intensify efforts to integrate youth development into the mainstream of government policies and programmes within the framework of the National Youth Policy, and*
- *strategically locate Youth Units/ Directorates in such a manner that Directors-General, Heads of Departments and Municipal Managers take direct responsibility.”*

The IYDS characterised the main problem of youth as that of unemployment, lack of skills and lack of entrepreneurship funding. First and foremost the IYDS analysis recognised that of the total unemployed in South Africa, over 70% were young people below the age of 35 years. Conclusively, the IYDS noted that it was inconceivable that a mere R1 billion could resolve this magnitude of a problem which was also structurally embedded in the economy of our country. Thus the best approach to Youth Development would be to infuse Youth Development in the broad economic transformation agenda of our country.

Second to the highlighted key intervention strategy would be **to place the mandatory monitoring of performance of each level of Government sphere with the Presidency**(ensuring accountability and quality checks).Thirdly, **NYDA should continue to lobby and advocate for Youth Development** in a manner that is aligned to the objectives of Integrated Youth Development Strategy. Such objectives are captured in the NYDA Act of 2008 as follows:

(a) develop an Integrated Youth Development Plan and Strategy for South Africa;

(b) develop guidelines for the implementation of an integrated national youth development policy and make recommendations to the President;

(c) initiate, design, co-ordinate, evaluate and monitor all programmes aimed at integrating the youth into the economy and society in general;

(d) guide efforts and facilitate economic participation and empowerment, and achievement of education and training;

(e) partner and assist organs of state, the private sector and non-governmental organisations and community based organisations on initiatives directed at attainment of employment and skills development;

(f) initiate programmes directed at poverty alleviation, urban and rural development and the combating of crime, substance abuse and social decay amongst youth;

However, for ensuring that the Youth Development agenda remains relevant to attend to issues of redress and social development, as the fourth intervention, **the ANCYL should continue to deliberately provide a political leadership to Youth Development strategy.** Thus the IYDS is somehow the blue print objective of the NYDA, even though this has not resonated in the actual programme implemented. The challenge is thus to find ways to synchronise the IYDS and the programmes, as re-emphasised in this discussion document. Therefore this document is not re-inventing the wheel on youth development processes in South Africa. It is merely re-emphasising what was adopted but not comprehensively implemented.

In ensuring synergy and corporation of the said entities in playing their roles towards Youth Development, all structures of advocacy (NYDA), planning and implementation (national, provincial and local levels of government), accountability and governance (Presidency) and political leadership (ANCYL) should have presence and footprint across all spheres in order to efficiently and effectively execute their responsibilities.

Conclusion

This paper sought to address the problem of youth development in a radical fashion, by revisiting the radical postures of the IYDS, instead of enlisting what could effectively be a wish list. Often the case there would be demonstrated appreciation of the magnitude of youth development challenges, but then the thrust towards Youth Development programmes take a contrary silo route. This paper has not covered other issues outside the main thrust of employment, entrepreneurship and skills development. Areas not considered often attributed as mainstay of Youth Development includes matters pertaining HIV and AIDS, youth violence, patriotism, youth in conflict with the law. These are also important matters but often which arise because the main areas of economic mainstreaming of youth have not been achieved.

The reason why Youth Development must be tackled as “youth” is primarily because the youth provides an important energetic interface with the problem of structural marginalisation. It basically makes more sense to invest in youth as they are generally expected to outlive the elderly population and therefore the youth are best investment sector of the population. Conclusively, the paper has attempted to demonstrate why Youth Development must be integral to the mainstream development hence the need for the Integrated Youth Development Strategy. To avoid making this paper cumbersome, the details of the mainstream development programmes such as the National Development Plan were not fully outlined. It is anticipated that the NYDA must unpack features of Youth Development that effectively gives the NDP a perspective.

The full spectrum of Youth Development in respect to economic sectors can easily be indicated through the various national departments such as those dealing with rural development, farming, mining, court services (justice), security (police), ICT, and much more. Similarly the various industries with which the private sector is pre-occupied must give indication to the spectrum of Youth Development. This paper merely sought to deal with the broad tactical approach on both programmes and institutions on Youth Development. Critical to the tactical approach would be emphasis on Youth Development at the local development spheres. The municipalities Integrated Development Plans (IDP’s) must infuse Youth Development. Very important in the local government sphere is ensuring that there is economic growth to absorb the economically marginalised. At the heart of such economic growth through new investments must be youth entrepreneurship. Skills and capital in this regard must be facilitated by the municipality working with the private sector, SOE’s as well as provincial and national government.

Where skills are concerned, the NYDA must be innovative on how specific skills for specific investment programmes can be imparted on the youth in conjunction with FET’s and universities. Some companies actually have skills and how such can be imparted on the youth is a matter that the NYDA must find innovative ways. Ultimately, the national Youth Development programme must be composite and reflective of the national development programme of the country.

Thus the on-going amendment to the NYDA Act of 2008 must recognise the IYDS not merely nominally but very importantly in the real Youth Development programmes in all sectors of the economy. The new Act must recognise how the youth directorates would be onsite platforms to feed into the National Youth Development programme that must be annually adopted and similarly reviewed. The platform of youth parliament can be used to discuss both the adopted plans and subsequent achievements on Youth Development. In this way we would have succeeded towards

ensuring Youth Development is part and parcel of the mainstream development programmes of our country. It is a complex approach yet Integrated Youth Development is the only way we can realistically make impact against the backdrop of the statistics that says of the total unemployed, over 70% are young people below the age of 35. The paper has thus answered the question of what is Youth Development by debunking the notion of Youth Development as in the silos approach wherein it is conceived outside mainstream development.

The ANCYL National Congress must look into two key issues: firstly the IYDS must be emphasised as the most viable and comprehensive approach to Youth Development. The programmes must speak to the work done in national departments, provincial governments and in local municipalities. Such programmes must take into cognisance that ultimately vibrant economic activities to grow the national economy and create jobs resides in the main with the private sector. Thus the youth must see most of their development in the context of the private sector whilst government is their primary leverage in this regard. Secondly, the structure of the NYDA must be re-aligned to the actual programmes in the various government departments nationally, provincially and at the local level.

The IYDS should not re-invent the wheel on Youth Development but it should re-emphasise the need to implement and accelerate programmes on Youth Development. Amongst some of the key pointers are the following points as entailed as objectives of the National Youth Policy 2009 – 2014:

“6.1 integrate youth development into the mainstream of government policies, programmes and the national budget;

6.2 ensure that mainstream policies function effectively and curb the marginalisation of young people;

6.3 strengthen the capacity of key youth development institutions and ensure integration and coordination in the delivery of youth services;

6.4 strengthen the capacities of young people to enable them to take charge of their own wellbeing through building their assets and ultimately realising their potential to the fullest;

6.5 strengthen a culture of patriotic citizenship among young people and help them to become responsible adults who care for their families and others;

6.6 support prioritised youth groups and ensure that they have every opportunity to play their part in the development of our country;

6.7 foster a sense of national cohesion, while acknowledging existence of diverse circumstances and needs by providing opportunities to address these;

6.8 inculcate the spirit of patriotism by encouraging visible and active participation in different youth initiatives/projects and nation building activities;

6.9 promote the culture of treating all races in South Africa with dignity as well as embracing the African values, such as “ubuntu” at all times;

6.10 create a wider range of learning pathways to provide young people with multiple routes and exit opportunities for making the transition from youth to adulthood smoother;

6.11 design and implement interventions that seek to provide a wide variety of opportunities”

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