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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE

22ND NATIONAL CONGRESS

2004 ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

SECTION A

CONTEXT TO THE REPORT

This report covers the period of our term of office over the last three years. This report is therefore a reflection of the path we have traversed hitherto since our last congress in Mangaung. The 21st National Congress gave us the mandate to do the following:

- The National Congress re-affirmed the ANC Youth League's Twin Tasks, those of championing the socio-economic interests of the youth and rallying them behind the vision of the African National Congress. Therefore in its resolutions the National Congress identified the following challenges for the ANC Youth League
- Implement single issue based campaigns by cooperating with friendly non-governmental organizations.
- Participate actively in the mobilisation of voters to ensure an ANC overwhelming majority return to power in the 2004 National General Elections.
- Work with other youth organizations in the continent and globally in building a better world.
- Intensify youth economic participation through engagement with business and government.

The National Congress further instructed the National Executive Committee to do the following with regard to building strong branches of the Youth League

- Ensure that all the structures of the League convene Branch Annual General Meetings and implement the programme of re-alignment of structures.
- Implement the Cadre Development Programme

Ordinarily the 2001 National Congress resolutions and declaration were the essence of the NEC mandate and directives over the past three years. This report therefore is an attempt by

the NEC to summarise on the work done around these directives as mandated by the National Congress.

We convene this 22nd National Congress on the same year that we are celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the ANC Youth League. At the same time we are celebrating the 10 years of democracy. Since 1994, we have confounded our oppressors by making real the slogan “freedom in our lifetime”.

POLITICAL OVERVIEW

The rapid rate at which the national and global environment has evolved since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980's, the beginning of negotiations in 1990, the democratic breakthrough in 1994, the Gulf War in the early 1990's, the September 11 debacle, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, the solidarity pledged by the G21 at Cancun and many more similar developments, have confirmed the validity and indispensability of our dialectical world view. This confirmed that change, while inevitable, it serves the interests of those mottos of history that manage to sway the balance of forces into their own favour through instruments such as democratic elections, the military, the economy, the media and more. Those without access to such instruments get subdued in the friction and struggle of the opposites, as the new dispensation emerges declaring victors and losers. For this reason, we here briefly recap on the relevance and significance of historical and dialectical materialism as the basic philosophical theory that informs our struggle. This in particular confirms the indispensability of organisation as the main instrument for our revolutionary struggle to achieve our transformation objectives within the context of forces opposed and hostile to this change.

The history of society hitherto demonstrates quite clearly that humankind has always survived because there has always been interaction between humanity and nature. As society develops, humankind enters into definite relations with nature, which is defined primarily in productive activity, meant to prolong life, to produce food, to build shelter and to make clothing.

Once humankind is engaged in productive activity, definite relations arise between himself and the others who are engaged in production. Productive activity itself becomes a mode or organization of production. Humankind, has therefore, from the very earliest forms of society, has been part of organization in one form or another. Society itself presupposes forms of organization in the existence of humankind depending on the level of development of that particular society.

Primitive communal society has been mainly characterized by a mode of production wherein the means of production was owned communally. However, because of the primitive nature of the methods and instruments used in production, the forms of organization and institutions in that society were not highly developed.

Organization is therefore at the heart of the very existence of humankind. The interaction between humanity and nature is not always a harmonious relationship. At worst it releases earthquakes, floods, disease, dry seasons, and so on. Humanity in the face of such problems co-operates with others to confront these problems and thus lay the basis for own survival. In confronting these problems together with others, humanity does so not as part of an amorphous mass, but as part of an organized entity, of people consciously driven to achieve a particular objective. Thus organization becomes central, not only to this interaction with nature, but also in the relationship with his fellow human beings.

The most potent instrument available to humankind in charting one's own existence is organization. This conclusion has not been arrived at by deduction from a sum total of simple existence of humankind, the relationship with nature on the one hand, and the interaction and relationship with fellow humankind on the other hand. Without organization any community of people will be defenceless and bound to fail in trying to address any social or political problem. Organization becomes indispensable in addressing any social, political or economic problem. This is a noble teaching given to us by the march of history.

History therefore confirms to us this indispensability of organisation, particularly where it refers to the masses who rely on their people's power as an instrument to tilt the balance of forces to their favour. The 1994 democratic breakthrough was a vindication of the cause of organised people's power and remains the case up to date. Democracy is the one terrain through which our people can make interventions through the leadership of their organisation, an organisation of the people, that being the African National Congress. By relying on the ANC for our transformation, we are therefore confirming the march of history on the significance of organisation.

Over the last three years, we have made political interventions on various matters that relate to the national discourse. With regards to the distortions of our revolution, we have made our views known both in the African National Congress and publicly. Those who did not share our perspective resorted to demonising our viewpoints. We were labelled everything from "ANC

drum majorettes” to “conveyer belts”. When we reacted sharply to this characterization, these self appointed critics resorted to claims on our supposed intolerance to criticism. We had to confront some ideological perspectives that sought to oppose and undermine our struggle. Amongst others, we had to take positions on issues such as the allegations of tribalism within our movement, fight for non racialism in sport, attend to the matter of the political situation in Zimbabwe and tackle debates within the alliance particularly around the restructuring of state assets.

The dynamic environment in which we found ourselves during the last three years saw us practically deriving our understanding and consolidating our revolutionary theory from the lessons of the experience as emanating from our experience both national and international changes.

We have repeatedly remarked about the interplay between our national transformation agenda as elaborated through the NDR on the one hand and the global scenario that has rapidly redefined the international struggle terrain over the past three years as our dialectical outlook. Having noted the constraints and possibilities imposed on our transformation agenda by the global environment, we strived together with various allies to change this environment for the common good of the marginalised the world over.

It was within this context that we supported our country’s role in the Cancun WTO meeting as a member of the G21 countries, pushing for justice in the frameworks for international finance and trade. Our position around such matters are not mere theoretical engagements, but aimed at ensuring that the technological possibility frontiers with regards to developments are inclusive of all the nations of the world in a just manner as opposed to the skewed relations between what is mainly the rich North and the poor South based economies. Cancun therefore provided a real platform to seriously and meaningfully challenge the G8 countries that constitute the core of the rich North, particularly on global trade issues in order to foster a fair system that would lead towards bridging the huge developmental divide.

Our call on various international platforms has been that of the power of solidarity in order to ensure a globalisation that is governed by the people through institutional multilateralism. For this reason, we were opposed to unilateralism as evident in the US led invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq following the September 11 debacle. Our position has been the strengthening of the UN, the AU and other regional and international institutions that must preside over such matters as opposed to the unilateral actions of the powerful countries. Within this context we

supported the realisation of developmental objectives through programmes such as in our case the NEPAD.

Tribalism in the ANC

The NEC discussed the issue of tribalism and how it is being used to undermine unity and cohesion of the movement.

This was more evident towards the ANC's 51st National Conference in December 2002, when various forces were already attempting to undermine the non-racial principles and democratic practices that have long been a feature of the African National Congress.

This was evident in an article that appeared in a weekly newspaper, purporting to forecast the outcome of national leadership elections at Conference. Masquerading as political analysis, the article claimed that "disgruntled party groupings" - who remain nameless and faceless – were putting forward ANC National Chairperson Mosiuoa Lekota for the Deputy President position because he is Sotho-speaking.

Apart from being insulting and objectionable to the individuals it mentions, the article made the outrageous suggestion that ANC leaders are elected or appointed to positions on tribal tickets, and that others are elected in order to undermine the leadership of the President.

We found these sentiments alien to the traditions of the ANC and to the thinking and experiences of most ANC cadres.

The ANC was founded on an anti-racist and anti-tribalist platform. The opening address of the founding conference called for the burying of petty tribal jealousies and the banishment of the 'demon of tribalism'. Itself, the founding conference was a victory against tribalism as it was a meeting of all the tribes of South Africa and beyond.

Throughout its history the ANC has never veered away from this orientation. Leaders of our movement have recalled Pixley ka Seme's words at every turn, especially when the movement resisted the apartheid regime-imposed agenda of bantustans and tribal orientation. The Freedom Charter, on the other hand, emphasised the unification of our people across the divide of race and ethnicity.

It is this policy orientation of the ANC to which so many activists were drawn and for which they joined the organisation irrespective of race, tribe or sex. It was never the position of the movement that its leaders were chosen on tribal tickets to represent certain tribal interests.

In the post-apartheid period the movement concentrated on combating racism within society, often with the consequence that tribalist tendencies have gone unnoticed. There is almost an assumption that since the disappearance of bantustans, tribalism went with them. Yet the reality is different -indications are that the residual of some forty-odd years of apartheid misrule and propaganda has left deep scars in some sections of our communities. It is distressing that some people, even within the ANC, will seize on this harmful and potentially dangerous legacy to advance their own agendas, particularly around issues of leadership.

It is critical that ANC members do not fall victim to prompting from reactionary quarters to use tribal origins to determine leadership. Leaders must equally resist the temptation to allow themselves to be used in such counter-revolutionary machinations. Not only would this undermine the democratic transformation of South Africa, but it could help feed tribal division and strife and continental experiences around this has demonstrated untold misery.

What might appear to some unscrupulous people as a convenient ticket to self promotion, it has serious consequences for our society and its cohesion.

Alongside the suggestion that ANC leaders are elected on tribal lines is the insinuation that the movement needs leaders who can stand up to the President. The branches of the ANC do not elect leaders for that purpose. They elect people to leadership so that they work as a collective to advance the objectives of the organisation. In all leadership structures of the ANC, at all levels, discussions take place over policies and programmes, strategies and tactics. The decisions of these structures do not reflect the will of a particular individual, but the positions accepted, if not by all, then by the majority of the members.

As the structures of the ANC prepared for National Conference, there were more assaults of this sort on the policies and practices of the ANC. They most likely emanated from nameless "sources" within the movement, purporting to represent a "groundswell of opinion", and professing views which run counter to the ninety-year history of the ANC.

Racism in Sport

The behaviour by the United Cricket Board (UCB) of South Africa to scrap the quota system was a clear act of defiance and crude indication of UCB's lack of commitment to the transformation of South African cricket. It was a sad and shameful reflection that merely 8 years into our democratic transformation we still had only two (2) African players who have not even been regulars in the national team and the UCB decided to unceremoniously close the chapter in the transformation of cricket.

The ANC Youth League found the UCB decision to concentrate resources only "in areas where the game is traditionally strong" as a plain and deliberate way of excluding the previously disadvantaged from the game. Certainly, this means all except some sprinkles in the Border Region of Eastern Cape, Africans will forever be excluded from the game. What we have been told is that cricket is the preserve for whites only and it refuses to transform to adapt to South African changing climate.

Unfortunately, the transformation of our country and the South African sport is not a wish list of untenable thinking of mindless people, which the UCB could choose to align to or not to align as it suits its whims. Cricket is a national sport, which like the rest should reflect our national demography. And the attitude displayed by the UCB had left us with no option but to call for the dissolution of that Cricket Board whose mind had been focused on sustaining white supremacy and a no go area for the participation of the African majority. The UCB has been inconsistent with our country's objectives and it could no longer be trusted with the transformation agenda anymore.

A meeting was held with the then Sports Minister Ngconde Balfour and subsequent to that a Ministerial Committee was established to assess progress with regard to transformation in cricket.

Since then, a report received by the Minister reflected in fact a lot of work still needed to be done. The matter was ultimately resolved because of our intervention. We met with black cricketing groups and explained to them the need for transformation and our insistence was that there should be five cricketers in the National Team was ultimately adhered to.

Our position on Zimbabwe

The people of Zimbabwe voted in 2002 and generally expressed their will. From the election results all countries, institutions and individuals could be able to read the general thinking of the people of that country.

This, of course, together with what exactly were these elections principally about, has caused much dispute between and within countries, regions and continents.

Two things became clear as the elections were approaching: firstly, that the issue at the centre of these elections was the land question and the poverty generally afflicting the majority of the Zimbabwean people, and secondly, that there were too many interests on the Zimbabwean elections and the stakes were too high, to the extent that some foreign countries, especially from Europe, were playing a direct role in influencing the decision on who should be the next President, thus undermining the sovereignty of Zimbabwe.

These elections came at a time when the memory of the role of Europe during the Namibian and Mozambican elections were still fresh in our minds. In those countries too, attempts were made not to support democracy and the free will of the people, but to impose a leadership on the African people by foreign powers.

If we allowed this to happen in Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, it would mean that Europe continues to rule us. It could very well be that Europe feels uncomfortable with a leadership on this continent, especially in this region, that does not tow its line, but trudges along an independent line.

Forming and supporting their own political party, establishing secret and unlicensed broadcasting stations in Zimbabwe, flooding the country with a completely hostile, partisan and arrogant media, the imposing of smart sanctions on selected government leaders, the failure to honour land reform commitments would surely have a negative outcome on the political and socio-economic situation and result in social and political instability.

Quite obviously, these, and the decline in economic growth, characterised by high inflation, landlessness, high unemployment levels and shortages of basic food such as maize, would of necessity, result in the polarisation of and the worsening of the political and socio-economic situations respectively.

Both these matters, of course, played a decisive role in determining the political and socio-economic climate before the elections. Surely, they shall continue to do so even now that the elections are done.

In retrospect, both we in Africa and those in Europe should concede that before the Zimbabwean elections, we lost a golden opportunity to facilitate non-partisan political dialogue in that country, between political parties, peoples and between government and NGOs in a manner that would result in the common search for and finding of solutions to the common problems of the people of that country.

Such non-partisan facilitation and mediation of dialogue would have given birth to a relationship of trust from all parties and would also assist that country cope with a strong opposition, a phenomenon that had not existed before.

Instead, there was clamour for interference in a manner that resolved none, but rather complicated all, of the challenges that confronted the people of Zimbabwe.

Therefore, the pre-election period was characterised by violence which the Western media purported to be one-sided, that is, always meted out by ZANU-PF and received by MDC. Strongly partisan itself, the foreign media objected to the partisanship of the official Zimbabwean media, both electronic and print, without looking at its own destructive and disruptive role.

This we should state boldly that the role of the Northern countries in Zimbabwe is a matter of grave concern that requires much scrutiny to objectively decide on the type of partnership we forge and relations we embark upon in the advancement of the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

At this moment, what is principal to those of us in Southern Africa, especially to the Zimbabwean people, is the ending of the decades-long poverty and landlessness.

Ranking as second to that, is the ending of the political conflict and the instituting of national reconciliation and healing.

We, as the ANC Youth League, accept the legitimacy of the Zimbabwean government!

We can attest to that on the days of elections themselves, the atmosphere existed for free and fair elections, and the elections machinery was up to scratch.

Post-elections, we must strive with the Zimbabwean people to cultivate and consolidate the culture of democracy and respect for human rights, particularly more so since the country is preparing itself for Parliamentary Elections in 2005. This will mean that violence, from both the sides of the ZANU-PF and MDC, must be discouraged.

The ANCYL reiterates its call for the re-dress of the land question, noting that Zimbabwe is essentially an agriculture-based economy and the fact that much of the arable land has historically belonged to the white minority. Much of the problems arose from Britain's failure to honour the Lancaster House Agreement with regard to land reform.

In this regard, all of us as Africans and Europeans have a major role to play, not as antagonists of the elected government, but as friends of the Zimbabwean people. This will mean that we also find ways to co-operate and work with the government, regardless of our feelings about and attitudes towards it, to address all these challenges that the Zimbabwean people face.

This is more so in the context that Zimbabwe, as a result of its economic hardships, faces an economic melt-down the implications of which may mean nothing to Europeans, but for us in Southern Africa will be unbearable, not merely because of the pressure that will be increased in our respective countries, but most importantly because the Zimbabwean people are as African as we are! Their plight is ours!

Ultimately, the resolution of the Zimbabwean problems rests with the Zimbabwean people themselves. It is them that must provide leadership in finding solutions to their own problems, irrespective of political affiliation.

On HIV and AIDS

The HIV / AIDS pandemic continues to be a major issue on our transformation agenda. This issue also continued to be a subject of major political debate particularly around ANC Programme in confronting this scourge. We have consistently come up in support of the ANC's programme, noting that we have the most robust programme on HIV / AIDS by global comparison. Our distribution of condoms and promotion of safer sex has been judged as the most visible and widespread in the world. Moreover, we are not only focused on awareness but

also on ensuring that we have the most comprehensive Home-based care and treatment of opportunistic diseases.

However, there have been those who contested our programme on HIV / AIDS merely to score political points at the expense of the fears and concerns of our people over the HIV / AIDS pandemic, and we have refuted any claim about the lack of consideration on the plight of our people by the ANC.

Of particular note has been the debates about whether or not HIV causes AIDS. This debate has been used as a direct attack on our President and government and in this sense an attack on the revolutionary movement.

We stood by our President's assertion that the socio-economic conditions brought about by poverty contributes to both infection rates and the acceleration of HIV into AIDS.

We also stood by the government's decision to leave no stone unturned in the search for answers on the issue of HIV / AIDS, including giving chance for the so called dissident scientists' views on the matter. Many people sought to confuse deliberately the assertion of our President on the relationship between poverty and HIV / AIDS on the one hand and the giving of platform to the so called dissidents' view which suggest HIV does not cause AIDS. We stated that it is our opinion that the so called dissident views have over history revolutionised humanity's relationship with the environment and usually those who ordinarily opposes such views do so because they are defending ill-found gains that may be threatened by the new knowledge or order of things.

Our position has been that there are neither dissidents nor orthodox views but that all views are part of ordinary scientific inquiry on the HIV / AIDS pandemic.

We have however, continued to support the ANC's HIV / AIDS programmes as based on the prevailing assumptions that HIV causes AIDS and our own programmes around this issue is based on the same assumption. We have noted with appreciation the concessions on the issue of parallel importation of generic drugs though this arrangement still falls short of a complete victory.

We challenged the decision of the courts to compel government to rollout nevirapine. It has been our position that we cannot have a situation where policies are prescribed from the bench

and that it is government not the courts that make policy and that the rolling out of nevirapine is not a judiciary matter but a policy issue.

COSATU strike and the anti privatisation question

We stood opposed to the COSATU general strike which we characterised as an act of insubordination aimed at the overthrow of the government. We correctly stated that a general strike by definition is a political instrument aimed at stalling the functioning of a democratic State and thereby render it incapable to govern in the eyes of the masses.

The Arms Deal

The position that South Africa holds regionally and globally informed the decision by the ANC government to make certain decisions with regards to issues of defence and arms proliferation. South Africa voluntarily acceded to the destruction of nuclear weapons capabilities to combat the proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby contribute towards a safer world environment. In addition, the ANC government also ratified the protocol banning the manufacture and distribution of landmines which weapons continue to cause deaths and maiming of innocent people in countries whose civil conflicts had already come to an end.

However, South Africa still requires strategic military capabilities in order to serve the objectives of defence and security of our country as well as peacekeeping in potentially conflict zones as per mandate of either the SADC, African Union or the United Nations. There is no doubt that South Africa's military capabilities must be modernised and made capable of subduing factionalist revolts that poses threats to regional and continental peace and stability. We also need a navy capable of patrolling our borders and our fishing waters as well as combat the shipping of illegal cargo.

The debate over the arms deal missed this point as traditionally the opposition parties and some organisations sought to demonise the arms deal aimed at modernising our defence capabilities. Despite elaborate clarity on the question, particularly where this refers to investment and employment spin-offs, our detractors were adamant that by virtue of the magnitude of the deal itself the ANC government was incapable of dealing with this and therefore within this context arose the myriad allegations of corruption. What our government proved though was its unprecedented adherence to transparency even on matters of armament purchases whose details in many nation-states are considered the preserve of classified operations whose essence may border on or consciously involve covert operations

and for security reasons are never divulged for public scrutiny. The ANC government therefore prevailed over this matter by allowing the matter to be discussed publicly and conclusions accordingly made.

ANCYL – A MILITANT YOUTH ORGANISATION OF THE ANC AND AN ANC ORGANISATION OF THE YOUTH

The formation of the ANCYL was to fulfil exactly this purpose to lead the ANC in this direction and reinforce it, whilst bringing the youth into revolutionary action to take responsibility for the offensive against colonialism and what was later to follow, apartheid. At its inception, the ANCYL made the declaration that the African had lost all faith in white trusteeship over the black majority, and Africans in particular and made the assertion that the African “rejects the theory that because he is non-White and because he is a conquered race, he must be exterminated. The demands included the right to be a free citizen in the South African democracy; the right to an unhampered pursuit of his national identity and the freedom to make his legitimate contribution to human development”ⁱ.

In averring that the African had lost all faith in all talk of Trusteeship, the ANCYL then affirmed that the Africans had now elected to determine their own future by their own efforts. In this way, the ANCYL declared that the African had invoked their birthright to revolution.

It can today be boldly claimed that the formation of the ANCYL marked the end of one era of the ANC and ushered it into its new era, as a result of which this bold assertion can be made that the history of the ANC itself will be written before and after 1944.

The ANCYL is a mass political youth organisation of the ANC that reinforces the programmes of the ANC in society, and reproduces the ideas of the ANC among the youth by bringing the youth into struggle for national freedom under the broad political ambit of the ANC. Its formation was, first and foremost, aimed at defending the ANC against its critics and therefore at reinforcing it in its historic mission. In its own words in the 1944 Manifestoⁱⁱ, the ANCYL was not to be “allowed to detract the youth’s attention from the organisation of Congress. In this regard, it is the first step to ensure that the African youth has direct connections with the leadership of Congress”.

In 1948, the ANCYL published its Basic Policy Documentⁱⁱⁱ, in which it expounded the its aims as, *inter alia*,

- Rallying and uniting the African youth into one national front on the basis of African Nationalism;
- Giving force, direction and vigour to the struggle for African National Freedom, by assisting, supporting and reinforcing the National Movement – ANC;
- Studying the political, economical and social problems of Africa and the world;
- Striving and working for the educational, moral and cultural advancement of African youth”.

At the same time, the ANCYL must champion the political and socio-economic interests of the South African youth, more especially the African youth and black youth in general, given the legacy of apartheid colonialism. In this way, therefore, the ANCYL is also an ANC organisation of the youth, bringing into the ANC agenda and programmes, the all-round aspirations of the youth.

In its Strategy and Tactics^{iv}, the ANC says that the ANCYL “is a critical tool of South Africa’s youth in pursuit of a better life for all. It should continue to function as an organisational and political preparatory school of young activists of our movement. The organisational autonomy of the ANCYL always provides organisational vibrancy and the youthful political debate imperative to a revolutionary organisation. It should continually broaden its base and deepen its political and organisational strength. It must strive to galvanise, and place itself at the centre of, the broadest spectrum of youth organisations for reconstruction and development”.

Together, the ANCYL and ANC strive to bridge the generation gap between younger and elderly activists of the movement, to ensure harmony between generations, to ensure that the ANC is continually renewed and it is relevant to new generations, and to ensure that there is an effective succession plan underway within the movement.

The ANCYL relates with the ANC both as an autonomous organisation, but also as an integral part of the ANC that participates in the formulation and development of the policies and programmes of the ANC. In this way, whereas our autonomy enables us to run our organisation, run our own financial transactions, hold our own Congresses and elect our own leadership and formulate our own political ideas and policies, this is within the ambit of ANC policies and political directive in whose formulation we participate as an integral component, as a body of opinion.

At the ANCYL National Congress in Mangaung, in 2001, we re affirmed the following:

- The home of the most developed and disciplined young revolutionary democrats of our country; The vanguard movement of the progressive youth of our country, both organised and unorganised;
- The leader of all the youth of our country who have an interest in the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous democracy;
- A front rank combatant in the progressive African youth movement that fight for the victory of the African Renaissance, during the African Century;
- A reliable ally with the progressive youth of the world as it engages the struggle for a process of globalisation that helps to end poverty and underdevelopment throughout the world and works to close the gap in living standards and the quality of life between the North and the South".^v

THE CHARACTER OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

The Character of the ANCYL is enunciated in the Strategy and Tactics document. To a large degree, the character of the ANCYL draws from that of the ANC, in that the principal reasons for the existence of the ANCYL are drawn from the ANC's.

But, the ANCYL is itself a product of a given historical period, formed to reinforce the ANC, impart to it a truly national character and foster in it discipline a clearly-defined goal, that is, a militant African Nationalism. Together with the ANC, it developed to embrace the principle of non-racialism as a guide to its composition as well as day-to-day practice. It premised its perspective on the national contradictions existing in South Africa and matured with the maturing revolutionary process, and as it engaged with the revolutionary and progressive youth movement in Africa and the world to become a truly progressive and militant youth organisation. As it shaped the ANC, it was also positively impacted-upon by the ANC, so that the two over the years played a mutually-reinforcing role and had a mutually-reinforcing impact.

It was formed to unite the African youth in the struggle for the national liberation of the African people and to imbue them with the Congress spirit, culture and ideas. It premised its approach to this task on the fact that youth do not, in themselves, constitute a class or stratum, but are a sector that draws its impulse from the very existence of the national and class contradictions in society. In this way, it always sought to rally behind its banner, the banner of the ANC, all youth, regardless of the classes and strata from which they derive. It has sought to educate, mobilise and organise the youth to understand their historic role in the process of struggle and

to play that role. It sought to instil in the youth a consciousness and sense of responsibility towards the execution of the struggle, to ensure that they understood both their role as a sector in the struggle as well as their role in relation to social classes, strata and sectors. It sought always to instil in them the knowledge that their interests as youth were inseparable from those of our people as a whole, and therefore youth needed always to conduct themselves in a manner consistent with that our people saw as their interests. Accordingly, ever since its formation in 1944, there has never been a decade that passed in which the youth did not make a milestone contribution to propel the struggle and raise it to new levels.

In line with the ANC approach of consistent equality, and its recognition of triple oppression suffered by women, we have embraced the principle of non-sexism. The ANC Youth League therefore also seeks to mobilise and organise young women, as an integral part of the youth movement and as a political school for women activists of the ANC and the ANC Women's League. The ANCYL therefore contributes to the fight for gender equality and the rights of women amongst its members, amongst the youth broadly and in general society.

Of course, dominant in the ANCYL, traditionally, precisely because of apartheid laws that imposed a glass ceiling on all Africans and black people never to rise beyond a certain level, were those drawn from the working class, rural poor and lower-middle strata, including a large number of the out-of-school and unemployed youth. Consequently, the ANCYL, like the ANC, has always been and remains biased towards the poor and working people and recognises the leadership role of the working class in the struggle and the process of social transformation.

Today, the social formations among the youth are changing as new sectors are thrown up that were, in the past, denied emergence by the repressive socio-economic laws of apartheid. This has meant that there is a fast-rising sector of youth that belong to what we may refer to as a "middle-middle" and upper-middle strata who traditionally, because this group never existed, were never found within the ranks of the ANCYL. This sector is both increasing within the ranks of the ANCYL, and is battling for role-definition beyond merely contributing financial resources. We need to tap on this group's intellectual capital and expertise while ensuring that we consolidate the role and leadership position of the African working class youth.

The ANCYL must continue to bring to the attention of these youth groups the identification of a common mission and programmes, even though the new epoch has meant that the social differences among these groups, as is the case in society as a whole, grow deeper and sharper. Regardless of this, the common interests between these groups for the success of the

NDR are more principal at the moment than their differences and contradictions, and this is what the ANCYL should always succeed to point out to these groups.

Therefore, whereas it is working class biased, the ANCYL is a broad multi-class organisation, mass organisation of the youth that brings the youth into the ANC and the struggle and champions the all-round political and socio-economic aspirations of the ANC. In this latter extent, therefore, the ANCYL is both a militant youth organisation of the ANC as well as a militant ANC organisation of the youth.

As stated above, the ANCYL was regarded as a political and organisational preparatory school, a nursery, of the young revolutionary democrats of the movement, whose autonomy was regarded as pivotal to the grounding of the youth into politics, and ensuring that they developed an independent political and organisational experience for them to make a better input into the development of the ANC and the advancement of the struggle. Throughout the years, this autonomy has been a defining feature of the ANCYL which has enabled it to learn, to mature and to grow.

The ANCYL has always conducted itself as a disciplined and militant machine of the ANC and the youth, in the knowledge and conviction that youth militancy and discipline are mutually-reinforcing rather than exclusive. It has sought to conduct its business, both in relation to the ANC and the struggle of the masses, as a disciplined and militant force, adhering to the strictest principles of democratic centralism. In this way, the ANCYL, from its inception, has always been fundamentally and rabidly opposed to acts of divisiveness and ill-discipline and has always advocated for the adherence to the strictest codes of discipline within its structures as well as within those of the movement. Whilst insisting on discipline, the ANCYL never sought to use discipline to suppress democratic debate and democracy within the movement. However, it just has never believed that democratic debate means the same thing as ill-discipline, a behaviour and tendency towards undermining the cohesion of the movement and its rich legacy and culture of democratic centralism and democratic debate.

The ANCYL is a leading force among the South African youth. Its cadres have an obligation therefore to ensure that its perspectives, policies and programmes are hegemonic among the youth in society. Some, however, for their own reasons, have sought to challenge the leadership role of the ANCYL and questioned whether this is merely hereditary because the ANC itself is the leader of the NDR! What determines the leadership role of the ANCYL is the current tasks of the NDR and the positioning and role of the ANCYL within that, its historic

mission as well as that of the ANC, its positioning within the ANC, its character as well as its tasks among the youth and in society as a whole.

In its ranks, the ANCYL draws students and other social interests among the youth whose contribution is vital to the pursuit of the goal to mobilise the youth for the NDR. Students organisations in the Progressive Youth Alliance have a crucial role to play to imbue the students with the Congress spirit and reproduce the ideas of the ANC among them; to politicise the students and deepen their political and social consciousness, their organisational experience, culture and discipline; to channel their energies and militancy; to deepen the patriotism of the students; to inculcate in students progressive ideas and the pursuit of progressive information and knowledge; to mobilise students into activities that shall develop out of them organic intellectuals and to encourage the students to learn and equip themselves with the skills and knowledge that will make their contribution to the struggle to be formidable.

The Progressive Youth Alliance is thus a crucial organ for the pursuit of both the agenda of youth mobilisation as well as that of youth development. As a formation, it is an organisational expression of the participation of youth in the national struggle. In itself, it brings together progressive social formations bound together by a common vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous and democratic South Africa, and is drawn together by a common recognition of the leadership role of the working class in our revolution. Individually and collectively, these organisations that constitute the PYA recognise the leadership role of the ANC as well as import of the united action of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. In this sense therefore, the PYA is a vital instrument that reinforces the ANCYL's agenda to mobilise the youth for the pursuit of the NDR and for the strengthening of the ANC, and for the pursuit of the goals for an integrated youth development agenda. It represents the common purpose and unity in action that these organisations and their constituencies share. Many of the principles and perspectives that guide the tripartite alliance bind the PYA as well.

There are other social formations that, whereas they represent other sectoral interests, such as non-governmental and religious, cultural and other youth organisations, but share the same goals with us, even at the level of the smaller platform for youth development. These organisations recognise our leadership and submit themselves, to the extent that we shall not undermine and take them for a ride, to our leadership. These forces are crucial to broader social transformation as they are to youth development. They share with us short- or even long-term goals. Their mobilisation on a permanent basis requires that the ANCYL be of the same mind as to how to approach them and make them an integral part of the social

transformation effort. We must work with them and support their campaigns, to the extent that they are progressive and result in both youth development and in the progression of our struggle, and hence fulfil the goals of the NDR.

To the extent that the ANC is governing the country, the ANCYL is itself impacted upon by this scenario. Other than the fact that the government impacts on the ANCYL, many of our cadres are either public representatives or servants at all tiers of government. This has meant that we sharpen our capacity to work with government and the legislatures, to bring to their attention the various and varied concerns and interests of the youth.

The existence of the youth development troika – the National Youth Commission (NYC), the South African Youth Council (SAYC) and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) – has concluded the process to ensure that the youth development agenda is given impetus. These three organisations must unite and work as a single unit, pursuing an integrated youth development agenda, must reinforce each other. This imposes enormous challenges on the ANCYL to continue to act as the thread that pulls these three organisations together, and interact with them to impart to them a vision and a programme.

The new challenges have found us in situation where many of our cadres are out-of-work, and hence are unemployed and vulnerable to any sort of negative mobilisation within the movement by individuals either running for political office, or seeking to ensconce themselves within political office, offering youth material incentives to advance their ignoble causes. Many among our cadres and activists have thus been imbuing wrongful behaviours and experiences which are **“uncadrely”**. This has thrown sharply open the question of a strong youth cadre policy that deals with issues of career-pathing, which does not mean the same thing as careerism and opportunism. We raise these questions like this because we need to

The mass character of the ANCYL needs to be reinforced and defended at all times. The realignment process has enabled us to re-affirm it, as well as our democratic culture, to ensure that we remain a mass youth formation whose mandate derives from its membership, and whose leadership are accountable to the membership. For us, the question of quality and quantity pose themselves as mutually-reinforcing in that we recruit quantity, numbers, which we then transform into quality.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS

Marches for jobs

While unemployment level is considerably high and affecting the masses of our people in a miserable way, it is the youth, women and the disabled who turn to suffer the most and generally speaking it is the African people who continue to constitute the base of the economically marginalized.

As part of our resolve to champion youth economic participation, we organised marches on established South African business such as SACOB to demand the need to implement an employment programme aimed at meeting the high unemployment needs of our people, particularly as agreed upon in the Presidential Job Summit.

As it is, we need to make follow-up to these marches on business, noting some of the processes we had entered into with SACOB were undermined by the internal problems of SACOB and its relations with NAFCOC.

Engaging with Kwaito artists

Our youth mobilisation campaign saw us meeting with Kwaito artists who constitute one of the most noticeable rallying point on youth interests. We characterised Kwaito as a music genre defined by our youth demonstrating their capability to define their own present and future.

Accordingly we defended the Kwaito music industry against those who believe it is immoral or mediocre, as an example denouncing the notion that our youth are apathetic.

We need to continue to fight for the rights of the artists, particularly the young who turn to enter into lifetime exploitative business relationships with their record companies. For this reason, we partnered with some of the popular Kwaito artists in seeking ways in which we could collectively defeat this exploitative relationship between artists in general and their producers. We collectively made Parliamentary Submissions with the artists to restructure the entire music industry in favour of those who actually do the work, particularly the currently exploited musicians.

Following our Parliamentary submissions, we agreed on a process that led to the establishment of a Trust to assist young music artists as well as other bodies that would enable the coordination of the music industry in a just and fair manner towards the artists themselves. The issue of the trust is work in progress.

Work is in progress to continuously engage Kwaito artists in particular and Musicians in general in a more holistic approach towards the music industry and its contribution to both the interests of the musicians and the general transformation of our society.

World Summit on Sustainable Development

We have been part of the WSSD preparations deploying our members in the NYC, SAYC as well as the Youth League to attend to the Preparatory Committee meetings leading to the Johannesburg Summit. We also led in the process towards the holding of the International Youth Summit in North West despite the various logistical problems we encountered on the financing of the actual hosting.

Our participation in the entire WSSD sought to infuse a progressive outlook amidst reactionary and anarchist tendencies from the Youth of some of the developed countries which dominated attendance. For us the WSSD was a success on the basis that our country successfully hosted a world major event and that various agreements reached would be part of the historical evolution towards a just world order.

World Conference Against Racism

The World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances (WCAR) was convened in Durban to deal with the problems of racism, tribalism, xenophobia and all sorts of prejudices against what is perceived to be people of different groupings. This hosting confirmed South Africa's international status as a frontrunner against these social, economic and political prejudices.

Since the era of colonialism and various forms of international conquests and national suppression of one group by the other, prejudice such as racism and sexism has over centuries informed how society gets organised and how nation-states get build and also relate one to the other.

This therefore informs the current configuration of national and international / global relations hence those powerful countries that benefit from the prejudice based suppression of other nation-states through imperialism sought to undermine the WCAR from the onset and chief amongst these was the United States. The latter deliberately sent a low profile delegation as part of berating the status of the conference. However, many countries sent high-powered

delegations and the WCAR was therefore a success. A lot is as yet to be done to combat prejudices in general and racism in particular within the ambits of the economy and society at large.

Engaging in anti-racism struggle: Release of Babeile, the death of Tshepo Matloga (month of youth action was developed)

As the Youth League, we championed the cause of justice in the racist cases of the detention of Andrew Babeile and the brutal murder of Tshepo Matloga.

After a protracted struggle, Andrew Babeile's parole was finally secured resulting in his early release from prison. It has been our belief that the incidence resulting in his arrest and conviction reflected the racial tensions of the past and that political rather than a judiciary response was necessary to deal with the situation in areas such as the Vryburg High School.

The brutal murder case of Tshepo Matloga as well as the conviction and sentencing of the racist rugby team members was again a reflection of both racism in our country and the need to speedily transform the judiciary process.

IUSY World Congress was held in Johannesburg

The ANC Youth League convened the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) World Congress in 2002 successfully. This was an honour to the Youth League as this was the first event of this magnitude to be held in Africa by this largest youth organisation in the world. In the subsequent IUSY World Congress convened in February 2004 in Budapest, Hungary, the Secretary General of the ANC Youth was elected President of this organisation.

Re-alignment of the structures of the Youth League

The re-alignment process is covered more elaborately in Section B of this report. However, it suffices here to say that this process was one of the major highlights in the activities of our organisation for the last three years.

Elections: the ANC return into power overwhelmingly

The 2004 National General Elections confounded those critics who claim our youth are apathetic. We have argued over the years that the challenges of the democratic order does not require the suspension by our youth of all other activities such as music, various sporting

codes, education etc as in the years of suppression when the youth were forced to engage exclusively on political struggle as imposed to them by the apartheid conditions. The mere fact that our youth are not throwing stones against the security organs of the State therefore does not warrant the description given by some ill-informed critics who refers to them as apathetic.

However, the Youth indeed responded in their large numbers and in terms of our deployment throughout the country, reports on the ground confirmed the massive response by the youth to casts their votes during the elections. This indeed contributed to the ANC winning an unprecedented number of seats in the national parliament.

The Letsema call by the President

The President of the ANC comrade Thabo Mbeki pronounced on the Letsema in 2002 as the “year of the volunteer for reconstruction and development”. This was a call to all our people to volunteer their professional and manual services towards the advancement of social transformation. This call was important in ensuring that our people realise the massive contributions they can make as ordinary citizens towards ensuring a better life for all.

As the ANC Youth League, we adopted this programme and led in volunteering our services and our members positively responded when we embarked on various programmes, particularly clean-up campaigns. We must continuously infuse this as primary responsibility of our members, to volunteer their services for the welfare of all our people and thereby build a caring nation. In essence, political struggle involves pursuing the welfare others other than oneself and next of kin.

Anton Lembede Reburial

One of the highlights for the past three years was the reburial of the ANC Youth League founding President Comrade Anton Lembede. His remains were exhumed from Johannesburg and reburied in Mbumbulu his home village in KwaZuluNatal. A assive rally was convened with President Mbeki and former President Comrade Nelson Mandela addressing it. Thousands of our youth convened at the local stadium in Mbumbulu for this commemorative event. The Youth League laid a tombstone at his final gravesite in Mbumbulu.

ANC 90TH ANNIVERSARY

On the occasion of the 90th Anniversary Celebrations in January 2002 in Durban, we met with the JMPLA of Angola and FRELIMO Youth of Mozambique. The aim of this meeting was to consolidate relationships amongst these organisations, an initiative which involved these organizations respective mother parties (ANC, MPLA and FRELIMO). This meeting was very elaborate and adopted a programme aimed at the actualization of the agreements reached. There are outstanding meetings on this regard.

In the 1940's, young people volunteered their services to the formation of the Congress Youth League as a force that would mobilise the youth for a broad national volunteer service in the struggle against the injustices of apartheid. These young people brought along with them skills that were used over a number of years to define and execute the struggle against the odds of the apartheid military and police machinery. History reverberates with many of such volunteer acts amongst them the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the consolidation of the ANC as a mass movement through the M-Plan as led by Comrade Nelson Mandela in the mid 1950's, the 1976 Students' Uprisings and the 1980's heroic acts of the youth duped the "Young Lions" by the late former President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo.

Throughout the 1990's the ANCYL continued to act as the rallying point for the volunteer of our youth for reconstruction and development as well as the consolidation of democracy.

The January 8 Statement of 2002 was therefore a historical statement on various counts, reminding our people that their destiny as in throughout all history laid in their own hands.

As part of unpacking this theme, there were monthly focussed themes such as on education, health, safety and security and international solidarity running throughout the year. In this way, both the annual and monthly themes assisted in pointing out to our people that there are many areas on which they can volunteer their services as part of reconstruction and development.

Retrospectively, January 8 was a celebration of ninety years of successful struggle and in looking into the future, it was a call to action to all cadres as we move towards the 2012 centenary and historical milestone in the existence of our movement.

The 2003 January 8 Rally emphasised the commitment of the ANC 51st National Conference on the challenge of pushing back the frontiers of poverty as a broad characterisation of the challenges of the NDR in our current epoch.

Preparations for the 59th Anniversary of the ANC Youth League in 2003 were in turn geared as preparatory for this historic 60th Anniversary in 2004. To this we put up a Committee that would ensure that the 60th Anniversary Celebrations are a great success. Amongst others the Committee was tasked to look into issues such as logo and programme for this historic year in the life of the ANC Youth League.

In our approach to both 2003 and 2004, the challenges of organisational development of the Youth League remained paramount to ensure the successful achievement of our revolutionary agenda.

Growth and Development Summit

The convening of the GDS in 2003 saw us as the YL leading the youth sector in submitting proposals on youth transformation which proposals were all accepted and formed part of the outcome of the GDS. The challenge now is to isolate youth issues in the GDS outcome and process them for implementation.

African Union Summit and African Parliament

In 2002 South Africa hosted the inaugural African Union Summit. Our President became the first Chairperson of the African Union and after a year in office handed over the Chairpersonship to President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

After a lot of speculation, South Africa was chosen to host the African Parliament. While this is an honour for us as South Africans, it is also a mammoth task for our country.

ANC Women's League Conference

The ANC Women's League convened their National Conference in 2003 and the Youth League had a delegation from the National Executive Committee. The Women's League was grateful for our participation in various technical aspects of their Congress. The Congress also agreed to the establishment of a Young Women's Desk within the Women's League.

SECTION B

THE RE-ALIGNMENT PROCESS

When we adjourned the 21st National Congress in Mangaung, we said that the ANC Youth League need to perfect the theory of organizational renewal or it would die a natural death hence the famous phrase “adapt or die”. Through this programme among others we have tested this notion in practice because young people have responded and continue to do so in their numbers.

Re-alignment is a political programme which in our understanding from its inception was not merely about delineation of boundaries but about ensuring that we expand the organization to exist in areas and communities in which we could not reach out to before. This programme also assisted the Youth League to realise its programme of modernization. This meant that our tactics of how to organize are going to be tested by the extent to which young people will swell our ranks as we launch structures as well as in the kind of cadreship we are able to attract.

This process was not a mechanical or about just the increase of numbers. It was also about exposing ourselves to the culture, ethos and values of the African National Congress. This process was supposed to assist us to undermine factionalist tendencies by ensuring that the organization become the property of the youth. This programme was also supposed to assist us to undermine tendencies such as vanguardism where in which the organization never grows numerically but centres around few individuals

Re-alignment assisted us to see an organization that is loved and accessible to young people. We went to young people where they live, in the sporting fields, in the church, in the rural areas and in that process we never imposed the organization but the organization imposed itself to these youth through various programmes that were attractive to them.

Re-alignment is both empirical and theoretical evidence of an organization in action. Young people are attracted to the Youth League because it stands for their interests. They know from evidence that both in the ANC and society as whole the ANC Youth League speaks on their behalf and things happen.

We have learnt from this process that organizing people into structures is not like organizing a dinner party and that theory can only be perfected by practice and visa versa.

As for every one in the Youth League, we need to understand organization in its totality that there can never be a revolutionary organization without numbers, theoreticians, organizers etc. The danger is if we emphasise one single entity at the expense of everything else.

Through the re-alignment process, we have assembled a trusted army of young revolutionary democrats of which it becomes thereafter the task of the ANC socialise them into the culture and tradition of our movement. This task of politicising and raising political consciousness of the Youth League must be fulfilled by the African National Congress through its political school programme for all members and leadership of the Youth League. The plea is simply to educate us about the revolution and our orientation or else we will rely on the newspaper reports and political analysts that deliberately misconstrue our revolution and present their misconstructions as the theoretical orientation of our movement or the ANC. The ANC must not delegate the task of politicising this young cadreship emerging into our organisation, the organisation must take direct responsibility.

Having decided on the implementation of the re-alignment process we then further decided and insisted on the following:

That before every branch convenes at least they should have reached a quorum of fifty percent plus one (50%+ 1). The quorum is not just a number but it educates us about the role of ordinary members in the development of their organization. We insisted that all comrades when they elect delegates to attend any congress they should be from well constituted Branch General Meetings. In these Branch General Meetings, members can question and even direct or influence organizational policies, unlike where the organization has become the preserve of individuals.

To advance the principle of gender equality all structures should ensure that gender balance is observed for all representation in any forum of the organization.

Some of these things are not new in the organization. They are even reflected in the constitution of the Youth League. However, some comrades have continued to ignore the basic tenets of our constitution and on what is meant in practice by a revolutionary democratic organization.

As stated, the re-alignment process has been our main focus in the past three years, noting that we need to complete this process amidst limited resources as well as other competing priorities such as mobilizing the youth to vote the ANC during the 2004 National General Elections as well as implement our annual programmes. Accordingly, it was initially agreed that the re-alignment process would be completed by end July 2002, but we were compelled to extend the deadline hence the NEC resolved that we should extend the deadline to end second week of September 2002.

The Special NEC noted that the re-alignment process could not be objectively stalled by lack of resources noting that only the Eastern Cape does not have regional organizers. Also RTTs were supposed to be hands-on on the process. In addition, it was noted and agreed that the re-alignment process could not be extended any further since we could not afford to compromise our critical leadership in the elections process vis-à-vis youth mobilization to get ID's, Register for voting and ensure they actually cast their vote during the polls for an ANC victory.

Some provinces have demonstrated a lot of effort in the re-alignment programme, launching expansive rural areas difficult to mobilize while some urban regions with high-density population have failed to launch timeously.

Impediments with regard to the re-alignment process

The all round programme on the re-alignment process is that it has been a very tedious process such that some of our structures underestimated their role and time span and as a result we could not honour deadlines we had set for ourselves.

The tendency of gate keeping also undermined the process in certain provinces or what may be referred to as vanguardism. Some activists on the ground who have for many years acted without mandate of the Youth League in different areas have found themselves having either to align structures or face their own exit from the organization.

Resources also played a critical role both human and material vis-à-vis the strength of our organization to mobilize new members has been seriously challenged.

The new culture of ensuring mandated representatives from our structures have been perfected through a programme of convening BGM's has been supported by some while some have been opposed it and hence the latter would go to the extent of delaying it.

Some of the problems relate to the lack of discipline of some of our structures and personnel and the inability of some to do mobilization work.

Some positive elements on re-alignment

The re-alignment process assisted us to understand organization not as mere chasing of numbers but the totality of mass mobilization, recruitment, political education of members etc. The process also taught us organization is not a magnet but a tool through which we must perfect the art of mass engagement with the masses of the youth.

The process has also opened the organization to an influx of new members who genuinely admire the YL. We need to transform them from mere admirers to activists who will be prepared at all times to die for the organization in terms of the ideals that it stands for. This process has once more affirmed the ANCYL as a true mass based organization.

Part of the positive development of this process is that we have witnessed an influx of young women within our organization and they are not just tokens but cadres who have been shaped by conditions of the re-alignment process. The youth of our country have endorsed the YL as their political home.

Overall analysis of the re-alignment process

The overall performance of our structures has been quite impressive. This performance has been characterized by high level of discipline and dedication, this process has also given the entire organization to test new methods of engagement through the art of mobilization from a stagnant organization in terms of membership growth to an organization that replenishes itself. However, there are some amongst us who need to be assisted when it comes to working very hard. We salute the comrades from the following provinces in being the first to convene their Provincial Congresses: Free State, North West followed by Northern Cape and KwaZuluNatal. These comrades did not fail to meet the deadline in particular. In North West, we had to make an intervention after some comrades made a walkout during the Central Regional Congress. We pointed out to them that the walkout act was uncharacteristic of YL members. We engaged with all the comrades who embarked on this coarse political most of them were young and were misled to believing that they were doing the right thing.

The problems in the provinces could be characterized as follows: some of the collectives prioritized the issues of leadership before the re-alignment was completed. PEC's do not prioritize this work of building the organization.

Intervention by the NWC / NEC to address the problems of re-alignment

- Re-definition of the guidelines to say even if a province might have not launched all the regions, as long as if the 70% of branches are launched in the province a provincial congress can be convened.
- Deployment of resources both human and material.
- Visit provinces to impress upon them to do the work of the organization.

- NWC resolved to increase recruiter packs at some point such that each province got an equivalent of 20 000 cards in terms of packs distributed.
- The NWC also ensured that NEC members ran the regional congresses. In addition to the RTT Secretary and the Chairperson, the RTT may allow a maximum of three more delegates with voting powers in Provincial Congress. However, more RTT members may participate in the Provincial Congress without voting powers. This decision was arrived at by the NWC in order to curtail the dominance of RTT delegates in Provincial Congress since Provincial Congresses must be gatherings in the main of branches of the organization.

PREVIEW OF PROVINCES

Despite the varied challenges that we faced throughout the past three years, all the provinces deserve to be applauded for the job well done with regards to how our provinces have conducted themselves in the implementation of the re-alignment programme in addition to delivering an overwhelming victory for the African National Congress. However we have noted that throughout the period of the three years provinces do not have the same weaknesses or strength. All our provinces without exception implemented our programme of action as it came to manifest itself through various campaigns. This was implemented amidst challenges of financial resources and tight schedules.

The nature of the problems in the provinces varies from socio-economic constraints to geographical vastness of the provinces. Some are densely populated and yet comrades could not take advantage of this in terms of building the organization within the stipulated time frameworks.

On the relationship with the ANC, such experiences also vary from province to province. Most of our provinces do not have good relationship though with the ANC within their own provinces. In most instances the differences have perennially been about leadership squabbles and the fact that some individuals in the ANC have their choices of who should lead the ANC Youth League. How they seek to influence the process of leadership in the Youth League is both unconventional and this mainly involves the usage of resources as means to blatantly patronise factions within the Youth League as basis to win the overall Youth League support in the provinces. This behaviour contributes immensely towards entrenching negative tendencies in the movement, both in the ANC and the ANC Youth League.

There are few provinces where the situation is quiet calm and this would precisely be the result of how the ANC has gone about assisting and engaging the ANC Youth League in very matured ways, respecting the autonomy of the ANC Youth League as opposed to the blatant patronage in some provinces as referred to above.

We need to deepen the understanding of our members about what this Youth League autonomy means and the fact this autonomy was not delivered on a silver plate. Youth League cadres must know that this autonomy was fought for in the organization and that no body has a right to pursue selfish interest at the expense of this indispensable right to organisational autonomy of the Youth League.

This autonomy means to preserve our state of semi-independence but at the same time to enjoy the opportunity to be educated within the ANC about the culture and tradition of the ANC itself. This culture of the ANC includes amongst others as a matter of principle to be the foremost loyal cadres of the ANC and the revolution as espoused through the broad NDR theoretical paradigm. This endeavour is exercised through collective power and this has nothing to do with being in the pockets of wealthy individuals in ANC. In that sense we will be nothing else but lapdogs not of the ANC but these unscrupulous, uncultured and unprincipled individuals in the ANC who by no means deserve to lead the organisation at no point in time.

For all of the above to be achieved, the African National Congress must teach its youth cadres about the theory of the revolution. It must teach every one Marxism, particularly historical and dialectical materialism. All these important politically educational insights are currently through the African Communist and Umrabulo of which these publications themselves are more about promoting some national debates rather than the politicisation of members of the organisation.

This layer of leadership need ardent attention of political education to crowd out the possibility of ill-informed materialistic manipulation precisely because the dominant tendency of these manipulations is not only by means of knowledge accumulation but mainly by means of wealth taking opportunity of both the political immaturity of our members and their lack of material resources.

Most of our provinces have invested in the question of unity and cohesion in the African National Congress and we can attest that the ANC Youth League has positioned itself as the bulwark of unity within the ANC. There has been a lot of engagement with the ANC in the affected provinces on the characterization this organizational challenges and in certain

instances the ANC leadership has been receptive while in other instances the experience was extremely dismissive and arrogant.

There has been an uneven implementation of the programme of action simply because of gross inefficiencies by the provincial collectives.

The objective and subjective weaknesses can be characterised as follows:

- Financial resources and the failure of some PEC's to apply innovation.
- The Provincial Working Committee assuming the status of Provincial Executive Committees where the Provincial Executive Committees get convened to process policy issues and the latter tend to undermine the collective wisdom of most of the decisions as this concentrate the mandate of running a province in the accountability of few comrades.
- There are still some Provincial Executive Committees that do not address political issues as part of their organization work.

Gauteng province

The province set as its agenda to strive towards the tilting of the balance of forces in favour of the ANC and re-assert the ANC as a mass revolutionary movement rooted within the communities. And to this extent, the ANC Youth League has played a meaningful role in bringing about unity and cohesion in the ANC. The League mobilised all structures of the organization to among others desist from dwelling in the pockets of particular individuals. This programme seems to have yielded positive results since Gauteng is a stable province as compared to many other ANC provinces.

The province had a consistent engagement with government and legislatures on process of the creating institutions of youth development which resulted in the establishment of the Provincial Youth Commission after many years of struggle, although in terms of its structure the Youth Commission is chaired by the Premier which is really unprecedented.

The Youth League managed to implement a national programme of action particularly around issues of racism and economic participation. We should be doing a lot in provinces such as Gauteng given the fact that the majority of young people reside in these urban areas where the province is densely populated and less vast as compared to any other province in the country.

This is the province where most of the students reside as well. We need to intensify our ideological work in these institutions. Gauteng is the economic heartland of the country with its complex demographics and urban sprawls. This requires a visionary and dynamic leadership that is willing to work and work very hard.

The Youth League has through the realignment process launched all its regional structures and 70% of all Youth League branches. However, we need to make a point that most of the work to launch these structures could have long been accomplished but due to lack of cohesion of the provincial leadership in the implementation of work this got delayed. The process of realignment went very well. We have up until recently registered members joining the Youth League from other race groups particularly in the institutions of higher learning and this we need to intensify.

Gauteng is one of the provinces where the process of realignment of structures was very slow due to lack of a cohesive political center to do work of the organization. We hope the foundation that we have built on through the realignment process will be sustained.

Western Cape Province

The Youth League in this province had played a very important role in the programme of unity and cohesion of the ANC. Amongst others, the provincial leadership developed a strategic perspective of the problems in the ANC. Their document was titled "African Leadership". This paper was widely circulated in the ANC structures and debated. However, instead of it assisting in the deepening of this discussion particularly the national question, this approach further polarised the relations between the ANC and the Youth League. The attitude hardened to an extent that some within the ANC openly took part in the debate and stated their preferences about Youth League leadership. The Youth League paper was flushed under the bridge. It is now a challenge left with the new leadership to harmonise relations with the ANC.

The youth after the national congress of the Youth League had a united leadership in this province. However, with time, this leadership got depleted particularly about differences on leadership issues. Branches were neglected and the programme to build the same branches was kept aside. The main issue became who should lead the Youth League and for quite sometime our organizational work suffered in this province

Many programmes of the organisation around Youth Month, racism campaign, solidarity with Cuba were held successfully in this province and number of young people responded to this call the Youth League was making including marches for employment to both business and parliament. After a protracted struggle to establish a Youth Commission in the Western Cape, there is a bill in the process of being tabled to parliament around this matter.

Eastern Cape

The realignment was much slower than envisaged in this province. This is a highly rural province and to a certain extent vast. The provincial leadership of the youth was totally dysfunctional and the National Working Committee after consultation with the structures dissolved the province and the Provincial Task Team was appointed to fast-track the process of the launch of Youth League structures. This we can report has yielded good results as most of the youth structures were launched and a successful Provincial Congress was held.

The challenges that face the organization in this province is the acceleration of the youth development programme to engage the Provincial Government. In this task as well many programmes of the Youth League were a great success, that is, engaging with business and government. The response was overwhelming. The ANC Youth League enjoys greater support in society more than any other youth organization.

Among others, the youth must engage in a clear programme around the traditional leadership.

The youth must improve its relationship with the ANC. Amongst others we need to address allegations of blatant patronage displayed by some within the ANC members. The Youth League must be allowed to grow freely without being co-opted to misleading tendencies.

The Provincial Congress of the Youth League was organised on two consecutive periods. In the first period, the congress could not finish its business and some structures walked out. The main issue was around the credentials of that congress. Subsequent to this, the National Working Committee took a decision to reconvene the Congress and start every process from the beginning. The congress was organised successfully. The Youth League must continue to confront issues of unity and cohesion of the Youth League in the province and rally around approach in most cases to leadership issues.

Free State

The last National Congress of the Youth League was held in this province, this being the founding place of the African National Congress. This is the bedrock of the ANC electoral support and is largely rural, with a predominantly white agricultural sector and areas of former Bantustans given the fact that the ANC for many years had been plagued by political problems in a form of squabbles etc. The ANC Youth League became affected. The role played by our Provincial Executive Committee is the one of ensuring unity and cohesion of our movement. Some of the approaches the League had taken were highly criticised, including developing a perspective to guide structures on the leadership. The Youth League was very much united from the point of view of the structures of the organization. There have been allegations of undermining the autonomy of the Youth League by means of patronage as well as attempts to dictate as to who should lead the ANC Youth League.

The ANC Youth League has a very solid leadership in this province. This was among the first provinces to convene their Provincial Congress that being the final outcome of the realignment process. The Youth League implemented a very successful campaign on anti-racism, employment and solidarity with the people of Cuba. The comrades and branches in this province have never failed to be creative in their work many programmes including targeting gangsters were successfully embarked upon.

The Youth League has a very strong relationship with government on youth development matters, including co-operation around the programme of the Provincial Youth Commission. Most of the structures seem to be having a fair grasp of youth development work at a local government level. In many municipalities, Local Youth Units have been established.

The province managed to launch branches at the Free State University as well as the Free State Technikon.

Some of the challenges that face the Youth League in this province is the question of nation building programme, engagement with the farmers etc.

Northern Cape

This is a huge and yet sparsely populated province. The relations between the Youth and the ANC are very good in most cases. The Youth League has received the political support of the ANC leadership. It is in this province where the Youth League never had a perspective about the ANC. The mutual engagement has always been frank and honest about whatever the

problems are. The only master and manufacture of problems seem to be particular individuals around the Francis Baard region in both the League and the ANC.

This province is one of the strongest in the Youth League. They have implemented many programmes including the national campaigns around anti-racism as well as the demand for jobs etc. In this province we have one of the most solid leadership of the Youth League. They were the first to finalise the realignment programme. They have also increased their membership.

The Youth League has influenced government around youth development matters including building a solid programme to support the Youth Commission.

KwaZuluNatal

KwaZuluNatal has been managing a the fragile peace process and a difficult political environment of competition and co operation with the IFP. However, in the past elections, the people of the province have delivered the majority vote to the ANC. This like in the Western Cape opened up possibilities for our leadership to advance the agenda of youth development without any constraint.

The Youth League is having a very vibrant and dynamic relationship with the ANC. There are no tensions and squabbles that characterise this relationship. The ANC has in many occasions supported the ANC Youth League in the province both materially and politically.

The ANC Youth League remains strong in this province with a number of important campaigns such demand for jobs, anti racism and many more campaigns have been very successful in this province.

The reburial of the first President of the Youth League was in this province. This was a major political programme of our 58th anniversary.

Mpumalanga

This is a province which is faced with the challenge of many people working as farm labourers. This is one of the provinces which has been plagued by divisions in the ANC. The ANC Youth League in engaging with some of these problems developed a document titled "Is the

revolution safe in your hands?". This paper aroused a lot of discussions. To date, the ANC has moved towards relative stability and cohesion.

The province has played a critical role in the implementation of the Youth League campaigns. e.g. demand for jobs, anti-racism etc. With regard to governance and issues of Youth development, there were political misunderstandings between the youth and government, particularly around the functioning of the Youth Commission matter which was resolved later.

The ANC Youth League remains one of the strongest organizations in the province.

Limpopo

The Limpopo Province is one of the poorest parts of the country, with its largely rural and female population and the apartheid legacy of dividing people into Bantustans. The relationship of the ANC and Youth League was characterised by tensions with the different factions in the province which affected the ANC Youth League. Currently the relationship has improved remarkably. The ANC has supported the ANC Youth League in many of its programmes.

The Youth League has participated in some programmes of the League nationally whereas some failed. The ANC Youth League is by far the quantitatively largest organization in the country. We need to focus the energies of all of our members in this province in the task of building a strong organization. The foundation is there. We need to consolidate on this.

North West Province

This province is highly rural and predominantly driven by traditional leadership and former Bantustan areas the youth. The relationship between the Youth League and the ANC was not good for quite some time. Also in this province a number of discussion documents were developed, including a paper titled "back to basics". However, the tensions have subsided. The ANC Youth League has to engage with the ANC on a number of issues which includes Youth governance matters and the Youth League contribution in the Youth Commission.

This province is one of the first provinces to finish the realignment programme at an advanced stage.

REFLECTING ON THE STATE OF BRANCHES

TOTAL OF LAUNCHED BRANCHES

PROVINCE	Launched Branches	Good Standing
Free State	223	223
Limpopo	346	346
North West	183	183
Northern Cape	113	113
Western Cape	153	153
Kwazulu Natal	224	224
Gauteng	318	318
Eastern Cape	363	363
Mpumalanga	271	271
Total	2194	2194

The branch remains the basic unit of the ANCYL. All members must belong to branches, and with regards to the re-alignment process, all members must belong in the branch launched within their ward of residence. Our audit reflects that our branches have enlisted an increased membership of young women and this augurs hope for the redress of the gender imbalances in our society. The membership of these young women is not limited to mere membership as many of them take up leadership position at all levels of our organisation.

We have witnessed gradual improvement with regard to BEC establishment in tertiary institutions. The problem with our BECs in tertiary institutions has to do with the lack of understanding on the part of our structures that these structures are the microcosm of both the YL and the ANC. They bear the same responsibility as other branches therefore the programme of the YL in the institutions cannot be merely SRC elections and Financial exclusions. The latter captures the motive existence of YL branches in campuses. Our branches should be oriented in such a way that they deal with a broader transformation programme. They must be able to take forward the political agenda of the ANC.

We need to congratulate our cadres in the Western Cape. They are the highest in terms of the total number of branches in the institutions of higher learning. The weakest is Eastern Cape with only one branch at the Border Technikon.

Areas where we remain weak:

Over the years the YL has been interacting with a strategy of how to make inroads in the areas enlisted below. There are some areas we have kept our presence but failed to establish branches or have very weak branches.

Working youth

This sector is mostly found at shop floor level and other work places. Since these people have limited periods on daily basis in the areas where they work, they resolved not to establish branches. On the other hand, they spend most of their time in residential areas where they can be part of the structures at the local level. In this situation it is difficult to measure growth among this sector except through the membership system which largely reflect that they are very young professionals and working youth that are participating in the YL structures.

In our ongoing interaction with the national leadership of COSATU, the issue of the working youth was sharply raised as something we can co-operate.

Unemployed youth

The organisation has most of its rank and file from this sector. In our society more than 50 % of the unemployed are in their 20's and 30's. More than half a million of the youth leave school annually and most of them are unskilled in all labour fields and thus join the ranks of the unemployed. Most of the youth mentioned above have been vigorously in the struggle to destroy apartheid. The ANC government has swallowed a sizeable amount of this youth. This is the sector the YL must place emphasis on.

Minority areas

Programmes at conquering the minority into our ranks have collapsed. We need to revive our strategies which must include taking up locally oriented issues as a form of organisation. e.g. white youth are by and large individualistic in terms of their interest and very much less concerned about the development of the country. This situation could also apply away other minority groups residing in urban areas and their individualistic culture is influenced by this alienating urban environment.

The common and key organizational priority has been to place the ANC Youth League branch at the center of youth mobilization at local level. Most of our branches have responded and adapted to the notion of modernization of our structures. This was demonstrated by their engagement with the youth in local areas even through some modernization initiatives around beauty contests and valentine bashes to reach out to young people. One striking example is the engagement of young people in the general work of youth development, social campaigns around HIV/AIDS and drug abuse. The latter, except drug abuse, has become the programme of action of every Youth League branch.

The ANC Youth League remains weak in white and other minority areas due to lack of strategy and general acceptance that these communities are indispensable. However, we salute our branch in Pretoria University which has not succumbed to this defeatist approach by recently demonstrating to all that the white youth are ready to join the ANC Youth League in their numbers especially in historically white institutions.

We salute the following branches for their participation and subsequent winning of the Anton Lembede Award:

- Ivory Park Branch Gauteng Province
- Mandlenkosi Branch in the Western Cape Province
- Matsulu Branch in Mpumalanga Province

We however need to raise interest around many of our branches to participate in this process. Most of them do not have information from the provincial offices such that the nomination process is not very much transparent and competitive. This programme should register much interest among our structures since this is an annual programme which coincides with the January 8th Statement of the ANC.

We are the biggest Youth Organization in the country and second to the African Nation Congress given the fact that we exist almost in every community and village. The ANC Youth League is not an organization of chosen few we lead through our structures. We are true to our character as a mass-based organ of the ANC.

Following the new demarcations, we had to launch the ANC Youth League in line with the ANC demarcations. The new ward demarcations not only bring together communities on a non-racial basis but also cover rural areas, towns, villages and farms. We have thus far increased our

presence in farm areas though much more needs to be done. Amongst the difficulties our structures face in rural areas is the size of wards which make it difficult to organize general meetings because of long distances. The National Executive Committee has made a provision for provinces to apply for exemptions and allow for more than one branch in such areas. This exemption also applied in minority areas. The following provinces applied for these exemptions: Free State, Gauteng and KwaZuluNatal.

Though we are moving towards the establishment of the branch wherever the youth are found, this has not always translated into the organization work around these places to mobilise youth of different strata. Most of our branches have not taken municipalities on, particularly on matters of youth development. Only a few councils have established Local Youth Units let alone make allocations for youth biased programmes in their municipality budgets. Young people are really in the back of social transformation at most local government levels.

Young women

We have had a lot of young women joining the Youth League in our branches. However, the main challenge is to ensure that their political consciousness is enhanced to address the broader issue of gender transformation, particularly where it relates to leadership issues.

REFLECTING ON THE STATE OF REGIONS

The disbanding of all our structures in order to align them with the new Local Government demarcations posed a challenge to our regions to launch ward based branches. Many of our regions did a splendid job by achieving the launch of 70% of branches as required by the re-alignment guidelines adopted by the NEC. Regional Task Teams were responsible of politically co-ordinating the launch of branches to ensure that the regions get launched. Most provinces went to provincial congresses with all the regions launched.

Table of the regions

PROVINCE	LAUNCHED REGIONS	OUTSTANDING REGIONS
EASTERN CAPE	5	2
GAUTENG	6	0
KZN	9	2

NORTHERN CAPE	4	0
LIMPOPO	6	0
MPUMALANGA	3	0
WESTERN CAPE	4	2
NORTH WEST	5	0
FREE STATE	5	0
TOTAL	48	5

To date we have launched **48** Regional Executive Committees out of **53** country wide. By deduction we are left with 5 regions that are not yet launched. We salute the region of OR Tambo in the Eastern Cape. This is the biggest region of the ANC Youth League. The regions by far have become an important layer of the organization. This is where we breed the leadership of the ANC Youth League. These comrades deserve our salutations. Without resources they managed to take most of our branches to Branch General Meetings. Our biggest regions after O R Tambo are the following:

- Amathole Region in the Eastern Cape
- Johannesburg Region in Gauteng
- Capricorn in Limpopo

These are the biggest contributors to the growth of the ANC Youth League membership. In most of the provinces, comrades have as well utilised the sub-regional and zonal structures to co ordinate the work of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

As a mass based democratic organization our policies are determined by our membership and the leadership is accountable to this membership. In terms of procedures laid down in our constitution, our membership is open to all youth who are between the ages of fourteen to thirty five.

Very important constitutional obligations are placed on individual members to ensure that they play a role in the political life of the organization and on leadership structures to ensure that members are developed and that they play a meaningful role in the organization. We need to ensure the involvement of members in the critical d questions facing the organization not only as part of internal democratic process but also as an instrument of political education.

We need to build a branch as the basic unit where members exercise their rights responsibilities. Regular constitutional meetings such as regional and provincial general councils and congresses where branches are directly represented, visits by the National Executive Committee and PEC where members are party to decisions and approaches adopted by leadership collectives are issues that must be ensured they do happen. These also include special consultations through country wide general councils on key issues such as the challenges facing our revolution which we have elaborated in the political overview.

All instances where the NEC / NWC intervened to resolve problems in the provinces were preceded by extensive discussions with structures on the nature of the problems. The interventions also sought to create an atmosphere where members of the ANC Youth League contribute towards finding lasting solutions to problems faced by the organization in their own provinces.

Profile of the membership: table of the membership

Fig 1

PROVINCE	Membership as at the 20th National Congress 1996-1998	Membership as at the 21st National Congress 2000-2001
North West	4 451	7 393
Free State	5588	13 085
Northern Cape	8233	10062
Western Cape	6304	7466
Mpumalanga	28705	14227
Northern Province (Limpopo)	22976	16912
Gauteng	5631	7806
Kwazulu Natal	27365	15191
Eastern Cape	10 630	10 088
Total	119 883	102 230

Membership as at 22nd National Congress

Province	Membership Captured	Total of Launched
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		Branches
1 North West	38920	183
2 Western Cape	35490	153
3 Limpopo	179300	346
4 Free State	44300	223
5 Northern Cape	31940	113
6 Kwazulu Natal	47542	224
7 Gauteng	54446	318
8 Mpumalanga	45174	271
9 Eastern Cape	30886	363
Total	507 998	2194

The membership in the database demonstrates that as an organization we have grown quantitatively from 1998 to the present. The ANC Youth League has demonstrated that young people follow and are the ranks of the organization. By far we are the largest youth organization. We have to make this point because our detractors have not availed their databases, so if they question numbers, let them all reveal their own databases and not thumb suck figures but provide proven numbers. We are second only to the African National Congress.

The majority of our members are young women between the ages of 14 and 30. We are growing in the institutions of higher learning. The bigger numbers in terms of the membership recruitment campaign comes from Limpopo, Gauteng, Eastern Cape Free State and KwaZuluNatal.

Technical difficulties with regard to the database

Reconfiguration of our database was not without problems and we are still in the path of improving the system. To date, many forms are still with the branches and are not captured into the system.

Membership cards are not compatible with the recruiter packs due to problems we have had with the suppliers. However, this occurred in fewer provinces and was rectified on time. We need to work on a very solid and sustainable system. The current one can only assist to read the numbers.

NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

We had to expunge the National General Council from our calendar of events due to the financial reasons. At the time our programme was heavily congested with the re-alignment programme and the ANC elections programme and we had to focus our limited resources to both issues.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The NEC noted with concern the continued non-attendance of NEC Meetings by some members. A resolution was passed that the Secretary General must write a letter to all those comrades requesting them to submit in writing the reasons of their continued non-attendance of NEC Meetings.

Otherwise the National Executive Committee met regularly and attended to reports of the NWC, as well as prevailing political and organisational issues.

Fiona Traggena resigned as NEC member due to studies abroad. We also lost two NEC members due to untimely deaths and those were comrades Zibuse Zuma as well as Vusi Mzimela. The NEC decided to co-opt three comrades into the NEC and the criterion was to address the issue of gender balance on leadership matters. The three co-opted comrades were Bridget Khoza, Nobelungu Mazwi and Ntombikayise Sibhidla. Otherwise the rest of the NEC membership were as elected in the last National Congress.

NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The NWC continued to meet regularly and cohered on its work. The NWC Meetings were attended extremely well. The NWC worked as a unit meeting fortnightly over the past three years and its main task was to implement decisions of the NEC and made report to the National Executive Committee on its work. Since the passing on of comrade Zibuse Zuma who was member of the NWC, the NWC then co-opted Comrade Zizi Kodwa into the NWC to fill the gap left by comrade Zibuse.

In its first meeting after the congress, the NEC elected five additional members to be part of the NWC in addition to the five officials.

The NWC/NEC visited all structures of the organization to facilitate the programme of the realignment during the beginning of 2003. However the programme was short-lived due to financial resources. In these visits, the NWC/NEC embarked on the outreach programme under the theme "seizing the opportunities of democracy". Young people complained about accessibility of Umsobomvu Youth Fund, particularly in the rural areas. They also confused the role of the National Youth Commission to that of the implementing agency of government.

OPERATIONS AT HEADQUARTERS

The Headquarters activities were headed by the fulltime component of the Officials and that being the President, the Secretary General and the Treasurer General. These were assisted by an initial staff complement of six people. Five of the staff members have since resigned and three of these replaced. The Secretary for Organisational Development also worked fulltime.

THE OFFICIALS

The Officials as elected by National Congress met and cohered, working as a unit. Several meetings were held to deal with issues as mandated by the NWC. Issues discussed were reported to the NWC.

RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The question of the YL relationship with the ANC need to be examined continuously around whether or not we are making our necessary impact within the ANC around issues such as policies, organisational outlook and role and place of young people in the process of democratic transformation.

Therefore, we need to remind ourselves as to who are we in relation to the ANC.

- That the YL remains a mass political formation of youth united behind the strategic objectives of the ANC.
- It should act as champion of youth interests in the reconstruction process.
- It should reflect the broad non-racial constituency of youth in the country and encourage nation building and national unity.

As part of Congress Resolutions in answering to the political challenges in our country, the following remains of critical note:

- The YL is a youth movement of a political party in Government.
- The recognition that the YL needs to maintain its organisational autonomy, signified by its own structures, membership and a distinct programme of mobilising young people behind their issues and behind the ANC in the process serving as a preparatory school for the young activists of the movement, providing organisational vibrancy and youthful debate to the mother body.

Therefore, the approach that we have to follow is to seek to create a distinction between the roles that must result from these two realities without overemphasising of one aspect over the other.

Consequently, when we design a programme which is purely YL, others in the ANC and even in the YL sees us as being independent of and separate from ANC. On the other hand, a programme which is ANC centred sends signals that we are just an appendage and conveyor belt of the policy making structures of the ANC.

It is therefore important that our role should be understood as autonomous organisationally and in approach but complimentary to the role the ANC defines for itself. Thus we are a distinct entity in the ANC (body of opinion), whilst at the same time integral to its broad formulation of policy and strategy.

Informed by this approach, we have developed strategic intervention in different provinces and at national level.

- In the Western Cape, we raised issues pertaining to the national question and the strategic balance that we have to create in order to address the issue of leadership.
- In the Free State, we raised problems of factionalism which sowed disunity in the ANC.
- In the KZN, we raised issues pertaining to unity and cohesion of the leadership of the movement and doing away with petty squabbles.
- In the North West, similarly issues of disunity in our movement were raised.
- In Mpumalanga, issues of unresolved problems of disunity and patronage were raised.

At the National level, the entire organisation was geared towards making intervention on matters of youth and the defence of the unity and cohesion of our movement.

These interventions have taught us as much as possible that the ANC recognise the YL as a definite body of opinion. The YL will have to be brave to further raise issues such as careerism that is creeping in our movement, probably as a national perspective.

Our relations with the ANC generally are very good except issues of how the YL is perceived in some provinces particularly as a result of the above intervention.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE

We met with the ANC Women's League and discussed issues on gender relations. We also discussed relations between the YL and WL including the role of young women in the WL. We posed our concern about the State of Organisation of the WL. The meeting further discussed the creation of a broad women's movement to tackle the issues of gender relations as well as embark on the programme of transformation and work is in progress on this matter as we have an outstanding meeting with the Women's League.

COSATU

We met with COSATU and discussed COSATU's concern about the programme of the Restructuring of State assets. We also clarified our notion of the ultra-left as a new ideological enclave aimed at challenging our revolutionary agenda on a misrepresentation of what is supposedly a progressive perspective. We pointed out that this ideological tendency has infiltrated our progressive ranks and use our platforms to attack our NDR.

As such, the meeting with COSATU was a ventilation by both parties on particularly statements from both sides. There was an agreement on a process of engagement as part of our bilateral relations and we have an outstanding meeting with them. The newly elected national executive committee must sustain this engagement .

YCL

We met with the SACP Youth Desk where they briefed us on their conference and the fact of their existence as a structure. They also outlined that they would formerly launch their structure as a fully fledged organisation by July 2003. We stated to them that we are not opposed to this formation and believe as the YL we should welcome them as reinforcement of the progressive youth of our country. However towards this congress, we were subjected to an unprecedented attack and many insinuations have been made about the role of the Youth League today. It

must be noted that matters that have been raised in the media have never been raised by the leadership of the Young Communist League to the ANCYL, whether as criticism or otherwise. The incoming national executive must engage the YCL with a view to seek clarity on the origins of these insinuations and establish a platform through which issues could be discussed.

RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

There has not been much interaction with the Communist Party. It is important to engage the party on issues pertaining the transformation of our country.

RELATIONS WITH COSAS

COSAS recently held its own congress amidst concerns about its state of organisation. COSAS is currently in its weakest state, this being signified by the character of its last National Congress. The Youth League must ensure that we have a vibrant student organisation in our high schools as breeding ground for the sustenance of the revolutionary struggle. We must therefore capitalise on our cordial relations with COSAS to strengthen this student body and also assist it to concretise on its relevance.

RELATIONS WITH SASCO

Our relations with SASCO continues to be cordial and usually find more expression in the institutions of higher learning.

As part of our efforts to consolidate our presence in Tertiary institutions, we planned election campaigns all over the country. In most institutions, we entered the election in alliance with SASCO. Activities included SRC Elections Manifesto Launches as well as workshops for campus branches.

There was a National Manifesto Launch in Bloemfontein on the 4th September 2002. In this programme, we had both National and Provincial deployments.

Our basic plan was that in all campuses where possible, we should strive to enter into elections with PYA structures, and where not possible, we may decide on pacts with other campus based structures but in this fray we exclude the right wing organisations such as the DA.

We started our campaign with workshops focused on specific provincial dynamics to enable us to strategise effectively on the elections. Provinces that were able to hold these workshops were Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZuluNatal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Free State. We could not hold these elections workshops in Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and North West.

We performed better in the institutions where we are strong and our cooperation with SASCO was better than in previous years with minimal situation where we contested against SASCO. We consolidated our position at Wits University.

Where we lost, it was largely because of our direct contestation with SASCO and this resulting in us losing in UDW, UWC, MEDUNSA and UNW. There was a lack of discipline by structures of both the Youth League and SASCO in following decisions we had entered into vis-à-vis the elections.

In some institutions, branches exist solely for purposes of elections. In some provinces such as the Eastern Cape, we exist only at the Border Technikon out of 10 institutions of higher learning a scenario that is very dismal. In the Free State, we exist both at the University of the Free State as well as at the Free State Technikon. In the Northern Cape, we are still trying to set up a branch in the only institution of higher learning, the Phatsima College.

In Mpumalanga we are still trying to set up a branch at the satellite campus of the University of Pretoria. We are also weak in the North West where we mainly contested elections against SASCO.

We have a good presence in Gauteng and Western Cape and are very strong in Limpopo and KwaZuluNatal.

The Youth League / SASCO alliance emerged victorious generally in the 2002 and 2003 SRC elections.

Our challenges remain to normalize relations with SASCO in all institutions to ensure an undivided vote. We also need to give focus to historically white institutions where we generally continue to be second best.

One of the challenges we face are those of discipline by our student cadres in the use of SRC resources of which organisations such as Azasco capitalize on because they themselves do

not have a reliable social base in these institutions. Our failure to have pacts with other organisations particularly the Christian organisations has allowed Azasco to lead these organisations and therefore ensure Azasco's victories where we lost.

We must congratulate the comrades in the Limpopo who ensured a Youth League / SASCO victory despite the lack of resources.

Our general overview is that there is a serious diminishing interest on political issues by students at institutions of higher learning with lower voter turn outs.

Strategic SRC Elections Pacts

In principle, ANCYL Campus branches should form SRC Elections Pacts with Member Structures of the Progressive Youth Alliance, where they exist. However, this should also take into cognisance the inherent weaknesses in each campus.

Tactical Co-Operations

Where it is not possible to make Strategic Pacts with member structures of the PYA, the ANCYL branches could have joint campaigns with other structures that agree with us in specific institutions. However, these would exclude Ultra left or Right wing organizations such as DA, FF etc.

We emphasised that all branches that forge any form of alliance or relationship with other organizations outside the PYA should first seek approval from the ANCYL Head Quarters.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ALLIANCE

The Progressive Youth Alliance was established to forge a front amongst those structures which historically took up progressive stances around our revolutionary agenda, as well as agreed on the centrality of the ANC's leadership of the revolution itself.

The PYA therefore remains an alliance and not an alternative organisation to the member structures. Each structure organises itself and chart its own programme of action and political agenda.

However, the PYA has over the past few years degenerated, lacking insight of its relevance, this being compounded by the worrying state of organisation amongst its member structures. The question then becomes whether or not the PYA can take up on various issues in the terrain of the member structures such as tertiary students, high school students, religious youth etc. This has been undermined by the poor state of organisation amongst some of the PYA member structures.

This poor state of member organisation crept into the PYA itself and we lacked as the PYA political cohesion towards the SAYC BGA.

The Youth League must find ways of relating to all sectors of youth in our country, including all organisations not aligned to any political party. Also, the Youth League must strive to exist everywhere, and not rely on the mobilisation work of other structures. However, the Youth League must continue to ensure that the PYA is revived, strengthened and that the PYA itself deals effectively with matters of its relevance.

SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH COUNCIL

The South African Youth Council was established to ensure that all youth organisations in South Africa have an interactive platform wherein they could engage each other around youth developmental issues irrespective of partisanship. Membership to SAYC is therefore open to all youth organisations existing national or at the provincial level.

This structure has been responsible during its early years of formation for the consolidation of youth views around various matters affecting the country, particularly where it refers to youth matters such as education and job creation. In the 1990's, SAYC therefore led the youth of our country in the Presidential Job Summit in 1998, for instance, and subsequently represented all of our youth in South Africa within the NEDLAC.

However, the recent state of organisation of SAYC resulted in the perpetual non-convening of its BGA, which was ultimately convened almost after five years after the previous BGA instead of the constitutionally stipulated two years. This situation undermined the credibility of SAYC amongst many of its member structures, resulting in some altogether withdrawing participation.

As the Youth League, we initiated a process towards reviving SAYC, with particular focus on convening its long outstanding BGA which was ultimately convened in 2003. However, the

manner in which leadership issues were dealt with at that BGA resulted in SAYC losing on the opportunity of re-orienting itself in order to effectively respond to its own organisational challenges.

The ANC Youth League must continue to find ways to ensure the revitalisation of SAYC but also ensure it finds its relevance within the current conjecture.

RELATIONS WITH MIDDLEGROUND YOUTH PARTICULARLY PROGRESSIVE NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Towards the National General Elections, we convened the National Youth Indaba in 2003 to mobilise middle ground youth through interacting with youth organisations not aligned to any political party.

As a youth organisation bent on the mobilisation of the youth behind the vision of the ANC, we have to go the extra mile to reach out to these youth, many of whom are favourable to the transformation agenda due to the situation in which they live.

SECTION C

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The National Executive Committee, the National Working Committee and the Officials oversaw the implementation of Programmes of Actions as annually adopted. National Office also worked with provinces to ensure uniformity on common issues as well as the implementation of those issues that differ from province to province.

Apart from the re-alignment programme that characterised the entire duration of the past three years, we embarked on the mobilisation of the youth to vote the ANC during the 2004 National General Elections. We have concluded based on our analysis informed by the massive turn out of the youth that indeed the youth heeded our call and the call of the President comrade Thabo Mbeki, that the youth must ensure they cast their votes for the ANC.

In addition to contributing to this victory, the ANC Youth League can be proud of the number of young people deployed in various spheres of government.

2004 NATIONAL GENERAL ELECTIONS

Our active participation in the mobilisation of our youth to vote the ANC during the April 2004 National General Elections started effectively in June 2004. It was for this reason that we had to then suspend the critical programme of re-aligning our structures in order to give our undivided attention to the elections work. We participated in all the structures of the ANC with regards to preparatory work and that included the National Office, provinces, regions and branches.

WE also had our own programme focussed on youth in general including those at the institutions of higher learning. In this regard our branches at institutions of higher learning throughout the country convened mass meeting wherein Youth League and ANC Leadership addressed our youth.

WE can sum up our elections work as having been successful, noting also the massive response by the youth vote the ANC. In this sense our youth defied the logic of being apolitical, by showing the political support to the ANC and its transformation agenda. Our task to to continue and build the momentum around this support that has resulted in an unprecedented

ANC majority in parliament. This we must do by championing their interests within the spheres of the ANC government and business and in this way shall have fulfilled the objectives of the twin tasks.

YOUTH AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Growth and Development Summit (GDS)

One of the major tasks the cluster was assigned was to prepare for the GDS. The cluster outlined the framework for the GDS that the NEC eventually adopted as the ANCYL's approach. The Draft Document was then used to consult with the PYA and the broader youth sector in the Youth Sector GDS Summit held in Ekurhuleni. We held extensive consultations with the Department of Labour which was coordinating the GDS to lobby for some of the issues we were raising. The key achievement of this process was the recognition by all stakeholders that youth economic participation and empowerment was vital for economic growth and development. This was a result of intense lobbying and close working relations between the ANCYL and the youth development troika (NYC, SAYC and UYF), as well as within these organisations themselves.

The following issues were adopted at the GDS:

- i) Increased number of young people in learnerships – 98% of all participants in the learnerships must be below 35 years;
- ii) Implementation of the National Youth Service Programme linked to the Expanded Public Works and other national development initiatives;
- iii) Provision of access to Finance and Business Support to young entrepreneurs for purposes of self-employment;
- iv) Addressing the impact of student debt on young people;
- v) Representation and participation in Black Economic Empowerment processes including access to preferential procurement opportunities;
- vi) Establishment of the Solidarity Youth Fund to facilitate contribution by the youth to youth development.

The GDS adopted all the issues raised by the youth with two caveats that, the issue of student debt was to be raised within the context of the Financial Sector Summit (in the NEDLAC Chamber) and that representation on BEE Advisory bodies would be raised directly with government

Youth Contribution at the GDS (Youth Solidarity Fund)

With the technical assistance of Ernst & Young, the UYF, NYC and SAYC are in the process of finalising the establishment of the YSF to mobilise resources for youth development, through voluntary contributions by all employed youth, in solidarity with their disadvantaged counterparts through a day's salary/earnings. Contributions into the YSF would be made by young people, and challenge business and government to also contribute. The Fund would complement current resources available for youth development and empowerment, and would be managed by the existing youth structures with decision powers and control. The life span of the fund should be left timeless until such time we feel that youth issues are addressed. It has been proposed that the first projects of the Fund should focus on the provision of bursaries to university and technikon students in scarce skills who cannot afford to pay their fees.

Skills Development

After a series of mass campaigns in the form of marches to the private sector and various provincial governments, we had extensive interactions with the Department of Labour and the skills bodies in the country to discuss the issue of skills development. We met the National Skills Authority, the SETA Forum and addressed the National Skills Development Strategy Conference. The main objective was to put pressure on SETAs and the private sector to respond expeditiously to the issues facing the youth, and to ensure that youth were represented on the Boards of various SETAs.

The Economic Cluster further facilitated for the youth development troika to address the SETA Forum. Some of the key decisions that have been taken on the matter have included that the youth would be directly represented on the Boards of the various SETAs, and the troika would facilitate this and train youth representatives in order to have capacity properly to discharge their mandate.

Some of the concerns we have raised with these bodies have included the manner in which they work, the asymmetries of information, especially as it relates to the rural youth and the fact that the SETAs seemed to be neglecting the plight of the unemployed youth. We have raised concerns about corruption and ineffectiveness of other SETAs, and about the fact that many SETAs seemed to be oriented towards reporting profits at the end of the year, rather than engaging in training. We have further suggested to the Minister of Labour that, during the

review period, some SETAs would need to be dissolved or merged with others in order to improve their performance, and yet others must still be retained.

A meeting took place with the former Minister of Public Enterprises (Jeff Radebe) to advocate for the learnership programmes within the state-owned enterprises.

Way Forward

The issues that have evolved from the programme in the cluster that should be followed-up are:

- The “**One Company – One Youth Learner Campaign**”, which should be revived to put pressure on companies, government departments and parastatals to recruit learners.
- The Troika (NYC, SAYC and UYF) should have a permanent seat on the SETA Forum.
- All the 25 SETAs should be pursued to ensure youth representation on the Boards.
- A central information and application centre should be established to assist the youth to have access to information and know when to apply for learnerships.
- A programme should be developed to name and shame those companies that are not taking youth into the learnership programme.
- The proposal that other programmes such as the National Youth Service Programme, Bridging Programmes and Internships be also funded as part of the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS). Furthermore the National Skills Fund should provide finance for study purposes.

National Qualifications Framework Review

We had begun to participate in discussions regarding the NQF Review, including at government level. This is a complex and challenging review that entails the integration of Governing Bodies which will result in an integrated structure for regulating standards and qualifications. Our participation here is informed by the perspective that education and training should be integrated.

National Youth Service Programme

After much struggles, the government is in the final process to establish the NYSP. The Cabinet has adopted a policy statement and the implementation plan. The NSF should avail funding for the skills component of the NYSP. The Project Partnership Team has been constituted and is chaired by the Minister in the Presidency, Cde Essop Pahad. Five (5) government departments have confirmed their support for the programme, namely, Health, Public Works, Provincial and Local government, Social Development and Environment and Tourism. The NYSP is targeting about 5 000 young people for this financial year. The National Youth Service Unit is set to be launched on 28 August 2004.

Way Forward

- Securing of on-going funding through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework and the National Skills Fund is a major issue to be addressed;
- An education and awareness programme should be developed to educate people to understand NYSP;
- Government at the three levels should continue to increase its support to the NYSP.

Self-employment and Black Economic Empowerment

Black Economic Empowerment and access to Finance

We engaged the former Minister of Trade of Industry to propose that the youth should get a certain percentage out of the R10 billion allocated for BEE. Further, we agreed with the Minister that there would be a youth representative on the Advisory Committee on BEE to advise the President on the BEE.

Business Support

We held discussions with the former Minister of Public Enterprises regarding **procurement** especially from government. We had agreed that he would facilitate a meeting between the

Youth Institutions and government departments and parastatals on this matter. This needs following up.

Youth in Agriculture

Following our engagement with this area in the past, we held discussion with Umsobomvu Youth Fund, during which we resolved to focus on state-owned land as a way to facilitate youth participation in agriculture, including as caretaker land-owners. To address the skills challenge, young people should be identified to undergo training in the key areas of agriculture utilising the resources, infrastructure and institutions that are already there. Relevant SETAs should also provide funding for training.

Further, the UYF was tasked to conduct research and draft a document on youth co-operatives, to include how funds could be secured for these, including through partnerships between the Land Bank and the UYF.

Youth SMME STRATEGY

UYF was also tasked to draft a Youth SMME Strategy should be developed. Thus far, the NYC and the UYF have teamed up to facilitate the development of the strategy in collaboration with the DTI. The Strategy will be complete before the end of the year.

Partnership and dialogue

Partnership with Absa

A meeting was held with ABSA where we presented proposals regarding youth economic participation. We highlighted key issues such as:

- lack of funding, and lack of business development support for the youth;
- the traditional requirements by the financial institutions are the barrier for the youth to accessing funding;
- there is a need to look at impact of the credit bureau and need to assess applications based on the merits of each and every individual,

The meeting agreed to:

- Explore establishing an incubator fund for youth enterprises with the UYF. The NYC and UYF would develop a strategy to recruit young people into the learnership programme and also to support other youth development programmes.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

For the past three years, we had a very busy international affairs programme. Much of these international affairs events and activities featured prominently in our Programme of Action. As the Youth League, we engaged other organizations throughout the continent around matters of the African Union and the NEPAD as critical frameworks within which the development of the continent can be realized. Our international priorities are informed by the fact that our destiny is intertwined with the SADC region, the African continent, South to South solidarity and the rest of the international progressive formations throughout the world this being within the broader context of globalization.

On the occasion of the ANC 90th Anniversary Celebrations in January 2002 in Durban, we met with the JMPLA of Angola and FRELIMO Youth of Mozambique. The aim of this meeting was to consolidate relationships amongst these organisations, an initiative which also involved their respective mother parties (ANC, MPLA and FRELIMO). This meeting was very elaborate and adopted a programme aimed at the actualization of the agreements reached. There are outstanding meetings on this regard.

The Zimbabwean Presidential Elections as well as the broader situation in Zimbabwe drew a lot of continental and global attention. The YL was represented in the ANC Observer Mission as well as the South African Government Observer Mission. It has been our observation that indeed the elections were free and fair by empirical world standards. However, there were those whose intention was to find wrong with the elections, making conclusions long before the process became decisive and these were driven by clear ideological and political agendas.

We hosted the African Youth Dialogue as part of our follow up on the consolidation of the African Renaissance and in turn the consolidation of the NEPAD and the AU as the twin instruments which do not only give answer to the challenges of globalisation but chart a wayforward for our continent to develop. We invited various youth organisations from all over the continent and our observation is that we must continue to develop a strategy of assisting the proper institutionalization of youth organisations in the continent and ensure these organisations realize the objectives of their progressive mission.

Following closely on our African Youth Dialogue in June 2002 was the founding of AU Summit in Durban to which we attended the seating of the Civil Society sector. Here we confronted bogus civil society organisations which clearly were agents of imperialism and because of their western funding sources they act as conveyance belt of the West. These organisations rejected the NEPAD on the ill-informed basis of lack of consultation by governments amongst civil society. However, the AU adopted the NEPAD as the blue print of our continental programme for reconstruction and development. The challenge is to make sure that the NEPAD become a reality throughout the continent and as the Youth League we must continue engaging other youth organizations around this matter.

We have been part of the WSSD preparations including being part of the International Preparatory Committee meetings leading to the Johannesburg Summit. We also led in the process towards the convening of the International Youth Summit in North West despite the various logistical problems we encountered on the financing of the actual hosting.

For us the WSSD was a success on the basis that our country successfully hosted a world major event and that various agreements reached would be part of the historical benchmark and evolution towards a just world order.

IN 2002, we hosted the International Union of Socialist Youth World Congress in Johannesburg. About 250 international delegates descended to our shores and the event was very successful. This was the first in time in the hundred years of the existence of IUSY that a major event was held in Africa. We also hosted the IUSY Feminist Working Group for Africa as well as the African Seminar. Both events were held towards the end of 2002. The IUSY Feminist Working Group was a success, noting the challenges over gender transformation issues throughout the continent and globally. The African Seminar amongst others adopted a Ten Year Plan, outlining key issues to be attended to by IUSY the following year in 2003. IUSY hosted its World Festival in Greece in July 2003.

We have previously been elected IUSY Africa Coordinator and later Vice President of IUSY. The World Congress convened in Hungary in February 2004 elected the Youth League Secretary General Comrade Fikile Mbalula into the position of Presidency. All these developments signified our key role around the continent and the rest of the world. We have welcomed this as the growing recognizance of the role the Youth League plays on matters of international affairs. It has been a culmination of our interaction with both IUSU and other

organizations internationally, in some instances where we successfully hosted international events and also displayed our organizational capability to provide leadership internationally.

We must continue to build on the trust that the world has bestowed on us over the years, noting that our national interests are to some extent tied with those of the rest of the international community.

WE continued to interact with WFDY, inviting the President to our African Youth Dialogue. In 2002 we sent a representative to be part of the International Organising Committee for three months in Algiers, Algeria, towards the convening of the World Festival of Youth and Students (WFYS). Over 5000 international delegates attended this festival and the general participants are mainly organizations members to WFDY.

The WFDY World Assembly was held in Havana in July 2003. We continue to be the Africa Coordinator of WFDY and the challenge we have together with the WFDY, particularly the Vice President who is from Africa, is to consolidate our communications in the continent.

We continue to host the Head Office activities of SAYF. The weaknesses of SAYF are in essence the sum weaknesses of the member organisations to take up issues at the regional level. A lot still has to be done to realise the objectives of progressive youth activities in the SADC region.

As part of implementing our Congress resolutions, we have interacted with the Pan African Youth Movement as a body that should represent all African youth within the organs of the AU as well as at other levels. We invited the PYM Secretary General to the African Youth Dialogue in June 2002. We made further resolutions on how to consolidate this structure within the context of the rapid developments on the AU and NEPAD as well as the absence of an authoritative African Youth voice that is legitimate on issues such as WSSD, WCAR etc. We participated in the Pan African Youth Movement at its 9th Congress in Windhoek, Namibia in 2003, wherein it resolved to change its name to the Pan African Youth Union, with the intention that it must be aligned to the African Union and its composite structures. Much work still has to be done to realize this objective.

Over the past three years, we pledged solidarity with the people of Cuba, Western Sahara and Palestine in their respective struggles for the sovereignty of their countries.

With regards to Western Sahara, we attended the UJSARIO National Congress in the desert refugee camps of Algeria bordering the Western Sahara. WE also attended POLISARIO National Congress in 2003, where we delivered through our Treasurer General a message of support on behalf of the ANC Secretary General and on behalf of the ANC.

The people of Western Sahara continue to live under the deplorable conditions imposed on them by an unrelenting Moroccan colonial occupation. WE have repeatedly over various international platforms supported the Saharawi people for a referendum as a democratic and peaceful wayforward on the colonial occupation impasse.

We have also campaigned against the US imperialist blockade against the sovereign State of Cuba, citing the fact that no nation-state must determine or attempt to determine the internal affairs of another sovereign state with regards to frameworks and policies on their domestic economy. This blockade is but the continued unipolar arrogance of America's imperialism, as manifested amongst others in the by-passing of the United Nations in the invasion of both Afghanistan and Iraq, and thereby giving credence to the violation of international law by other nation states. To this end we organised marches against this unjust blockade throughout the country.

WE have had a number of exchange events with the UJC wherein Presidents and other officials of both organisations visited each other's organisation and on one such occasion in South Africa signed a bilateral agreement committing ourselves to the strengthening of bilateral relations.

Around the matter of the Palestine, we have called for a fair mediation and refuted any thinking that suggests that President Arafat could be replaced by outside forces other than the internal democratic processes within the PLO or Palestine, as both leader of the Palestine and as chief negotiator in the political impasse with Israel. WE organised a march in Pretoria, in solidarity with the cause of the people of Palestine. Our tenet on this matter is that there can be no peace for both Israelis and Palestinians as long as if neither is granted the sovereignty of statehood.

WE also had bilateral relations with the Chinese Communist Youth League, wherein our President visited China and we also hosted a delegation from the Chinese Communist Youth League. WE need to strengthen our relations with both the Chinese Communist Youth League and the All China Youth Federation, noting also the massive potential influence China as a

nation-state is rapidly having on the global economy but more so within the context of South to South solidarity.

On Swaziland, we organised a march against the Swazi dictatorship regime. WE marched to the Swazi embassy in Pretoria.

GENDER TRANSFORMATION

A discussion document of the ANCYL titled “Towards an ANCYL Gender perspective” was prepared, which facilitated the preparations of the Gender Policy and the Draft Policy document was presented to the NWC, which engaged with the document and was later endorsed by the NEC and has since become official document of the Youth League.

Meeting with the Deputy Minister of Justice

A meeting with the Deputy Minister of Justice was facilitated and issues discussed in that meeting related to: Women open courts, Violence against women and children, Joint programmes between the Ministry and the Youth League, Social Grants, Customary marriages and maintenance

It was agreed follow-up meetings must be arranged for further engagements on these issues.

Meeting with the ANC WL

A meeting was facilitated between the Leagues to discuss amongst others: Joint Programmes, ANC Conference, Broad Women’s Movement, Relations with the Commission on Gender Equality and the Office of the Status of Women and the August month.

Broad Women’s Movement

The NEC recognized the need to draft a perspective around the Broad Women’s Movement which issue must be pursued urgently as part of attending to the challenges of gender transformation. The process has already been started with the ANCWL taking the lead and our task is to be on board to influence and implement the programmes that would be adopted.

In brief, the Gender Desk performed exceedingly well under the circumstances of lack of resources. WE must conduct training of young women in picking up issues of women

emancipation. However, we must also ensure that our engagement with the Women's League as well as all other relations are not limited to meetings but also to the adoption and implementation of transformation programmes.

MEDIA AND PUBLICITY

For all revolutionary struggles there must be a well-oiled and effective propaganda machinery, capable of disseminating information to the people as one of the most principal means of mass mobilisation. This must relate to issues of ideological struggle wherein hostile forces attempt to defeat the revolution by dissuading the masses away from the revolutionary organization as well as ensure effective reporting on the issues of transformation as pursued by the revolutionary movement to make better the livelihood of our people. In other words, our people must know the truth about this revolution to enable them to understand and continue to support their consolidation of their freedom and development.

The profile of the ANC Youth League has improved remarkably due to public interventions of the organization on various issues but also due to the implementation of the programme of action of the Youth League. The general membership of the organization does not adequately participate in shaping and contesting the ideological struggles in the country. We need to improve our participation with regard to this matter. There are very few comrades of the Youth League who participate in the national debate within the country as a result the media is dominated by poor pseudo-intellectuals who have half baked ideas about everything.

Internal Communications

We only managed to produce Horizon twice. We need a dedicated fund so that this platform of ideas through the Horizon is sustained within the organization. This must also act as the defender of our ideas in the public discourse. The new National Executive Committee must pay attention to this matter.

YOUTH AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Youth Development remain the key challenge facing our country, given the fact that majority of youth are without skills albeit having matriculated or graduated, unemployed or unemployable, affected by a number of social ills including HIV/Aids, teenage pregnancy, Crime either as perpetrators or victims etc. Youth as social strata continues to experience degrees of marginalisation, therefore have deem prospects for sustainable livelihoods.

The YL has remains the champion of youth interests by integrating youth development into the national development agenda. While various youth development institutions have been created particularly since 1994 such as the NYC, UYF, it is the Youth League that would be called upon to account on youth development.

The NWC/NEC had established the Joint Task Team as a vehicle to drive and coordinate the various efforts on Youth Development. The JTT is constituted by Presidency and has Youth League deployees from various institutions. The JTT convenes fortnightly and seeks to put the Youth League at the forefront of youth socio-economic aspirations.

The JTT Lekgotla had developed an implementation plan on matters arising from the ANC YL NEC Lekgotla with focus on improving co-ordination amongst the various youth development institutions. JTT Lekgotla resolved that Provincial JTT's must be established to deal with the same JTT work done nationally as per resolutions of the ANC Youth League Lekgotla. can make for progress at this level.

Skills Development

There is a huge problem of skill shortages in our country, but there is also mismatch between Investments and Skills development which makes it difficult to align all skills development programmes to potential investments and therefore guarantee full employment of those who are trained in various skills.

It is for this reason that our strategy must involve various players in order to know before hand the needs of each, particularly of potential investors so as to advise the youth properly on what skills to pursue. Our programme on socio-economic transformation therefore engages various institutions at the highest level including business and government SACOB / SAFCOG and Government Ministers.

In our various policy interventions we have been advocating for funding for internship so as to lessen the burden and create incentives. We have had productive engagements with other stakeholders on learnerships and skills development programmes. The YL is advocating for funding of interventions such as bridging programmes for school leavers to the world of work,

training for youth cooperatives, life skills programmes for youth in conflict with the law, youth with disability and other non-accredited social upliftment programmes.

The recent government interventions on the National Youth Service Programme provides us with a huge avenue within which we can enhance youth development in the country by urgently responding to the crisis of youth economic marginalisation.

We must as the ANC Youth League claim the victories we have made in such engagements hence the State of Youth Report must speak on these issues to demonstrate to the youth that their leaders are hard at work resolving their problems from a leadership point of view so that they can be motivated to do their part.

Hiv/Aids

The YL has been very active in the aspect of building a healthier society. This is against the back ground that youth are the most affected and infected. There were a number of initiatives that we participated in mainly driven by government particularly the Partnership against Aids. We have built good relations with organisations such as Napwa on matters of affordable drugs challenging the pharmaceutical companies.

We salute our structures nationally for their active involvement in the prevention programmes through the **Abstain--Be faithful--Condomise** awareness campaign and volunteering for the Community Based Health Care Programmes.

Human Resource Development- Internal

The implementation of the management development programme with the Stellenbosch University has been on hold in the main due to delays in securing viable sponsorship.

The Beacon of Hope bursary fund has not been in a position to disburse further resources in this calendar year. The T M Mbeki Bursary fund was approached to assist with those already enrolled.

Education and Training

The YL has built a good relationship with the Ministry of Education focussing on various issues including Skills development, National Students Financial Aid Scheme, Restructuring of Higher Education and Opening Doors of Learning. In contributing towards ensuring that indeed the doors of learning are indeed opened to all, we launched the Beacon of Hope Bursary Scheme wherein we awarded some bursaries to a few students whose performance was excellent but could not afford fees at institutions of higher learning. However, we had to discontinue with this scheme due to the absence of resources.

The organization was engaged in SRC elections jointly with other PYA structures and a number of gains were recorded. We now exist in most institutions of higher learning, more work needs to be done to strengthen our capacity.

We have also held a high profile programme on school visits and restoration of the culture of learning and teaching. With emphasis on the right to learn and challenging all forms of discrimination either on the grounds of language, ability to pay etc.

We have committed our selves to assist the destitute orphans of Hluhluwe in KwaZulu-Natal on an ongoing basis and this will need to be followed up.

Policy Development

The YL has made a number of submissions ranging from Education transformation, restructuring of NYC, National Skills Development Strategy etc. However we need to strengthen our capacity to master this important work. A training programme was facilitated with African Renaissance Institute and the Africa Institute. However it seems this has not helped much, because all tasks allocated to this section have not been effectively carried out. There is a process of reviewing current capacity with the possibility of redeployment.

Youth Develop Task Team

Since the Youth Development Joint Task Team was established with the purpose of coordinating and ensure cohesion of the youth development institutions in terms of implementing their programme.

Up to date this task team meets regular at least once a month and has since held two annual workshops to evaluate the work of the past year and develop a common programme for the coming year.

National Youth Commission

The issue of the mandate of the National Youth Commission has been debated on several occasions. What we had initially lobbied for was the creation of a Youth Ministry but compromised for a National Youth Commission. The mandate of the NYC is limited to issues of policy formulation and not the implementation of these policies. This has led to confusion about the scope of the NYC with regards to its delivery programmes. This congress must therefore discuss holistically the role of youth developmental institutions, and make concrete proposals on how these institutions must be set to achieve and accordingly how they must be structured.

The NYC submitted its policy statement to the cabinet for endorsement in order to guide the government in implementing national youth service. The National Youth Service Policy has since been ratified by Cabinet and we must pursue the matter further to ensure massive implementation to drastically intervene on the situation of youth marginalisation.

The majority of the provinces have Provincial Youth Commissions,

Umsobomvu Youth Fund

Umsobomvu Youth Fund ("Fund") was established in 2001. Its mandate by the government is "to provide a platform for skills development and job creation for the youth". The Fund executes this mandate by focusing on three areas, being (1) Information and Counselling Service through Youth Advisory Centres, call centre (*youthconnect*), youth internet portal, and a youth card; (2) Skills Development and Transfer through the National Youth Service Programme and School to Work programme; and (3) Youth Entrepreneurship Support through Business Development Service Voucher Programme, Entrepreneurship Education and Enterprise Finance. The target group for the Fund is unemployed and out-of-school youth mostly between the ages of 18 and 35 years. The Fund is governed by a Board of Directors and the Minister of Labour is the responsible Executive Authority.

Achievements

Despite being around for a relatively short period of time (3 years) the Fund has managed to commit more than R500 million to 91 projects which have in the process benefited more than 400 000 youth throughout South Africa and conservatively creating an estimated 18 000 jobs.

Specifically the Fund has established 12 Youth Advisory Centres which have assisted 80 000 young people with information and counselling regarding careers, employment, entrepreneurship and health. The Youth Advisory Centres will be expanded through the Multi-Purpose Community Centres and Department of Labour, Labour Centres. The Fund's call centre (youthconnect) since its launch in May 2004 has provided advice to 75 000 young people. The Internet Portal launched on the same day has been visited by over 500 000 youth. President Mbeki announced during his State of the Nation address that the Fund will need to establish a database of unemployed graduates who will then be linked to opportunities for training or self-employment by December 2004. This will be achieved.

The Fund has implemented 22 skills training programmes. These were National Youth Service pilot programmes where young people learn as they provide services to their communities and School to Work programmes where young people are developed to get in scarce skills. In total 4000 young people have been trained during these pilot programmes. The Cabinet agreed to the roll-out of the National Youth Service Programme (NYSP) led by the Minister in the Presidency. The Fund, National Youth Commission and other key government departments will partner to train this year at least 5000 young people. The NYSP is linked to the Expanded Public Works Programme and will expend in the coming years to train at least 30 000 young people per year. Under the School to Work programme, 34 Further Education and Training Colleges will receive funding to train 3500 youth and this will be expanded in the future years.

The Business Development Service Voucher Programme has since its inception in 2003 provided support to 3000 youth enterprises with a variety of non-financial support needs such as business planning and mentorship. Last year 10 000 youth were trained in Entrepreneurship Education. Part of the plan is to mainstream Entrepreneurship Education in the schools. The Enterprise Finance Programme has assisted about 1 003 youth businesses with finance. All the programmes that the Fund is now running had to be established from the beginning.

However in the youth forums that were organised before and after the election process we had encountered a barrage of complaints about the umsobomvu youth fund some of this issue have been attended to and we raising some for discussions in this congress in order to strengthen the work of this structure . below is the synopsis of some of the issues raised

- Inflexibility and lack of access to the resources by the majority of young people and their organisations.
- Bad and negative perceptions amongst the public and other youth organisations.

- Not really working with other youth agencies in the sector i.e. NYC, SAYC etc
- Operating like a youth organisation and thereby undermining the role and place of the other important players in the sector.
- Lot of intermediaries which hampers youth's ability to access funding speedily.
- Openly operates like a "bank", taking limited risks, and use very commercialised financing policies, thereby excluding rather than including the majority of young people.

South African Youth Council BGA

Political preparations were undertaken which included, amongst others, a perspective that was developed outlining our past experience, weaknesses, recommending constitutional amendments, and where should SAYC be in the next five year etc. A lot of follow-up work must be done to ensure the relevance of SAYC in the national transformation agenda.

Transformation in the performing arts

The ANC YL during 2002 for the first time made a submission to parliament on the Performers Bill and Copyright Amendment Bill respectively; this submission was also supported by majority of local artists especially black and young musicians. This submission also highlighted the need for the YL to master the art of engaging with our legislative institutions.

Youth parliaments

As part of our annual June month programme, youth parliaments were hosted in almost all the nine provincial legislatures. What however remains as a challenge is the need to ensure that matters raised in these youth parliaments are taken forward by our leaders in the legislatures.

Also as part of August Women's month programme young women's parliaments were convened in some provinces.

What still remains as challenge is to ensure that there is a continuous engagement with our legislative institutions and that we make real contribution to policies that have direct impact on young people's lives, but also to ensure that there is youth popular participation in our legislatures.

Of critical importance is the need to input into the budget, to ensure that it also addresses young people's needs and aspirations.

As part of our engagement with the Executive, the President of the ANCYL held regular interactions with various Ministers and Deputies, with a clear intention of ensuring that their Ministries implement programmes on youth development, through this engagement we are beginning to make real progress with regard to the NYSP as this has been ratified by Cabinet for implementation.

We also need to work tirelessly in ensuring that young MP's and MPL's remain in constant touch with young people, henceforth it will be important that we conclude the debate on sectoral constituency deployment of our cadres who serve in the legislatures.

Policy research and development

During the course of the past three year term, the NWC agreed upon a list of comrades who will constitute our core of volunteers on policy research and development, this team met once and since its establishment it has never been fully functional. We observed few weaknesses with regard to our volunteers; amongst those weaknesses was the lack of commitment but also failure to understand the manner in which the ANC formulates its policies.

The UYF and HSRC are in the process of training a number of young people in policy research, we have therefore deployed cadres into this training, and after completion of this course these cadres will assist in policy and research areas.

In preparation for the 51st ANC National conference, the NWC/NEC commissioned a discussion document in response to the Taylor Commission on its findings with regard to the need for a comprehensive social security.

Local Youth Units

Not much work has been done with regard to this Area of work, the NYC and PYC's are the ones who are playing a leading role in the implementation of this particular important task.

Thus far the Durban Metro has been having a youth unit for sometimes with a clear budget and personnel. The NYC is running two pilot programmes in Tshwane and Thaba Nchu/ Botshabelo

Municipalities respectively. We are also still awaiting progress reports from provinces with regard to this particular matter.

The NYC through donor funding is in the process of developing a manual on this very important matter, and this will be able to guide our structures and municipalities in further implementing the local youth units' mandate.

Higher education transformation

The re-configuration of higher education is still unfolding. One of the aims of this process is the pooling of resources in such a way that we defeat the apartheid configuration of higher education where there were institutions built on poor base both administratively and with regards to funding.

We met with former Minister Kader Asmal around this matter and we also met with the newly appointed Minister comrade Naledi Pandor. We raised various issues around access to higher education and in this regard we must intensify our work to ensure that indeed the doors of learning must be opened to all. However, we cannot afford sensationalising funding and demand free education, noting that within the ambits of a capitalist society this has massive implications to the fiscal, taxation and ultimately investment suitability of South Africa. But we must insist at all cost that affordability must be the guiding principle to ensure all our youth access higher education. In this sense, we must adopt a differentiated approach between those who can afford and those who cannot, but strive for ensuring that all our youth have a real chance of accessing higher education.

The subcommittee have not met due to financial constraints affecting the organization. However there has been some work carried out in relation to the programme of action even though limited. This can be attributed to the minimum capacity available to implement work in particular on the area of policy development.

ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Re-alignment

The re-alignment programme has been our main pre-occupation for the last three years. This was a mammoth task which involved all our structures. While many branches are as yet to be launched including a few regions, we can safely say that the re-alignment process is almost

complete since all our provinces have been launched with only five regions nationwide outstanding out of a total of 53 regions. WE therefore came to this National Congress with all our provinces launched and we completed this task despite many challenges, particularly around resources.

Political School Project

A national political school project had been planned as from year 2001 but due to financial constraints this project had failed to materialize. The second political school was planned for KwaZuluNatal province for similar financial reasons this could not take place. There is lack of creativity to ensure the Youth League members are politically educated in a systematic way apart from the problems of finance. Political education in the main did not take place in a formal setup but through various targeted methods.

As part of political education, we developed an induction manual, branch manual to ensure that our structures do not lack basic knowledge on how to run an organisation.

POLITICAL PROGRAM FOR CAMPUS BRANCHES

A political program for campus branches was developed to focus on building campus branches. The Orientation Week period and re-opening of higher learning institutions were focused on for massive recruitment campaign, registration of Youth League as a club or society affiliated to the Student Representatives Councils, academic and financial exclusions. Newly launched campus branches were inducted in line with the ward task teams.

Organisers' Workshop

An organisers workshop was held in 2003 for the purposes of building capacity and ensuring that there is common understanding on the tasks of organisers around the re-alignment programme and all the work the organisers are supposed to be engaged with.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE ANNIVERSARIES AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS

ANCYL 58th Anniversary

Anton Lembede re-burial

Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, the founding President of the ANC Youth League who was buried in Johannesburg since his untimely death in 1947 was exhumed and re-buried in Mbumbulu his home village in October 2002.

The 58th Anniversary Rally at the Madundumbe Stadium in Mbumbulu near Durban therefore marked not only the 58th Anniversary but also his reburial. The rally was a huge success. The rally was addressed by the President of the ANC Youth League Cde Malusi Gigaba, the State President Cde Thabo Mbeki and former State President Cde Nelson Mandela and attended by thousands of young people from all over KwaZuluNatal.

Visit to families of our forebears

The ANC Youth League, as part of the 58th Anniversary Celebrations conducted visits to families of former ANCYL leaders such as the Sisulu's, Mandela's, Lembede's and Tambo's. The YL had planned to visit the family of William Nkomo the Chairperson of the National Provisional Committee established in 1944 as preparatory to the formation of the Youth League. WE also visited the family of Mxolisi Majombozi, the National Secretary of the National Provisional Structure who is attributed with having come up with the idea to form the Youth League. We also visited the family of Patrick Molawa the last President of the ANC Youth League before its banning.

This was within the context not only of showing appreciation to the role of these leaders but also as a reminder through our programme of the history of our struggle to the youth of our country. We therefore share the dictum that a generation that does not know its history will also not know where it is going, and is therefore a lost generation. Our history of struggle must therefore constitute the inspirational basis for the mobilisation of our people in the determination of their future.

Accordingly, the Youth League conducted history lessons throughout the country on the struggle of the ANC Youth League as well as that of the ANC around ensuring democracy and justice in our country.

Banquet and Awards

The ANC Youth League organised a banquet in November 2002 to conclude our 58th Anniversary Programme. We had established incentives for the best performing province in the form of a bakkie as an award and the award went to the Limpopo province and the criterion was high membership.

However, we realised that our statistics were not updated and mistakes could have been made in the awarding process. We also reviewed our award system and that instead of a bakkie, we should have all provinces allocated equally. We also need to ensure our IT setup is up to scratch to enable us to always work on authentic and up to date membership statistics.

We subsequently resolved that all Provinces be allocated PCs and Laptops as incentives for work done during month of youth and this has as yet to be implemented.

ANCYL 59th Anniversary

The YL 59th Anniversary was held as a National Event in Rustenburg in the North West, addressed by the YL President, Cde Malusi Gigaba. The event saw us visiting the graves of victims of political killings which occurred in 1990, mobilizing the youth around ID and registration campaigns with the day's activities through door to door campaigns, culminating into the cutting of a YL Birthday Cake symbolically marking the 59th Anniversary of relentless struggle by the youth of our country under the leadership of the ANC Youth League.

ANCYL 60th Anniversary

The 60th Anniversary of the ANC Youth League is due this year and coincides with the convening of this 22nd National Congress. Due to our attendance to the elections programme as well as our preparatory work for this congress, not much publicity has been done for this 60th Anniversary of the Youth League.

However, this congress as well as leading to 10 September 2004 will see events lined-up to celebrate this milestone birthday of the organisation. This is an opportunity to reflect on the significance of our history, the roles played by our forebears, hence we invited some of the families of the stalwarts of our struggle into this congress.

Solomon Mahlangu's Day

We successfully celebrated Solomon Mahlangu's Day on April 6 nationwide in 2002. The national event was held in Soshanguve and addressed by the YL President Cde Malusi Gigaba and the late Cde Peter Mokaba. Memorial lectures were also successfully held in most provinces. Our structures in Tshwane managed to convince the Tshwane Metro to bestow posthumously on Solomon Mahlangu the Freedom of Tshwane.

The Solomon Mahlangu commemoration in 2004 was combined with the mobilisation of youth to vote the ANC during the April 2004 National General Elections. The Deputy President Comrade Jacob Zuma addressed this rally at the formerly Vista Campus in Mamelodi.

June 16, National Youth Day

The National Youth Day Rallies were a great success in all provinces. The only province that did not have a Youth Day Rally on the 16 June 2002 was Limpopo. This was due to the fact that the province had focused on the preparations for Comrade Peter Mokaba's funeral, which was held on the 15 June 2002. In commemoration of Comrade Peter Mokaba's 2nd anniversary of his passing on, we held our June 16 National Rally in Polokwane at the Peter Mokaba Stadium this year which was addressed by both the President of the ANC Youth League Comrade Malusi Gigaba and the Deputy President of the ANC, Comrade Jacob Zuma. The Deputy President also addressed the NYC event the same day in Rustenburg. Both events were successfully convened with massive attendances by our youth.

The 2002 Political Rally of the ANCYL was held in Northern Cape and the Deputy President Jacob Zuma and the President Cde Malusi Gigaba addressed it. The Government Rally was held in Bloemfontein at Seisa Ramabodu Stadium and the President Cde Thabo Mbeki and the National Youth Commission Chairperson Cde Jabu Mbalula addressed it. This Rally was very successful and it enjoyed a massive turn out of more than fifty thousand people.

DISCIPLINARY PROCESSES

The organisation dealt with few disciplinary cases, some involving political office bearers while some involved staff members. The former Provincial Secretary of Mpumalanga James Nkambule was expelled from the organisation for bringing the organisation into disrepute.

Following the untimely passing away of Comrade Zibuse Zuma, the National Disciplinary Committee was restructured and is now chaired by Cde Archie Lucas. One outstanding case before the NDC was that of Cde Thabo Putini in KZN who had been charged with defying the

organisation. Due to the fact that the matter took too long to be concluded and this could be interpreted as unfair to the concerned comrade, the NEC decided to close on the matter.

Another challenge is to synergise the work of the NDC with those of the provinces.

OBITUARIES

We deep our revolutionary banners for the following comrades who passed away in the last term of our office

- Comrade Peter Mokaba former Youth League President and ANC member of the National Executive Committee.
- Eddie Radithupa Mabitsela former member of the ANC Youth Section, former member of the ANC Youth League National Youth Provisional Committee and a General in the South African National Defence Force.
- Vusi Mzimela, member of the ANC Youth League National Executive Committee.
- Zibuse Zuma, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League.
- Stich Ngubane, former member of the ANC Youth League National Executive Committee.
- Isaiah Ntshangase, former Provincial Chairperson of the ANCYL in KwaZuluNatal.
- Mthandazo Ngobeni, chairperson of the ANCYL in Mpumalanga.
- Steve Tshwete, member of the ANC National Executive Committee and veteran of our movement.
- Govan Mbeki, Isithwalandwe, Seaparankwe.
- Wilton Mkwazi, Isithwalandwe, Seaparankwe

May their soul rest in peace. We remain for ever indebted to the coarse they cherished to liberate our country. Amandla, Matla, the struggle continues!.

CONCLUSION

Time and space has determined and assigned challenges to us, characterised by various constraints and opportunities. The transition of our organisation from what was mainly a constrained apartheid environment to what has become a country of many opportunities and possibilities has itself been a challenge to all of our structures.

Our organisational work around the re-alignment process was informed by the democratic changes taking place in our country hence we have identified this as an opportunity that all our youth must take advantage of. Despite the democratic breakthrough in 1994, and the subsequent consolidation of this through elections in 1995, 1999, 2000 and 2004 as well as the enactment of various legislations and institutions to promote and make real our democratic freedom, there is however the persistence of the legacies of the past both in our economy and our social settings.

This is therefore the irony of the current environment, the duality of constraints and opportunities that we as the Youth League must ensure we confront decisively to expedite the transformation of our country to the benefit of all its people in general and the youth in particular.

This challenge requires the existence of a cadreship that accepts change as the motto of all history, inclusive of the need to transform themselves continuously such that their perspectives and innovations are continuously relevant to the changing times. In our 2002 Annual Report we quoted Che Ernesto Guevara in his reference to the prime task of the Youth League, that being to learn. We must therefore learn through the experience of our involvement in the organisation as well as through formal academic institutions.

All tiers of our organisations and all tiers of our leadership as well as the entirety of our membership must make it their virtue to equip themselves with skills relevant to our economy needs as well as the broader transformation agenda. As an organisation we must not fail to make sure that the enabling environment is created to ensure our youth acquire economic skills as well as real economic opportunities. As an organisation therefore, we must rapidly build within ourselves the capacity to champion this cause for all our youth as well as mobilise them behind the vision of the ANC. We must take advantage of the upcoming Local Government elections in to link democratic processes at this level with the role our youth must actively play at the local level through the Local Youth Units.

The NEC worked tirelessly to make real the ideals of our youth as concretely expressed through the resolutions of the 21st National Congress in Mangaung amidst the increasing constraints due to the scarcity of resources. In the same line as alluded to in Mangaung, the organisation must indeed continue with its course of adapting to the changing times or face the certainty of natural death. The future of this organisation is in the hands of all our structures, leaders and the membership at large. By extension and in the same way, the future of our

country, our continent, and to some extent may boast that the entire world, lays in what we do as an organisation together with other organisations, since there is no whole without the sum of the parts and we are part of both our country and the rest of the world. Individually and in solidarity with other organisations we are the motto of history and the captains of our own destiny. It is within this context that the NEC resolved on the theme: “Seizing the opportunities of democracy to confront the future” for this 22nd National Congress of the ANC Youth League and to register this call as the principal directive amongst our membership for the next decade.

END

“So it has to be, so it should be, and so it will be, companeros. So it will be because you are Young *Revolutionaries*, creators of the perfect society, human beings destined to live in a new world where everything decrepit, everything old, everything that represents the society whose foundations have just been destroyed will have definitely disappeared. To reach that goal we have to work every day, work in the inner sense of improving ourselves, of gaining knowledge and understanding about the world around us, of inquiring, finding out, and knowing why things are the way they are and always considering humanity’s great problems as our own.”

Che Guevara, To be a Young Communist, October 20, 1962