



REPORT

**Of the
FIRST NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL
24--27 August 2010
Gallagher Convention Centre
Midrand, Johannesburg**

**“YOUTH ACTION FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM
IN OUR LIFETIME”**

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1. Foreword by Secretary General Vuyiswa Tulelo.
2. Overview of NGC proceedings.
3. Credentials report.
4. Political report by President Julius Malema.
5. Reports of Commissions.
 - a. NATIONALISATION OF MINES AND MINERAL RESOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA
 - b. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT
 - c. MEDIA AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS
 - d. STRATEGY AND TACTICS AND THE NDR
 - e. ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, RENEWAL AND BUILDING
 - f. SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION
 - g. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
6. Declaration of the 3rd National General Council.
7. Closing Remarks by ANC Youth League President Julius Malema.

FOREWORD

by **SECRETARY GENERAL VUYISWA TULELO**

The ANC YL hosted its historic, 1st ever National General Council from the 25th-27th August 2010, under the theme: **“Youth Action for Economic Freedom in our Life-time.”**

The NGC showcased the vibrancy, growth, and dynamism of the YL through exposing that:

1. The YL remains the home of the most advanced dedicated and disciplined youth in the country.
2. The YL remains relevant and the singular most important organization in the fight for youth development in the country.
3. The YL remains a critical body of opinion in the ANC and society as a whole.

The participation of 3095 delegates, with 2572 voting delegates shows that not only is the YL a vibrant organisation, but it remains an Organization with a rich culture and heritage. The NGC preparations were amongst the most exciting, robust and mind opening exercises, consisting of the following key activities:

1. The NEC adopting discussion document that will guide discussion in preparations of the NGC.
2. Provincial General Councils which served as pre- registration points and providing space for provinces to make submissions on any special resolutions to the NGC.
3. Public lectures on critical issues like, Nationalization of Mines discussion paper, the provision of free decent Education.

The above processes provided a platform for the YL to engage, influence, and ensure that the South African populace is indeed part of building this gigantic and pulsating movement’s policy evolution process. The logistical preparations of the NGC, demonstrated an organizational capacity to host a world-class occasion. This provided compelling evidence of the ANC YL capabilities, therefore dispelling the prophets of doom.

The paraphernalia of the NGC projected an Organization that EXCLAIMED its hip to belong to the ANC YL; it said “YL YA ROCKA”.

In the true spirit of Solomon the NGC of the YL resolved on critical issues that would be lobbied for in the NGC of the ANC in the following areas:

1. Nationalization of Mines
2. Reviewing of the Black Economic Empowerment Policy.
3. Land Redistribution.
4. Provision of Free and Quality Education
5. Provision of Free Quality Sanitary Towels
6. Generational Mix as a guiding principle of the ANC.

The National Executive Committee presents to you our journey through the 1st ever NGC of the YL- both in words and pictures. We hope you enjoy our sojourn, into a world of exhilaration, learning and indeed a political preparatory school of the ANC.

Amandla!

OVERVIEW OF NGC PROCEEDINGS

The National Chair of the ANC, who congratulated the YL on the following, officially opened the NGC:

- Hosting the 1st ever NGC in the history of the YL.
- Continuing to play the role of a critical body of opinion within the ANC.
- Raising the debate on Nationalization of Mines.

The NGC continued receive and adopt the following reports:

- a. Credentials Report
- b. Organizational Report
- c. Financial Report
- d. Nationalization of mines
- e. Organizational Renewal and Political Education.

The NGC dedicated 2 days in Commissions deliberating on the matters organizational renewal and proposing of special resolutions.

As part of the August month program the NGC hosted around table of Young women's history and provision of free decent Sanitary Towels. The panel constituted of the following presenters:

1. Minister of Health
2. Minister of Social Development
3. NYDA
4. DSG of the ANC.

The activity was befitting moment to conclude the Women's Month during the NCG of the YL.

The NGC received the following motion:

- A vote of no confidence on the Deputy President of the YL.

The motion was discussed by the steering committee and the committee found that the matter does not belong to the NGC, but must be forwarded to the NEC for processing. The report was tabled to the NGC and the NGC accepted the report.

CREDENTIALS REPORT

Area (Province/Region/Metro)	Females		Males		Total	
	Expected	Present	Expected	Present	Expected	Present
Gauteng	176	118	161	108	337	226
GreaterJHB	32	23	28	21	60	44
Ekurhuleni	30	17	30	21	60	38
Tshwane	28	20	26	15	54	35
Sedibeng	26	16	20	9	46	25
WestRand	41	27	28	17	69	44
Metsweding	2	2	1	1	3	3
PEC	12	9	23	19	35	28
REC	5	4	5	5	10	9
Mpumalanga	157	112	151	111	308	223
Nkangala	51	35	48	29	99	64
Ehlanzeni	33	23	30	21	63	44
Girt Siyanda	33	19	29	24	62	43
Bohlabela	23	20	20	14	43	34
					0	0
					0	0
PEC	13	11	20	19	33	30
REC	4	4	4	4	8	8
Eastern Cape	301	188	204	114	505	302
JoeGabi	10	3	7	3	17	6
Chris Hani	32	11	25	4	57	15
Amathole	77	49	43	24	120	73
OR Tambo	82	51	57	29	139	80
Cacadu	28	18	18	8	46	26
Alfred Nzo	25	18	9	6	34	24
Nelson Mandela Metro	29	21	18	13	47	34
PEC	13	12	22	22	35	34
REC	5	5	5	5	10	10
Free State	139	134	128	130	267	264
Motheo	23	22	19	19	42	41
Fezile Dabi	27	27	23	23	50	50
Lejweleputswa	25	22	24	27	49	49
Thabo Mofutsanyana	34	34	31	30	65	64
Xhariep	10	10	6	6	16	16

					0	0
PEC	14	13	21	21	35	34
REC	6	6	4	4	10	10
Western Cape	14	8	14	11	28	19
Dulla Ommar	12	7	12	11	24	18
South Cape	2	1	2	0	4	1
					0	0
					0	0
					0	0
					0	0
PEC	0		0		0	0
REC	0		0		0	0
Northern Cape	88	62	71	48	159	110
Francis Baard	11	2	8	1	19	3
Siyanda	14	10	10	7	24	17
Pixley ka Seme	15	11	9	6	24	17
Namaqua	12	7	8	6	20	13
Johan Taolo	16	13	11	8	27	21
					0	0
PEC	14	12	21	17	35	29
REC	6	7	4	3	10	10
Limpopo	291	206	166	149	457	355
Peter Mokaba	64	43	25	24	89	67
Vhembe	40	34	29	22	69	56
Mopani	75	44	35	29	110	73
Waterberg	34	17	23	21	57	38
Sekhukhune	55	46	32	31	87	77
					0	0
					0	0
PEC	15	14	20	20	35	34
REC	8	8	2	2	10	10
KwaZulu-Natal	327	249	325	225	652	474
Lower South Coast	41	28	36	27	77	55
Ethekwini	42	21	34	24	76	45
Harry Gwala	24	29	24	14	48	43
Prevor Khumalo	35	25	32	8	67	33
Ukhahlamba	39	22	41	20	80	42
Bhambatha	13	18	13	8	26	26
north Coast	15	7	14	11	29	18
Moses Mabhida	23	24	22	17	45	41
Far North	25	24	37	33	62	57

Abaqulusi	15	9	17	15	32	24
North Coast	29	21	18	16	47	37
PEC	19	14	30	25	49	39
REC	7	7	7	7	14	14
North West	166	88	151	342	317	430
Dr Keneth Kaunda	25	17	23	14	48	31
Ngaka Modiri Molema	46	25	39	33	85	58
Dr Ruth Momphathi	23	8	22	8	45	16
Bojanala	54	23	44	267	98	290
PEC	14	11	19	18	33	29
REC	4	4	4	2	8	6
Total Provinces' Delegates	1493	1077	1220	896	2713	1973
Total Branch Delegates	1500	1024	1160	1045	2660	2069
Total PEC's Delegates	114	96	176	161	290	257
Total REC's Delegates	76	70	104	98	180	168
National Executive Committee	16	16	18	16	34	32
Total Voting Delegate	1509	1093	1238	912	2747	2005
Non- Voting Delegates						
ANC Youth League Former Leaders					50	46
International Guests/Guests					8	6
Busisness Guests					50	300
YCL					2	2
SASCO					2	2
COSAS					2	2
ANC Women's League					2	
MKMVA					2	
ANC Veterans League					2	
SACP					2	
COSATU					2	
MEDIA/JOURNALISTS					75	60
Security					100	100
Staff					34	34
Service Providers					15	15

Total Non-Voting Delegates					348	567
Total Delegates to the NGC					3095	2572

	Required	Achieved
Quorum (66.66%)	66.66%	73%

POLITICAL REPORT

by ANC YOUTH LEAGUE PRESIDENT JULIUS MALEMA

1. SALUTATIONS

- a. Chairperson of the Session
 - b. African National Congress National Chair Cde Baleka Mbete
 - c. The ANC delegation to the National General Council of the ANC Youth League
 - d. Alliance partners, SASCO, COSAS and YCL
 - e. COSATU, SACP leadership present today
 - f. International Guests from youth wings of former liberation movement.
 - g. International guests from progressive youth formations across the world.
 - h. The leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Socialist Youth.
 - i. Former leaders of the ANC Youth League and broader Youth Movement.
 - j. The ANC Women's League and Veterans League.
 - k. The MKMVA, Commissars and Commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe Young professionals and representatives of business in South Africa.
 - l. Religious leaders
 - m. Delegates to the 1st National General Council of the ANC Youth League
2. The National General Council of the ANC Youth League is in session. It is in session to discuss, review, revise and re-affirm the many organisational, political and ideological resolutions and positions we took in the ANC Youth League 23rd National Congress in 2008.
 3. The National General Council of the ANC Youth League also serves as the biggest political school of our organisation, because out of deliberations here, delegates will derive useful lessons of our organisation's history, character and strategic vision in a manner that will sustainably contribute to their political development.
 4. The NGC takes place during the Women's Month, a month in which wherein we commemorate and celebrate the massive contributions women made to the political, social and economic emancipation of the black majority and Africans in particular from colonial apartheid bondage.
 5. The role of women played by women in history and in the present conjuncture should never be underestimated because women were amongst the first organised formations to confront the apartheid regime, even at time when men held a hollow conviction that the colonialism and the apartheid regime could only be destroyed through endless negotiations and deputations to the colonial Masters in Britain. In celebrating the role played by revolutionary women, we should also celebrate the role of ANCYL young women in the ongoing struggles against triple oppression that is struggle against gender and national oppression as well as class exploitation.
 6. We should do so based on dear program to enhance their participation in our revolution because as the late FRELIMO President, Samora Machel correctly argued that liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of our revolution, a guarantee of its continuity and a precondition for victory'. The role young woman play in the politics

of ANCYL should also be commended with intentions and clear programme to upgrade their involvement.

7. We stand before you proud of the many achievements we have thus far made as a militant, youth political organisation. When we accepted nomination for leadership in the 23rd National Congress of the ANC Youth League in April 2010, the undertone politics that defined the contest which happened in Mangaung was that of generational change.
8. The leadership contest was about, but not exclusively, generational handover from the generation of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) of the late 1980s and ANC Youth League of the early 1990s. They handed over leadership of the ANC Youth League to ourselves, a generation which cut its tooth in the politics of students' movement after the unbanning of political parties and release of political prisoners in the 90s.
9. The 23rd National Congress 1st leg happened amidst all the politics, and the 2nd leg provided a space for all of us to discuss politics within a stable environment, where leadership contest was not the overriding factor. In the 2nd leg 23rd National Congress, delegates were provided with an opportunity to deliberate and discuss in great detail the future of South Africa and set themselves a task to define and shape the kind of South Africa we want to live in. The resolutions and declaration we all adopted at the end of Congress continue to inspire the actions and programmes we are engaged in as a revolutionary young wing of the ANC.
10. In closing the 2nd leg of the 23rd National Congress in Mangaung, we said political education will be the most reliable remedy to many organisational and political challenges we encountered in our congress. We will later speak in great detail how political education is vital and part of the ANC Youth League's programmes to stabilise the organisation moving forward. We are in a factory of politics and every day we are being sharpened and polished to become the best of best revolutionaries committed to the fulfilment of the National Democratic Revolution.
11. In our leadership of the ANC Youth League, we came to appreciate that this organisation is not a Junior League of the ANC, but a revolutionary young wing of the ANC, whose actions and activities are meant to redefine the kind of society we are living in. The ANC Youth League was formed nearly 66 years on the 10th of September 1944 as an organisation of disciplined, inspired and dedicated younger activists of the African National Congress.
12. We now are gathered here in Johannesburg, which has been one of the theatres of many of South Africa's revolutionary actions, including the launch of the ANC Youth League and adoption of the Freedom Charter, to discuss how best we realise **ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME**. This National General Council is gathered under the theme "**YOUTH ACTION FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME**", and the outcomes of this Council should reflect that indeed we are determined to realise economic freedom in our lifetime.

WHERE DO WE COME FROM?

13. There is every reason to celebrate and commemorate the ANC Youth League, because the history of South Africa's political, social and economic change cannot be told without mentioning the vital role of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE. For the benefit of all of us who are here today, maybe we should start from the beginning and speak in great detail about the correct history of the ANC YL. It is important that we do so, because many amongst us believe that the ANC YL was only formed after the unbanning of political parties and release of political prisoners in 1990.
14. The ANC's idea of forming the ANCYL began in the early 1940s, as a result of young people's impatience with the manner in which the ANC and the entire National Liberation Movement responded to apartheid repression. Young people said then that they are tired with peaceful resistance and struggles, which recognised and respected the oppressor and the colonial masters.
15. The Youth in the ANC said it could never be correct that the most revolutionary activity of the ANC was sending of petitions and delegations to the Queen in Britain, asking for some rights within the semi-colonial Union of South Africa. Mxolisi Majombozi came with the idea of radicalising the ANC, through formation of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE, which will give new energy and fighting spirit to the National Liberation Movement.
16. In 1942, the ANC Conference noted the growing militancy amongst the Youth and resolved that the Congress Youth League should be formed to mobilise young people behind the banner of the ANC, somewhat not considering that the young generation, inspired by the struggles of the workers in South Africa at the time, will not only mobilise behind the vision of the ANC, but will influence a radical change of its character and outlook as a Liberation Movement. In 1943, the ANC took another resolution to form the ANC Youth League and concretely mandated the National Executive Committee of the ANC to take concrete action on the formation of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE.
17. A provisional committee of the ANCYL was formed in early 1944 with William Nkomo as its Chairperson, Mxolisi Majombozi as Secretary, and Walter Sisulu and Congress Mbatha were Co-Convenors. We are aware that former President of the ANC J.T Gumede fully supported the formation of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE, arguing in the 1943 Conference of the ANC that the formation of the ANC Youth League will make the ANC to live forever. We will always hold President J.T Gumede in high regard for his ground breaking and inspiring leadership.
18. In September 10, 1944, the **ANC YOUTH LEAGUE** was officially launched as an organisation in Bantu Social Centre, Johannesburg and elected Anton Lembede as its first President and Oliver Tambo as its first Secretary. Walter Sisulu was elected as the first Treasurer of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE, Robert Sobukwe, Congress Mbatha, A.P. Mda, Robert Resha, Duma Nokwe and Nelson Mandela were part of those elected to

the first National Executive Committee. We should clarify here that Nelson Mandela or Walter Sisulu was not the first National Secretaries of the ANC Youth League.

- 19.** Nelson Mandela says this in his autobiography that Oliver Tambo was the first Secretary and the biographies of both Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu confirms this fact. The ANC was not always a fighting revolutionary movement until the idea and practice to form the ANC YL in the early to and mid 1940s. The formation of the ANC YL undoubtedly gave new impetus, energised and radicalised the ANC into a fighting force for the liberation of the oppressed majority.
- 20.** The generation that founded the ANC Youth League (Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, William Nkomo, Mxolisi Majombozi, Anton Lembede, Congress Mbatha) declared "FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME" in 1944 and 50 years later in 1994, they were a generation that ushered in political freedom to the African majority, which were under colonial and apartheid repression for more many years. Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu who are the founder of the ANC Youth League were at the forefront of ushering political freedom in South Africa.
- 21.** We have no doubt that Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda, Mxolisi Majombozi, Godfrey Pitjje, Robert Resha, Patrick Moaloa and many other who founded the ANC Youth League would have been at the forefront of political liberation had they lived long. We always say that it only took the ANC Youth League 5 years to radicalise and energise the African National Congress into a mass movement and fighting force for people's liberation. Within the first five years of its formation, the ANC Youth League was able to decisively influence the ANC to adopt a more radical, forthright and confrontational political programme which fundamentally transformed the ANC into a mass mobilisation movement and campaigner against racial segregation and economic subjugation.
- 22.** The transformative 1949 ANC Conference had to elect a relatively inexperienced and young leadership of President James Moroka (who had just joined the ANC) and Secretary General Walter Sisulu (aged 37) because the older and more organisationally experienced generation was unable to adjust and adapt to the new strategies and tactics proposed by the Youth League to fight racial oppression and segregation.
- 23.** The 1949 Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign, which goes into history as one of the most successful campaigns to be led by the African National Congress. Recalling the fruits of the Defiance Campaign, E.S. Reddy says, "the Campaign generated a mass upsurge for freedom. The membership of the A.N.C. increased from 7,000 to 100,000 during the campaign and it became a truly national organization of the people. The Campaign also led to the formation of the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of (white) Democrats, and then a "Congress Alliance" which played a crucial role in promoting multi-racial resistance to apartheid in subsequent years".
- 24.** This National General Council's discussion document on organisational renewal observes that, "If the reading of history was mechanical, it could be simplistically deducted that the transformation of the ANC into a truly national organisation of the people, and the formation of the alliance are direct consequences of the formation of

the ANC Youth League in 1944. Yet history evolves in far much complex and systematic realities than that, because the combination of prevailing material conditions of that period and the subjective determination of the founding leadership of the ANC Youth League dialectically called for decisive action and defined history.

25. Certainly, the passage of time spelled a different trajectory with regards to how the Youth League relates to the African National Congress, yet notably the ANC Youth League's founding generation's commitment to "freedom in our lifetime" took practical shape and was led by that particular generation. It is important to understand that the founding generation of the ANC YL was not only fighting for political freedom, but were also fighting against ideological, social, economic domination and colonisation of the majority by a minority.
26. It is this realisation that made the founding generation of the ANC YL to fervently mobilise for the adoption of the Freedom Charter, first by the People's Congress in 1955 and by the ANC in 1956. Nelson Mandela was Volunteer in Chief in the Defiance campaign and the mobilisations towards the adoption of the Freedom Charter was anchored and given shape by then ANC Secretary General Walter Sisulu.
27. The Freedom Charter is currently the nerve and lifeblood of the African National Congress and entire National Liberation Movement. When adopting the Freedom Charter in 1956, the ANC said that it's not a patchwork of reforms, but a revolutionary programme, which is also a beacon of hope for the people of South Africa. The Freedom Charter affirms that South Africa belongs who live in it-black and white, and this affirmation is repeated in South Africa's democratic Constitution adopted in 1996.
28. Under the clause "the people shall share in the country's wealth", the Freedom Charter says:
 - "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;*
 - "The Mineral Wealth beneath the Soil, the banks and Monopoly Industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people"*
 - "All other trade and industry shall be controlled for the benefit of the people"*
 - "All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions".*
29. As much as the Nelson Mandela generation led the struggle for attainment of political freedom for majority of our people, we have made it our responsibility and dedicated focus that economic freedom is realised in South Africa. Economic Freedom should come through the realisation and actualisation of the Freedom Charter clause that reads that the Mineral Wealth beneath the soil, monopoly industry and banks should be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole'.
30. The Nelson Mandela generation of the ANC Youth League changed history and did everything in their power to ensure that the cause for struggle is never betrayed, nor compromised for anything below the sky. The founding generation dedicated their lives to the cause for freedom and were prepared to sacrifice their lives so that we can

all live in freedom. Their battle cry was FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME, underpinned by the dedication to attain Freedom or Die. Our battle cry as this generation of youth is attainment of ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME. Like Nelson Mandela, we will do everything in power to realise economic freedom in our lifetime.

THE BALANCE OF FORCES, NDR AND STRATEGY AND TACTICS

- 31.** Our political programme for economic freedom in our lifetime requires a thorough reading and understanding of the balance of forces in order to properly define the strategy and tactics we should adopt towards attainment of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). In most cases, discussions about the NDR are abstract, general discussions which do not end up on development of a concrete political programme, and we need to move away from that because we have immediate tasks at hand.
- 32.** We carry a responsibility to transfer wealth from the minority to the majority and that is not an easy task. Our Strategic goal is total attainment of all Freedom Charter objectives and our vehicle towards the attainment of the Freedom Charter objectives is the NOR, which should resolve the national, gender and class contradictions, but also create a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- 33.** So towards the Freedom Charter, we need to understand who our allies are and who our strategic opponents are. Such an understanding is important because sometimes we tend to think that the strategic opponents of our revolution are merely political opponents we meet in our periodic ANC electoral politics.
- 34.** And yet the opponents are much broader than that. They include social forces such as big business that do not directly enter day to day electoral politics, but wield enormous political power by virtue of their ownership of key economic resources such as the bank and the mines and other monopoly industries. But we need to analyse if domestically and internally, conditions are conducive for some of the radical changes to happen without major hindrances and disastrous consequences. The Strategy & Tactics we adopted in Polokwane said, "overall, since 1994, the balance of forces have shifted in favour of the forces of change. It provides the basis for speedier implementation of programmes to build a truly democratic and prosperous society. The legal and policy scaffolding for this is essentially in place. Most of society wants this to happen". Did this analysis change or it still obtains in the present conjuncture?
- 35.** The ANC should be more honest about analysis of balance of forces because we have to take decisions on how we move forward now. We understand that in 1994, certain decisions could not be taken because both domestically and globally, the balance of forces favoured imperialists and therefore hostile to progressive change. The situation has changed now with China being the alternative economy in the world and operating relatively different to what the imperialists did over the years.
- 36.** The rise of china has set better global economic conditions for developing countries to determine their political and economic direction. China unlike the United States and European Union forces does not interfere with local politics for them to invest. They

respect the terms and conditions you set for them and only concentrate on doing business.

- 37.** This is an interesting feature of the Chinese foreign policy. The imperialist forces on the other hand, they manipulate local politics and even remove governments so that they can steal resources without stricter regulation from stable political authorities.
- 38.** We need a deeper analysis of all these factors, because much as we need to change society for the better, we should also take into account the extent to which our immediate proposals for change will not have disastrous consequences. Our conclusive view now is that conditions domestically and internationally are favourable to radical change of economic policy and nationalisation of Mines. We have not yet encountered a credible argument that suggests that conditions are not favourable. As revolutionaries, we also carry a responsibility to change balance of forces to favour our political programmes.
- 39.** Our strategic enemy remains white monopoly capital, whose interests are expressed through the exclusion of the black majority and Africans in particular from economic emancipation. White monopoly capital's interests are expressed through brutal-exploitation of workers and natural resources in South Africa's Mines, farms and monopoly industries.
- 40.** Politically, the interests of white monopoly capital are expressed by minority white political parties such as the Democratic Alliance, and socially, their interests are safeguarded by the reactionary media and justified by white bourgeoisie oriented intellectuals concentrated in white business sponsored think tanks and historically white universities. This analysis does not blind us to internal enemies of the revolution; those that seek to divert our attention from the strategic goals by raising petty unrelated squabbles and lead factional wars in the movement.
- 41.** Despite all these diversions and existence of a strategic enemy, the African National Congress continues to be the true voice of the people. The ANC carries the political, electoral and legitimate power through Parliament, government and other institutions to change the lives of our people for the better. The ANC carries power through Parliament, government and other institutions to transfer the wealth of the land from the few to the majority. The question that arises is whether the current ANC leadership is willing to decisively use the power it has to economically emancipate and empower the black majority and Africans in particular.
- 42.** Whether the will and courage to radically transform society, in particular the economy exists in the current ANC leadership is an issue that this National General Council should discuss. As ANC Youth League, we should be worried of the re-emergence of a tendency that seeks to please the Queen in Britain and generally imperialists in the name of safeguarding investors.
- 43.** The reason the ANC Youth League was formed in 1944 was exactly in reaction to the very same tendency of reporting to the Queen in Britain and pleasing colonialists as if they have the interests and aspirations of the people of South Africa at heart. The

1944 generation of the ANC Youth League had a programme on the leadership of the ANC that wanted to please the Queen and our generation will out of the political programme we have, determine what we do with the re-emergence of such tendencies.

44. This generation of the Youth League is calling for Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime. Simply put, economic freedom in our lifetime means that all the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter should be realised to the fullest. It means that: 1) The people should share in the country's wealth, 2) The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, should be restored to the people; 3) The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry should be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; 4) All other industry and trade should be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people; and 5) All people should have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions. These clauses are in no way a contradiction to each other as some sought to suggest elsewhere.
45. This is what we mean by economic freedom in our lifetime, and when people ask you what is meant by economic freedom in our lifetime, you must simply respond by saying that all the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter should be realised to the fullest or simply say we mean that the PEOPLE SHOULD SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH. Nationalisation of Mines is but one of the components of realising economic freedom in our lifetime, and we should never compromise on that principle.
46. This national executive committee collective has since our national political school in July 2009, been doing what the 23rd national congress said we should do, i.e. mobilise society and convince the African National Congress to nationalise South Africa's Mines. Every platform we took since then and every meeting we attended, we made it a point that South Africa's Mines should be transferred to the ownership and control of the people as a whole.
47. We rightfully became very impatient with those who opposed nationalisation of Mines. We are impatient because it can never be correct that 16 years into democracy, more than 80 percent of the population does not control more than 5% of South Africa's wealth. Africans remain in the margins of our economy, despite the fact that this economy is built by their labour.
48. Since the debate begun, there are certain points that we can safely say are not commonly agreed upon and should be made known to all our structures. In the ANC and entire alliance, we now agree that:
 - a. The Freedom Charter remains the strategic goal of the National Liberation Movement and constitutes a key element of the NDR objectives.
 - b. That the Freedom Charter says, "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, banks and monopoly industries should be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole".
 - c. That in the ANC, this has been understood to mean amongst other things that Mines, bank and monopoly industries should be nationalised.

- 49.** Walter Sisulu said of the Freedom Charter that, "it [The Freedom Charter] is the basic law of our liberatory movement, a declaration of principles uniting all the people in our land, except for the few reactionaries, who see in the Charter the end of their long established domination and exploitation. The Charter is the picture of future South Africa, in which oppression and exploitation shall be no more".
- 50.** President Chief Albert Luthuli, who was President of the ANC when the Freedom Charter was adopted for this to say; "In modern society, even amongst the so-called capitalistic countries, nationalisation of certain industries and commercial undertakings has become an accepted and established fact. Only the uninitiated and ignorant would suggest that the Union of South Africa is going to Moscow because its Railways, Broadcasting and Post Office services are nationalised".
- 51.** 1956, Nelson Mandela: "It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people".
- 52.** In his first public address after release from prison, former President Nelson Mandela said, "nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our view in this regard is inconceivable.
- 53.** Our emphasis throughout is that we need to nationalise South Africa's Mines not only because the Freedom Charter says we should nationalise Mines, but because there are so many benefits that society as a whole can derive out of nationalised Mines. In the submission we made to the Mining Portfolio Committee on the establishment of State Owned Mining Company, we said the following: Mines should be nationalised in order to achieve the following purposes:
- a. Increase the budget of the State for social development purposes, e.g. Health, Education, Rural development, tight against crime and job creation.
 - b. Lay a very firm basis for the country's minerals to be locally benefited and industrialised.
 - c. Change the South African economy from over-dependence and reliance of exporting of natural resources and importing of finished goods and services.
 - d. Create new economic centres of development outside of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.
 - e. Could improve the working conditions and salaries of Mine workers.
- 54.** The government revenue that is generated from taxes will not be able to build better lives for all South Africans. Government cannot solely rely on taxes to deliver better services to majority of our people. South African will not be able to deal with the housing backlog, free education access, better healthcare, safety and security,

employment of particularly youth if we are not in control of the key and strategic sectors of the South African economy. The wealth of South Africa should benefit all who live in it.

55. It is an open secret that ordinary workers in Mines are the least beneficiaries of mining in South Africa either as recipients of salaries and stakeholders in mining. Mine workers in South Africa are underpaid and work under difficult conditions and unsafe Mines. Their workplaces and socio-economic existence expose these workers to fatal diseases and accidents. Nationalised Mines should be beacons of safer working environments and better working conditions, as they will not be in narrow pursuit of profits at the expense of community and human development.
56. With State ownership and control of Mineral Resources, South Africa will be able to attract industrial investors, who will contribute to the growth of the economy, transfer skills, education and expertise to locals and give them sustainable jobs. It can never be correct that an absolute majority of the Minerals we produce is exported to other countries, with very little efforts to build internal capacity to benefit these minerals.
57. Nationalisation of Mines will lead to greater local beneficiation, industrialisation, growth of the economy and jobs for majority of our people. The industrial strategy adopted by government will never succeed unless we have State control and ownership of the natural resources. We need metals, iron ore, gold, platinum, COAL, chrome, manganese and many other minerals to industrialise. South Africa's skills development efforts should be dynamically (not exclusively) linked to the industrialisation of minerals wealth.
58. Although related to the above component, it is important to highlight the fact that the South African economy as it currently stands bears strong features of all colonial economies. Primarily, all colonial economies were positioned as sources and reserves of primary goods and services for the colonisers' economies. Nationalised Mines ought to lead to a Spatial Development Framework that should necessarily decentralise development. Areas such as Sekhukhune, Rustenburg, Burgersfort, and Emalahleni have far greater economic potential because of the mineral resources underneath the soil. These should be deliberately developed, benefited and industrialised to enhance and harness economic and human development in these territories".
59. Additional to these benefits and reasons mentioned above, Nationalised Mines will also mean the following:
 - a. Increased fiscus and therefore more resources for education, housing, healthcare, infrastructure development, safety and security and sustainable livelihoods for our people, including paying our public servants, nurses, police and teachers better salaries.
 - b. More jobs for our people because State owned and controlled Mines will increase local beneficiation and industrialisation of Mineral resources. This will in turn reduce the high levels of poverty, which is consequent of joblessness.

- c. More equitable spatial development because State owned and controlled Mines will invest in areas where Mining is happening.
- d. Better salaries and working conditions in Mines because State owned Mines will increase the Mining wage and improve compliance to occupational health and safety standards.
- e. Greater levels of economic and political sovereignty as the State will be in control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy, which produces minerals resources needed across the world.

60. This generation of youth will never stand on the sidelines to bemoan and complain about the compromises and tactical retreats that were taken by generation before us. We understand that in order to attain political freedom, certain retreats and compromises had to be made in order to usher in a democratic government. Our task now is to carry on the spear to tight without any compromise for economic freedom in our lifetime. The reality of all these issues is that whilst important, political freedom without economic power is nothing. We can have the right to vote after every five years, but if we do not have access to economic power, those votes are useless. We have to emphasise these central points on Nationalisation of Mines and speak in great detail because there are those who continue to believe that the ANC Youth League does not have reasons for Mines in South Africa to be nationalised.

61. We should be alert of the emergence of an ideological current from within the ANC that undermines and disregards the substantial work we do on nationalisation of Mines. Some in the ANC utilise administrative process to undermine the process of openly discussing nationalisation of Mines. They should be cautioned that whatever they do, the discussion on Mines' nationalisation will never be suppressed by anyone successfully. We are the youth and history burdens upon us the responsibility to radically reshape society, because conditions for a revolution are conducive.

REVOLUTIONS ARE ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

62. This generation of youth should understand that the task of transferring wealth from the minority to the majority is its task. We should appreciate and get used to the idea that all major political, social and economic changes (revolutions) are activities of the youth. If for once we believe that the older generation will just accede to our demands and make radical changes, then we are misled. In our case, we understand that as working class youth, we carry the responsibility to reshape history and society for the better.

63. We are working class youth because we do not own anything and most of us are prevented from absolute poverty by monthly salaries, which if they can be taken away, we remain homeless, and without food. Our own organisation, the African National Congress is a living proof that the ideas of the youth and their actions are the ones that best shape history than any other component of society.

64. A question should arise from many of us here as why the idea of founding the African National Congress is attributed to Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, yet he only became its 5th

President, 18 years after the formation of the ANC. In the article published in the ANC Today in October 2009, Comrade Jeff Redeye argued that "there is no doubt that Pixley ka Isaka Seme was the originator of the idea to found the ANC and he tirelessly worked to ensure its fruition, arguably more than anyone else".

- 65.** Pixley ka Isaka Seme was only 31 years old when the African National Congress was formed in 1912, yet at the age, he was able to gather and give ideological direction to the middle class intellectuals, renowned Africans, and royalties from as far as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and those of tribes and kingdoms from within South Africa, and included Kings, Princes, Paramount Chiefs and Chiefs who attended the launch of the ANC in January 8, 1912. What this means is that the ANC was founded by ideas of a young person and only got to adopt conservative strategies of struggles because the older generations were used to the older way of doing things.
- 66.** Again in 1949, the ANC was radicalised and given new energy by young people and activists of the ANC Youth League. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Mxolisi Majombozi, Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda and those who founded the ANC Youth League were in their late 20s and early 30s when they conceived of the idea of changing the ANC into a fighting force for the liberation of our people. Walter Sisulu became the engine of the ANC in its most important part of history only when he was 37 years old.
- 67.** Oliver Tambo was elected into the ANC National Executive Committee at the age of 31 in 1948, became its Secretary General at the age of 38 in 1955 and Deputy President at the age of 41 in 1958. First President of the ANC Youth League was directly elected to the ANC National Executive Committee at the age of 31 in 1945. Nelson Mandela was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC at the age of 32 in 1950 and became President of the ANC Youth League and that of the ANC in the entire Transvaal at the age of 34 in 1952. He was by then the Volunteer in Chief of the Defiance Campaign.
- 68.** Taking this notion to a different level, perhaps we should speak about the most celebrated revolutionaries in the history of politics. Vladimir Lenin, who led the world renowned Great October Socialist revolution in 1917, was aged 33 when he came with the revolutionary strategy and ideology of Bolshevism and mobilised the Russian peasants and workers to overthrow the regime of the day.
- 69.** At the age of 47, Lenin had inspired many other revolutions across the world and was recognised as one of the most outstanding revolutionaries. Fidel Castro was aged 33 when he became the Prime Minister of Cuba, after successfully leading the Cuban Revolution against Batista. His accomplices, in particular Che Guevara were in the late 20s and early 30s. Che Guevara, who is today the world's most celebrated revolutionary, particularly among the youth, died at the age of 39, yet he had fought so many battles across the world and had defeated colonial and repressive regimes.
- 70.** We are mentioning all these realities because this generation of young activists should appreciate that the revolutionary programme we are pursuing, "economic freedom in our lifetime" will not be left to some older people who seem to have accepted that the massive wealth inequalities cannot be changed. The reason they go to the Queen to

account and report is because they believe that such is the only way to do things even with the political power that was given to them by the people of South Africa.

- 71.** When we speak about generational mix and development of second layer leadership in the ANC, we are not just referring to replacement of leaders in elective conferences, we are calling for younger, more energetic and radical leaders of the liberation movement to take serious responsibilities in regional, provincial and ultimately national structures of the ANC.
- 72.** The 2012 Conference of the ANC will of course celebrate 100 years of the ANC's existence, but it should be a platform to re-energise and re-radicalise the African National Congress like the 1949 Conference of the ANC in Mangaung did. The Conference of the ANC in 2012 should not only resolve on Nationalisation of Mines, but should take more decisive resolutions on the establishment of a State bank, more radical land reform programme, and a concrete plan on how monopoly industries are transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.
- 73.** We have to take these decisions because in 2014, we will be reaching 20 years as a democratic government and cannot continue to blame apartheid for our inability to redistribute wealth.
- 74.** It should be understood that wealth redistribution is not only about service delivery. While service delivery is important, our people should begin to benefit through ownership, control and quality employment from the country's strategic resources. All spaces in South Africa should be developed to the fullest. Our government should begin to take bold decisions and establish, finance and maintain concurrent Industrial Development Zones not only in Coega, but also in Sekhukhune, Rustenburg, Witbank, Newcastle, Kuruman, Welkom, and other areas that have substantial natural resources that could sustain a local economy for a longer period.
- 75.** Coupled to establishment of IDZs, our government should begin to take the task of building institutions of higher learning very seriously. Our government since 1994 has not built even a single University, yet some of our provinces need institutions of higher learning. Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape should not stop with the campaigns for the building of quality Universities in their Provinces. Many young people should be schooled in the home Provinces and be given sustainable jobs where they stay. We cannot continue to celebrate migrant labour as if we are in a colonised country. All negative colonial features should be dealt with decisively.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

- 76.** In December 2010, South Africa will be hosting the 17th World Festival for Youth and Students, which is an anti-imperialist gathering of young people from progressive formations across the world. These young people are organised under the banner of our organisation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The relationship between the ANC Youth League and WFDY is profound and will need the whole day to explain, and WFDY's struggles against apartheid are forever commendable. So it is not

by surprise that the WFDY Council chose South Africa as a host of the 17th World Festival for Youth and Students.

- 77.** The 16th World Festival for Youth and Students was hosted in Caracas, Venezuela and had more than 17000 participants from 144 countries. The ANC Youth League has already met with the leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), participated in the Preparatory meetings in Venezuela and North Korea and more than ready to host a successful world festival. What is relieving about WFDY is the fact that it is openly and unapologetically anti-imperialist and opposes any form of oppression in the world.
- 78.** WFDY has a long history of mobilisation against apartheid and revolutionaries in the South African National Liberation Movement have had programmatic interaction with WFDY. Ruth First was once a leader of WFDY, Walter Sisulu attended the World Festival of Youth and Students in 1949, Ahmed Kathrada spent 9 months in Budapest as Vice President of WFDY before he was tried alongside Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in the Rivonia Trial. Comrade Yawa from the Eastern Cape is a former President of WFDY, and the incumbent leadership of WFDY made it a point that they visit his family when they were in South Africa last year.
- 79.** Hosting the World Festival for Youth and Students will also help to tell the long standing history between WFDY and the National Liberation Movement in South Africa. WFDY opposed apartheid for a very long time and its existence should forever be consolidated to oppose any form of injustice across the world. Whilst appreciating our participation in the International Union of Socialist Youth, we have taken a conscious decision to revive and strengthen our participation in WFDY, because that is where our ideas of a just society are properly and uncompromisingly expressed.
- 80.** The ANC Youth League should use the World Festival for Youth and Students to call for a more progressive international perspective from South African government. Our foreign policy cannot be about pleasing the interests of imperialists at the expense of progressive forces, Our position on Zimbabwe should be revised and a policy that seeks to strengthen the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe be adopted. Our relationship with national liberation movement such as ZANU PF cannot be just defined by how we relate with them in the past, but what they do in the current period to fight against imperialism, neo colonialism and exploitation.
- 81.** Like the ANC instructed in Polokwane, the ANC Youth League will continue with efforts to interact and strengthen former liberation movements in particular SWAPO in Namibia, FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in Tanzania, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of China and all the progressive forces, which contributed to our liberation from apartheid bondage. The ANC Youth League should engage in a radical political programme that seeks to politically liberate people of Swaziland. How King Mswati participates in international platforms alongside South Africa escapes our imagination. We will engage the ANC to take a clearer position on Swaziland and not be trapped into pleasing the King even when the people of Swaziland are suffering. We must continue with our international

solidarity programmes in Western Sahara, Sudan and Palestine including the campaign on the release of Cuban five.

WHAT WERE THE MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS UNDER OUR TERM OF OFFICE?

- 82.** In the 1st National Executive Committee meeting of the 23rd Congress National Executive Committee, the ANC Youth League's observation was that the then President of the Republic Thabo Mbeki was not helping the ANC outgrow the divisions that characterised the ANC towards the Polokwane Conference. Our honest observation was that he was at the centre of the political challenges confronting the ANC and was hell-bent on undermining the leadership elected in Polokwane.
- 83.** The decision to recall President Mbeki was an excellent demonstration that the ANC is bigger than all of us. It is not a secret that the ANC Youth League was amongst the first to gain the courage of openly calling for the recall of former President Thabo Mbeki before the end of his term of government. The recall of former President Thabo Mbeki led to the formation of COPE by those who were not elected in the Polokwane Conference of the ANC; because they thought the recall of President Mbeki meant that all of them will be destroyed.
- 84.** Before COPE was formed, the ANC Youth League was the first to say boldly that those who want to leave the ANC for factional purposes should do so as soon as possible. When the ANC was still holding meetings with Mr. Lekota, the ANC Youth League was the first to accept the divorce papers.
- 85.** We said that because our conviction was premised on the observation we made during our 65th anniversary celebrations, that "The African National Congress is a dynamic organisation, capable of rising above storms and many huddles. It matures with age and adequately adjusts to variant material conditions. It cleanses from within itself, obstacles and predicaments that prevent it from moving forward". We had to courageously pronounce that those who want to go can go because some even from leadership of the ANC were beginning to be intimidated by the formation of COPE, which will die very soon.

ELECTIONS

- 86.** The contribution of the ANC Youth League to the ANC General Elections victory was profound and will go in history as one of the most decisive, innovative and fun form of contributions. After the general elections, the ANC commended the role played by the ANC Youth League and admitted that the notion that we were driving votes away from the ANC was simply untrue.
- 87.** The 2009 General elections re-affirmed our status as defenders of the revolution. The contributions we made in mobilising young people to register and ultimately vote for the ANC is incomparable. Whatever can be said, the ANC YL is proud that the number of people who voted for the ANC in 2009 has increased as compared to 2004. This means that the ANC's support in particularly the traditional support base of the ANC

has not been eroded. The myth that the articulations of the ANC YL leadership drive voters away is but a myth which was dispelled by the huge turnout of youth voters to vote for the ANC. Our generation should pride itself over the reality that we have made South Africa's politics more vibrant and trendy, particularly amongst youth.

- 88.** No amount of misanalysis will intimidate us into cowardly retreat of the actions and strategies we took to mobilise youth to vote for the ANC. We lived up to the expectations of our predecessors and previous generations of the ANC YL. We campaigned for the ANC in a manner suitable and typical of the ANC YL, and we are proud of the contributions we made to the overwhelming victory of the ANC. Nothing we did and said as the ANC YL during the elections period is inconsistent with what the previous generations did. We are glad that members of the ANC YL stood in defence of the leadership when our detractors and media distorted what we have always said. We promised to do everything in our power in defence of our leadership and we indeed went all out to campaign for the ANC to achieve the victory we achieved in the 2009 general elections.
- 89.** An absolute majority of ANC Volunteers and foot soldiers across the country were young people and they did everything in their power to retain the African National Congress to power. The creative and new campaign methods and attire was a direct product of youth initiatives and creativity as led by the ANCYL. The ANC YL was able to attract the modernised youth in the manner as we were able to attract voters from rural communities and townships. We gave the campaign new energy and excellently complimented the great job done by the ANC. There is no youth formation, alliance partner or league of the ANC that ever claim to have attracted votes than the ANC YL did and we should pride ourselves of that particular reality.
- 90.** The ANC Youth League also took a conscious decision to deploy young people as Members of Parliament and Members of Provincial Legislatures in what we thought is a way to make Parliament more vibrant. We should however use this opportunity to deliberate on whether it is advisable to take young activists of the ANC Youth League to Parliament, instead of prioritising recent graduates of the ANC Youth League who can also raise youth and developmental issues with the same vigour that the youth deployed can.
- 91.** The ANC Youth League Secretary General will report that during our term, the National Youth Development Agency was launched and a National Youth Policy adopted under our guidance and political leadership. We however seem to be confronted with more difficulties under this NYDA than we faced when we had previous institutions.
- 92.** This however should not make think that we can go back to the powerless, toothless and dysfunctional Youth Commissions and Youth Funds, we need to objectively analyse our weaknesses with regards to the successes and failures of the NYDA. If the weaknesses of the NYDA are subjective, we must say so and if they are objective and based on structural realities, we should also say so.
- 93.** The National General Council should give the National Executive Committee guidance on what should be done with the NYDA because thus far, what we promised will

happen from the NYDA did not happen. We still have not established Provincial Advisory Boards and Municipalities do not have the one stop shop for youth services as we had initially promised. If the NYDA is being used to tight factional battles, we should say so and defeat such agendas, because we can never use instruments of youth development to fight battles for self-aggrandisements and promotion.

- 94.** Young people are awaiting the services of the NYDA and that is where we should concentrate. This leadership of the ANC Youth League adhered to 23rd National Congress resolutions on the actualisation of a political education programme. The National Executive Committee developed a political education programme that was presented in the ANC YL National Political School in July 2009 and subsequently used in some of the Provinces and regions that invited the political education task team to come present the programme. The ANC Youth League political education programme was introduced with an assessment model, wherein participants in the political school write tests and assessed as to whether they thoroughly understood what was taught in the classroom.
- 95.** Now that almost all Regions and Provinces have convened their Provincial Congresses, the focus of the leadership in the build up to the National Congress in 2011 should be political education. All branches of the ANC Youth League should have undergone a political education programme as part of preparing for the National Congress.
- 96.** Members should be taught of all the themes used in the national curriculum, in particular 1) the history of the ANC Youth League, 2) Organisational Democracy and Discipline, 3) National Democratic Revolution, and 4) Economic History of South Africa and Nationalisation of Mines.
- 97.** Throughout our term of office, we were involved in social responsibility work, not because we sought publicity, but because we genuinely care about the wellbeing of our people. Today we stand proud to affirm that there are people who are at school with their fees paid up, because we have assisted. There are also people who have decent roofs above their heads because we have built them houses, there are orphanages and old age homes that have better facilities because we have on behalf of the ANC Youth League assisted them. The ANC Youth League never stood on the sidelines when parliament called in submission on the banning of Labour Brokers.
- 98.** In our submission to Parliament, we said, "Labour Brokering does not fit anywhere in the kind of society we as youth want to live in, and we call upon Public Representatives to illegalise Labour Brokering in South Africa and safeguard the future of many young people who are brutally exploited in various factory floors without rights. We will stop nowhere in fighting for the illegalisation of Labour Brokering in South Africa because it does not in anyway fit to the kind of society we are going to live in". We made this submission because, our 23rd National Congress mandated us "lobby and campaign the illegalization of labour-brokers and agencies that unethically exploit young people".
- 99.** Fighting labour brokers to us is coupled with fighting for quality jobs for youth. We carry a responsibility to ensure that all young people in South Africa have access to

quality, proper paying jobs. Whether the wage subsidy for youth will fulfil this objective is a question this National General Council should answer. In the 2005 National General Council of the ANC, we correctly rejected a two tier labour system, which was proposing to introduce different rules for young workers, effectively taking advantage of the desperation to work.

- 100.** The wage subsidy for youth is not a resolution of the ANC 52nd National Conference and is not part of our Manifesto, so the ANC should express itself on whether it is suitable before it is implemented. We appreciate the fact that in our term of office, the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA), which the ANCYL is part of, won SRC elections in campuses we previously did not control. We won SRC elections at the University of Free State, Wits University, North West University (Vaal Campus) UNISA, and improved our majority in the University of Cape Town. Almost all SRC elections that we contested by the Progressive Youth Alliance did not present us with major challenges, proving the fact that we continue to enjoy hegemony across all spectrum of youth, including in institutions of higher learning. For 2010 SRC elections, we should work with our PYA partners to ensure that none of the structures of the PYA contest against each other. Avoiding these contestations also requires strong, disciplined structures of the ANC YL in campuses.
- 101.** Contesting SRC elections should be accompanied by thorough, convincing programmes to transform higher education. Incidents of racism, unfair financial and academic exclusions, lack of proper teaching and learning support materials continue characterise our institutions of higher learning. Our branches in campuses should fight for conducive learning environment and not use SRCs as a means to become popular in campuses and misuse funds allocated to SRCs. We have to continue with battles to ensure that the National Students Financial Aid Scheme provides for all the needs of students, including paying for accommodation, food, tuition fees, and stipend for all poor students. Government should also invest heavily in the maintenance of historically disadvantaged institutions of higher learning.
- 102.** Institutions of higher learning should produce innovative young entrepreneurs who will unashamedly contribute to the development of our communities, including through provision of honest services to government. The labels of tenderpreneur should never intimidate those who intend to provide services to government away from doing so. If young people are not the ones who gain experience through building of government houses, construction of roads and other infrastructure, who is going to do it? This should be coupled by development of skills, including on areas where African youth are marginalised, in particular accounting.
- 103.** We need as many Chartered Accountants as possible from disadvantaged backgrounds so that they help Municipalities, government at all levels and young entrepreneurs to properly account for and excellently manage finances. One issue we should forever emphasise is that political, social and economic progress of young people should not be a licence to multi-sexual relationships.
- 104.** Multi-sexual relationships cannot be a fashionable trend amongst youth, in particular those that feel like they have made progress in politics, socially and

economically. HIV/AIDS is a reality and our campaign on One boyfriend-One girlfriend should be intensified. This campaign is very important because it has potential to massively reduce HIV infection rates in society, in particular amongst youth. HIV/AIDS is one of the biggest problems in society and we should never undermine the devastation it causes society.

- 105.** Our overall and honest assessment is that since 2008, the ANC Youth League has grown stronger and is a formidable force not only in the country's politics, but also in what we have got to say in the African continent and globally. Our strength is indeed attributed to the fact that we have strong structures on the ground, which despite challenges, continue to mobilise young people behind the vision of the ANC and champion their interests.
- 106.** The fact that we have been able to convene an absolute majority of regional and provincial congresses in record time for the National General Council, not elective National Congress proves the point that our organisation is intact and much focused. We then have adequate time and space to organisationally and politically prepare all our structures for a successful National Congress in 2011.
- 107.** Our organisational strength does not however mean that we have not encountered challenges. We have over the past few weeks noticed agent provocateurs, who take the organisation to Court in order to resolve internal organisational matters. There can never be any sound reason why disciplined, tried and tested cadres of the movement can take the organisation to Court.
- 108.** Many of our members and leaders are tried, but not tested. Tested cadres are those who appreciate that in the ANC, there is always tomorrow and that the organisation can at times accuse you wrongly, yet you remain loyal to the cause for total emancipation of the black majority and Africans in particular. It can never be correct that we harbour amongst us, people who believe that it is either they are leaders of the organisation or it dies.
- 109.** We would like to assure Council and the entire membership of the ANC Youth League that under our leadership, those who believe that they have a divine right to lead by hook or crook will never succeed. We carry a responsibility to safeguard this organisation of Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Anton Lembede, and Peter Mokaba. If it means we sacrifice our lives in defence of the ANC Youth League, so be it.
- 110.** Organisation in a revolutionary sense should have the following features; clarity of thought, dedicated leadership and determination to selflessly contribute to change. Without these, there can never be any progress. This should inspire all of us in doing organisational work in all provinces, regions and branches.
- 111.** Some of you might not identify the immediate benefits of building a strong organisation, but will live to appreciate that it is primarily through strong structures of the Youth League that we will live to inherit a vibrant and focused ANC. We should in this context condemn practices in Provinces and regions that seek to undermine and

fraud our organisational processes and audit for narrow factional politics. It can never be correct that leaders of the Youth League take pride in defrauding organisational processes towards regional congresses because they want to safeguard their narrow personal ambitions.

- 112.** The ANC Youth League should forever be a revolutionary organisation, which in the process of mobilising young people behind the vision of the ANC and championing their interests, make sure that we agitate revolutionary changes in society. An organisation by its very nature is a formation of disciplined people who pursue a common strategic objective and goals. As a force of the Left, the ANC YL should at all times display a certain degree of ideological clarity, hard work, commitment, selflessness and dedication to fight for the poor, helpless and vulnerable.

Aluta continua, We shall overcome.

RESOLUTIONS

ON NATIONALISATION OF MINES AND MINERAL RESOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Believing that

- The Freedom Charter remains the strategic objective of the African National Congress and a beacon of hope for the absolute majority of South Africans.
- All economic transformation perspectives and resolutions of the ANC are guided by the Freedom Charter's clarion call that "The people shall share in the country's wealth"
- The freedom charter's commitment and objective that "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, banks and monopoly industries shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as whole" is understood in the ANC to mean amongst other things, nationalisation of Mines.
- the legacy of colonialism and apartheid continues to reproduce patterns of development and underdevelopment in our society,
- Minerals are at the strategic centre of South Africa's economic, political and social development.
- The central and most pressing challenges we face are unemployment, poverty and inequality. In this regard, we commit to move with speed to transform the economy and realise the objectives of the freedom charter,
- The assertion of the ANC Strategy & Tactics that "overall, since 1994, the balance of forces has shifted in favour of the forces of change. It provides the basis for speedier implementation of programmes to build a truly democratic and prosperous society".

Noting that

- That South African continues to export a substantial majority of its mineral resources with little and no efforts for beneficiation and industrialisation of the mineral resources
- Legislation that govern Minerals in South Africa, particularly the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act, which acknowledges that:
 - minerals are non-renewable resources and they belong to the nation with the state as the custodian
 - there is an obligation to ensure their sustainable development and to protect the environment
 - Results of past discrimination should be redressed through, among others, equitable access and promotion of local and rural development.
- The history of oppression premised on the extraction of Minerals in South Africa,
- Since 1994, the ANC government has achieved many social transformation objectives, but has not decisively transferred wealth from the white minority to the black majority,

Therefore resolve to

- Nationalise South Africa's Mines for the following purposes
 - Increase fiscal capacity for developmental purposes, particularly the funding of education, healthcare, housing, and infrastructure development,
 - better working conditions of Mineworkers including through increasing of Mineworkers' minimum wage
 - Transform South Africa's accumulation path in a manner defined in the discussion document
 - Industrialise and beneficiation of minerals resources extracted from beneath the soil.
 - Transform spatial development patterns inherited from the past
- The Nationalisation of Mines should be underpinned by the following keys principles and actions:

- Development of Minerals Strategy which will clearly define the State's interests and participation in minerals development and mining in South Africa.
- Establishment of a State Owned Mining Company, which will be the custodian of all State's interests in mining, including the existing ones in Allexkor, AFMC and LimDev.
- The State Owned Mining Company should assemble and consolidate all State interests, resources and capacity into a single entity, which will extract and trade minerals on behalf of the State.
- Passing of an Expropriation Act, which will clearly define the State's public interest expropriation model and practice with or without compensation,
- Amendment of the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act to include a clause that compels all Mining Corporations to partner the State on a minimum of 60 to 40 percent arrangements for all mining activities,
- Establishment of a State Bank, which will finance all Mining operations and development projects around the State,
- Development of a concrete social and labour development model, which will ensure that communities around the Mines are developed out of the proceeds of Mining,
- **Re-alignment of South Africa's Industrial Policy and action plan around to consider the reality that the State will be in control and ownership of Mines and mineral resources, so as to guide a concrete plan on minerals' beneficiation and industrialisation.**
- **Amendment of Section 25 of South Africa's Constitution to empower the State to expropriate in the public interest with or without compensation.**

STATE OWNED MINING COMPANY

- The State Owned Mining Company should be established and be under the direct supervision of the Department of Mineral Resources (not Public Enterprises) and fundamentally responsible for the following tasks:
 - Own and control South Africa's mineral resources;
 - Maximise the nation's economic gain from the mineral resources;
 - Contribute to South Africa's social and economic development;
 - Develop and maintain strong environmental and safety standards; and
 - Develop the mineral resources in a careful and deliberate manner.
 - **Develop strategies for Skills development in the Mining sector, including through establishment of Mining colleges for low, intermediary and high intensive skills development of all people.**
- The State Owned Mining Company should be established through an ACT of Parliament, which should clearly define its tasks, responsibilities, accountability mechanisms.
- The SOMCO should necessarily gather all the State's interests in Mining including those in Allexkor, African Exploration Mining & Finance Corporation (AEMFC) and various other Stakes which government holds through Provincial parastatals and shares in bigger mining corporation.
- A Minimum of 60% of the Mineral resources extracted by the State Owned Mining Company should be locally beneficiated and industrialized, and 50% of such beneficiation and industrialization of minerals should happen in the Mining Communities.
- **Strong accountability mechanisms should be instituted to guide how those who work for SOMCO do not redirect its resources into their individuals benefit and progress.**
 - Strong Community involvement and National Accountability Forum on the management of the Mining resources. There should be an annual Stakeholders' Mining Conference to discuss the direction and content of the SOMCO activities, including its finances, community development programmes.

- Those involved in the running of the State Owned Mining Company should be closely monitored and processed for honesty purposes. Assessment of SOMCO should include all employees of the Company.
 - The State Owned Mining Company will within a broader Minerals Strategy ensure that all the beneficiation and industrialisation of minerals benefits all people.
 - Importantly, the State Owned Mining Company should attract the best of skills, expertise and knowledge on how best minerals are extracted, produced, beneficiated and traded for the mineral resources in South Africa.
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Areas of emphasis from the ANC Youth League 1st National General Council on Nationalisation of the Mines:

We resolve:

- The reasons for Nationalisation should include that it is intended on paying for free quality education until tertiary level and increasing salaries of public servants.
 - That the resolution should must put an emphasis on the Environmental Impact Assessment of mining operation and commit to practices that are environmentally friendly in all State Owned Mines.
 - The Council must adopt the ANC resolution of the 52nd Conference on Green Economy.
 - That the state must enforce implementation of Social Labour Plan for the benefit of communities living in jurisdiction of mining activities
 - Under State ownership and control of Minerals, royalties should continue to be paid to the communities living in areas where mineral resources are extracted in a manner that addresses their developmental needs.
 - That emphasis must also be on building capacity and development of skills required in operations and management of mines to prevent a possible skills shortage. Nationalisation of Mines should be accompanied by thorough skills development programme, prioritising youth.
 - That there must be an amendment to the Property Clause of the Constitutions to address the limitation in relation to property rights.
 - State must improve its border control capacity to manage a possible influx of immigrants likely to be attracted by creation of new jobs resulting from nationalisation.
 - Mining houses (state and/or privately owned) must establish offices in areas where operations are taking place.
 - That Youth League must explore efficient methods to raise public awareness about benefits of nationalisation of mines.
 - There must also be an emphasis of other economic sectors that will be catalysed by the snowball effects of nationalisation of mines.
 - That a comprehensive study must conducted to ensure that areas of operation and management in mining are significantly improved.
 - All structures must be capacitated to clearly articulate the Perspective on the Nationalisation of mines.
 - That we must never retreat on our call for nationalisation of Mines.
 - The study tour on Nationalisation of Mines should continue to further strengthen.
 - The ANC Youth League should campaign for the internalisation of Nationalisation of key and strategic sectors of economies, particularly in former colonies. We will utilise the 17th World Festival to popularise this concept and in organisations such as WFDY, IUSY and the Pan African Youth Union.
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ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

On Youth and Economic Transformation

We resolve that:

- There must emphasis on provision of education as a tool that will enable young people to enter a mainstream economy
- The geographical spread of college sector must be expanded in order to improve access to Further Education and Training for young people
- Implementation of skills development initiatives funded through Skills Development Fund must be improved and spread equitably throughout the country
- The Sector Education and Training Authorities must strengthened
- There must be an emphasis on creation of youth cooperatives as a model to promote integration of young people into the mainstream economy
- Introduction of the wage subsidy for employment of youth must be rejected
- Government should establish a State Bank which will deal with broad aspects of developmental financing
- The financial sector must be transformed and the current regulatory regime be overhauled as a matter of urgency to deal with centralisation of banks, monopoly in the national payment settlement system and over-pricing of service rates
- There must be establishment of a Youth Bank servicing young people and founded on principles of improving youth access to finance, under the stewardship of the NYDA
- The Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act must be an amendment to recognise youth as a designate group, and ensure allocation of preferential points for youth in supply chain management policies and practices of government
- Agricultural sector must also be promoted amongst young people through provision of market intelligence regarding business and development opportunities in the agriculture sector
- The state must improve its interventionist role in the economy, to ensure that economic growth translates into improvement of living conditions of the people
- The state must develop and implement clear cut programmes that will build rural economies into economies that are self-reliant and sustainable
- All land in our state territory must be restored to the ownership of the state and be disposed to private hands through a 30 year leaseholds instead of freehold title
- Capacity of Local Economic Development at municipal level must be improved to address challenges of youth unemployment and poverty alleviation
- The policy and legislative process on land distribution and expropriation must be fully supported, to ensure a new regime of expropriation and compensation regime
- Critical initiatives such as co-operatives, EPWP must be strengthened with more resources. Further, increase the time period for EPWP projects to be more long term in order to increase their impact on poverty alleviation
- The budget for the EPWP must be given to or reside with the National Department of Public Works to fund massification of this strategic job creation initiative and skills development, to promote integrated and stratified functionality
- The Economic Transformation document of the ANC should be rebuffed as its content and character is out of kilt with the fundamental ethos of the ANC, un-ANC un-revolutionary, and fails to address fundamental economic challenges facing our country
- The document must be further rejected as it does not assess work or policy application done by the ANC since the last elective conference

- The Document must be reviewed to address fundamental issues facing our country, including and not only the youth

Youth Development

Resolved that:

- Funding of National Youth Development Agency must be informed by appreciation of the fact that youth constitute about 73% of the unemployed in the country and are the most vulnerable
- NYDA must improve its capacity of programmes design and use such programmes to mobilise additional funding from other sources outside government
- Programme of NYDA must not be limited to youth entrepreneurship only, but also cater for other genres of youth development such as sports, arts, culture and community services
- NYDA offices should be spread accordingly to ensure access by all young people
- Funding models of NYDA must appreciate entrepreneurial limitations of youth, and therefore must be coupled with necessary business development support
- Establishment of provincial boards of the YDA
- All departments and municipalities must implement at least one National Youth Service Programme in financial year
- All municipalities must establish Local Youth Units for coordination of implementation of youth development programmes
- Government must facilitate introduction of system that will ensure that learners at Grade 12 are able to acquire drivers licenses before matriculation
- Youth League must establish shadow ministers in line with cabinet ministers as a dedicated system for monitoring implementation of youth development by all departments
- Youth League must establish Young Professional Forum, Skills Development Forum and Youth Business Forum as platform of networking and knowledge generation in areas of entrepreneurship and skills development.

COMPOSITE RESOLUTION ON THE ANC ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION DISCUSSION DOCUMENT:

Noting the ANC NGC document of Economic Transformation, that,

- a) Its analysis of the South African economy since 1994, its achievements and challenges.
- b) South African economy has grown on average of 3.8% till 2008, and contraction in 2009 on the back of international economic meltdown.
- c) the structural impediments of the SA economy and the consequent translation on inequalities, persisting unemployment and poverty.
- d) the domination of the SA economy by monopolies and the lack of corrective regulation.
- e) need for food security
- f) need for skills and education
- g) undesirable nature of bulk of the capital inflows which has been short term
- h) short term and long terms intervention in the past and in the future

Believing that

- (a) The ANC document is in out of sync with what was supposed to be the nature of this document, which is supposed to be a mid-term review since the 52nd conference in Polokwane, instead of the 16 year review.
- (b) The document is not benchmarked against the last elective conference of the ANC.
- (c) The nature and character of the document is uncharacteristic of an ANC document, as it is more like an academic and/research paper than a economic analysis of a political party.

- (d) The document is not anchored on the ANC polity imperatives, including the national democratic revolution, the Freedom Charter, the strategy and tactics.
- (e) It's politically non educative to ANC members, as the NGC naturally serves as a political school for ANC cadres.
- (f) The document is out tune with fundamental realities, particularly on issues of unemployment and poverty.
- (g) It is not fully characterizing the nature of the unemployment in South Africa, which youth constitutes over 70% of that economically active population.
- (h) Many labour market absorption initiatives, including extended public works have played imperative role in labour intensity and must be improved.

Further believing that,

- (a) Glaring exclusion on fundamental issues of land reform and redistribution.
- (b) Relegation to non-critical imperative the fundamental real economic transformation proposition on nationalization and broader mineral and mining transformation.
- (c) The non inclusion or critical analysis of around the Mineral Energy Complex (MEC) and its adverse impact on real and sustainable development.
- (d) Clear disregard of the financial sector and its imperatives to transform to promote access to capital, particularly the poor and the youth

Resolve that,

- (a) The Economic Transformation document of the ANC should be rebuffed as its content and character is un-revolutionary, out of kilt with the fundamental ethos of the ANC, and it fails to address fundamental economic challenges facing our country, and
 - (b) The document must be further rejected as it does not assess work or policy application done by the ANC since the last elective conference
 - (c) The Document must be reviewed to address fundamental issues facing our country, including and not only the youth
 - (d) Nationalisation is a fundamental pillar to real transformation to promote inclusive and balanced growth and development
 - (e) A moratorium on new mining licensing be immediately implemented till the policy on nationalization has been finalized
 - (f) The policy and legislative process on land distribution and expropriation must be fully supported, to ensure a new regime of expropriation and compensation regime
 - (g) Critical initiatives such as co-operatives, EPWP must be strengthened with more resources and exit strategy including skills development and parallel integration.
 - (h) The economic transformation proposition must be youth-centred as the youth constitute the bulk of the unemployed and poor, the imperative of the ANC economic transformation policy.
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MEDIA AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

External media and communication

The commission noted that:-

- Media is still not transformed in relation to our national transformation agenda
- Media is still foreign owned and driven by capital and therefore remain hostile to the movement.
- The continuous propaganda levelled against the broader movement and the ANC led government by some media institutions.
Therefore resolved that:-
- Time frames must be put to integrate Africans in the media arena
- The ANCYL must swell the ranks of media and occupy ideological space within all media platforms by initiating discussions, writing articles and engaging in public discourse
- Engage government departments to stop advertising in all media instruments whose credibility is already questioned by the organization. This includes the City Press

Further resolved that:-

- ANCYL members must be encouraged and supported to major in media studies.
- Ownership of media must be localized and we must take advantage of the newly launched New Age newspaper to communicate our ideas.
- The Public broadcaster must be transformed because liberal views dominate news and our transformation agenda doesn't find space.
- The MDDA (Media Development and Diversity Agency) must be capacitated and exist in all spheres of government.

1. On Internal media and communication

The commission noted that:-

- There is a need to consistently brand our organization even at branch levels
- There is a need to improve internal communication within our organization instead of structures receiving organizational decisions/ matters through media channels.
- An emerging tendency of members in lower structures to communicate on national decisions/issues
- There is a need to avoid communication of organizational issues through social networks
- There is lack of access to information about the organization by disadvantaged communities

Therefore resolved that:-

- Branding must be compulsory in all structures and meetings of the organization
- Internal communication must be strengthened within our structures and there be uniformity and clear channels of communicating organizational issues until branch level.
- Access to organizational information especially for disadvantaged communities need to be improved.
- We must introduce chat rooms or discussion platforms in our website rather than using social networks to debate and communicate organizational matters
- Communication of national issues/decisions must be centralized. Members in lower structures of the ANCYL must exercise the highest level of discipline in communicating national issues/decisions_

The commission further resolved that:-

- The research capacity of the organization must be strengthened
- There be clear time frames outlined for resolutions taken on Communications and the battle of ideas, to be implemented.

2. On Resolutions of 23rd Conference on Communication and the battle of Ideas.

The commission noted that:-

- Communication remains a critical tool in the battle of ideas, and organizational development
- There is little progress made in meeting the resolutions of the 23rd conference relating to communication and the battle of ideas.

The commission specially resolved that:-

- The Communication Sub-Committee must give a report before the next National Congress on the progress made in the implementation of the 23rd national Congress resolutions.

3. On the ANC 52ND National conference resolution on the establishment of the Media Tribunal.

The commission noted:-

- The ongoing public and internal debate on the establishment of media tribunal

The commission resolved:-

- That the ANC provides a progress report in this regard.
- That the 52nd ANC conference resolution on the investigation of the establishment of the Media tribunal should be speedily implemented, with a view of altogether halting self-regulation by media.

The commission further resolved:-

- That in the spirit of media appeals tribunal, journalists should be granted licenses to operate just like lawyers, doctors and engineers, so as to guide compliance to professional ethics, of which if violated licenses should be withdrawn.
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STRATEGY AND TACTICS AND THE NDR

Noting that:

1. The strategy and tactics was firstly adopted in the 1969 ANC Morogoro Conference after a thorough analysis of the struggle against apartheid and the road map towards a total liberation of black people in general and Africans in particular;
2. The strategy and tactics is reviewable in every 5 years,
3. It defines what we should strive for as an organisation and the country,
4. It locates properly on how the needs of our society should be addressed and what are the drivers of the NDR,
5. It appreciate the historical advances our society and the organisation,

6. It gives a clear perspective of why the ANC was formed and who should drive the process of total liberation of all the working class and black people in general in particular,
7. It puts into context the fragmented situation of our society and the kind of society that must be champion by the ANC, in responding to all challenges our organisation and government,
8. It proposes that the organisation must build a Developmental State as a solution into all the challenges confronting our organisation, government, working class and the black people in general,
9. The nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of our economy is one of the strategies to address the imbalances of our society, economically and enabling the government to address the needs of the people.

RESOLUTIONS:

10. The balance of forces favour the forces of change to speedily implement all the objectives of the Freedom Charter, the ANC should therefore utilise its political and mass power to speed up the realisation and practicalisation of Freedom Charter objectives.
11. The Nationalisation of Mines is going to address the issue of the Ownership and the Beneficiation by the majority of the people, black people in general and Africans in particular,
12. We should strive to lobby the ANC in ensuring that the youth, working class and the black people in general benefits more on the creation of the Developmental State,
13. The NEC should make a road show to all the provinces on the Nationalisation of Mines in order to make all our members and the broad society understand the ANC Youth League's perspective on Nationalisation of Mines,
14. The Nationalisation of Mines must be used to address the issues of Education, Housing, Health, Youth development and to address the imbalances of the past through beneficiation and ownership of mineral resources beneath the soil,
15. The key attributes of the Developmental State is that of creating a society that have the hegemony with regards to the working class,
16. The location of the NDR in the strategy and tactics should emphasise the core motive forces as the working class and black people in general,
17. We should ask ourselves a question that says do we have capacity of changing the balance of motive forces and the capital monopoly to favour the ANC,
18. The state should have a total control of all natural resources and the processing, ownership and beneficiation of such by the black majority,
19. The Nationalisation of mines will also address the imbalances of the past and respond to the ANC manifesto,
20. The strategy and tactics it provides us with a direction on how we should use the NDR to attain the Developmental State,
21. We should at all times discourage foreign tendencies by ensuring that we go back to the basics of the organisation,
22. We should encourage the establishment of the mining forums as the strategy to ensure that the communities hold the mining companies and the government responsible with regard of social responsibility programmes, approval and renew of mining licences, rehabilitation process and the environmental conservation,
23. The strategy and tactics should pay attention on youth sector as one of the motive forces given the population statistics dictates and its vulnerability, The primary motive forces needs the ANC to have decisive leadership in order to address its challenges and instil organisational discipline,
24. We should learn the lesson from the countries that had already implemented the Nationalisation of Mines and begin to learn important good lessons for the betterment of our approach,

25. The government should put a moratorium on the issuing and renewing the mining licences once the parliament had initiated the process of enacting the Act,
26. The government should clearly clarify the conditions of foreign direct investment e.g. they should be given condition of job creation and local ownership and beneficiation etc,

On the role of the Developmental State:

27. The state should make emphasis on the importance of the interests of the working class,
 28. The NDR and total attainment of Freedom Charter objectives is the vehicle to achieve a National Democratic Society,
 29. The Developmental State should have the capacity to intervene decisively on all the challenges of the society,
 30. The Developmental State must prioritise the domestic challenge,
 31. **The Developmental State must be able to provide the following:**
 - a. Provide basic shelter
 - b. Speedily implement free compulsory education
 - c. Build affordable health care and quality primary health care
 - d. Ensure sustainable livelihoods for all people
 - e. It should clearly define the role of the state over the economy
 32. **What are the attributes of the Developmental State:**
 - a. The state should be people centred
 - b. The state should make a proper over hauling public sector with regard to human resources development and retention of skills e.g. batho pele principles
 - c. It must be democratic and in control of strategic centres of socio economic power
 - d. The state must deracialise the economy
 33. The ANC should be retained as a disciplined force of the Left, and all programmes of the organisation should clearly reflect that the ANC is a disciplined force of the Left.
 34. What is the clear definition and analysis of the motive forces:
 - a. We are affirming the definition in the strategy and tactics of the ANC 2007 Conference and we should include the progressive middle class who share the vision of the NDR,
 - b. We should transform the multi lateral institutions e.g. UN security council, world bank, U.N, G8 countries, African development Bank
 - c. We should align ourselves with the countries that seeks to address the plight of working class and the poor,
 - d. We should affirm the observation made in the ANC 2007 conference that the ANC, not the alliance is the centre of power.
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ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, RENEWAL AND BUILDING

As the commission we wish to table the following resolutions to the 1st National General Council of the African National Congress Youth League:

Autonomy of the ANCYL

- The NGC must re-affirm that we are the ANCYL of the ANC and as such we remain a critical body of opinion within the ANC. And further place it on record that the president of the ANCYL is a representative of the views of the youth league.

- The NGC must therefore pronounce its displeasure in the manner which the President of the ANCYL was subjected to a disciplinary hearing, and that all findings of the DC and sanctions thereof are binding to all members of the ANCYL.
- Extracting from the constitutions of both the ANC and the ANCYL we want to re-affirm the notion that, the autonomy of the ANCYL and young people in general in all revolutions is elementary to revolution's progress and success.
- We therefore resolve that no leader or member of the ANCYL should be subjected to a disciplinary process by the ANC without consultation with and the involvement of the ANCYL.

Political Education

- We re-affirm the resolutions of the 23rd National Congress on the establishment and institutionalization of the political education schools.
- Taking into consideration the capacity and efforts of the NEC, we resolve that the NEC must employ a well trained Political Core, which will run with the day to day political education programme
- We further resolve that the NEC must develop the outreach and visibility programme for the young women's network.

Membership

- The NEC must look at ways to expedite the membership application process and the delivery of membership cards as per the resolution of the 23rd National Congress.
- Membership subscriptions must be transferred to branches to enable branches to discharge their political programmes.
- The SGO and the TGO must facilitate the employment of regional and provincial organizers.
- Buying of membership for the advancement of factional tendencies should be deemed as fraud and must therefore be harshly punished.
- Audit for provinces must be conducted by the respective provinces and not the NEC, queries and complains must however be forwarded to the NEC for investigation.
- ANC Youth League membership application should be extended to 2 years and membership fee extended to R20.

ANCYL Branches and Sub-Regions

- We further re-affirm that the branches of the ANCYL remain the basic units of our movement and resolve that the BEC's must take charge of their membership and strongly discourage joining at regional level.
- We resolve that we need to establish sub-branches/units as per the ANC approach in order to intensify our visibility especially in rural and sparsely populated areas.
- The NEC must develop guidelines for the establishment of sub-regions and zonal structures by end of September 2010 so as to ensure the smooth coordination of branch activities.
- The regional chairpersons and secretaries must have full voting rights in provincial and national congresses.
- The NEC must investigate the necessity for the establish ANCYL structures outside the borders of the country.

Organisational Discipline

- We have over the past few months witnessed growing foreign tendencies within the organization of taking the ANCYL to court. Members of the ANCYL who take the organisation

to court should be automatically expelled from the ANCYL. However disciplinary processes must not be used to purge members who might at one point or another hold a differing view from a popular one.

- Any member who engages the media, purporting to be representing the view of the ANCYL, without the permission of the relevant structure(S) within the organization must be summarily expelled from the ANCYL.
- Further resolve that constitutional provisions must take effect on all offences.
- All those who are found to be miss-using the property and resources of the organization to advance factional tendencies must be harshly punished.

Constitutional Review

- NEC must before the following national congress, convene a constitutional review/summit, wherein the following issues should be discussed:
 - The rules of disciplinary procedures
 - Classification of offences warranting automatic expulsion.
 - The establishment of an appellate body within the NEC.
 - Displaying of factional materials and paraphernalia at organizational gatherings.
 - Constitutionalise the principles of organizational democracy, particularly that the ANC Youth League is a unitary organization and adheres to principles of organizational democracy, more especially democratic centralism.

Meeting Procedures

- The commission resolved that the status quo with regard to quorum must remain, i.e. 50% plus one.

Dissolution and Disbandment of Structures

- In an event where an upper structure is convinced that the lower is incapable of discharging its mandate and attempting to remedy the situation, it can move for dissolution or disbandment.

NYDA AND ORGANISATIONAL OVERSIGHT

- The commission notes with regret the mediocre progress made in the implementation and roll-out of the NYDA across provinces. Therefore the commission recommends that the NGC pronounce itself unequivocally on the lack of delivery by the NYDA.
- Further noting, that justice has not been done on reporting on the resolution of the 23rd National Congress of the ANCYL around the establishment and rolling-out of the NYDA. The commission therefore calls on the NGC to instruct the NEC to properly investigate the challenges of the NYDA and give a comprehensive report to the members of the ANCYL and the youth of South Africa in general.
- Simultaneously the NEC must ensure, through the strategic deployments it has made to the NYDA, the speedy implementation and roll-out of the NYDA. Young people have already waited for a long time for the promises made around NYDA and they can't afford to wait any longer.

Other Resolutions

- Serving members of the NEC should not make themselves available for election into lower structures.
- NGC resolves on the inculcation of a generational mix in the leadership of the ANC.

- The commission wishes to reiterate the fact that the PYA is a relevant structure for the vigorous advancement of youth development in our country. The ANCYL should therefore continue to strengthen the PYA by lending support to PYA structures, in particular SASCO and COSAS,
 - NEC members deployed to province must take responsibility for failures experienced at the provinces, a simple reshuffling of deployment is not enough to deal problems experienced by provinces.
 - The NEC should develop a build up programme towards the centenary of the ANC in 2012. The centenary build up programme should consider identifying ANC day every week where activities and programmes of the ANC will be implemented.
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SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

National General Council reaffirms all the resolution of the 23rd National Congress of the ANCYL, and further resolved that:

- In light of the fact that we are in our second decade of freedom it is essential that we look honestly at the strides we have made in ensuring that we have indeed improved the quality of the lives of our people.
- Young people should find representation in the National Planning Commission, preferably from the ANC Youth League as it's qualitatively and quantitatively the largest organisation in country.

Youth Unemployment and poverty

- There is a need to professionalize Agriculture.

- IDP must reflect decisive programmes on youth development as part of criteria in local government sphere.
- Learnership must be accredited and should have an exit strategy.
- SITAS must be transformed to deal with the current realities of skills gap.
- Reaffirm the campaign for the banning of labour brokers

Alcohol, Drugs and Substance Abuse

- We must carry out a full blown massive campaign in our communities against alcohol, drugs and substance abuse.
- Mobilise private sector assist SANCA in establishing rehabilitation centres.
- Encourage Municipalities to pass by-laws that regulate liquor outlets/stores.
- The role of welfare services especially to deal with issues such as a coordinated National Anti drug and substance abuse campaign.
- Focus campaign on Foetal Alcohol Syndrome affecting the future generation.

Social Security

- Develop a monitoring mechanism to social security programmes including distribution of food parcels to the deserving and needy families.

Sports, Arts, Recreation and Heritage

- Incorporate Sports into Educational Curriculum.
- Mobilise artist who played a role of fighting apartheid use music to reinforce our heritage.

Youth and Crime

- The Ministry of Police must maintain the standard of safety that we experience during 2010 FIFA World Cup.
- Call on the speedy system of young people taken on as volunteers in the Ministry of Police and ensure that they are taken into the ranks and not expected to do the work of the police without the training or the certification

Social Security

- Need for integrated social and comprehensive social security system that will provide safety nets for vulnerable people in society. We are not seeking to encourage dependency but developing a system that would provide comprehensive measures to fight poverty.
- Even though advances made in social security with the extension of the child support grant to 18 years of age the gaps of poverty remain vast.
- The strengthening of the social security net on issues relating to terminally ill and particular focus on HIV/AIDS related illnesses.

Education

- Free and quality education is the call of the ANCYL we will not wait any longer
- Teachers should be paid a decent salary but also not deviate from their function to education the nation and deliver quality education to each child and young person going through the schooling system
- Prohibition on Section 21 Schools requesting fees of any kind
- Development of rural schools
- All branches, RECs and PECs should adopt a school
- NSFAS must cover accommodation, tuition fees, books
- Campaign to arrest all who know of children who are not going to school or who have dropped out of school
- Call for the immediate establishment of Universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape

Health

- We need to reaffirm the implementation of the National Health Insurance.
- Call for a state owned pharmaceutical company so as to ensure that we curb the exorbitant prices of medicines

- The role of traditional medicine must be strengthened as a means of alternative healing because most remedial health plants are found in South Africa and this is relevant in ensuring that there is a cheaper form of medicine.

Housing

- This remains a problem for young people in terms of access and affordability the YL urges government to ensure the acceleration of land acquisition for housing and human settlements.
- The State should establish a dedicated Housing bank, which will finance housing for young workers at more favourable rates, terms and conditions than is the case presently.

Land and Agriculture

- This continues to remain a very slow process and as a result this process has hindered the full realization of economic emancipation of our people and deepens the problems of poverty societal challenges
- Regulation of ownership of land by foreigners, this should take into account the country's predicament on land reform, redistribution and restitution and access to land. Up until the issue of land has been resolved it should be the essential that foreigners can be allowed to lease the land but not to own it.
- Issue of willing buyer and willing seller must be reviewed
- The state and mandated entities must be able to exercise its legal right to be in a position to expropriate property land in the public interest or for public purpose. Compensation will be accorded in line with the constitution in line with equity, redress and social justice
- Focus campaign on rural and agricultural development

Heritage, Arts Sports and Culture and Recreation

- Building cohesion within society, emphasizing heroes of the youth league and the young blood that has brought democracy and lost their lives in the struggle for liberation in South Africa
- Transformation in Sport remains a challenge and there should be a faster more effective approach on the transformation of sports such as rugby and cricket
- We want to continue to wish well Caster Semenya but in the same spirit consider the harsh treatment she faced at the hands of the IAAF and many who are not in support of the success of this young women
- We want to call for a review on the issues of gender testing as it only applies to women and this is prejudicial and discriminatory
- We have come too far to allow for gender equality to take steps back
- We must be able to constantly praise all those who during the struggle and now that continue to raise the issues of our people and provide them with relevant platforms for their role in development of the nation and the country.
- There must be access to all facilities including stadiums for young people

Water, Forestry and Sanitation

- The Youth League should be at the front of conscientising our young people who can save water to so in the current environmental challenges and water shortages that exist
- We also call for a society where all young people of this generation should rally behind the provision of comprehensive sanitation for all our people in order to reduce the risks related to health and secure our generations that follow us.
- Water security and Sanitation is indeed a contribution towards the national security

Youth Development

- The role of the National Youth Development Agency must act to ensure that all issues relating to young people are resolved and there are clear programmatic interventions that will consolidate a comprehensive approach on how government, the private sector and civil society should collaborate not only with their ideas but also with financial resources and human capacity to be able to provide a comprehensive programme for young people.

- All programmes related to National Youth Service must form the core of the National Youth Service in order to create a comprehensive database of young people who have acquired skills and also look at a clear programme of youth employability extracted from the database.
- Such databases must also prioritise unemployed graduates to form part of the employment of vacancies in government
- This will include the Masupatsela Youth Pioneer Programme. Young people are subject to exploitation and have poor conditions under which they undertake internships and learnerships and this can no longer be tolerated.
- This also applies to issues of the age subsidy where in fact the only beneficiaries of is once again is capital and business and not young people. There should be no incentive for employing young people this should be obligation in line with the commitment of business to building the country an reducing youth unemployment

Young Women

- The ANCYL has looked into the efficiency of the Women's Ministry in strengthening the situation of women in South Africa and has found that not much has been done since its inception
- This ministry is indeed extremely fundamental in ensuring that needs of a generation of women that still face the impact and consequences of the apartheid and the generation that will come will continue to exist within the cyclic nature of abuse, underdevelopment, lack of education, failure to include into the economic mainstream.
- The ministry must be urged to work tirelessly to improve the quality of lives of our mothers and ensure that the development of women become the priority and is immediately effected it is also essential that young women form part of the administrative and political processes not only of the Women's Ministry but also in the ANCWL.
- The hosting of Young Women's Assemblies at the National level but also ensuring that young women's assemblies be held in all provinces and regions of the ANCYL in order to ensure that there is clear political education and understanding of the needs of young women at all levels of society.
- The campaign for free sanitary towels must be strengthened
- All young women who should not be involved in transactional sex or taking to the streets to prostitute themselves

SAYC

- The commission resolved that a task team should be established to ensure that preparations for SAYC to go to Congress in January 2011.

Building Social Cohesion

- We reaffirm that all members of the Youth League should join the Military Skills Development Programme in order to ensure that we build patriotism, dedication and social cohesion in the country.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The Africa Front

- a. Institutions of Govern Africa as a continent
 - i. NEPAD

The need to respond to the UN millennium development Goals (halving of poverty and skills development by 2014)

The Peer Review Mechanisms

- The institution of Africa must be represented by Africans
- In terms of Nepad, this is an integral part of the African Union
- In Addis Ababa, Nepad has to become an African programme that can be promoted internationally.

- The programme was recognized and adopted as an AU programme
- Each country must also adopt the implementation of NEPAD and create programmes that can be implementable (roads and infrastructure in SA as e.g.)
- Contributions in the AU fiscals must also be a guiding principle to engagement of the development and sustainability of NEPAD
- Gradual approach from AU to the United states of Africa.
- We need to integrate our economic laws and practices (SACU and our monetary policies
- Issues of language and cultural practices must be identified and promoted
- Funding of NEPAD and the independence of the African programme needs to be developed and solutions must be identified
 - CAF and other organs of industry that are influenced by foreign practices and values
 - ii. Africa Union Reformation (United States of Africa OR Africa UNION)
 - 1. Is there a need to transform the Africa Union
 - iii. Regional Blocks
- We must emphasize these challenges and try and find solutions
- Characters:
 - Africa Bank
 - Organisations Development and practices
 - Governing Institutions
 - The scarcity of water, gold, minerals etc must also be highlighted and emphasized and the relationship must be mutual

RESOLUTIONS

- Reaffirms the objectives of NEPAD as a part of the programme to achieve the millennium development goals for Africa.
- NEPAD Youth Desk must be re-established and well resourced

iv. Position on Zimbabwe

- Lancaster House Agreement and British Betrayal of Zimbabwe
- Programme of Jampanja (Land grabs, etc) and sponsorship of cars and other material for the development of country
- Crisis since 1999 and the decline in economy
- Restructuring is well in motion and economic development is taking place
- The relationship with ZAPU and ZANU is that they merged and the liberation character has never been lost as a result
- ZANU_PF remains the liberation movement of Zimbabwe

RESOLUTIONS

- Reaffirmation of our relationship with ZANU-PF and we support the mediation process as facilitated by South Africa on behalf of SADC.
- Explore the possibility of medical and military training in Zimbabwe as a way of building both social and economic relations between R.S.A and Zimbabwe.
- We note with keen interest the attempts for the reestablishment of ZAPU, and observe the tribal undertones that underlie this reestablishment.
- We agree to Identify and develop the interaction with progressive youth structures in Zimbabwe.
- The engagement with all stakeholders in Zimbabwe must also be developed. The interaction with MDC must also be explored and ensure a transparent and fair process to the reconstruction of Zimbabwe

- The SA government interventions to bring political, social and economic intervention in Zimbabwe must be applauded and continued.
- Politically ZANU-PF remains our ally
- The global political agreement is supported totally as a means of achieving stability in Zimbabwe.

v. Consolidation of the African Agenda (African Renaissance Programme)

RESOLUTIONS

- Peace, human rights and good governance on the continent must be the defining feature
- Fight for decrease in poverty and diseases must be intensified
- Strengthening of the AU structures such as AU commission, NEPAD, Pan African Parliament must be promoted

Africa's Character

We affirm the need for the development of African single language as a tool for African Development.

Indigenous Knowledge system should be used, and accordingly be institutionalised in our system of democracy to allow for peaceful and strategic cooperation of Africa and the World.

b. Party-to-Party Relations (Organisational Engagement)

- What do we mean: the creation of different political move to ensure synergy and political understanding
- The situation in Botswana (BNF and BDP and the last visit of the ANCYL)

RESOLUTIONS

- A study must be commissioned that will look at the issue of the evolution of organisations and their relevance to society and we must make informed decisions on our relations
- The ANC as the mother body of liberation movements in Africa and SADEC in particular must carefully map out the direction and nature of interaction with foreign organisations
- The ANC must continue to assess the performance of its historical allies and determine the continued existence of such relations
- Guiding Principle to Interaction:
 - Former National Liberation Movements (Left leaning organisations OR disciplined force of the left)
 - Our historical relations should form the basis of our present and future relationships
 - Common vision and mission and by association they must become our "tactical and strategic allies"
 - They must affiliate to the international organisations to which we are also affiliated

c. Xenophobia, International Organized Crime

- i. Is this a unique SA challenge
- ii. What is our programme of action to address this challenge

RESOLUTIONS

- The outcome of the UN Conference against racism, xenophobia and other related intolerances (WCAR&X) held in SA in 2001 must be revisited and relevant government departments must institutionalize the mechanisms to implement such resolutions

- We must continue to denounce this practices and engage in practical educational programmes to assist our people on the issue of African Nationalism, Renaissance and African patriotism
- A campaign must be developed in SA and beyond against this practices
- Socio-economic challenges must be addressed as one tool of dealing with this challenge
- Proper border control s as a means of mitigating this challenge must implemented
- A proper communication framework must be developed to articulate the policy position of the government
- Foreign Nationals must also conform to the laws of the host country and a distinction must be made between them as labour force and their criminal activities.

d. Human Trafficking

- i. International Organized Crime
- ii. Our People in Prisons

RESOLUTIONS

- The areas must be identified and maximum security must be applied
 - Airports
 - Border posts
 - Internet
- International security forces should intensify its campaigns to root out the organised crime gangs such as the Mafia, Triads, Yakuza, the Russian, Colombian and Nigerian Mafias.

e. South-South Relations

- i. 3rd world
 - ii. Key Principle: Developmental Programme
 - iii. What is this relationship
 - iv. How do we advance this relationship
- These work at a government level
 - IBSA
 - G77 and China
 - Non-aligned movement

RESOLUTIONS

- We reaffirm the 23rd National Congress resolutions to strengthen our relations with left South America organisations and governments.
- We support the work of IBSA and this must cascade to youth development as well as other multi-lateral organisations of the south
- Youth representation in all structures of government and law making processes must be implemented

f. International Affiliations

- i. WFDY
- ii. IUSY
- iii. Pan African Youth Union
 1. Africa Youth Charter

RESOLUTIONS

- The president's political report on strengthening our participation in WFDY is reaffirmed
- Reaffirm our dedication and commitment to WFDY and Pan African Youth Union because that's where our ideas are
- We also note the need to continue participating in the International Union of Socialist Youth
- The revival of Southern Africa Youth Forum to allow national liberation movements to participate and develop common approach and vision

- SADC Youth Forum as an intergovernmental youth approach must be established and supported
- Whereas the AU recognises the Pan African youth union, it must be given more support and power to be formalized as a structure of the African UNION
- WFYS: we support the festival which will take place between the 13th – 21st December 2010 in Johannesburg and recognize WFDY support during the apartheid-era
- We should ensure the adoption and implementation of the African Youth Charter by our African parliaments and governments.
 - g. Solidarity Campaigns and Programmes**
 - i. Who do we pledge solidarity with?
 - ii. What should be the defining characteristics of our campaigns
 - iii. Solidarity with Burma?
 - iv. Stand-off of Palestine and Israel

RESOLUTIONS

- Sudan: We would like to see peaceful interaction between South and Northern Sudan and we support the Kenya comprehensive peace agreement of 2005 as a means of resolving the situation in Sudan. We support the human rights and rights to self determination in South and North Sudan
- Burma: civil society must organize for the release of Burma's people's activists such as Min Ko Naing, Aa San Su Kii and other political activists. We call for the removal of General Tin U Tun as a dictator governor of Burma and call for the constitutionalization and democratization of Myanmar
- Western Sahara: we affirm Polisario as legitimate leader and call for the end of Morocco invasion
- Cuba: we support el commandant Fidel and Raul Castro and we call for the release of Cuban 5 and the closure of Guantanamo Bay Prison and the lifting of US imposed blockade on Cuba
- Palestine: we are united behind Palestinian liberation organisation and we want a two state solution and this must happen through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from GAZA, West Bank and other occupied Palestinian territories
- North Korea: we observe that because of the interference of the US government, the separation of the country between North and South has taken place. We furthermore, denounce the threats of US military aggression towards the North. We condemn the fabrication of the sinking of the Chonan war ship by Lee Meuy Bak. We support efforts towards the peace agreement between North and the South. The UN must intensify its participation in resolving South and North relations. SA must also show strong support to the course of the Korean people. We support the just course of Korean people.
- Venezuela: we support the nationalisation of key economic sectors and we are thus inspired by the commitment of President Hugo Chavez on the nationalization programme
- Swaziland: we denounce the undemocratic Tinkundla practices and the role of absolute monarchy in the country as head of state. Swaziland must subscribe to good governance as articulated in the Africa Union. We support the Peoples United Democratic Movement of Swaziland (PUDEMO) and its youth league SWAYOCO as true leaders for the emancipation of Swaziland.
- The ANC Youth League should prioritise campaigns on the political emancipation of the people of Swaziland.
- DRC: we call for the revival of the Lumumba spirit. We recognize and support the bilateral partnerships between SA and the DRC
- Russia: SA needs to form part of BRIC as this will allow us to gain skills from Russia amongst other members of BRIC and engage on other interests actively and constructively. We further

recognize the historical contribution that Russia has made towards the skilling of our comrades especially during the days of apartheid

- AfriCom: African-Command are military bases that are set up in Africa: US and Barack Obama must desist from this practice and withdraw and demolish the existing structures.

h. The African Diaspora

People of Africans Descent who reside on other continents of the world.

RESOLUTIONS

- Conference on the African Diaspora must be initiated and facilitated by the Anc Youth League by 2011
- They must be included in programmes and activities taking place in Africa and we must engage with them constructively

i. Exchange Programmes

i. Capacity Development and Skills Development

We support programmes that government is engaged in on skills development

The Masupatsela and other programmes are supported and must be seen continuing

NYDA must strengthen partnership with DIRCO to explore other project that can be mutually undertaken

Statement

We call for and support continued existence of various programmes that are progressive in character and that contribute and promote to education, campaign against crime and other social ills.

ANCYL Capacity to deal with International Relations

- j. What is the character of International Balance of forces
 - i. Struggles of women
 - ii. What are the threats
 - iii. Nuclear power and militarisation (North Korea)

RESOLUTIONS

The last resolution noted and re-affirmed: this must be a full time position with an office and personnel.

The time frame: before next conference the office must be opened and operational.

An International Relations Summit must be called and give clear and comprehensive resolutions before conference 2011.

Proposal on Amendment of the Constitution: Deputy President must head the International Relations Subcommittee. Deputy Provincial Chairpersons must form part of the desk on International Relations and all regional chairpersons closer to borders must also form part of this desk

k. Establishment of ANCYL branches and their character abroad

A study must be commissioned to investigate viability and terms of reference that would govern these branches (i.e. do they have voting status in congress, credentials, eligibility) to determine their status amongst o

2. International Environment

- a. Sustainable Development
- b. Trade Relations
 - i. What are these and what should characterize this relationship
 - ii. International Exchange of Commodities
 - iii. Economic Bilateral Engagements
 - iv. SACCU, North to North,

Recommendations

The influence of China must be studied and carefully implemented and we must be weary not to be blindly engaged in a system of relations without proper checks and balances that would regulate our relationship with China moving forward. We support a one China only approach and refuse to associate with any Secession.

Resolutions

There must be institutionalization of programmes at government level from the outcomes of the conference(s) on sustainable development including the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development held in South Africa.

Key Developmental Objectives must be identified, especially from forum and programmes such as:

MDG

Clean Environment

COPENHAGEN 15

Statement on the character and objective of the SA trade relations

- Development of a Regulation Framework of SA business practice within and outside of Africa
- Business by comrades outside the country must be progressive and guidelines must be developed for this purpose
- SA business must also take cognisance of CORPORATE SOCIAL INVESTMENT in environment / countries WHERE they operate in

c. International Crime and Institutions

Although we applaud efforts by International Criminal Court to prosecute crimes, we detest the fact that only African leaders are subjected to trials in these courts and we call for the immediate prosecution of George W. Bush and Tony Blair for starting an illegal war in Iraq.

d. The Non-Proliferation of Weapons

Resolution

We support all efforts towards disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear for developmental purposes

3. Multi-Literalism

- a. Organs and structures
- b. Is the UN helpful and is the EU progressive
- c. Criminal Courts and International Institutions of

Resolution

We support the transformation of multi literal institutions including the World Bank, IMF and WTO as well as other world organisations and agencies

DECLARATION

OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE 1st NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL—

We, the delegates from branches, regions and provinces of the ANC Youth League across South Africa, gathered for the 1st National General Council of the ANC Youth League in Gallagher Estate, Johannesburg between the 24th and 27th of August 2010 to map out a concrete programme on how we galvanise youth to attain total economic freedom in our lifetime. The National General Council was declared the biggest National Political School of the ANC Youth League and a platform upon which we review our progress since the 23rd National Congress and develop concrete policy positions and programmes to guide us towards the 24th National Congress of the ANC Youth League in 2011.

Our National General Council received inspiring and critical messages of support and addresses by our fraternal organisations, and progressive organisations from around Africa. We appreciate the inspiration and agitation that we should never give up on the struggles for economic freedom in our lifetime. The NGC was further graced by the presence of ANC leadership, former leaders of the ANC Youth League and representatives of business, religious sector and traditional leadership. The addresses by the ANC were both inspirational and forward looking with regards to the programme of building a strong African National Congress towards its centenary in 2012.

As we gather here, we salute the massive contribution that the women of South Africa have made in the struggle for political emancipation of the black majority and Africans in particular, and their continued commitment to challenge the obstacles that prolong the struggles facing women and society are the inequalities in the economy that must be resolved in order to achieve economic freedom in our lifetime.

We appreciate and applaud the fact that the ANC Youth League continues to qualitatively and quantitatively grow and expand to exert hegemony in our communities. The NGC appreciates that as compared to 2008, the ANC Youth League has more than 560 additional audited branches, meaning that the ANC Youth League now exists in areas it previously never existed.

The National General Council re-affirms the centrality of the Freedom Charter as the strategic goal of the African National Congress and entire national liberation movement, and that everything we do should be directed towards attainment of all Freedom Charter objectives. We therefore commit to ensure that the 53rd National Conference of the ANC in 2012 should re-assert and concretely programme the Freedom Charter as focus of the ANC post its centenary celebrations. Our strong conviction is that in the spirit reflective of the founding generation of the ANC Youth League in the 1940s, our generation should do everything in its power to radicalise and re-energise the African National Congress to be a fighting force for people's political, social and economic freedom.

The National General Council affirms the view expressed in the Political Report that part of re-energising and radicalising the African National Congress will include election of younger, more energetic and militant leadership into senior leadership of the ANC. We therefore call on younger and more energetic members of the ANC with plausible and adequate organisational experience and understanding to lead the ANC at regional, provincial and national level. The 2012 ANC 53rd National Conference should epitomise the programme to re-energise and give new impetus to the African National Congress both with regards to the political programme adopted and leadership elected by that Conference.

The National General Council calls on all members of the Youth League to join the African National Congress and ensure that more than 50% of the 1 million membership of the ANC are young people. This will assist in placing the Youth Development agenda at the forefront of all government programmes, because young people in South Africa are the least beneficiaries of economic opportunities presented by the democratic government. National General Council instructs all structures of the ANC Youth League to build the Progressive Youth Alliance in order to strengthen the revolutionary alliance now and in the future.

The National General Council expresses displeasure with the re-emergence of a political tendency in the ANC of politically accounting in London, a trend that was defeated by the founding generation of the ANC Youth League. South Africa's sovereignty and independence should never be sacrificed in pursuit of pleasing the narrow interests of investors and imperialists. This notion should altogether be defeated in the African National Congress as it has potential of donating our country to the whims and needs of imperialists.

As delegates, we further express our displeasure with attempts to undermine the autonomy of the ANC Youth League, through amongst other things, the isolation of the President from the organisation. National General Council therefore holds a view that taking the President of the ANC Youth League to Disciplinary Hearing of the ANC for expressing organisational and political views is regrettable and irregular with regards to the ANC Constitutional guidelines. The NGC is convinced that there is nothing wrong that the President of the ANC Youth League did that warranted disciplinary action. The ANC Youth League delegation to the National General Council of the ANC in September 2010 should call for the nullification of the irregular and regrettable disciplinary hearing of ANC Youth League President.

As National General Council, we have noted the emergence of a tendency in the ANC Youth League of taking the organisation to Court for internal organisational matters. We re-affirm the long held principle that any member of the ANC Youth League who takes the organisation to Court will be automatically expelled from the organisation. This helps us to nip in the bud tendencies that have potential to undermine organisational discipline and democracy. National General Council re-asserts the importance of Discipline as a weapon of struggle and transformation, which does not exist for its own sake, but to safeguard the unity of the movement.

It is through discipline, focus and persuasion that the ANC Youth League will triumph in the battle for Nationalisation of Mines. It is the NGC's conviction that Nationalisation of Mines will happen because the balance of forces in South Africa are in favour of the forces of change. The entire membership of the ANC Youth League will therefore mobilise the whole of society to support nationalisation of Mines, as a component of the struggles to realise economic freedom in our lifetime. Towards the National General Council of the ANC in September 2010, Youth League branches should have convinced all branches, regions and provinces of the ANC to adopt concrete resolutions in support of Nationalisation of Mines. As part of struggles for economic freedom in our lifetime, the ANC Youth League calls for the urgent amendment of Section 25 of South Africa's Constitution, because it has potential to prevent progressive programmes and interventions by the State to drive redistribute wealth for the benefit of all our people. The State should be empowered to expropriate all property in the justifiable interests of the people of South Africa.

Our overall assessment is that the ANC Youth League is far much stronger and better positioned to lead struggles for social and economic transformation and will intensify in all fronts to ensure that young people have access to better education, healthcare, housing, and many other social needs. Our branches of the ANC Youth League should be at the forefront of the struggles against crime, alcohol abuse and rapid spread of HIV/AIDS. Multi-sexual relationships cannot continue to be fashionable amongst the youth and should be combated.

The ANC Youth League will continue to relate internationally with progressive formations, particularly former liberation movements such as Zanu PF in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, Frelimo in Mozambique, Chama Chama Pindudzi in Tanzania, MPLA in Angola, POLASARIO in Western Sahara and many other progressive formations across the world. The ANC Youth League will also campaign for a better world and social justice across the world in the international organisations we participate in, particularly World Federation for Democratic Youth, International Union of Socialist Youth and Pan African Youth Union. As an immediate focus, the ANC Youth League will campaign for social and political justice in Swaziland. We cannot continue to behave like all is well in Swaziland because political parties remain banned and political activists are brutalised and killed by the Monarchy.

As National General Council, we express the ANC Youth League and South Africa's readiness to host the 17th World Festival for Youth and Students in December this year. The World Festival for Youth and Students, which is organised under the auspices of the World Federation for Democratic Youth

(WFDY), will bring thousands of progressive youth formations and organisations from across the world.

The ANC Youth League will continue to be a robust, honest and leading youth formation in South Africa and is now more than determined to fight all battles in the war towards attainment of total economic freedom in our lifetime.

Amandla!

CLOSING ADDRESS

by ANC Youth League President Julius Malema.

Thank you very much comrades. We came to a conclusion of this meeting and we are now going to close the meeting with all those issues raised taken to consideration. And I hear the National General Council accepting the apology of the Deputy President (of the ANC Youth League) by saying yes {delegates say yes}. We must love each other and we let us not wish each other away, because we are one thing and we make mistakes. When one of our own appreciates and show remorse, there is no

reason for us to be harsh on that person, like all who are expelled or facing disciplinary process in the organisation, (only) if they show remorse. This organisation is not a pig, it will not eat its own children. This is their own organisation [applause]. But they should live to appreciate that there are rules in this organisation, and you don't undermine those rules.

Comrades, we have adopted resolutions and we have also adopted the declaration. We are going to work according to those resolutions. And then you must ensure that all you get copies of those resolutions, because Comrade Kgalema [Motlanthe] said, "it is important that we read our resolutions". We must get these resolutions, read them and internalise them. Those resolutions amongst them include reclaiming the Western Cape. Before we reclaim the Western Cape, we must go there and build an organisation in the Western Cape and strengthen the ANC Youth League.

We are going to the NGC of the ANC, and we want young people to constitute more than 70% of that NGC. All these resolutions comrades are useless as long as you are not delegates. You must be delegates and you must go and fight for these resolutions to go through in the National General Council of the ANC. If you are at home and watching the NGC on TV, then you are not different from any other spectator. But before you become majority in the NGC of the ANC, you must go and become majority in the PGCs of the ANC [in Provinces] where you come from. You must get RGCs of the ANC to adopt nationalisation as a position of your region. If the Youth League of the ANC did not get your region to adopt nationalisation as a position, that region is very weak.

You must go and get the region of the ANC to adopt generational mix as a position. Because if the ANC did not adopt that as a position, then the ANC Youth League in that region is very weak. We must ensure that we become influential in the lower structures of the ANC. We must resolve in the branches and regions of the ANC that the property clause must be amended. We need the redistribution of land. We need the redistribution of wealth. We must amend the property clause of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. We must not be afraid and permanently re-assuring right-wing political opposition that we will not amend the Constitution even when we are supposed to do so [applause].

We must amend the Constitution in the best interests of the people of South Africa. The policy on land, [i.e.] willing buyer-willing seller is not working, because those who are buying is those who have money. And those who have money are foreigners. We blacks and Africans in particular, do not have money to buy land. We need a policy position of the ANC which says, we are going to take the land back. We will compensate, but that compensation will be determined by the State, not the Owner. If we say we have 700000 hectares of land and the State says we need this land, and give you R1 million, you should not have an option but to take that R1 million, because that is what the State can afford. And if those who own the land refuse to take the R1 million, we then should take the land without any R1 million.

Those decisions we have taken here need women and men who are strong. They do not need compromised individuals. If you are compromised and have individual problems, take a back sit. We need strong men and women who will say to monopoly capital that we are taking over in order to redistribute. We do not want people who in the pockets of capital. We do not want this BEE, which must be reviewed, including Broad Based BEE, because it does not work; it has failed. We see children of those who are in power and friends of those who are in power accumulating more money and our people not emerging. It can't be broad based and continue to benefit families of those who are in power. How broad is this broad? We need a policy that will empower and give a 28 year old R7 billion even if you do not have a surname called Malema, you must still have access, as long as you qualify.

We do not want to create this situation like some African leaders are doing in their countries. We must never allow that in South Africa, where African leaders in their countries are the richest and their own people are the poorest. There is a President of a country here in Africa, who is richer than the country. And when government does not have money to do certain things, he borrows his government the money. He gives government a loan, and we do not want that in South Africa. We can't sit back and allow that. That should not happen. Everybody here in South African must benefit equally, black or white, and blacks given preference. Blacks must be given preference because they are the most disadvantaged. Not only blacks, because the concept of black accommodates many people, Africans in particular must be given preference. And in particular African women in rural areas must be liberated.

Those are the policies we want, not a policy of pleasing individuals who are in power. If this is going to make us fight with those who are in power, let it be so. We do not want to impress those who are in power, we want to impress our people on the ground. We are turning 20 years in power in 2014, and if these people do not meet the interests of the people, we will never be future Premiers, MECs, Ministers and Presidents, because the ANC will be out of power, as a result of the conduct of those who have this power of the ANC today. We are the future; we want to inherit the ANC, which is intact. We want to inherit the ANC which is still influential in society. We don't want to inherit a useless ANC, destroyed by individuals. Individuals who destroy the ANC through their conduct, we continue to sing about them. We can't allow that; we can't sing about people who are destroying the African National Congress.

We did not join individuals here, we joined the ANC. We can remove you anytime and nothing will happen, in the same way we can be removed. Anybody can be removed in the ANC. Very popular people than the ones we have today, they came and left, but the ANC is still here. They read about the ANC in Newspapers, as if they have never led it. You must be careful, because you will on the streets if you don't respect the power of the people. One man once said to me, we can discipline you and dismiss you in the ANC and the masses cannot do anything. And I could see a man who just undermines the power of the masses, yet is in power because of the masses. And this person is saying the masses cannot do anything. You know when you get power, sometimes power makes you drunk and you think you are almighty God and everything revolves around you.

We need a Youth League which will make sure that people do not destroy the African National Congress. This is our ANC, they too defended it. For Mandela to become President of the ANC, he had to fight within the ANC and later became President. He became one of the best Presidents ever, maybe after O.R. [Tambo]. We still to produce a President who will match this two, O.R. Tambo and Nelson Mandela. Those are our great Presidents. President Zuma is still there and you must never be impatient with him. He must lead us and is leading us now. We will pass judgment when the time is right. It is still early to say this is one of the best Presidents, because we are just starting.

In Polokwane we asked President Zuma to please take care of us, all of us.... u si phathe nge qolo... samu that' u Zuma som faka e Luthuli, sithi u mfa waka Msholozzi, u si phathe nge qolo. As to whether that has been adhered to, let's see as we move forward. The President must be defended and the President must not be made to make mistakes. Anything that has potential to compromise the President, we must raise that with the President.

We did not elect a President of the Communist Party or COSATU; we elected a President of the ANC, who must get his mandate from the African National Congress. Political centre is not the alliance, it is the ANC. There is one centre and that centre is the African National Congress, 54 Sauer Street, Luthuli House, Revolutionary House. There is no other revolutionary house where all of us are held accountable. If you are accounting somewhere, then there is a problem, you are not one of us. All of

us in this revolutionary alliance, we report to Luthuli House, because Polokwane resolved that the ANC is the centre of power.

The entire National Executive Committee of the ANC will have their term ending in 2012, from President to the last additional member. Their term ends in 2012 and they must not cry in 2012, if they are not elected. They must be thankful that at least the ANC once considered me and now is considering other people. If the ANC says continue, you must be thankful. To be given a opportunity twice is not automatic. There is nothing called two terms in the ANC, it's one term and when the one finishes, we give you a new term and start afresh as a new President.

Comrades, we must as an immediate task, arrange a meeting with PYA structures, particularly COSAS, SASCO and YCL. Their conduct here was not very good. If Comrade Kgalema says, which we agree with, that we don't have to interfere in COSAS affairs, COSAS has no right to interfere in the Youth League affairs as well. This applies to YCL and SASCO. When they go to their congress, you will never hear us say anything, we do not even know when their congresses are sitting, unless those who are members. Because we are not obsessed with their congresses. There is leadership there, they must be given support.

Comrades, let us go and build strong branches of the Youth League in order to strengthen the branches of the ANC. Where there is no strong branch of the Youth League, you must know that there will never be a strong branch of the ANC. Typical example is Western Cape, there is no strong Youth League in the Western Cape, that's why we keep on loosing elections. That is why we must build strong ANC Youth League branches, before we build ANC branches. We must employ organisers in all regions of the Youth League in the Western Cape, permanently doing the work of organising for the ANC Youth League. Once we do that, then we will revive the ANC and the ANC Youth League in the Western Cape.

Thank you very much Comrades leadership for conducting yourselves very well and not acting in any factional manner that divides the organisation. Because these comrades here only get divided by leadership. If leadership is united, they have got no problem. We must also thank Secretary General and all comrades who were responsible for putting together this NGC. We have learned one thing or two and one of the things I have practically learned in the process of preparing for this NGC is that we must decentralise registration. You must register in a hotel where you stay, you must then get your tag and key and sorted. Putting people in one place for registration ends in a situation where they fight amongst themselves and pushing each other.

There is no province that was neglected by DSG, including Mpumalanga, it is not true. We had to attend to Province by province and by co-incidence maybe you were the last one. But there was never an intention from the DSG to register Mpumalanga late. We are all responsible for the delays and have all taken responsibility. We want to thank all the staff members who made sure that this NGC is a success. We also thank the Security for ensuring that all accredited delegates enter. We thank the Gallagher Convention Centre staff, Gauteng leadership of the ANC Youth and, Midrand branch for hosting the historic first ever NGC of the ANC Youth League.

Amandla

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