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The Way Forward for the Youth

The youth know their way forWard. Their task remains that of continuing the struggle in general, taking up campaigns of the MDM and taking up campaigns of the youth, in particular the Save the Patriots Campaign and the fight for Prisoner of War status for captured MK combatants. There are a lot of people on Death Row, and the majority are youth. They are taking up campaigns against restrictions, endeavouring to mobilise and organise the youth and strengthening their organisations, while creating new ones where none exist. Especially around the issue of unity, they are assisting to bring together all other youth, be they culturally or socially based, in Sayco, or imparting to them the perspectives of the democratic movement so that they get closer to the youth organisation under the slogan: â\200\230All youth for the antiâ\200\224apartheid coalition. Peace amongst the peopleâ\200\231. Over and above this, there is a need to be vigilant against enemy assassins, against death squads, against enemy infiltration of the youth organisations. The youth watchwords for now are Everyone to Battle! Everyone to the Front Line!

clandestine methods of operation, always bearing in mind their strategic objective â\200\224- to mobilise and organise the millions of our people into action against apartheid.

After the detention of almost the entire leadership of the youth, the NWC was formed. For as long as the youth were in jail, they continued to pursue the objectives of Sayco. The activists from all over the country, who were not in prison, came together, analysed the situation and then decided that the most appropriate structure to create was a national coordinating structure which would coordinate youth activities nationally. The Central Executive Committee meeting held in Cape Town in 1987 noted that there was a very urgent need to strengthen the leadership of Sayco. This was an important task for the strategic survival of Sayco in the face of growing repression by the regime. The task of reproducing youth activists and leadership was given serious consideration. The youth saw the need to produce cadres that understand the policies, the objectives, programme of action, and strategic orientation of the youth organisation. All local areas were targeted with the special purpose of creating enough leadership contingents that would be able to take the organisation's objectives to their local groupings. The detained youth leadership continued the struggle even inside prison walls. There were hunger strikes, escapes to embassies, sit-ins, etc. They continue to struggle wherever they are. The youth organisation under the guidance of the NWC appreciate the need to create the legal space in which to operate. Where the youth have failed to create legal space, they have operated in a semi-clandestine way. They have created their own underground network which is distinct and different from that of the ANC and its allies. The youth organisation's underground is tactical while the ANC/SACP/SACTU is strategic. The young want to fight for the legalisation of their organisation and want to pursue their activities in a legal fashion, so that they can reach as many of the youth as possible throughout South Africa.

At local, regional and national level the youth have adopted new methods which are of a higher quality. They are operating in smaller units. They are working in a more disciplined fashion. Their meetings are shorter and more productive. The question of punctuality is addressed and they are striving to ensure the highest level of discipline to ensure that our people are not being detected by the police. Most activities are planned in such a way that the enemy does not know about them in advance, but they only know about them when they permeate through mass action. There is more decentralisation and specialisation of work in the media, political education, women's organisations etc.

Despite their heroism, their dedication and being in the front line, the youth understand their position very clearly in the National Democratic Struggle. The youth understand and acknowledge the vanguard role of the ANC in our struggle. The youth is the vanguard in as far as unorganised youth is concerned. The unemployed as well as the working youth bring together students from all sectors - universities, high schools - into the mainstream of Sayco. Sayco is the centre of youth activity. It is the embodiment of the aspirations, demands and dynamism of youth in South Africa.

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The fighting spirit of the youth has drastically gone down, reaching its lowest ebb in recent years. The repeated pleas by the fighting youth to change the structures in the Frontline areas went unheeded. The placing of certain youth in the camps for many years has caused great concern among the cadres. We have witnessed, and continue to witness, some of these cadres deteriorating both physically and mentally. Putting these comrades in Dakawa is in no way helping their fate, but rather puts their grim position into further decline.

The cessation of Special Ops, though its duties had expanded more than what was initially intended, has seen the escalation of the armed struggle being more wishful thinking than reality.

Conclusion:

The ANC youth should double its efforts in making its voice felt on these general issues, to safeguard the future of the youth in the framework of the struggle. The ANC leadership should be chosen by the grassroots in a democratic manner in future. It is these elected members who will then choose their representation at NEC level. In that way the youth will feel more secure. The syllabus at Mazimbu should be drastically changed, so that every graduate from there should have a full O-level certificate. In order to raise the standard of education to accepted levels, teachers should be given their deserved dues. School children also need enough financial backing to cater for their daily needs. This will certainly raise the academic level and the standard of discipline.

The Dakawa project will continue to fail if the present attitude still persisting

of putting so-called rejects there is unabated.

The armed struggle being one of our pillars seems to be neglected at the present time. The fighting cadres need to meet before or immediately after the conference to critically evaluate the situation in a very candid and friendly atmosphere with reassurance of no intimidation.

YOUTH IN STRUGGLE -- PART TWO

The Role of the Youth in the ANC

Introduction:

In the South African history of struggle, the youth have played and will always play a very crucial and central role. This is not surprising, seeing that the youth are in the majority in any given situation. The history of South Africa has seen the youth being the driving force in realising the transformation in various stages of the history of our struggle.

These efforts only succeeded due to the experience and understanding of the leadership, even though it has at times been quite testing to make them a reality.

A major turning point in our history was instigated by the ANC Youth League of the then youth like Mandela, Tambo, Sisulu and others. The courage which these leaders have in making history within history, it must be noted, was possible only because of the outstanding leadership at that time of the late President Luthuli. The spirit of the Youth League has inspired the present youth and indeed has played a major role in sustaining the spirit of the struggle. At this point we should not forget the youth who played a major role in sustaining this fighting spirit in exile, living under very harsh conditions and

during the most difficult era of the ANC in exile, that is the
Umgwcnnya.

The 1982 Youth Conference in Morogoro came out with an historic motto: Learn, Fight, Produce, which is more relevant today and in the near future. This motto came into being with the aim of covering the various sectors of our youth and to ensure maximum participation of all these sectors in forging the struggle forward. It should be stressed here that the centremost of these is learning. It is the task of every youth to arm himself or herself with knowledge, the basic tool for any form of success.

Present Position of the Youth

When analysing the present position of the ANC youth in conjunction with the various components of the above motto, we do realise certain successes and failures.

As far as learning is concerned we have seen major leaps in education, both formal and informal. The historic ANC school, Somafo, has witnessed many people graduating from it since its inception. We have also scored a lot in the field of adult education as well as political and informal education in various ANC regions.

However, the quality of graduates, in all fairness, from Somafo has not been good. This emanates from the fact that the syllabus drawn up for the school was either too ambitious i.e. not relevant for the present state of our own struggle in certain sectors, or it was drawn up by people who had no experience about that situation whatsoever.

Moreover, the quality of teachers is certainly not up to standard, and this, combined with an increasing turnover of teachers in that region, leads to the unavoidable consequence of retarding the progress of the children academically. This is accompanied by the ever-deteriorating standards of discipline among children and teachers alike.

enhance the work of the movement.

The Period of the 1980s

I would like to quote at length part of the ANC National Executive Committee message of 1987 to the Youth Conference of 1987;

From the battles ahead, the mass organisation of the youth must be strengthened, from the base upwards, from local units to national structures. Of major importance is the need continuously to attend to the issue of raising the calibre of the leadership of the youth, to impart to them the skills that are necessary for them to carry out their tasks as shock troops of the revolution. It is also vital that we further reinforce the unity of the black youth as a whole and strengthen the youth struggles with the broad democratic movement.

To the youth, the young lions of our revolutionary struggle, we address a special word

You have paid a high price to

bring us where we are today. You must have a responsibility to fight on with the same boldness, bravery and determination that you have shown. You are justified to seek that all those who share a common interest in liberation should act with the same tenacity that you have displayed. You are correct to demand victory now. The victory we seek is one that will be brought about by our people as a whole, in the interests of the entire people. In part, you must therefore act as the yeast to energise and dynamise the people as a whole and act together with and not separate from them. You must act as a disciplined, revolutionary force which can move ahead committed

to the strategic and tactical perspective of united mass action, as distinct from militant but un-coordinated actions by different groups at different times and places. You have a responsibility to seek unity and to work for unity.

Today we can say with pride that the youth of South Africa have accepted these challenges. We have witnessed them steadily taking to arms; they are in the midst of death-defying deeds where combat groups, supported by the people, are erecting barricades, stringing barbed wire across roads, digging defence trenches, driving enemy forces into death traps, raining petrol bombs against armoured vehicles, arming themselves by dispossessing the enemy of his weapons, ridding our townships of informers and collaborators, and eliminating enemy personnel.

The Youth in the MDM

The Congress of South African Students was the first youth organisation that ushered in an era of non-racial struggle after the black September when 18 organisations were banned by the regime. Cosas adopted the Freedom Charter and worked very closely with Nusas. Cosas worked for a progressive university student organisation, Azaso, then black consciousness. Azaso was later called Sansco and South African National Students Congress.

As early as 1983, even before the launch of the UDF, some youth structures already existed in some parts of the country. The Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) and the Soweto Youth Congress were formed far earlier than most youth congresses. While the youth in 1976 were fighting separately from the workers,

even to the extent of alienating them, the youth movement of

the 805 forged links with the workers, students and our communities. They formed an alliance which the regime could not withstand. The youth were much more mature and disciplined than ever before.

In 1984 the schools crisis erupted again countrywide, and the youth were again in the thick of things. The youth organised and participated in campaigns and boycotts to ensure maximum participation and mobilisation of the oppressed masses of our country.

With the declaration of the State of Emergency, the South African Youth Congress was born and continues to step up campaigns of the workers, students and communities. The youth have fought heroic battles, politically and militarily. Their selflessness and sacrifice has been clearly shown by their willingness to abandon everything and respond to the call to take an active role in everything that will eventually bring freedom and peace in South Africa. Their courage is the source of their militancy. Their battle cry is 'Freedom in our Lifetime' and 'Victory or Death'. Their weapon today is organise.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH CONGRESS (Sayco)

Sayco was formed in

Its membership is about

600 000 strong. Sayco was launched in Cape Town after intensive consultations and planning despite the brutal and repressive conditions that existed at that time.

1987.

The National Working Committee

Now Sayco is banned or restricted. However, the youth are still engaged in the struggle for liberation despite the continued existence of the State of Emergency. In the long term, the State of Emergency was seen as aimed at crushing the youth organisations to render them ineffective. On the surface, organisations appear to have been severely crippled by the Emergency. Youth leaders maintain that organisations have begun to adapt to the current repressive conditions. The NWC was a body created by the youth to co-ordinate youth structures countrywide.

The Effects of the SOE on Organised Youth

The State of Emergency has affected the youth organisation and structures in many ways. A lot of young people have been detained; we have seen the emergence of the murderous death squads; young people have been forced to be in hiding or on the run. All these developments have led to a serious disruption of organisation. In some areas structures were wiped out completely because their members were detained or on the run. In other areas of the country youth structures were not necessarily wiped out but were affected to some degree by the State of Emergency and in others the structures remained intact despite the repression.

The State of Emergency did make the youth organisations less effective and threw them into difficulties in as far as organisation is concerned. The youth responded in a very creative way to the new conditions that arose as a result of the State of Emergency. Our people were prepared to house activists; to clothe them, feed them and in some instances to tip them off about the presence of the enemy. People adopted semi-

MASS DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES
YOUTH STRUGGLES â\200\224â\200\224- PART ONE

Introduction

The purpose of this contribution is to generate discussion. We have dwelt much on the political and organisational problems that the youth movement faces in the current phase of our struggle and the repressive conditions brought by the State of Emergency, death squads, assassinations, detentions, etc.

We have not given statistical details about all youth organisations throughout South Africa. This information is easily available from Newsbn'eî-\201ngs and other publications from home. What we hope we have done is to highlight the quality of youth leadership that our struggle has produced; their level of understanding the problems that affect the youth; the way they perceive their role as youth and as a component of the Mass Democratic Movement and the way they relate to other organisations â\200\224â\200\224 Cosatu, UDF, community organisations, etc.

Many youth leaders have died under mysterious circumstances; many have faced death threats and were subsequently murdered. Many are in jail or in detention. Many face harassment of one kind or another. Focus produces detailed information about these comrades. The developments in Natal are very distressing. Inkatha and the regime are trying to destroy the youth movement in the region.

We hope that this brief paper will generate discussions and that those comrades who have more details about youth struggles at home will contribute to make the debates, arguments and discussions lively and exciting.

Youth in Struggle

Since 1976 the youth has constituted a major component of the mass democratic struggle in South Africa. Our outstanding heroes such as Solomon Mahlangu, Benjamin Moloise and many other young lions are shining examples in whose footsteps our youth are following. The conduct of the youth and the way they have kept the fires of liberation burning during the periods of repression is a clear manifestation of how our struggle under the leadership of the ANC has matured.

The period since the formation of the UDF has been a very exciting time indeed. We have seen many organisations mushrooming throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. The most salient feature in the growth and development of these organisations is the extent to which the youth and students' movement has developed and grown before the State of Emergency and even after these emergencies. The launching of the South African Youth Congress under the noses of the security forces during the current State of Emergency was a magnificent feat that all our young people at home and abroad should be proud of.

The achievement of the ANC Youth inside South Africa
The movement's priority has always been to recruit cadres inside, to consolidate its support and struggle in the march to the seizure of political and economic power. The youth and students within the movement have always contributed to the movement's realisation of these objectives.

held in Moscow in August 1977, a few significant resolutions were adopted. These resolutions were adopted in view of:

1. The revolutionary role played by the youth and students in the country.
2. The difficulties the youth and students face arising from their insufficient knowledge of our liberation movement.
3. The lack of clear political direction, which made them vulnerable to political opportunists.

To address these problems, the youth conference pledged itself to do the following:

1. To establish close contact between youth and students in the movement and South Africa by creating structures in the Frontline States which would deal solely with student matters. This would facilitate the spreading of ANC propaganda, policy documents, the ANC programme and make the interchange of information between the movement and students inside the country more effective. The most important task would be to guide and direct the students' political activities inside South Africa.
2. The ANC supports the efforts made by our people to improve their lives and their material conditions. The youth must contribute physically and financially to help the movement in this regard.
3. The organisation and mobilisation of the youth and students in the rural areas should be stepped up.
4. The ANC youth and students pledge solidarity with all our comrades in prison, especially our leaders and all the comrades patriots on Death Row.
5. The ANC youth and students reject with contempt the apartheid structures and the regime's desires to divide the rural and urban youth.
6. The ANC youth and students condemn the detentions, banings, torture and murder of our people by the regime's agents.
7. Given the role of the youth and students in our struggle, and their natural militancy, it is imperative that the youth in the movement makes serious efforts to forge strong links with youth and students organisations in the country. Similar links need to be forged and maintained with the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for it the youth and students who should expect to be and must be called upon to swell the ranks of our armed wing.

The purpose of this contribution to the discussion is not to look at all other resolutions adopted by the youth and students of the movement at subsequent conferences. The reason for quoting resolutions of the youth conference of August 1977 is to underscore the fact that over the last twelve years our young people in the movement have gone through agonising pains of self-criticism and self-interrogation about their role in our National Democratic Revolution and the way they can strengthen our movement politically and militarily by establishing themselves on the ground, inside the country. Subsequent conferences of the youth have adopted many more resolutions to