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TIP?) p.013 0? YOUR? :T'TD SIUTJTTPS IN m LEVEAI'IOET SiEUTEGLE
Comrade e ,
We welcome this historic Conference of the Youth and students of our country
with :reat enthusiasm uni high optimism as yet another victory scored by the
revolutionary forces of our country in the struggle against oppression, for
for national liberation, self-detemixution and. democracy.
This Conference, the first of its kind. since the banning of the African
Urrtiornl Congress, takes place at a time when the balance of forces have
drimticilly changed. in fwour of the liberation forces, not b: only in our
countrym but also in the African continent and the whole world.
The world socialist system has reached 0. stage of developed. socialism, with
more and. more countries. joining forces into that bloc, and. scoring countless
victories z a_tiinft the decaying imperialist system. The system of colonialism
has been practioilly hm eradicated. from the face of the world, 3rd in
particular, from the Africm continent. Z'he last vestiges of this system of
national opprsdson are on the verge of destruction with the victory in
Iiimibii within grasp of the revolutiorury forces of hat country. South
Africa, the btstion of imperialism in Africa, has itself been isolate and, in
the words; of Comrade Robert ?mgabe, Prime :Iihister of Zimbabwe, "is fast
becoming encircled. and didven more and mm into a Llaeger for final
amdhilat ion. "'
The people of our cmmtry have once more ewe out actively against the racist
regimezei bf Piet Bethe. 'lorkers' strikes have become the order of the day in
numerous factories. Victory after victory has been scored .by workers in their / .
htmgle for better xmrlzinz conditions. end mco-gnition of their organisations. %
I'he commity is: locked in great battles with the racists and mm x:
exploiteore fi :htim; against high commodity primes, LTLSS removals, and many I
other mmifeetatione of oppression. Black and white people are gragmally
closing their ranks: against the common enemy.
The youth of our country him shown heroism in the midst of these battles
fought by the oppressed people of our country. On their front too, particularly
the students, they have srcored. oonsirierginle victories.
Faced. with the wrath of the people, the enemy has become more brutal in its
activities to mtpprees the people from their march to freedom. It hit;
utilised. more eophieticatei methods of defence characterised by an escalated
wholesale butchering of activists; political menouevres; economic and. military
threats against the neighbmiring states, and; a. fierce attack on the vanguard
of the liberation stmjgle in of South Africa, the MIC.
The African National Congress, ha. 23 withstood all previous enemy attempts
of strangling it zmi finally uprootgt from the scene, is now faced with more
challenges. It has to fight for the defence of the mvolutionmm gains and.
at_ the wme time fight for more victories for the final onslaught against the
enenE'tand'for the'MS'eizure bf'poiier; ' ' " ' v " , " i .
The aneviiate tasks facing the A.N.C is to play its vanguard role in the
liberation etmggle. It has to mobilise, organise and guide the fighting masses l
totheir victory. This task cam be best exmmmed up in the words of our
President, Comrade 0.2%. Tembo: "In emery we can therefore say that am:
urgent inn: and. continuing: task that faces the ANC is and has been the
unification in action of 9.11 the 131303: oppressei people, whatever their class
origin, to fight for victory of the democratic revolution. The ANC and. its
allies also have the task to build up the democratic movement among the white
people and. to stmng'then the bonds of unity between the white people and. the
oppressed. majority, in the common struggle for the liberation of this majority."
...._ ..._...A.....t V1...W.....im. -N... ,-.W--...Lm . .- .. "rm. H4-Ai 1-
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He the Youth of South Africa are therefore called. upon to play an eoreeeponding . role on the Youth front. 2:0 am to unify in action all the youth ofFEE'untry end also the youth of the world. to fight for the national liberationN revolution in South Africa. To Mfill this task of the revolution we need to understand our role ind. position in the history of our struggle, to know where our forefathers left off, to know what achievements we hzwe made and what problems we have faced, so as to be able to know where to hm begin.

The recent history of the youth of our country dates back to 1944 when young militrmts within the A113 stoop up to form the AIIC Youth League as "an answer an assurance to the critics of the national movement that African Youth will not allow the struggles and sacrifices of their fathers ix to have been in vain." "Our fathers," they stated, "fought so that we, better equipped when our time came, should 1:: start and continue from where they stopped."

(me YL manifesto 1944)

At the time the me me faced. with problems of policy, approach to the ctmggle, the concept of LILfricen Nationalism, divisioniete, etc. The youth then set themselves tasks to fight for the eradication of such x-realcneeses in the movement. In forming the Leewe they stated that their organisatinn "met be the brsins'tmcts: and power stations of the Spirit of African Nationaa-llm; the rent Spirit of African self-ietenaimtion; the spirit that is so discernible in the thirlcin: of the Youth. It must he an organisation where young men and women will meet and etchzmge ideas in an atmosphere pervaded by a common hatred of oppression."

Xpolitical bloc, the Commas Progressive Group, within the national movement that would. coniuact political educatton end. organisation of the youth, was famed. The CPU would also "stand for certain clean-cut national ideals within Commes... for specialisation within the national movement, to reinforce the latter's representative character and to consolidate the national unity front... k2; keep a vigilant El: eye on all un-mtional tendencies on the national unity and in Congress policy."

The Youth League dmftetl e. thme-year- programme that included: drafting and framing of the Constitution; to win over and. permde other Youth Organisations to come over to the (:33 YL, gto make a critical study of all these forces working for or against Africm progress, and; to work out the theories of African urbmisation 3.111 the system of Land Tenure, etc. The urge to implement this: programme led to the drafting of the famous Programs of Motion of 1949, which was later adopted by the A310 and. sewel as a. basis for the 1952 Defiance Wampum. l'he Promme of Action was a. watershed. at m in the history of South Africa. .

The Youth League, through its active participation in the stmgggle, was able 'lto influenoe the development of the donglees, both in policy anal in approach to the sztmgggle. From reformist methods of struggle, the MIC was involved in activities that embraced the masses to put pressure on the govememnt. l'he re...Defia.uce Campaign, which expressed this changed. was, as Comrade Nelson Mandela. _ mentioned, "inspirevi end aroused our people from a conquered and. servile .V-_.7--.tm -._,lcomgn3;nity of yosmenwto :g. _milj.ta.nt_end uncompromising band of coe ra dee-in-erms.

! Not only did. the YL develop the thinking of the Congress, but it also produced t leaders that took active leadership in the changed. Congress.

The following tasks thit faced the active Congress at the time led. to the Youth League's activities being overshadowm-red. Its leadership became the active "'leadership of the Congress. The Defiance Cangxziga, the Commes of the PeopleE, lei to the concentration to be focuseeti on natioml level. In that was the effective continuation of the youth League activities disturbed. Host of the set tasks, particularly on the Ymth Front, were left hanging.

Following the ban of the 11.3.0 and. the subsequent morgeziised political activity's ebsente, Youth activities continued with little or no glidence at 3.11. This __. __.mnifeeted in the different approaches to the question of African Nationalism by different orgehisections of the Youth, including the Black Consciousness _ Movement. This lmk of Congress Youth leadership has pursued up to the present day.

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The present-day situation of the youth has changed, particularly after the 1976 Revolts, which saw a large exodus of the youth from the country into the outside and into underground conditions. As a result the youth is scattered the world over engaged in different activities. There is: the youth that joined relatively in the neighbouring African states. There is the youth that has applied for refugee status: under the United Nations; the youth that joined forces with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); the youth that joined forces with the African National Congress.

YOUTH WITH PAC ATTITUDES:

This youth is presently either working, schooling or idling in the neighbouring states. Their position is different to the liberation struggle or to the ANC differs from group to group. Some hope for the liberation in our country, some were disillusioned and some are still active; some are neutral.

From this with we have had cases of enemy recruitment against our struggle. We have had cases of these young men and women involved in disciplinary activities in these organisations, when they are disciplined, could lead to the creation of barriers between the host countries and the people of South Africa.

YOUTH WITH PAC ATTITUDES:

There is very little or nothing that this youth is doing for our struggle.

Our focus on them will help involving them in our struggle.

YOUTH WITH PAC ATTITUDES

Based on the theories of their organisation: this youth could be detrimental to our struggle. The fewer we find ourselves with them attitudes of hostilities from them are shown. It is the task of our organisation to have a look into this problem facing the revolution at home.

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the Afm has acquired scholarships for young men and women in their number in order to meet the demanding situation of the revolution. These are spread in different countries of the world.

The youth in our region, Lesotho, is existing in a country that is in the forefront of the liberation struggle against the regime in Pretoria. This has called for the establishing of relations: with the grant of his country to encourage common approach to our struggle, to be able to liberate by the enemy against our revolution. It is our blood that has been commonly shed in the struggle for national revolution in our country.

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Links have been established with the 10011 Youth organisation. In all our national (lays the youth of this country plan to be an active member of activities have taken place between us and the amongst many -1111- , 1, 7, 1, Victory, we have segregated this region 11.1: '1 the offering of a radio programme

by this youth body. In our activities with this youth we have however, come across problems which are fighting to solve.

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We have established contact with youth of the international community from this region, including the youth of the Front Line states. Though with little success, we have tried to strengthen relations with the frontline state youth and the youth inside the country.

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Formerly the students were organised into a separate Students Union, but now their organisation has been fused in with the general youth Organisation and are working hand in hand with them.

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This youth in our region is organised under the general youth organisation.

Though few in number they are actively involved in their activities. They have 15, links with the local and international people in their work places.

Their activities are however mostly based on the internationalist duty of , 1, - " - , , liberating this young socialist-oriented states for progress. There is a great hope ..-.....- , , . ooo/A

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need to organise this youth so that it can serve the interests of the movement - at their workplaces by disseminating our ideas and also filling us up with the developments of the country from their employments' point of view. As part of their lit duties to the organisation, this group has been contributing subscription fees at monthly basis. They have been also serving in differen comittee of the movement, including cultural activities. '

The problems faced by this'group innuie attitudes of taking them in their Q . positions as people who do not want to take part in the revolution, mainly i because they are not in m. This needs to be looked'x into by the youth.

YOUTH IN MK

; This group is at the forefront of our etngle. Many activities have been : conducted. by them in the form of the military operations that are taking place i regularly in the country, in meeting people inside the country putting forward our line of thought and: mzmy other operations.'

. In ther dayhto-day activities they have been faced with numerous problems. These include arrests by racists soldiers and police, mrders, harmssments, living under difficult conditions without food. sometimes, for days on end. , They: also suffer from the harsh military life.

fx. From their ranks have emerged. traitors, who, having failed. to keep up with the t j t harsh demands of, the revolution, cross over the trench to serve the enemy of ' the people.

Other problems include poor welfare catering that depends solely on donations from fraternal organisations and. democratic people of the world; poor medical facilities; etc.

We as the youth outside and. inside, we need. to work out mm: in means to - f y levinte the problems of the cadres by involving the youth inside in campaigns i x231. the rights of captured comrades as prisoners of war; by organising welfare f organisation: to hi help them and their families,; by fighting for their l release. I-Iore donations should. be organirei from fraternal organisations outside the country. Recreational facilities should be organised.

E Relating to their position in the army, we need to have youth organisations % ____within the my itself which will look into the-problems of the youth.

1 . It is a: natural to find problems within they youth, and. these problems which f are relttezl with our age and conditions need. to be looked into by the youth itself vmieh understand them more than any other stratum of our society.

YOU!" IIISIUTT! TEE COU'N'IRY

--Fb110wing the 1976 Uprisings, the youth inside the oeuntry took a. different course. A mime determined line of struggle was erpressei. This was manifested.

._._._- HL._ "ivy, thefomtien ofwnmeroue organisations of youth and. students inside the ' . . V. i country. Some of-the youth left school for factoriex where they continued.

1 f the struggle. Homver, some of the youth due to either disillusionment or 1? unemployment problems in the country are now found. in the streets of the 5 urban areas, and have becomxumpen proletariat. Some of these were hooked by the enemy to serve in its ranks 3 against the interest of the reimlution.

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S'HIDETH'S FROYP:

:, Students have groma to become a force to reckon with by the enemy. They ., , have displayed heroism in their struggle against uneqml .edugatioh, for a just, , equal and free education for all.

---Hith more repression from the side of the enemy they have been able to evolve their form of organisations to meet the new conditions. Some have evolved eemi-tmdergrmmd organisations.

x ._ '1 Their main problem has been to mute their activithts at 4/ countrywide ievel. They have been at times divided by tactics involved. in the struggle, for example on the boycott question inyii 1980.

1 ex have also been divided on the question of African Nationalism - whether '

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whether Blacks should fight side by side with whites.

However, the students g6 have ecorei numerous victories like taking part in the stmgglee of the workers, the community and. support for armed. struggle. They have com to realise that fighting in isolated groups retards the struggle a 01" the people; only unity in action is the any to freedom.

The enemy on the other side has been trying to divide the students by expelling urhm students from mural schools. It has been trying to isolate leaders from their fcbloe ntulents by arresting, bxmim and forcing them into the exile. l'he opnein" of doors to some privileged or .-rell-to-do new families' children to some white schools was aimed also at dividing the students.

Some of the stuiente or;.n .nisatiens 113: 9 303.13 and. A3330 have tmtermed. the 'A'IC front' by the enemy also to diviie them.

At some schools 3.1:)? members have been sent. to teach as a. means to curb the mvolutionmry activities at schools.

:fmaz-e heeaby cmlel upon by this situation on the students front to work out ways of uniting- the students, working out the programme of actinn for the development of this front into a cohesive front thtt will withstand enemy repressione.

WOT. ., S FRONT

These are in the forefront of the political and economic struggle in the country. They are part of the backbone of our struggle. They have been actively involved in the strixe movement that has emerged in the country. A number of trade unions,- for erznmple are led by yeunj; men and. women. Names like 'Ieil Acgett, Thouamile uneta and others represent the role of the youth in the workers etmlee.

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t 1:: different factor es ' . OW Their

" mm work to separat on from families: at an early ago. Their problems are also lihlccl with the problems of the society as a. whole.

The enem is presently vmrking put means and. ways of dividing these from the min trend of the workers aih else among themselves by creating a new middle stratum thlt will serve as a. shield. of the enemy from the workers. The .development of m some urban areas into so-to-sey middle class areas will hnve its own effect on our struggle. It thereJore becomes our immediate 1.2-31: to go to that youth .ihich the ens w tries to win over to its side, and. mobilise it. 'e should also lohk into the economic situation of the majority of theyouth of our country 321:1 seek my: of bringing them to fight if)?! their right 5.

The rate of unemployment in South Africa. has reached very high levele.1-Ioet affected by this is the youth that has just 3 left school; the youth that is 8316. to have had. no experience of work. % ' W741

The enemy has then utilised. this euplus labour force into lBenWstan amiee t serve its interests. Some of them hzve been utilised to serve a. . my agents --&n the fi3hta. 33inst revolutionary activities in the country. I'he rest are forced to become scabs against the strikers. To earn a, living; some of these have turned. into thieves and thugs, 11101111111; prostitutes. Gangsterism has become rife in the country and. young men and. women tend. to blame by the community for illclisipline.

Our task is therefore to go to this ymm, men and. women who have become victims _ of the enemy sett'..ng;s:linsile the country 3.21:1 mobilise them. Their gangsters on be changed into sources of UK soliie rs if well attended to. People like Thebehali have gone one step ahead. of us by forming grnups like his young 1., squads to 2 "fight against crime in Soweto".

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- YOUIE 3T7! AID 'TOII'CI UETD'R ":an S'RVi-JUJ?

In the history of verioue etngglee, the liberation: forces had to contend with the menace of infiltrators. 1:0 are no exceptiton to this. In the last two decades, since the inception of armed struggle, our movement has become the min target in this respect. This elermnt has heightened. since the 1976 Uprisings. 111th the 010-1115 of young men and. women into the ranks of the A213, the enemy saw an opportunity to infiltrate it; Ifheee came in different corms and. do different twice within the movement. 1'here are trained, eemi-trained and non-trained agents on the enemy.

'0 Their mission is: to create discord. between leadership and rank and. file; create and son discontent among the rank and file; create confusion xi within the arms if our movement in the form of the bredcdozm of disdipline; recruit from within our rinks; 'mrlc themselves into higher ranks of the movement; create economic sabotige arithin the movement; assessinste our leaders; etc. They are highly lm ;erou:: end. notivatel. 22:3; They will stop at nothing to achieve their aims. Firtumtely, due to our vigilince, we have been able to aprehend some of them. I '

The enemy recruit; these from convicts who were sentenced to long terms in goal, from political activists who were arrested. and. promised freedom if they served in the ranks of the enemy, from the unemployed section of our #oommmity and. from the police force. I'he fraction of the trained. ones sumss tth of the untrained. ones. The letter also serve to shield the former from discovery; thug are used as cannon-fodder.

The cease of the participation of some of our section in the enenw ranks can be attributed to our failure to he anon; every level of our society. These young people, especially former convicts and. political activists tend. to confess as soon as they unierstand our ceuse. It is therefore our duty to-e.have not only within bur rinks youth orpnisation but also inside the country where such mztters would be dealt 211th. Our people have been misled and. threatened. Our moral superiority and. our military strength are some of the m: weapons we can use to curb this phenomenon from our ranks.

YOUNG '70!le III T-TT TTRUGHJ'J:

gutving under the chauviuistic society, our women and men lmm still suffer from . the direase, be it inside or outside the country. _ On the women side the 'km manifested. by inferior complexes in the all round. participation .1 in the stmgle. e

The enemy has almys aml will i always reinforced this inferiority of the women-fonz, because th lt recognises their strength in society and puticullrly in the liberation struggle. However objective conditions have brought the women .-----young m 016., in to the struggle, to fight side by side with their men.

- Inside the country they are AMIy engaged. in the etmgle for liberation. There are organisations of ymm; women - political and non-political, where they , gather to sort out their problems. I'hey have been a. source of insprition to men in the struggle by their hemism in the lee.

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, Outside the coghtry they have joined. 1-2:, SASIU, and. mam other fronts of the 'struggle. Their role has not been; unnoticed. Heroine like Thandi Ivlodise are some enemies which would. make men to shake in their trousers.

The young women in the ranks of the struggle have been faced. with a nwnber of problems. One is that nit having to: cope with men in the LIX activities. Another is of children, separation from mishands and. children, withstanding - problems of mile weslmesses as ctwuvinism, sexism, etc. These pnebleme-are ---extm problems akin: ailel to the long; list of problem: ecmally faced x-rith the males in every level of the etmjgle.

.It is with this background that the young vmmmmorgmiistion has to be initiated. 5 to look into their problems separately-

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- Women inside the country have formed their own organisations and are engaged in different fronts starting from fighting for a demerit South Africa to self-help projects to raise the education level of women. However, most of these are urban-based organisations which do not cater for the rural women. These organisations are also scattered and need to be brought together into a single body or in unity in action.

Women in rural areas suffer the problem of being regarded as backward who cannot take part in political activities of their country by their men. The problem of land status is rife in these areas. Women are 0.160 victims of migrant labour system which destroys family life.

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Young men in the (Q&A) only organised in urban or traditional clubs where initiation and circumcision takes place. These women are brought together by their economic condition; they are either farm labourers or communal peasants and their men are living in towns and cities as migrants. They also need to be taken care of in trying to strengthen their resistance. During periods of removals they play significant role against such actions

1) the government. . '

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To work towards solving the young women's problems, calls for an education of both men and women on the role of the women and men in the struggle; on how the enemy divides the society into different units.

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In conclusion, the conference is called upon to look into the following main arena of activities to make our youth organisation a strong body that would put more life in the national liberation movement.

First and foremost, we need to structure our organisation such that it suits the necessary tasks and embrace every youth section of our country - inside and outside. We therefore need to create a democratically elected executive body that will govern the activities of the organisation. This should be elected from below to above. The various Regions should be represented, including the internal Youth. Different regions may be zoned for this sort of representations in the highest body of the rural youth, with the internal Youth to be as a separate independent office.

Sub-Committees of the youth should be created:

-K) POLITICAL '9ij ETITB: to conduct political organisation and education of the youth; study different tendencies within the youth; study political developments inside and outside the country; see to the discipline and well-being of the youth; welfare of the youth including medical needs initiate 7- 7 moral criticisms and self-criticism at 9.11 level; organise seminars, conferences, political meetings, etc.; point out our strength and weaknesses and facilitate their developments and correction.

PROPAGANDA committee to disseminate information among the youth; take note of 3.11 activities in conferences, seminars, cultural activities and H#1W reflect them in our journals, translations; reproduction of literature; radio broadcasts; film, video tapes, journals, etc.

CULTURAL: Organise cultural activities, encourage development of our culture and traditions' fight against all distortions of our culture; organise poetry, music, art, sculpture, uniform, etc,

Having structured our organisation, we need to have a look into migrant resources we have that we can utilise into serving the struggle, particularly our front inside and outside home. These will include manpower, inside and outside, radios and personnel, literature, financial status, etc. and also stationary material aid.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION:

1. Political Discussion: revival of united political life. Co-ordination; political experiences amongst different regions in the form of seminars, meetings, etc; between us 2.21:1 fraternal, organisations and youth in different countries.

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2. Creation of the home oriented structure of the youth. Utilisation of youth members, through the PJC guidance, to work. in this structure only.

3. Study of developments inside the country and putting forward suggestions.

4. Organising the promotion of literature on our country's history and translation of already existing books md. publications into vemzcular.

To work toz-mrls ttrenfahaning our journal - "FOICMRD" - and. the publication of another bulletin tint will cover our life in mg: exile, for example, and. also our cultuml achievements.

5;" To strengthen mlztions, particular with the youth of Southern Africa. where the enemy is encaoching in a. very big way.

6. l'0 make preparations for the coming IEorogoro-type Conference of the Hational Libemtion Zanzent.

Comrades,

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2:" are facei with more and hemer taunts km ahead. I'his conference is just the beginning of more events to c'ame. Lfa have to fulfill our task with great zeal for they are tasks called. for by the revolution. lX6 should encourage ourselves to perform better everytime, not to deceive ourselves with flatterig woris am slogans. Tie, the youth of today are expected to raise the banner of the revolution higher than our precedesnors. Victory or Death'.

__!_.'_e shall wind