



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

YOUTH CONFERENCE

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YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION

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THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS
IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE

1. INTRODUCTIONEnemy manoeuvres:

Comrades this Conference of the African National Congress Youth and Students takes place at a crucial period of our struggle, for national liberation and economic emancipation, against the white fascist minority regime of P.W. Botha and Malan and their Western imperialist backers.

It comes at a time when these forces are determined to isolate our Organisation from the masses of our people and our national allies, the states of the African continent, particularly the Front-line states and those neighbouring our country. It is at a time when these forces are trying very hard to discredit our dependable allies, the Socialist countries, in the eyes of world opinion and Africa in particular. This is meant to disarm the liberation movement.

The imperialists and South Africa are engaged in diplomatic, political, economic and military manoeuvres calculated to hijack the African revolution in particular the South African and Namibian revolution.

The imperialists have made various attempts at creating and also encouraging disunity of the African states. The Polisario question, has been used by the imperialists to attempt to break the unity of the OAU. They have used their press and other information media to slander President Kadafi so that the OAU chairmanship of Lybia should be put in question.

The Reagan Administration has organised the Denton Scandal against SWAPO and the ANC in a bid to discredit these peoples' organisations and have a pretext for supporting the South African racists in the attempts at murdering the leaders of these organisations.

In the same way that the Americans have been aiding and abetting the aggression of South African regime against Angola, they have done likewise in the Middle East to condone the aggression of Israel against Lebanon and attack on PLO and Syrian forces. The aim being to destroy the PLO.

The end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981 has seen the intensification of the joint collaboration of the South African regime and the CIA in trying to destroy our organisation. This frontal attack was both physical and political. We recall the Matola attack which clearly appears to be a joint effort of the racists and the Americans. This was directed at both the ANC and the FRELIMO regime in Mozambique. This is made clear by the exposure of both infiltration of South African and CIA agents in Mozambique.

The enemy activated all its agents and provocateurs in a bid to bring about disorganisation and disunity within the ANC. This move by the enemy failed dismally.

Inside the country the racists tried various methods of trying to bring about disunity amongst the people. One of these was the presidential council which was also a failure.

The recent move to give Swaziland our people and land is a desperate move to try to give the Swazis a stake in the oppression of our people. They are introducing conflict between the Swazi people and the oppressed masses of our country. They are giving Swaziland instability because it is a foregone conclusion that a majority of our people will never accept incorporation and therefore the Swazi government will have to rule them by force.

They are also giving the Swazis greater economic dependence on South Africa. This is also a move to bring conflict between the Swazi government and the liberation movement. It is also a trick to introduce conflict within the OAU.

The racists and imperialists are busy developing a plot to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola under the cloak of solving the Namibian question. They link two things which have nothing to do with one another viz. the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and Namibian independence.

As we intensify our struggle the Botha-Malan regime and their imperialist allies will intensify their manoeuvres, intrigue and repression.

RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Conference takes place when our people inside the country are engaged in a life and death confrontation with the enemy. It is at a time when the level of political awareness and consciousness of our people is at a high level.

It is a time when our youth and students having learnt from past experience are sparing nothing to express their disapproval of exploitation and oppression in all its forms. A time when the working class is expressing itself clearly about their economic and political rights and using their power of strike action effectively. The people have expressed confidence in our movement by virtually unbanning it. The support for our movement and the army has reached unprecedented heights. The prestige and support for the movement and army internationally has increased tremendously.

We are therefore entrusted with tremendous responsibility as the movement leading this struggle.

2. ROLE OF THE YOUTH

Considering that the Youth of any country is the most

important asset of any people, it is important that youth of the African National Congress and South Africa as a whole appreciate and understand their role and responsibility in the emancipation of our people and the construction of a new democratic South Africa devoid of political oppression, social degredation and economic exploitation.

HEIRS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Youth are the heirs of the revolution, the material necessary to the period of economic and political reconstruction, the dynamo of the armed and political struggle and future leaders of the revolution and new society who will defend the gains of the revolution and give the toiling masses liberty and freedom in concrete terms.

It is a result of the realisation of the above facts that the leadership of the African National Congress has always considered and still considers the Youth as an important part of the revolutionary force. It is for this reason that the organisation pays particular attention to both the academic and political education of the youth assigned to the task of going to educational institutions and military institutions.

It also in recognition of the importance of the Youth in the struggle that the National Executive Committee has worried itself about the state of organisation of the Youth in the ANC and the country as a whole that it has called and instructed the organisation of this historic conference in the year of Unity in Action.

TWO FORMS

We want to make it abundantly clear to you, our people and the world that the leadership of the ANC and the organisation in general does not regard any of the two tasks it assigns to the Youth, namely military training and academic training as more important than the other, that is why a cadre is given the option to choose whether he or she wants to join the army or go to school.

The reason for the above attitude is the consciousness of the movement and its leaders that the revolutionary task does not stop with the seizure of political power but continues in earnest when we mobilize our people for the period of reconstruction and further development of the society for which so much precious blood of our heroic comrades was spilt and their lives sacrificed so that others should have life in abundance.

NEW MAN

It is important that the organisation should produce in its youth samples of the new man who will act as a shining example to the entire population, in the building of a new society.

HISTORICAL APPROACH

It is desirable and of great importance that we educate our Youth and students about the role this section of our revolutionary force has played in the development of our struggle and policy. We should also try to connect the present struggles waged by our Youth and students with those that have gone before. It will be of great benefit that our students and youth know about Youth and Student organisations that existed before the present era, this knowledge will develop in our youth a historical approach to the struggle and enrich their participation in the revolutionary process.

The question we must answer is who do we mean when we speak of youth and students. We need to estimate the strength of this group.

3. WHO ARE THE YOUTH

We regard the youth as people who are below 35 years of age. Students are those who are still in institutions of learning. The age group of students is on the whole within the limit of what we defined as youth. Those whose

age is above 35 and are in institutions of learning constitute an insignificant minority. According to the 1970 population i.e. 1533487 out of a population of 21,794,328. This age group is 75% of the African population, 80%, 73% of the Coloured and Asian population respectively, and 76% of the total black population. The effective part for the purpose of the struggle can be regarded as consisting of those between the ages to 10 years to 35 years. This group constitutes 45% of the black population. We also note that 53% of the black youth group is female. We also note that more than 75% of the non-African groups live in Urban areas and 29.3% on white farms and 46.3% in Bantustans.

OPPRESSION AS YOUTH

Youth is the group that feels most of the disabilities and oppressive measures of the racist regime more than any group. They are the ones that swell the ranks of the unemployed yearly as they form the group that are new work seekers yearly. They are the ones who are affected by the educational system. They suffer from the shortage of houses as newly weds. They are the ones on whom the pass laws weigh heavily.

They will be the ones who will be sacked first if there is need to reduce the labour force in any factory. They are the ones who are forced to live in unisex hostels.

The following figures indicate the burden on the oppressed youth. In August 1978 the estimated unemployment figure for Africans was 2.3 million and the majority of these would be youth.

The statistics given in the New York Times show that of the school going age children for ages 7-14, 100% whites and 75% Africans were actually in school and for ages 13-18, 66.3% whites and only 4% Africans were actually in school. The question arises what are the 96% of the

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African children of school-going ages 13-18 doing if they are not at school. They are loitering in the streets, supplying child labour and swelling the ranks of prisoners in reformatories and gaols.

The question of education and conditions of learning has always been a serious matter amongst the blacks in South Africa. There has never been a time in the history of our country under minority rule when education for blacks has been satisfactory.

African education has had a number of names, firstly Native Education, then Bantu Education and now Education and Training. The fundamental problem of South African education has been that blacks were to be educated for the purpose of occupying an inferior status. Coupled with job reservation there was education reservation in that there were certain fields of study which were preserved for the white minority. For example for a long time Africans were not allowed to become engineers, dentists, astronomers, architects and many other fields. It is clear that you could not have a type of education which would go contrary to the political and economic interests of the ruling group. In the same way that the ruling clique has had to relax certain aspects of job reservation not because of being kind-hearted but because of political and economic necessities in the same way they were forced to relax 'education reservation' in those fields which were needed to promote the Bantustan policy. The education policy has to take into account the need to retain the blacks as a source of cheap labour. To emphasise the attitudes of the racists here is what they say:

"Native education should be based on the trusteeship, non-equality and segregation. Its aim should be to inculcate the white man's way of life, especially of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee. Native education should not be financed at the expense of the white. Verwoerd said, 'when I have control of Native education I will reform it so that the natives

will from childhood realise that equality with the Europeans is not for them. People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for natives. When my department controls nation education, it will know for what class of higher education a native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge, what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it can not use it in practice? That is quite absurd.

"The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him. There is no place for him above the level of certain forms of labour. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim - absorption into European community."

The question of equal education does not end with same syllabuses for all groups in the country or education falling under same ministry. Equal education stems out of proper political and economic attitudes.

The South African racist regime enjoys saying that blacks in South Africa enjoy good educational facilities. The following figures speak for themselves. These are the per capita expenditure on White, Indian, Coloured and African pupils in South Africa for the year 1978-79 given in the House of Assembly:

Excluding Capital expenditure R723.00, R357.15, R225.54, R71.28. It is clear that the white child has ten times spent on him or her than the African child whose parent is paid ten times less than the parent of the white child. The white parent earns 248.40 dollars as compared to 20.70 dollars for the African parent.

It is also important to examine the quality of the education by its results. The number of standard ten (10's) produced annually during the 1970's per 100,000 population

for each national group is as follows: 9,500 whites, 3,600 Indians, 1,200 Coloureds and 250 Africans. During the 60's annual production of standard tens was only 50 per 100,000. In 1979 there were 44,000 African teachers who had not passed Standard 10 about 11,000 of them had only Standard 8. The quality of education received by the African pupil is determined by the fact that with such poor qualifications these African teachers were expected to cope with an average of 55 pupils per class, when the white teachers cope with 21, the Coloured teacher 32 and the Indian teacher 27.

Add this state of affairs to poor library and laboratory facilities and the fact that the home situation for the majority of black children is not conducive to learning. It is clear that the living conditions of the workers as parents and the education of their children are very intimately connected.

4. CONTRIBUTION OF THE YOUTH TO THE STRUGGLE

It is now proper that we should trace the involvement of the youth in the fight for a better South Africa and in particular better education. Strikes in schools are recorded as far back as 1920. In February 1920 students of Kilnerton Training College went on hunger strike for more food. A few months^{later} theological students at Lovedale rioted and set fire to buildings in protest against bad bread 1,930 students received sentences^{ranging} from 3 months imprisonment plus a fine of 50 pounds to being beaten with a light cane.

In the period 1943-45 there were more than 20 strikes and serious riots in schools. It is the 1946 riot in Lovedale which demanded removal of the principal because of reactionary rules were introduced. 150 students were arrested and charged with public violence, because they caused damage to school premises and attacked prefects and white staff members. Most were fined with an alternative of imprisonment and all were excluded from school in future.

After the Lovedale strike there were at least 5 others in the Cape and Transvaal in 1946, and in December these were followed by a sitdown strike in Bethesda Bantu Training College near Pietersburg.

The reasons for the strikes can be summed up by the following statements. At almost all African mission boarding schools, conditions for students are deplorable and this has been the root of all minor revolts which have taken place from time to time at these institutions. Food and Nazi-like controls are usually the main causes for dissatisfaction.

After the take over of the nationalists the question of education and politics became obviously linked and we find that a great deal of politics began to be discussed in the schools and universities. The Bantu Education act brought about the boycott of schools in which the ANC and its allies played a great role. The ANC Youth League was formed. It is of interest to note that the founders of the League developed to be prominent leaders of the ANC. For example the President Comrade O.R. Tambo, Comrade Walter Sisulu and Comrade Nelson Mandela. At the time Comrade Sisulu was in his thirties and the other two at their twenties. The development of these leaders was a contribution of their own dedication, initiative and determination reinforced by the assistance and guidance they received from the older and experienced Comrades like Malome Kotane and Uncle J.B.

The Youth League played a prominent role in defining the role of the youth in the struggle, did a great deal of work in politicizing the students of Fort Hare. Another youth movement which played a role in politicizing students was the youth movement of the Non-European Unity Movement, Sons of Young Africa (SOYA). In 1949 it was the Youth League which led the Solidarity strike with the Nurses at Lovedale Hospital and it became instrumental in drawing up of the 1949 Programme of Action of the ANC.

It was the League which defined the doctrine of African nationalism.

It is interesting to examine the aims of the League as expressed in the Basic Policy document of 1948.

- (a) Rallying and uniting African Youth into one national front on the basis of African Nationalism;
- (b) Giving force, direction and vigour to the struggle for African National Freedom by assisting, supporting and reinforcing the National movement - ANC;
- (c) Studying the political, economic and social problems of Africa and the world;
- (d) Striving and working for educational, moral and cultural achievements of the African Youth.

These aims are still valid up to this day, but the task of our present Youth in the ANC has become even broader in that apart from rallying and uniting the African Youth on the basis of a broad nationalism which has to counter narrow nationalism and the tribal nationalisms fostered by the Bantustan policy, they must create the broad front of the Black Youth and progressive Whites on the basis of the principle enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

It is also of great importance to examine the educational policy of the League.

- (a) The ultimate goal of African Nationalism in so far as education is concerned, is 100% literacy among the people, in order to ensure the realisation of an effective democracy. Some of means to that end are:
 - i) Free and compulsory education to all children, with its concomitants of adequate accommodation, adequate training facilities and adequate remuneration for teachers;
 - ii) Mass adult education by means of night schools, adult classes, Summer and Winter Courses and other means.
- (b) All children should have access to the type of education that they are suited for. They should have access to academic, vocational and technical training.

(c) The aim of such education should be:

- i) to mould the character of the young
- ii) to give them a high sense of moral and ethical values
- iii) to prepare them for a full and responsible citizenship in a democratic society.

The educational aims and objects of the Youth League read as if they were drawn yesterday. With the great task of the development of SOMAFCO the practical embryo of our future educational practise these aims and objects are relevant and need to be examined by the Conference and ways and means of implementing and developing them considered and adopted.

The Youth League has played an important role in various strike actions that took place at Fort Hare.

In 1955, the Youth League and SOYA played a great part in rallying together to defend the rights of the SRC. As a result the University was closed and later when it reopened some students never came back, and the student body took a decision not to take part in sporting activity for the rest of the year in solidarity with those not allowed to return.

In 1959 the League once more played a prominent role in the struggle against the transfer of Fort Hare to the Department of Bantu Education, under the provisions of the University extension act, and turning the University into a tribal College. In 1960 when the new authorities decided to change the Constitution of the SRC, the League spearheaded the resistance and the decision was ultimately taken to dissolve the SRC rather than accept the proposed constitution and indeed the SRC was dissolved. The League organised an underground presence of the ANC at Fort Hare after the ANC was banned. In 1961 during the introduction of the Republic the ANC called for a 3 day stay at home.

Responding to this call the Youth League at Fort Hare organised a boycott of classes which was 100% successful. In spite of the fact that the authorities knew the organiser they could do nothing because they realised the strength of the League in the student body. The university was once more closed. During that period the Fort Hare Youth League in conjunction ^{with} the League in Lovedale and Healdtown organised successful boycotts in these schools.

From 1956 to 1960 when the SRC was dissolved all the presidents of the SRC were also presidents of the ANC Youth League.

It was at the initiative of the League that a meeting was held with members of the PAC Youth to found an African student organisation namely African Students' Association (ASA). An agreement was reached but at the last moment a PAC group from the Transvaal decided to form a counter organisation - African Students Union of South Africa (ASUSA). As a result ASUSA became a Transvaal organisation with PAC membership, because even PAC students in other provinces refused to join it and remained in ASA. So ASA remained the national student organisation in spite of the attempted sabotage. In 1963 ASA was banned.

In 1962 the idea to form a student organisation which included all black (Indians, Coloured and African) was born at Fort Hare. In these discussions, the delegation of the Cape Peninsular students union ~~an~~ affiliate of the Unity Movement had suggested the formation of the Progressive National Students Organisation (PNSO). All the students from ANC, PAC, Unity Movement and non-aligned accepted the need for the formation of such an organisation what remained was the practical implementation of the decision.

Unfortunately in 1963 came the arrests and the idea fell through because many student leaders were arrested. The idea in fact gained practical implementation some years

later with the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO).

It is important to refer to the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) which is the oldest of the student organisations, formed in 1924. This organisation inspite of the criticisms which can be levelled against it, has played a role in the struggle for equality of education. In the sixties the students in the black universities defended it and their right to join it, because the government had banned it from black campuses. It had done a great deal of work in making the white youth aware of the problems of the country.

SASO in particular has made a great contribution in our struggle. It helped in making our people aware of the oppression and exploitation and contributed in filling the gap left by the banning of the ANC. It encouraged the formation of the Black Peoples Convention which was a wider organisation to make our people raise their militancy. It inspired the formation of the high school organisation - South African Students Movement (SASM) which played a great role in the establishment of organisations like National Youth Organisation (NAYO). SASO spearheaded various strikes in the Universities in the 70's. It was active in calling the Black Renaissance Conference.

It was SASM which spearheaded the formation of Student Representative Councils which led the 1976 demonstrations which led to the Soweto riots. These riots though tragic made an indelible mark in the history of our struggle. It is this event that lifted the level of organisation of the liberation movement and made a contribution to the military struggle by swelling the ranks of the peoples army Umkhonto We Sizwe. It contributed the spirit of Youth and Student resistance which is still present today.

POST 1976

After the banning of the 18 black organisations the resistance remained but was not organised. It was the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) which reorganised student resistance. It was these organisations which salvaged an ailing Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) and made it a viable force under the Presidency of Curtis Nkondo.

These student organisations seem to have learnt from the events of 1976. An important aspect about them is the Constant Consultations with the parents on various matters. They are trying by all means to avoid the pitfalls of yester years. In meetings with parents and workers, they discussed matters affecting students and those affecting the life of the community.

The 1980 student boycotts had an important feature in that the boycotts were country-wide, even in the normally dormant Orange Free State, they embraced all sections of the student community (Africans, Indians, Coloureds) and made wide demands. There was also a great deal of coordination between high school and university students.

The contribution of the youth and students in the propagation of the Year of the Spear and the Year of the Charter was tremendous. The formation of Isandlwana cultural groups in the country was great. Their contribution in spreading the gospel of the Freedom Charter in 1980 was great.

In 1981 the Year of the Youth and the 20th Anniversary of the Peoples Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the contribution of the students and youth was marvelous. They played a great role in the collapse of the Republican celebrations. We recall the burning of racist flags and hoisting of the ANC flags at University of Witwatersrand, University of Western Cape, University of the North and Regina Mundi Hall.

STUDENTS AND PARENT COOPERATION

An important feature of the 1980 situation inside the country is that there was coordinating in action during the boycotts, there were demonstrations on other community problems and the workers on strike. They did not go on strike as supporters but as another front of the struggle. This same feature was also present during the anti-Republican celebrations campaign in 1981.

MK YOUTH

The contribution of MK Youth to the struggle makes words fail one to express it.

In the early sixties the inspiration which the MK Youth gave our people and the people of Zimbabwe by their heroic participation in the armed struggle in that country is still something people recount. The courage shown in Sipolilo and Wankie.

In 1979 when the MK Youth exhibited their determination and daring in the attack on Moroka Police Station and also the subsequent attacks on the police stations, they liberated our people from the fear of the police.

When they supported the 1980 boycotts with the masterful attack on SASOL it made the workers and students identify with them.

The daring and preparedness to give their life as shown by people like Solomon Mahlangu and the Silverton Three infused our people with the spirit of daring and defiance.

The supportive operations during the anti-Republican campaign, anti-SAIC campaign and anti-Presidential Council campaign has made our people respond with great determination and produced success in these campaigns.

The attack on the H/Q of the SADF in Voortrekkershoogte has made the enemy lose confidence in its ability to secure any installation in the country and made to admit it.

They give our people courage to act against the enemy in the field of workers' strikes and demonstrations.

The spirit of non-surrender exhibited by the Maritzburg 12 led by Mange made the judge lose his sense of justice and dignity to make a terrible judgement. "Sentencing somebody to death for having a repulsive character".

This same spirit of non-surrender was shown by Gordon Dikepu in Chiawelo and the comrades at Matola.

All these have been great contributions by the MK Youth to the mobilization of our people to confront the enemy on all fronts.

The MK Youth has contributed to the great prestige and support within our country and internationally. This prestige and support was enhanced by the Amandla Cultural Group.

6. TASKS

What are our tasks as Youth and Students of the ANC? As Cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe in this Year of Unity in Action. We are required to unite in activity and act in unity. We should prepare ourselves to answer the call to reinforce our comrades who are busy inflicting losses on the enemy. We are required to defend the Organisation from all kinds of possible enemy attacks.

We need to defend our leaders against possible enemy attacks and blackmail. We need to be combat-ready because the battlefield is everywhere. We need to carry out our tasks in the rear with diligence and trust. We must be vigilant against those who want to create mistrust between the cadres and the leadership. We need to be careful about rumour mongers who spread demoralising rumours about the organisation and its leadership.

There is a tactic we must learn to understand which disrupters normally use. The use of true facts and half true facts to destroy the movement. True facts alone do not constitute the truth. If a member of the ANC transmits

true facts to the enemy about organisation this does not constitute the truth because it involves dishonesty and bridge of trust and well call it selling out. If a member of the ANC is aware of some true fact about another and uses this true fact to make another do what is not in consonant with revolutionary ideals and maybe the object of this attack refuses and then these facts are revealed this revelation is not the truth but blackmail. We must understand that the truth is true facts used for the correct purpose at the correct place and time.

STUDENTS

For us who are students, we need to realise that our task of equipping ourselves to serve the movement after completing our studies is important. As the struggle escalates we will need more and more sophisticated skill in both the political and military spheres.

We must defend the organisation politically wherever we are. It is important for us to realise that we are the ones who are exposed to the world and therefore the world sees our revolution and our organisation through us.

We must be worthy ambassadors of the organisation in the countries in which we are studying. Our task is to organise solidarity and support for the organisation and the revolution.

Our school - Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College - should become a model of a revolutionary school. It should play its part in the cultural and political spheres of our revolution. It must become a source of pride and inspiration to our people at home who should regard it as a haven for their children who flee from the brutal apartheid system and its education for barbarism. It must uphold high academic standards and produce students that will be respected by friend or foe.

The Youth and Students of our country will be mobilised and encouraged by the reports they will receive about the

progress we make outside the country and our performance inside the country.

We need to pay attention to the fact that the female section of our country is in the majority and therefore we need to step up organising them. We should take into account the fact that the Youth in the rural areas constitute a high percentage of youth and therefore should be mobilised.

We should also remember that Youth constitutes a high percentage of the work force and thus must be encouraged to join the movement and also join trade unions and get involved in workers' struggles. If we want to influence youth activity it is important to organise ANC Youth cells which will do work in the open youth organisations. To be able to influence student organisations it is necessary to follow the example of the Youth League in the 50s and 60s. Establish ANC Youth cells in the important institutions and schools.

We have a greater task than our predecessors in the Youth. We must organise the entire black Youth and the progressive white youth. We should be able to raise funds to assist the youth and student movements in the country. It is important that we should make sacrifices from our own funds if we have them to assist the movements.

It is dangerous for us to develop a tendency of just wanting to receive from the organisation without making any contribution. If we have this negative attitude we become mercenaries or refugees and not freedom fighters.

The solution of the internal conflict between personal interests and the interests of the organisation and the revolution is a crucial matter in our development as young revolutionaries.

It is important for us to understand that the revolution

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sometimes requires us to do what we would normally want to do and if this situation confronts us it is our duty to do it. It also happens that we may be required not to do what we would normally want to do and in this situation duty requires that we refrain from doing it.

Let us consider the slogan: DO NOT ASK WHAT THE ANC CAN DO FOR YOU, BUT WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR THE ANC.

7. CONCLUSION:

PLEDGE

Let us pledge ourselves to protect and preserve the unity of our organisation in this year of Unity in Action. In the task of organising the unity of the international forces and internal force to unite in order to act in unity the unity of the ANC and its allies is central. The Youth constituting the majority of ANC activists it follows that the unity of the youth is central to the Unity of the movement.

Let us pledge ourselves to develop our political understanding so that we may translate it in dedication, determination and willingness to sacrifice for the revolutionary cause. Let us show the socialist countries, Africa and progressive mankind that the sacrifices they make on our behalf are not invain by our contribution to the struggle and our disciplinary behaviour. Let us transform political knowledge into political attitudes and political way of life.

RE-DEDICATION

Let us say with our President in this year of Unity in Action.

We shall not betray Africa and the Progressive World!
We shall not betray our heroes and martyrs - the men, women, youth and children who fell in the fight for Freedom!

We shall not betray the national leaders and captured militants whose release from imprisonment has been and continues to be a subject of worldwide demands and appeals from every walk of life!

•We will unite in action and act in unity!

Paper from R.C. - A. MASONDO
(NATIONAL COMMISSAR)

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