

The YCLSA YOUTH MANIFESTO
Revised and Updated for the 5th National Congress of the YCLSA
December 2018

“Build Popular Youth Fronts for Socialism”

Introduction

1. South Africa's history of Colonialism, Apartheid and Segregation has led to institutionalized and systemic poverty, inequality, unemployment and underdevelopment requiring a decisive state-led response to redress the imbalances of the past. The brutal and fascist, white monopoly Apartheid regime, systemically dehumanized and underdeveloped black South Africans as part of ensuring a conveyor belt of future labour for the extraction of surplus value with the ultimate objective of ensuring the economy remains solely owned and controlled by white monopoly capital.

2. The legacies of colonialism, apartheid and segregation have produced and reproduced the challenges of youth unemployment, poor quality education, lack of skills, high levels of HIV/AIDS, and low levels of entrepreneurship amongst the youth. It is no wonder that despite significant strides since the advent of democracy in 1994, the majority of young South Africans remain doubtful of a better life endowed with education, skills, jobs and opportunities for social and economic progress.

3. The term *youth* or *young people* has different meanings depending on the context. One meaning is based on a sociological definition of youth as a life stage comprising of a series of “transitions from adolescence to adulthood, from dependence to independence, and from being recipients of society’s services to becoming contributors to national, economic, political and cultural life.” (Curtain, 2003: 74) For the purposes of statistical comparisons, however, international organizations such as the United Nations define youth as those aged between 15

and 24 years. The African Union and the African Youth Charter in particular defines youth as individuals aged between 15 to 35 years.

4. According to Karen Pittman (1993), development is a process and not a goal and *youth development* is “the ongoing growth process in which youth are engaged in attempting to: (1) meet their basic personal and social needs to be safe, feel cared for, be valued, be useful, and be spiritually grounded, and (2) build skills and competencies that allow them to function and contribute in their daily lives.” (Pittman, 1993: 8) The National Youth Policy of South Africa 2020 defines youth development as: *an intentional, comprehensive approach that provides space, opportunities and support for young people to maximize their individual and collective creative energies for personal development as well as development of the broader society of which they are an integral part.* In the context of South Africa and most other developing countries, development has taken a new shape to incorporate sustainable livelihoods. It is therefore argued that personal development and national development should incorporate aspects of sustainable livelihoods and the necessary interventions to facilitate sustainability.
5. For the purposes of this manifesto we understand *youth* or *young people* to be every person between the age of 15 and 35 years and *youth development* as: *an intentional, comprehensive approach that provides space, opportunities and support for young people to maximize their individual and collective creative energies for personal development, national development and sustainable livelihoods.*
6. Youth constitute a significant, growing and distinct group in society. Much can be said about how society views youth. The way in which society views youth is critical to shaping perceptions by the adult population and how youths view themselves. There are three contending social perspectives on youth; youth as consumers in society, youth as problems to society and youth as assets to society.
7. The problem perspective is dominant in South African society. The media in particular has played a significant role in shaping a dominant perspective of youth as either consumers or problems to society. There is a need to change our social

perspective to be more dominant in viewing youth as assets to society as opposed to a drain on society.

8. It can also be said that South African society is suffering from 'adulthoodism.' In 1996, John Bell argued that the prevalence of adulthoodism (the disrespect for the youth based on the assumption that adults are better than young people and are therefore entitled to act upon young people without their agreement) must be recognized if society is to make effective progress in having youth as equal partners. Young South Africans want to be treated as equal partners and not as 'adults in waiting.' The fundamental belief that adults know what is 'best' for youth often interferes with the development of a genuine dialogue about youth participation and youth programmes. When the older generation subscribe to this belief, the true potential of youth is not achieved.

9. Since 1994 great strides have been made to advance the development of young people. In 1996, the National Youth Commission Act was passed into law giving effect to the establishment of the National Youth Commission. The establishment of the National Youth Commission in 1996 followed by the Umsobomvu Youth Fund in 2001 placed youth development at the center of the nation's developmental agenda. Over the years the institutional distance between the National Youth Commission and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund led to fragmentation and the lack of a seamless, integrated and sustainable response to the needs, interests and demands of young South Africans. To address the structural and operational challenges, the 52nd National Conference of the ANC resolved that, "a National Youth Development Agency that will ensure seamless integration, sustainability and responsiveness to the demands and aspirations of South Africa's youth is established through the merger of the National Youth Commission and Umsobomvu Youth Fund."

10. The establishment of the National Youth Development Agency or NYDA was first resolved by the ANC Youth League 22nd National Congress in 2004, affirmed by the ANC NGC in 2005, endorsed and affirmed by the National Youth Convention and the Young Communist League 2nd National Congress in 2006, recommended

for resolution by the ANC National Policy Conference in June 2007 and further resolved by the ANC National Conference in December 2007.

11. On the 6th February 2009, the President of the Republic signed into law the National Youth Development Agency Act 54 of 2008 ushering in a new era for youth development in the country. Since then, great strides have been made to ensure that young people are adequately supported and empowered to better their lives. The NYDA remains the most viable and relevant institution to facilitate youth development in the country. Since the inception of the NYDA, more than 6 million young South Africans have benefitted from some kind of product or service to better their lives. Given the millions more who may need support from the Agency, it is imperative that the mandate of the NYDA be reviewed and more funding allocated to supporting more young people in need with integrated and holistic programmes, products and services.
12. We must also appreciate the policy and strategic frameworks on youth development in the first phase of the national democratic revolution. The National Youth Policy released in 2000; the National Youth Development Policy Framework released in 2002; the National Youth Policy 2007; the National Youth Policy 2009 - 2014; the National Youth Policy 2020; the Youth Employment Accord released in 2013; and the Integrated Youth Development Strategy.
13. Over the years we have consciously monitored the effectiveness and efficacy of our legislative, policy and strategic interventions and whilst much progress has been achieved, the landscape has radically changed with the institutionalization of democratic values, social media, deepening socio - economic disparities and new, rapidly evolving youth cultures.
14. The Post - 2014 South Africa is an even younger nation with the youth population between the ages of 14 and 35 increasing to 36% of the total population. South Africa is a youthful country with 19.9 million youth below the age of 35. This means that the country is experiencing a youth bulge which is expected to last until 2037.

15. A skilled, productive and socially conscious workforce is essential for a second, more radical phase of the national democratic revolution and youth constitute the majority of this workforce. Society can ill afford the consequences, from costly welfare dependency to higher youth prison populations, when the economy fails to absorb all segments of the population effectively, especially its youth population.
16. Many youth find themselves in abject poverty associated with weak endowments of human, capital and financial resources such as low levels of education, few marketable skills, low productivity and generally poor health. Many young people are trapped into a culture of entitlement and dependency turning to alcohol and drugs or a life of crime as an easy way out. On the other extreme are those who are at forefront of transformation taking the opportunities that come with freedom and democracy.
17. Young people are assets and benefactors of the South African Revolution to bring about meaningful change and the realization of a truly non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa for all who live in it. The youth population in South Africa is growing at a faster rate than the adult population and may be able to create new socio-economic opportunities if adequately supported.
18. Youth must lead their own development and the state must support. Youth must be at the fore of building schools, libraries and community centers as community builders and leaders of society. Young South Africans must never destroy or damage buildings such as schools or hospitals simply because of anger and frustration due to the lack of access to these buildings or to demand something else. Youth anger must be challenged strategically where youth build and not destroy where youth repair and not damage and where all youth are intellectually and productively militant and not destructively emotional.
19. This manifesto constitutes a declaration of intentions, motives and views of the Young Communist League of South Africa in advancing youth development by establishing 12 popular youth fronts. Young women, youth with disabilities, youth from rural areas and poor, working class youth are prioritized in all of the 12 popular youth fronts.

1. A Youth Front for Jobs

20. South Africa is one of the youngest countries in the world and our youth population is growing at a faster rate than the adult population but it is also growing at a faster rate than employment creation. This makes the challenge of job creation for youth in particular an apex priority for political stability as well as socio-economic growth and development. Wage employment in South Africa is not growing fast enough to absorb the millions of youth looking for work.
21. It is important to contextualize youth unemployment as not something that is new or unique. Youth unemployment in South Africa has been on the rise since the late 1970s rising to almost 20% in the early 1980s. The challenge of youth unemployment is furthermore not a local challenge but a global one. Many countries throughout the world are facing the challenge of increasing youth unemployment rates. Many countries across the globe are struggling to create jobs for their youth populations. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates global youth unemployment at over 75 million young people worldwide. According to the ILO, global youth participation declined from 53.6% in 2000 to 45.8% in 2016.
22. Labour participation globally also has gender dimension. Approximately 53.9% of young men participate in the world economy while only 37.3% of young women participate in the global labour market. It is estimated that we need to create 600 million new jobs in the next 10 – 15 years to meet the demand of a growing global population.
23. The biggest challenge that we face as a country is how to help young people walk through the front door of the labour market and into decent jobs as well as other sustainable economic opportunities. The albatross of youth unemployment cannot fall squarely on the shoulders of government. There is also no single actor that can meaningfully and comprehensively create jobs for all youth in need. All social partners must contribute to addressing both demand and supply side causes of youth unemployment.

24. Youth unemployment is furthermore not a one-dimensional challenge. It is a multi-dimensional challenge that cannot simply be addressed with a single isolated intervention such as an incentive or subsidy. There can be no silver bullet response to youth unemployment. A youth wage subsidy will not work in the context of a low skills base with a skewed economy as is the case in contemporary South Africa. Such a subsidy can never work when many young people do not have basic levels of education or skills. Many studies have shown that the levels and quality of education is directly proportional to employment. Research from Stats SA indicates that 28.7% of those with Matric as their highest level of education are unemployed while 32.7% of those with a level of education less than matric are unemployed. Graduates constitute 5.4% of the total unemployed youth population. This suggests that the higher your level of education the less likely you are to be unemployed.
25. The quality of education is important in employability and a focus on simply incentivizing the private sector to create more opportunities without ensuring that young people are educated, skilled, healthy and adequately prepared for the workplace environment can only lead to failure. South Africa's poor education performance against high investment in education and training seems to exacerbate the inability of the labour force to absorb large numbers of youth. The quality of the education system has a direct link to the unacceptably high levels of youth unemployment in the country.
26. Findings of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town on the Youth Wage Subsidy packaged as the Employment Tax Incentive concluded that the incentive or ETI "did not have any statistically significant and positive effects on youth employment probabilities." The study concluded that for the ETI to have a substantial impact, the labour demand curve for eligible workers, amongst firms that are effectively able to take up the incentive, needs to be relatively elastic. There is very little evidence to suggest that this is the case, and there is very little evidence to suggest that this is not the case." The study further states that, "even if the ETI were to achieve its stated objective of creating 178 000 net new jobs over a three year period, the youth unemployment levels would remain exceptionally high." This is correct given that there are approximately

3.7 million young people who are unemployed according to the expanded definition of unemployment.

27. The Employment Tax Incentive has not had the desired impact that the National Treasury had envisaged and the National Treasury should consider scrapping the idea of a youth wage subsidy in whatever form. The National Treasury should rather spend the R5 billion set aside for the ETI on education and skills development programmes combined with youth entrepreneurship support programmes. Not only would we create more job opportunities for youth but it would also be more sustainable than implementing any form of a youth wage subsidy.

28. A multi-pronged strategy should be pursued by all stakeholders in society to meaningfully address the challenge of youth unemployment. This strategy should include interventions aimed at improving the levels and quality of education, accelerated skills development especially in labour intensive sectors of our economy, a compulsory, structured, mass-based national youth service programme, promoting a culture of youth entrepreneurship and cooperatives development and promoting the health and wellness of youth to ensure we have a happy, healthy and productive working age population. A multipronged approach is more pragmatic and comprehensive rather than a silver bullet approach in the form of a youth wage subsidy. Ultimately, a multipronged strategy will lead to the development of a more patriotic, healthy, skilled, educated, employed and empowered youth.

29. A multi – pronged systems approach to youth unemployment should be adopted by government. The country needs a multi – pronged systems approach that includes a complete and comprehensive suite of demand supply side policies at scale. Youth employment policies need to be implemented simultaneously and in an integrated way. A recent study found that only a third of over 100 youth employment programmes had a clear positive impact on employment outcomes and earnings. These programmes aim to increase employability but seldom lead to higher employment. A multi – pronged systems approach would include 21st century skills training programmes including green technology, sector specific policies – aquaculture and gaming - and employment intermediation services.

30. In April 2013, a Youth Employment Accord was signed by all stakeholders in society as a set of commitments to create jobs for youth. The Youth Employment Accord offers the best and most viable approach to making a significant dent on the critical national and international challenge of youth unemployment. All other proposed interventions will only make a scratch on this bleak picture of youth unemployment. The Accord negates the notion of a silver bullet to youth unemployment and offers a multi-pronged approach that involves all stakeholders including youth themselves. It also links job creation to skills development which is missing from all other proposals in the public domain. The commitments made in the Youth Employment Accord are yet to be implemented in full although progress has been made in some areas. All commitments contained in the Youth Employment Accord must be implemented with speed together with adequate monitoring and evaluation.

31. The Youth Employment Accord must be accompanied by a Youth Employment Action Plan to spell out concrete steps that need to be taken in ensuring the commitments contained in the Accord come to fruition. The Youth Employment Action Plan must contain concrete action measures in particular sectors of the economy that should be implemented within stipulated time frames.

32. Society must be galvanized around formulating strategies for creating sustainable jobs for youth. Youth must play a leading role in partnership with stakeholders in society to formulate the best and most appropriate solutions to job creation for youth. A National Jobs for Youth Summit should be convened by government to provide a platform for discussion on meaningful strategies that government, the private sector, labour and community can pursue to jointly and collectively create more jobs for youth in strategic sectors of the economy. Agriculture and Agro-processing having the highest employment multiplier effects should be one of the sectors prioritized for job creation. Other potential job creating sectors must be identified through discussions at the National Jobs for Youth Summit. The Summit must focus on emphasizing the Right to Work for Youth as a fundamental and necessary right that should be explored further.

33. All Provinces should establish Provincial Youth Fronts for Jobs. These Popular Youth Fronts for Jobs should serve as a means of galvanizing the working class

and poor youth into action - orientated, solution - driven platforms where youth are consulted and actively participate in strategy development for job creation. Jobs for the Youth, By the Youth, With the Youth!

34. Government should consider the establishment of a Youth Employment Fund of South Africa and the possible implementation of a youth employment tax. A Youth Employment Tax levied at 1% of income should be collected by the South African Revenue Service and deposited into a Youth Employment Fund of South Africa or YEFSA with the mandate of funding initiatives aimed at creating jobs for youth. YEFSA should be modeled on the Jobs Fund but with a specific focus on strategies and funding for initiatives designed at creating jobs specifically for youth under the age of 35.

2. A Youth Front for Youth Service

35. Youth unemployment is the most pressing issue facing young people of today and is public enemy number one. One could argue that youth unemployment has become the primary threat to the national democratic revolution. To advance the NDR requires a more dedicated focus on job creation for the youth and affirming youth employment creation as an apex priority of society, not just of government. Youth development must become the business of all stakeholders in society.

36. The Reconstruction and Development Programme adopted in 1995 encapsulates our vision for youth development with particular reference to a national youth service programme. The RDP states, "A national institution must coordinate the programme in consultation with other sectors. Areas in which the youth service programme could contribute include educare and literacy programmes, health, environmental protection, rural and urban infrastructure development, and peace monitoring. The programme must also be used to enhance awareness of the relationships between productivity, the economy and the role of science and technology in achieving the objectives of the RDP. Finally, the youth service programme must also build a spirit of national unity and reconciliation amongst the youth, as well as a sense of service towards the community and the nation."

37. There is a need to develop and implement a Compulsory, Comprehensive, Inclusive and Skills-driven National Youth Service Programme. Many countries throughout the world have implemented structured national youth service programmes as a large scale intervention to bring about immediate relief for youth who have no employment or are not registered in an institution of higher learning. Youth service can be used as an effective strategy for youth development, national development and social cohesion. Many young people are actively involved in cleaning up their communities, tutoring and mentorship or particular forms of social work. This helps in positioning young people as active agents for community development as opposed to passive recipients or being part of the problem. A South African National Youth Service Programme with specific and relevant local youth service programmes can radically enhance the capabilities inherent in youth.

38. A Compulsory, Comprehensive, Inclusive and Skills - driven National Youth Service Programme can have many advantages for youth development, social development and national development. One of the most important advantages is the value it provides to the participant in the form of valuable experience, knowledge and skills that will facilitate the transition into paid employment. In this way being part of a youth service programme can improve a young person's ability to successfully make the transition from school to work. Whether acquiring skills through on-the-job training that will serve them in their future careers, or simply adapting to a workplace environment, youth service can help young people be absorbed into the open labour market. Thus youth service programmes not only enhance youth employment probabilities but contributes significantly to the overall employability of youth.

39. Youth service also provides constructive alternatives to risky behaviour and can provide a means for re-integrating out of school and unemployed youth. These youth groups are at a much greater risk of behaviour that is harmful to themselves and their communities. A sense of hopelessness from being out of school or out of work leads many young people into a life of crime, social unrest or alcohol and drug abuse. Youth service programmes provide a structured environment in which to learn and work while reducing the space and time to think about risky behaviour.

40. Mainstreaming youth service can reduce the economic and social cost of risky behaviour and build the necessary social capital required for nation building. Mainstreaming youth service is critical to the nation's developmental agenda and therefore every government department should develop and implement a national youth service programme. By 2020, a minimum of 1 000 000 young South Africans should be enrolled and actively participating in the South African National Youth Service Programme. Government should Institute a "Proud to Serve Campaign" in which young people will be enrolled as volunteers in partnership with NGOs into structured youth service programmes ranging from child care, community cleanup programmes and the maintenance of public infrastructure.

41. Local Youth Service programmes are necessary and important for local socio-economic development. Local Youth Service Programmes can be used to meet community needs, develop scarce and critical skills needed by communities and to facilitate more effective and efficient service delivery. Local Youth Service programmes can also serve as a cost-effective tool for addressing a wide range of development priorities. With limited budgets and staff, youth service programmes can be used to mobilize and organize young people to build infrastructure, fight HIV/AIDS, improve literacy rates and facilitate green economy interventions for protecting the environment. All district and local municipalities should develop and implement local youth service programmes aligned to and directly integrated into the National Youth Service Framework.

42. In order for the strategic goals and objectives of a National Youth Service programme to be completely and comprehensively realized, a National Youth Service Act should be legislated. The National Youth Service Act should make it compulsory for unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 24 years of age to be enrolled on local or national youth service programmes. The Act should provide the principles and values underlying a South African National Youth Service Programme and regulate the approach of government in developing and implementing national and local youth service programmes. By making national youth service compulsory for unemployed youth, the country can stand to benefit from a more skilled, productive and patriotic youth population.

43. All state bursaries and scholarships should include elements of local or national youth service. Recipients of state bursaries and scholarships should be provided with opportunities to serve in a discipline of their choice for a period of not less than one calendar year.
44. There is a need to establish a South African Peace Service Corps as a chapter of the South African National Youth Service Programme interconnected to the African Peace Service Corps or APSC. The establishment of an Africa Peace Service Corps in Abuja, Nigeria was a giant leap forward in establishing a mass-based volunteer movement on the continent. The APSC focuses on five service areas of Health, Environment, Education, Peace and Entrepreneurship. This initiative starts at community and national levels, leveraging on existing partner programmes, before scaling to inter-cultural exchange service across the continent in the next three to five years.

3. A Youth Front for the Peoples Data Economy

45. The YCLSA calls for Access to Data for all Youth of South Africa. Access to Data is a social right and not a private privilege.
46. The world today is deeply interconnected through the advancements made in the space of information and communications technology or ICT. Youth are one of the major stakeholders of this development. Their engagement with ICT development and their attainments of literacy in ICT will determine their future and ultimately that of the country.
47. Enabling youth to enjoy electricity, telecommunication facilities and ICT, will open the door for them to link with the rest of the world, debate and discuss their ideas on development, and then make informed contributions to the transformation programme of the country. While enabling youth to use IT and telecommunication facilities, it is essential to develop their skills in using them effectively and efficiently.
48. The provision of electricity is essential for the development of a country, regardless of whether you are youth or not. However, the youth represent a proportion of the

population that is essential for development. Thus the provision of electricity is important for their studies, employment activities, and for their social activities such as networking and communications. Great strides have been made in the provision of electricity since the advent of democracy in South Africa and even greater strides in the last five years. Electricity supply increased from 69.7% in 2001 to 86% of the total population in 2014.

49. One of the biggest challenges with respect to electricity is the increased prices and the inability to meet demand. This is not specific to youth, but in general, to the whole country. However, the youth cohort will be significantly affected since they are one of the major consumers of electricity. The only way to balance the prices in the long run would be to depend on other energy sources such as renewable energy. Youth can play a significant part in achieving these goals. Youth can be examples in their households, work places, and in schools by engaging in energy saving activities as well in the actual production of renewable energy through new and innovative projects.

50. It is hard to find a young person today who does not use a cell phone or computer, especially in the urban areas. For some young people their cell phone is like their life. They will not be able to do anything without it. Many youth have computers provided by their employers while others use facilities available in schools and institutions of technology. The reality is that many young people don't necessarily have to own a computer in order to use one or know how to use one. Almost all young people have email accounts, are on Facebook, Twitter etc. In South Africa, access to landline or cellphone use by youth has increased from 70.2% in 2005 to more than 90% today.

51. Computers, cell phones and ICT will connect the youth with the global community enabling access and proving them with the ability to process information without limits. However, the challenge is to use proper information, build the correct and acceptable networks, and use these accessibilities to the betterment of society. While these technologies expose youth to valuable information, they are also exposed to certain dangers. With the expansion of ICT, youth are exposed to crimes, violence and whole sets of social misbehaviors. It is a thin line, but youth

should be made aware of what information should be used and what to leave out. This awareness process needs to start at schools at the earliest stage of exposure to ICT facilities.

52. In this age of information and technology, we need more IT based youth-development programmes. Youth and technology can unite to create an agenda for positive change that ultimately will benefit youth, their families, communities, and society as a whole.

53. Today a computer lab is more important than a library. We therefore make the call that there should be no school without a computer lab. Every young South African must be able to access a computer for education and training purposes and to be skilled, productive citizens. All youth must be technologically fluent.

54. Youth who are not technologically fluent will face very limited employment opportunities. Families without access to information technology will continue to be marginalized. Information technology and access to cyberspace can no longer be a luxury. It has to be an essential, public good.

55. The YCLSA calls for the establishment of a Youth Innovation Fund that focuses on meeting the needs of young people and not the needs of the market. This Youth Innovation Fund should be working class biased and geared towards addressing the scourge of Digital Capitalism.

56. We must establish a Youth Front to crush digital capitalism and its ugly tentacles. We must harness and increase data power for the people, not for capital. We need ownership and control of data in common, not in private. We need to reclaim our control of our own data.

57. Having more cooperative ownership of data will ensure more access and privacy of our data and more people's ownership and control of the data economy. Capitalism has commodified online activity and location giving birth to digital capitalism. Today web services sell data from our own use of the internet. Based on your activity and location, you are classified as a man or woman, black or white, young or old etc.

4. A Youth Front for Access and Success in Education

58. What is the purpose of education? Answer. To focus on truth, duties and obligations of a person to his family, society and humanity. We need to inject moral values into our education system. The system of education is an effective nursery for producing effective leaders. Let's make our youth rich with the wealth of wisdom, the goldmine of character and the treasure of culture. We need to accept that society and in particular our education system has degenerated to the extent that we need to introduce a new system built on two important principles: equality and character.
59. Education is arguably the single most important investment to make as a country if we are serious about job creation and sustainable development. However, education must be treated as an ideology and not as a neutral phenomenon. During the dark days of Apartheid we have seen how education was used as an instrument of oppression and it was only after 1994 that we initiated the process of opening the doors of learning for all and the use of education as an instrument of liberation. Education today is a basic need and we must intensify the implementation of free, quality and relevant education for all.
60. As part of making education fashionable, a culture of academic excellence and increased access to education for youth from poor households and youth in rural areas must be prioritized in the second, more radical phase of the NDR. The great strides made in access to education and higher education has led to youth development while the low levels and poor quality of education have led to youth underdevelopment. The focus in the second, more radical phase of the NDR should be on improving the levels and quality of education and addressing the systemic structural challenges in the education system.
61. The majority of youth in South Africa demonstrated a disturbingly low proficiency in key skills such as numeracy and literacy. South Africa came 10th out of 15 countries in Southern Africa in reading and 8th in mathematics, this despite the fact that we spend more resources on education than any of the 15 countries surveyed.

Poor youth in South Africa are performing worse than equally poor youth in other countries in the region.

62. The fact that poor children in South Africa are performing worse than equally poor children in other countries in the region suggests that the reasons for this underperformance may go beyond poverty itself; there must be other features within poor South African communities, schools and classrooms that negatively affect educational achievement. For example, the issue of language-related challenges could be one factor. South Africa has eleven official languages. Most learners whose home language is not English or Afrikaans begin schooling with their mother tongue as the language of instruction and then experience a switch of the language of instruction for non-language subjects to English.

63. Teachers and classroom practices is another factor driving low-quality education. The quality of teacher training and the need for more teacher training institutions capable of producing adequately qualified teachers is necessary for improving the quality of education in schools.

64. Infrastructure development is critical to improving access and success in education. More schools need to be built for poor and rural youth and new classrooms erected in existing schools. Infrastructure development in the education system cannot be over-emphasized if we are to talk about quality, relevant education.

65. Given the skills deficit that many youth carry after having left the school system, there is a need to expand second-chance opportunities, technical and vocational forms of training, adult literacy programmes and other post-school educational opportunities.

66. Studies have shown a positive correlation between good parenting and success in education. A study by Anne Henderson and Karen Mapp in 2002 concluded that a strong positive correlation exists between family involvement and student success regardless of race, ethnicity, class, or parents' level of education. The more families get involved in improving student learning, the more student learning improves. We need to have more family-school partnerships and more activities organized by

parents and communities that encourage learning and improved performance. It is the responsibility of the parent to be an advocate for their young school goer and to motivate them to excel in their studies.

67. While this responsibility of educating the nation's youth is often delegated to the state as the primary actor, the state alone cannot shoulder the responsibility of ensuring success in education. Parents in any community bear an equal duty to make sure that children are in school and that they are performing to the best of their abilities. The state cannot take sole responsibility for the quality education of youth; this charge should be shared equally amongst government, parents and communities at large. Learners who are found to be loitering or absent from school without reason should be reported to their parents and if their parents fail to act they should in turn be arrested for irresponsible and reckless parenting.

68. There is a direct relationship between the quality of the basic education system and the development of young people in the country. It is inevitable that if a country produces quality graduates out of its education system, that it is more likely to have a progressive calibre of young people. By the same argument, the output of a poor education system is underdeveloped and unskilled youth, and the outcome of this output is massive youth unemployment.

69. Given the current high rate of youth unemployment amongst the youth, one needs to consider the level of expertise, ingenuity and portability required by a young person in order to be absorbed into the labour market. A skilled workforce in the form of engineers, doctors, academics, scientists, teachers, artists and many others is essential for socio-economic growth and development with basic education and training serving as the foundation in the production of this workforce. We however cannot settle for average professionals, artisans and entrepreneurs. If we are serious about competing in a globalized world then we need to place a higher premium on excellence. More campaigns on academic excellence must be initiated to facilitate an enduring culture of academic excellence.

70. Science and Technology should be popularized in schools in order to increase our future research and innovation potential as a nation. Mathematics should be popularized at both primary and secondary levels and young learners should be

encouraged to take Mathematics as a subject. While not all professions require an advanced understanding of Mathematics and Science, these subjects provide a fundamental framework of how we understand our world and instill basic competencies upon which to make informed decisions and to grasp concepts of cause and effect. Other subjects such as language, history, art and geography should not be devalued by any means but what we should be striving towards is an innovation driven education system capable of addressing the shortages and blockages in society.

5. A Youth Front for Social Cohesion and Nation Building

71. Religion and Science agree that there is only one race and that is the human race. There are no other races. There is no biological basis for categories of race except to say that it is a political and social construct in terms of which power, wealth and social position can be assigned to. Ultimately there is only one nation and that is the nation of humanity.

72. What is needed is more education in human values. Especially for our youth who must be taught from a very early age that we are all the same. We must work tirelessly to build a more humane society. The construction of a more humane society requires an adequate balance of unity in dialogue and unity in action. Unity in action is cultivated through non-racialism in action given our dark and racially divided past as a country. What we need is non-racialism in action, not only in thought. We need to practice non-racialism in every thought, in every word and in every action.

73. Racism today manifests itself on social media, sport, music, business etc. No stone must be left unturned as we fight the war against racism. The destructive language of racists promoting a racist South Africa must be met with the progressive language of humanists promoting a more humane South Africa. South Africa should be a world leader against racism and all forms of discrimination. We must condemn all forms of discrimination and promote unity in diversity. We stand more to gain as a country by harnessing the power and strength of our diversity than by emphasizing our illusionary differences.

74. Social cohesion is defined in many ways by various sociologists. McCracken, 1998 defines it as a characteristic of a society dealing with connections and relations between societal units such as individuals, groups, associations as well as territorial units. Emile Durkheim was the first sociologist to use the term *social cohesion* and he considered it as an ordering feature of a society and defined it as interdependence between members of a society, shared loyalties and solidarity. What's clear from all academic definitions is that this term refers to the extent to which a society is coherent, united and functional, providing an environment within which its citizens can flourish; hence it is referred to as the "glue" that keeps society members together.
75. A key component for social cohesion is *social justice*, which is a measure of the extent of fairness and equity in terms of access to and participation in the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of society. It is therefore possible to have societies united in their diversities, so long as they share a common goal and set of aspirations and as long as fairness and equity in terms of access to and participation in the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of society exist.
76. Our history of Colonialism, Segregation and Apartheid fragmented South African society and engineered the social fabric that we see today. The human engineered social fabric of South Africa is the root cause of the non-cohesive society. Certain groups were made to believe they were more superior to others and vice versa and these psychological challenges manifest themselves in many ways that do not promote cohesion in post-apartheid South African society. With continued existence of this social fabric, South Africans continue to exist in South Africa within many sub societies and these impede individuals and groups in finding those necessary interdependences that make a society cohesive.
77. Some of these challenges relate to continued negative socio-economic conditions for largely certain groups and not others as per the lines between humans that were created. South Africa is largely polarized on many fronts. Despite being one of the largest and most advanced economies on the continent, there are still pockets of rampant poverty and high levels of unemployment and inequality. The eradication of

these socio-economic ills is interconnected to the achievement of a socially cohesive society.

78. Social cohesion has a strong link to individual identity and group identity. A strategy for social cohesion should be developed with the aim of undoing these negative individual and group identities and thereby changing people's attitudes towards one another. In order to build a socially cohesive society and a common nation, a national identity needs to be more prominent than any other sub-group identity. Currently, South African's identity is clustered into groups - black and white, male and female, homosexual and heterosexual, class and some level of ethnocentrism.

79. We need to create an identity and purpose which is strong and accepted by all, this will unite people around a process of building a future that belongs to all. For example, if all youth united around the common goal of eradicating poverty, unemployment and inequality in order to secure humanly coexistence in the future, we would eventually arrive at a point where our society is as cohesive as we desire it to be.

80. There tends to be an argument by social scientists that social cohesion and xenophobia is linked by some common thread - they are all about attitudes. This is not necessarily true. Monson T. et al argue that it is not just a matter of attitudes i.e. how individuals think and feel about other individuals or groups which results in violence towards another group or even lightly just discrimination and exclusion. They argue that the fight to build social cohesion and deal with xenophobia should center on whether or not tensions result in violence and whether or not there are institutional processes in place to prevent tensions from brewing into fully fledged violence. Monson T. et al further argue that diverse reasons cause xenophobia and other forms of discrimination and exclusion and these are not just due to attitude. These factors may include violence, exclusion, and discrimination of any form at a social level as a result of people's actions rather than only their attitudes.

81. It is possible to attain social cohesion if we focus not only on changing attitudes but also ensuring that we build more interdependencies that will prevent discriminatory and violent actions. As a nation we should also build institutions that make it

impossible to discriminate and violate other people's right to exist in a South African society and emerge with impunity.

82. The post-1994 youth are not being given enough space to share their own views, experiences and thoughts about growing up in a democratic and multi-racial society. The youth of today have more to teach us about race and race relations than baggage-ridden adults of the pre-democracy South Africa. We must do more to promote the voices of youth on matters of race and social cohesion. There can be no roadmap to social cohesion and nation building without the voice of the youth.

83. Government must create more platforms and programmes aimed at actively involving the youth in efforts of nation building and social cohesion. More campaigns and programmes must be initiated and implemented with the aim of facilitating the development of a more educated, more empowered, non-racist, non-sexist and prosperous youth. The YCLSA will lead efforts to mobilize and organize young people behind a broad-front for a classless, more humane society.

84. Social cohesion and civic participation can create positive youth social capital by building bridges of social trust and shared values. However, the levels of youth social cohesion and civic participation in recent times have not translated into economic and developmental capital at community and individual levels. This requires a higher degree of social mobilization.

85. Social mobilization as a strategy for youth development and national development is critical in ensuring the active participation of young people in their own development. In the second, more radical phase of the NDR, a social mobilization strategy must target unemployed youth, youth from poor households and youth in rural areas. These vulnerable groups of young people have largely been excluded from the gains made in the first phase of the transition post-1994. It therefore becomes important to ensure that they are prioritized in the second phase.

6. A Youth Front for Enterprise and Cooperatives Development

86. To address some of the major socio-economic challenges we face as a country such as job creation and poverty alleviation requires a larger cohort of young entrepreneurs. This is simply because entrepreneurs create new enterprises, new enterprises create more jobs and more jobs leads to more household income.
87. As a country we have made great strides in promoting a culture of entrepreneurship amongst the youth. Young South Africans have proven to be extremely resourceful, dynamic and innovative, possessing a high degree of entrepreneurial talent and capable of easily becoming the next generation of industry captains.
88. Despite the great strides made, we continue to face a shortage of dynamic young entrepreneurs and cooperatives and more needs to be done to encourage youth to be become entrepreneurs. This challenge presents itself against the backdrop of a value system that is skewed towards producing job seekers rather than job creators. Discussions need to be initiated on how best to complement radical policy shifts with innovative and magnetic support programmes for young entrepreneurs.
89. Many countries have promoted the formation and growth of cooperatives as a means to address youth unemployment. Cooperatives worldwide have created more than 800 million jobs. They create jobs because members are allowed to pool resources, ideas and capital for collective growth and prosperity. Cooperatives therefore have a distinct employment creating potential that differs from other forms of enterprise.
90. Cooperatives can provide decent work opportunities because they allow members to determine for themselves under which conditions they wish to work. This is of course the extreme opposite of exploitation of one by another as experienced under capitalist orientated forms of enterprise. Thus cooperatives provide a viable option for decent job creation and the realization of a living wage. Cooperatives locally and internationally have always had a stronger commitment to empowered governance and involving their workers in decision-making. These are highly valuable characteristics in the enterprises that will make up a more sustainable and inclusive economy.

91. The cooperatives movement in South Africa has a staggered, divided and unequal history of racist development. Prior to 1994 we saw the growth and development of 'whites-only' agricultural cooperatives. Apartheid legislation such as the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 as well as the Cooperatives Act of 1981 and preceding acts of the Apartheid government facilitated an enabling environment for 'whites-only' cooperatives, especially in the agricultural sector.
92. The post – Apartheid ANC government has since tried to redress the legacy of unequal cooperatives development through the promulgation of key pieces of legislation such as the Cooperatives Act 14 of 2005. The passing of the Cooperatives Act in 2005 and the recent amendments providing for a Cooperatives Development Agency and Conflict Tribunal all contribute to a more enabling environment for cooperatives development.
93. Changes in legislation and policy coupled with more information and support programmes should have provided the catalyst for youth to take up cooperatives as a means of sustainable livelihoods. This unfortunately has not been the case. It is deeply concerning that recent data from the Companies Intellectual and Property Commission or CIPC indicated that the number of cooperatives being registered on an annual basis has declined and is expected to decline further in the future.
94. The youth of South Africa constitute the future of the co-operatives movement in our country. However, many young people have very little or no understanding of the co-operative model of enterprise and the opportunities it may hold for not only improving their own lives but for improving their communities and society as a whole. More needs to be done to make cooperatives sexy enough for youth to consider. We must get to a stage where those wanting to venture into entrepreneurship view cooperatives as the enterprise of choice and not simply as an alternative to the mainstream. Cooperatives don't just create jobs, they create sustainable livelihoods and youth are best positioned to setup cooperatives in every corner of the country.
95. Government should provide more information and guidance on elements of cooperatives and entrepreneurship in general to young people while at school thus inculcating entrepreneurial thinking and behavior sooner rather than later. Such programmes play a crucial role in fostering a culture of youth entrepreneurship.

Initiatives such as 'Youth Enterprise Day', 'Market Day' in schools and the NYDA's 'Buy Youth Campaign' must be commended and intensified. These initiatives help to complement the formal learning processes with informal learning while at the same time creating space and opportunities for practical growth and development.

96. A plethora of financial and non-financial support exists for those young people who want to become entrepreneurs. The major challenge seems to be a lack of information on how best to access this support. The red tape preventing young entrepreneurs and cooperators from accessing financial and non-financial support from the state must be cut with immediate effect. All state entities must review their policies and procedures to promote accessibility whilst ensuring compliance. The policies, procedures and approval committees of state entities entrusted with providing financial and non-financial support to young entrepreneurs must be 'youth compliant' to ensure that young people access the plethora of funding made available by the state in the minimum possible time period. State entities providing financial and non-financial support to young entrepreneurs must focus on accessibility, efficiency and simplicity.

97. The red tape to accessibility is certainly a challenge to an enabling environment for the growth of young entrepreneurs but many young people equally lack the 'know how' of accessing support more than anything else. Information, guidance and support can go a long way in fostering a culture of youth entrepreneurship. No single entity or stakeholder has the resources or capacity to provide the right mix of information, guidance and support. It therefore becomes necessary to forge public – private partnerships for the development and implementation of new and unique youth entrepreneurship programmes that provide greater information, support and guidance to young entrepreneurs and cooperatives.

7. A Youth Front for Mentorship

98. Mentorship is a necessary and vital front for youth development. Many young people lack the necessary support and role models to grow and develop into successful citizens. Mentoring allows young people to benefit from the knowledge and experience of experienced citizens whom they would not normally have access to. In many parts of the world businesses are started with the financial support of

family and friends and with this support comes advice, mentorship and access to markets. However, this is not the case for many aspiring young entrepreneurs and cooperatives in South Africa.

99. In the context of youth entrepreneurship, mentors provide motivation, guidance and advice to young entrepreneurs in the management of their businesses. They work alongside the young entrepreneur or cooperative to ensure that the enterprise has the best possible chance of growing and being more sustainable. Mentorship for a young entrepreneur or cooperative may provide a supporting environment within which to evaluate successes and failures, provide encouragement and support, develop new skills and knowledge, create networking opportunities, develop new or different perspectives, provide an objective source of advice and guidance and even create possible market linkages. An experienced mentor can help a young person to develop and implement an action plan for personal and professional growth leading to greater chances of success.

100. In the workplace, mentorship can provide a means for improving job retention and workplace satisfaction. First time job entrants may find the workplace environment too challenging to cope with leading to low confidence and poor performance. Having a 'shoulder to lean on' in times of crisis may enable a young worker to overcome the day to day challenges of an ever transforming and fast-paced workplace environment.

101. Many young people find themselves without parental support having to fend for themselves and their families without having acquired a minimum degree of life skills. According to the Social Profile of Youth Study for 2009 - 2014 by StatsSA, the number of youth-headed households accounted for 26% of all households in the country. Households headed by youth between the ages of 15 and 34 increased from 3.6 million to 4 million from 2009 to 2014. This reflects a larger number of young people who are performing parental takes and responsibilities with very little experience or support. Having the requisite life skills is an important part of youth development. A mentor may be able to assist a young person to develop the requisite life skills that may be lacking from the absence of family or community support.

102. Mentorship has proven to be the 'X - factor' for determining the success and sustainability of a young entrepreneur. Through well-structured, 'off-line' mentorship, young entrepreneurs can obtain valuable enterprise advice from an experienced industry professional, share and showcase their business ideas and reach out to like-minded individuals to identify new enterprise opportunities. Well - structured mentorship programmes enable captains of industry to share their knowledges and networks with inexperienced, upcoming young entrepreneurs thus shaping the next generation of future industry leaders. In the context of a second, more radical phase of the NDR, mentorship for young entrepreneurs and cooperators may contribute to reducing youth inequalities and the transformation of the economy.
103. Youth clubs provide a means of transforming idle minds into active and productive future citizens. They promote social cohesion and ensure an active and productive youth population. Youth clubs can provide a safe space for young people to discuss the issues facing society and to collectively discuss and test innovative solutions to such challenges. They provide a means for young people to integrate, socialize, share ideas and develop peer support networks. The state must provide more support for the establishment of youth clubs and more funding must be allocated to the establishment and development of youth clubs. By 2020, a minimum of 100 000 new youth clubs should be established nationwide through the support of government.
104. A National Mentorship Programme for Youth must be developed and implemented with specific programmes for workplace mentorship, life skills mentorship and cooperatives mentorship. The National Mentorship Programme must include a series of mentorship camps organized in partnership between the state and private sector. These mentorship camps must offer holistic support spaces for young people to meet and be mentored on new and innovative fields such as robotics, aquaculture and video-game production to name but a few.
105. The participation and success of young people in cooperatives is on the decline. Many young people do not know what a cooperative is, how to setup and

sustain a cooperative, the principles and values of a cooperative and importantly how to deal with conflicts that may arise amongst cooperators. A mentorship programme for youth cooperatives must be designed and implemented to assist youth-owned and controlled cooperatives to be more sustainable. The knowledge and experience of larger, more experienced cooperatives can be shared through a cooperatives mentorship programme where experienced cooperators share guidance and advice on dealing with conflict management and other debilitating issues to the growth and development of the cooperatives sector.

106. The state alone cannot provide sufficient mentorship support for the youth of South Africa. It is imperative that the private sector contribute significantly to the mentorship of youth. All private sector companies and well established cooperatives must initiate, develop and implement youth mentorship programmes for their specific environment. These mentorship programmes will further serve a dual purpose of not only developing the knowledge and skills of young people but will equally improve morale and performance leading to enterprise growth for the companies involved.

107. Youth must be mentored to be the future leaders that we need. The exchange of knowledge, skills and experience combined with adequate support networks is necessary for youth development especially where multiple generations learn from, teach and support each other.

8. A Youth Front for Healthy Lifestyles

108. The health and wellbeing of young people demonstrates the extent to which the country can achieve its development goals as youth represent the present and future human and social capital of any country. Despite the efforts and resources invested in South Africa's healthcare system, the indicators of a healthy nation remain unacceptably high. South Africa has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS, the prevalence of this disease being highest amongst young people. As of 2013, the prevalence rate for youth between the ages of 15 to 24 was 8.5%. This represents a decline from the HIV prevalence rate of 13.6% in 2002 but remains unacceptably high.

109. Globally we have the highest rate of inequity of access to health services. The public health system serves the vast majority of youth but is chronically underfunded and understaffed. The wealthiest 20% of the population use the private health care system and is far better served. This a contributing factor to youth underdevelopment. It is necessary for Parliament to prioritize the enactment of the National Health Insurance Act and finalize the funding model of the National Health Insurance Fund or NHI. The universal provision of quality healthcare will contribute significantly to advancing and deepening youth development.
110. Studies conducted on health behaviour have shown that young people are starting to have sex at too early an age resulting in an unacceptably high incidence of pregnancies amongst schoolgirls. Data from Stats SA suggests that 37% of learners reported having ever had sex while 30.7% reported always using a condom. In contrast, 67.4% of out-of-school youth reported ever having sex while only 22.1% of these youth reported always using a condom. The majority of teenage mothers were neither working nor studying, indicating that most teenage mothers are dependent on financial support from wage earners within the household and child support grants.
111. Teenage pregnancy in the country is a serious issue that needs immediate attention. One of the main causes is the lack of awareness on reproductive health. The education system does not provide adequate knowledge for a young person on these aspects. As a result, youth rely on peers and media for information on reproductive health and sexual behaviour. Schools must therefore prioritize knowledge on reproductive health and sex education.
112. The health status of youth is related to the level of education and whether or not one is employed. A high percentage of those with higher education and those who are employed report that they enjoy a high percentage of good health compared to those with low levels of education who are unemployed. This reinforces the notion that youth development should be approached in a more holistic and integrated manner.

9. A Youth Front against Alcohol and Substance Abuse

113. Alcohol and drug abuse amongst youth is at volcanic levels requiring immediate attention. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that 15% of South Africa's population has a drug problem. Drug abuse in the country is twice the world norm and a World Drug Report had named South Africa as one of the drug capitals of the world. The abuse of alcohol and usage of dagga has led to the country being one of the top ten narcotics and alcohol abusers in the world. Drug abuse is costing the country approximately R20 billion a year and could pose a bigger threat to the country's future than the Aids pandemic.
114. Alcohol and drug abuse results in mental, emotional, biological or physical, social and economic instability. The effects of substance abuse amongst youth forms the basis of its increasing negative effects on society. The continued patterns of harmful abuse of alcohol and drugs amongst the youth must be brought to an end.
115. Studies have shown that people who start drinking before the age of 15 are four times more likely to become alcoholics. Young learners who use alcohol or drugs are three times more likely to get involved in violent crimes. It is estimated that 60 percent of crimes nationally were related to substance abuse. In the Western Cape, the figure was closer to 80 percent. The perpetrators of these crimes are either under the influence of substances or trying to secure money for their next fix.
116. Underage drinking must be addressed as a matter of urgency. Studies have shown that 11.9% of school learners reported having had their first drink of alcohol before the age of 13 years. More learners in younger age groups had their first drink of alcohol before the age of 13 than learners in older age groups suggesting that the age of initiation of alcohol use may be lowering over the years.
117. Young people should be focused on improving their levels of education and employability or seeking opportunities for socio - economic advancement. No young person should be addicted to alcohol. Young people should be addicted to

education or entrepreneurship. Campaigns aimed at curbing underage drinking must be massified and prioritized.

118. Youth generally explore drug addiction as an escape from their daily lives of poverty, unemployment and hopelessness. There are a number of factors that contribute to the patterns of alcohol and drug abuse amongst the youth. These factors include peer pressure, weak parental control, child abuse, imitation, emotional stress, and lack of institutional support and the availability of the drugs.
119. The National Drug Master Plan has outlined a new approach to combating drug abuse in the country that is community focused. This new community focused approach must be welcomed. However, some of areas of the National Drug Master Plan must be reviewed to ensure the plan is dynamically responsive to the issues and new trends emerging in the abuse of drugs amongst the youth.
120. There must be more rehabilitation and support interventions provided to those already addicted to alcohol and drugs whilst developing and implementing more campaigns creating awareness around the lethal consequences of alcohol and drugs. We must claim back our communities and young people must lead this war against alcohol and drug abuse.
121. Drugs such as 'Nyaope' and 'Mercedes' are having a devastating impact on youth and poor youth in particular. It is such drugs that most poor, working class youth are addicted to and the drugs that are killing the youth of South Africa, especially poor youth. Laws, policies and institutions can only do so much to eradicate the scourge of drug abuse amongst the youth. If communities act decisively by not allowing drug dealers and users in their neighbourhoods it will certainly go a long way in winning the war against substance abuse. We must work together with communities to declare South Africa Nyaope free by 2020. We must work together to declare South Africa Drug Free by 2020.
122. Society must adopt a zero tolerance approach to alcohol and drug abuse. Drugs such as Nyaope are the devil of all devils and we cannot simply take a soft approach in dealing with it. Society must wage a relentless war against alcohol and drug abuse and address both demand and supply side factors driving alcohol and drug abuse amongst young people in the country. The task of routing out drug

dealers and curbing the use, abuse and spread of banned substances cannot reside with law enforcement agencies or government as a whole. Communities must act collectively and decisively against alcohol and drug abuse. Young people must be forced to abstain from alcohol and drug abuse.

123. Given the current scourge of drug abuse in the country and the ever increasing number of young South Africans starting to experiment with drugs it may be necessary to take more radical and decisive measures to curb drug abuse. The South African Schools Act does allow for schools to implement drug testing of learners but this is optional and not mandatory. For various reasons, many schools choose not to execute this legislative right to periodically test learners suspected of taking banned substances. All schools should implement mandatory weekly drug testing of learners and action should be taken against learners found taking drugs.

124. In order to expose and educate youth about the deadly effects of drug abuse it may be necessary to devise innovative "shock" campaigns. One such campaign could be a "Faces of Nyaope" or "Faces of Tik" Campaign. The campaign should make use of a series of shocking mug shots of young nyaope addicts to expose the effects of drug abuse. Images can be used on billboards, posters, t-shirts, stickers and pamphlets, social media and online platforms. This campaign is controversial in nature but will get the attention of youth both in the media and online.

10. A Youth Front for the Environment

125. Environmental sustainability for sustainable development must be an apex priority of the state. Environmental sustainability is important for youth development and national development. The environment is an integral part of our lives. We need to preserve it while using it for our day to day activities. Effective and efficient natural resource management, solid waste management and the use of renewable energy is essential for sustainable development.

126. Access to safe sanitation facilities is a major determination of the health status of a young person. These facilities have to be provided at schools as well as homes. Between 2002 and 2014, the number of households with access to basic

sanitation increased from 62.3% to 79.5%. Many of these households are households with young people between the ages of 14 and 35. However, the issue of safe sanitation facilities for youth in rural areas must be prioritized in the second, more radical phase of the NDR. Many young people in rural communities are exposed to unsafe or shared sanitation facilities and privacy is very limited. This is major problem especially for young women.

127. Green Jobs are a means of achieving sustainable economic development and environmental sustainability. Green jobs are fundamentally more equitable and inclusive. The Youth Employment Accord has determined a youth target set aside of 60% of all jobs in the Green economy to be allocated for youth. This target should be increased to 80% and government should institute closer monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure that indeed the target is met and young people are meaningfully employed in the sector.

128. Green Jobs for youth can reduce the environmental impact of enterprise development to levels that are sustainable. Green jobs help to protect ecosystems and biodiversity, reduce energy, materials, and water consumption through high efficiency strategies; de-carbonize the economy and minimize the generation of all forms of waste and pollution.

129. The two fundamental pillars of green jobs are decent work and environmental sustainability. Therefore green jobs offer decent work opportunities that equally contribute to environmental sustainability. As we promote green jobs for youth we must equally promote the rights of workers. Decent work opportunities in the green economy must address the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of all forms of exploitation, the elimination of discrimination in the workplace as well as occupational health and safety. The creation of employment in the green economy must ensure meaningful skills transfer for youth in particular.

130. Research undertaken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) suggests that the demand for green jobs will increase in the future as the world economy moves towards climate change mitigation, sustainable energy production

and the conservation of eco-systems. Young South Africans must be well positioned to benefit from the increased demand for green jobs. These will include opportunities in renewable energy, energy efficiency, fisheries, forestry, pollution prevention and environment friendly agriculture.

131. Youth today are very keen on environment protection and sustainable livelihoods. However, many young people simply do not understand new and unfamiliar concepts like green jobs, and most urban youth are more familiar with the opportunities in the green economy as compared to rural youth. However, a vast majority of natural resources that are at risk are based in rural areas of the country. It is therefore important that information awareness programmes and campaigns are specifically initiated and implemented for rural youth in particular to empower them to protect the natural resources and environment through sustainable mechanisms of resource use.

132. In order to stimulate more demand for green jobs, young entrepreneurs and cooperatives must be given proper information and awareness on green jobs and be presented with opportunities and necessary financial support to start green enterprises. At times these green enterprises have new technologies and need large amounts of start-capital as compared to other forms of enterprise. Government should consider establishing a Green Jobs Fund for Youth to cater for the financial and non-financial support that young entrepreneurs and cooperatives may need to setup green enterprises.

133. There are many young people interested in enterprises related to generating renewable energy, environmental friendly products, organic farming and waste management. However, all these enterprises require large amounts of start - up capital and technical know-how. Most youth have neither. Therefore the risk of getting into these enterprises is very high. It is only through government or private sector support that young people will consider taking risks and exploring the opportunities available in the green economy.

134. There needs to be a genuine interest from youth in environment conservation and this interest needs to be cultivated at a very early age. It is essential that

environment protection and conservation principles and practices are built into the school curriculum from the earliest possible stage.

135. Government should support and fund the establishment of 'Green Youth Clubs'. A 'South African Green Youth Clubs Programme' should be initiated by government to bring together young people from local and district levels for environment conservation activities. The programme should espouse several objectives: provide access to youth to actively participate in environmental conservation activities; enable youth to have a voice against activities that harm the environment; empower youth to efficiently and successfully deal with environment conservation issues in their areas and develop new ideas and innovations through youth participation in the green economy.

136. A National Action Plan must be developed aimed at greening economic development within a framework of sustainable development. The National Action Plan on Youth and the Environment must seek to actively engage young people on issues ranging from youth having access to safe drinking water, youth having access to safe sanitary facilities, opportunities for green jobs and environment sustainability programmes targeting the youth.

11. A Youth Front for Sport and Recreation

137. All young people should have equal access to all sporting codes. All sporting codes should be equitably promoted as part of building a more cohesive, socialist and humane society and ultimately advancing towards communism.

138. There are multiple social benefits of sport for youth which may include decreased crime levels, increased self - esteem and heightened voluntary community participation. Sport and recreational activities have the potential to empower youth and reduce social exclusion. There is certainly a positive correlation between sport and social cohesion. One of the most important values of sport is the creation of social ties between youth of different races and cultural backgrounds. Thus sport as a social policy is critical for nation building and youth development.

139. Many studies have shown that the participation rates of youth in sport are lower in countries of the periphery as compared to countries of the core. According to Struwig, 2008, only 42% of South Africans ever participate in some form of physical activity while global sport participation rates vary from 50% to 80% of countries' populations. South Africa's comparatively low rate of involvement in sport/physical activities should be a point of concern for policy makers.
140. More youth need to take an interest in sport as part of developing social cohesion and nation building. The factors driving non-participation or lack of interest in sport by youth must be further explored and addressed. Youth must be encouraged to participate in all forms of sporting codes and more sporting facilities must be constructed in poor, rural communities in particular.

12. A Youth Front for the Unity and Solidarity of the Popular International Youth

141. The role of a young communist is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the international working class youth. As young communists, we are young internationalists by default.
142. How do we analyze the current international balance of forces from a Marxist – Leninist Perspective? What are key tasks of the YCLSA required to build a popular youth front for the unity and solidarity of the international youth? How do we build an Anti –Imperialist Popular Youth Front?
143. It is important that we understand what we mean by Imperialism. The term 'imperialism' has been given many different meanings. Some define it as sovereignty over what were former colonies. Others define imperialism in terms of a dependent relationship involving the forceful annexation of a territory which is then placed under alien rule. (Smith, 2003: 22)
144. In many formulations imperialism is associated with colonialism. However we must not equate Imperialism with colonialism. According to B.J Cohen, "Imperialism simply refers to any relationship of effective domination or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one nation over another." (Cohen, 1973:16) Colonialism on the other hand involved the direct government and political control of

one country by another. Thus we understand Imperialism as mainly an economic concept whereas colonialism is a social and political concept. We know that Ethiopia and Liberia in our own context were never colonies but we also know that our brothers and sisters in the Ivory Coast and other West African countries continue to be victims of French Imperialism.

145. The so called 'scramble for Africa' in the late 1800s gave rise to many of the challenges we have today. Several historians have dated the beginning of the 'Scramble for Africa' to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. What followed was the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885 organized by the German Imperialist Otto von Bismarck with the main aim of providing a platform for Imperialist powers to discuss and agree on how best to ensure an orderly partition of Africa. The imperial European powers referred to the slicing of Africa and sharing of African states amongst themselves as the 'scramble for Africa.'

146. Colonization was motivated by the European hunger for African resources. Twenty first century colonialism is motivated not just by European hunger but hunger even from the East for Africa's resources. The subsequent exploitation of Africa and uprooting of spiritual values by Christian missionaries left a permanent European stamp on the African continent. It was assumed that Africa and her people are backward and therefore for their own benefit we must civilize them, uplift them, and educate them and so on. This was the psychology that underpinned colonization. As if we did not have our own education and value systems at the time that underpinned the organization of our own societies and development paths.

147. Britain took the largest piece of Africa from north to south which included Nigeria, South Africa, Ghana, Sudan, Egypt, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia and Botswana. By exploiting cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences, Britain's divide and rule policies created tensions leading to conflicts that helped maintain British indirect rule thereby establishing British Imperialism in Africa.

148. The French took an east to west slice of Africa including Mali, Algeria, Chad, the CAR, Gabon, Tunisia as well as Madagascar. The Belgians took the DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. In fact it was the Belgians who entrenched the idea of the

Hutu as the workforce and the Tutsi as the extension of Belgian rule even creating biological differences that simply did not exist. This contributed to the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

149. In Sudan, the British ruled the Arab, Muslim dominated Sudanese in the North and the Black, Christian dominated Sudanese in the south as separate colonies only to combine the two colonies into one prior to the independence of Sudan in 1956. These British created divisions were largely the cause of relentless civil war and crimes against humanity such as the case of the Darfur massacre.

150. The Portuguese decimated Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique well into the 1970s. The Italians took Libya, Eritrea and Somalia. The Germans took Cameroon and Tanzania together with Namibia. It was this colonial legacy that was the source of the many divisions, wars and conflicts that we experience today. It is this legacy that we must know, understand and address if we are to ever move Africa forward.

151. Initially after World War Two in 1945, the United States positioned itself as an anti – colonial, anti – imperial power committed to decolonization in Africa and world peace. It then changed its anti – imperialist tune in the 1950s in favour of a global struggle against communism. The US found it useful to have France for example continuing to pursue its imperial conquests in Africa as a way of keeping the Socialist Soviet Union out of Africa.

152. The US provided and even today continues to provide military assistance to its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partner Portugal, which helped this once colonial power maintain its presence in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea – Bissau. (Adebajo, 2010: 169) As a result of US Imperialism, the continent has been flooded with billions of dollars of weapons over the years provided to local ‘clients of imperialism’ in countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, and Somalia.

153. During the Cold War, US Imperialism was driven by the objective of defeating communism through protecting and providing military and financial assistance to some of the most brutal, undemocratic and tyrannical regimes such as Liberia’s Samuel Doe, Somalia’s Siad Barre and South Africa’s Apartheid regime

all in exchange for political support and/or military bases. Billions of dollars in arms and aid were lavished on these 'clients of imperialism' during the Cold War period.

154. During the Clinton era of 1993 – 2000, Eighty-five percent of American Trade and Investment was concentrated, as it still largely is today, in four countries: the oil rich trio of Nigeria, Angola and Gabon, as well as South Africa. (Adebajo, 2010: 171) Approximately 2 billion dollars of American aid annually went to the coffers of the autocratic regime of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt before his overthrow by the populist forces in February 2011. The pro-imperialist policies employed by Mubarak during his 30 year rendezvous with US Imperialism had not only enriched the Mubarak family and bureaucracy, it had enabled the US to extract super profits from the labor and natural resources of the Egyptian people.
155. The former French president, Francois Mitterrand remarked in 1957: 'Without Africa, France will no longer have a history in the twenty-first century.' (Cited in Adebajo, 2010: 176) On the other side of the imperialist relationship between France and countries of West Africa, the Gabonese autocrat Omar Bongo remarked: 'Africa without France is like a car without a driver. France without Africa is like a car without fuel.' (Cited in Adebajo, 2010: 176) France has attempted to use Africa to raise its status in world politics from middle – ranking country to a super power. By creating an intricate network of political, economic, military and cultural ties, Paris has been able to retain influence over its former African colonies.
156. French Imperialism now seeks to deepen its ugly tentacles in countries such as the DRC, Chad, Madagascar, Ivory Coast and the Central African Republic. The ruling circles of African elites continue to pursue their own narrow class interests and donate votes to France in diplomatic forums such as the UN and to fund French political campaigns. French business continues to profit from corrupt African relationships. The reality is that French Imperialism is finding more and more space to maneuver on the African continent. As it does so, capitalist development accompanies its imperial domination leading to further underdevelopment in Africa.
157. Today we are faced with one of the most dangerous and frightening international viruses of all time. An international virus that is attacking and causing astronomical damage to the world and its citizens. This virus goes by the name of

Donald Trump. The world today is suffering from “Trumpfluenza.” We need a vaccine for this “Trumpfluenza.” That vaccine is Socialism.

Key tasks

158. To develop an anti – imperialist class perspective on the international division of labour and the export of women workers.
159. To develop an anti –imperialist class perspective on global economic issues such as global trade and finance as well as the crisis of deepening global poverty and rising global inequality.
160. To develop an anti – imperialist class perspective on issues of climate change and the emerging carbon capture industry.
161. To develop an anti – imperialist class perspective on the emergence of fundamentalism as a response to the evils of Capitalism.
162. Initiate Campaigns against US Imperialism and French Imperialism in particular as the primary threat to our socialist programme for global equality and a more humane and just socialist world order.
163. Develop an approach to strengthen ties between the South African state and revolutionary socialist states such as Cuba for cooperation on an equal basis as an anti – thesis to neo – imperialism. In doing so we must ask the question of why more time, energy and resources on forging such a relationship with China and not Cuba as is the status quo.
164. Develop Resolutions of Solidarity on an ongoing basis as active guides to our practical action for proletariat international solidarity. Such solidarity resolutions should provide the class analysis based on Lenin’s Theory of Imperialism required for understanding our positions on the international matter in question. This shall include Resolutions of Solidarity with anti – imperialist forces in Swaziland, Western Sahara, Palestine, the Basque country, to name but a few.

165. Develop a specific Resolution of Solidarity with the people of Cuba and the people of Venezuela.
166. Lobby for the development of anti – imperialism legislation preventing the exploitation of our resources and dependency on a certain few core countries.
167. Strengthen our position and role in regional and global anti - imperialist institutions such as WFDY etc.
168. Strengthen ties with other youth communist formations regionally, continentally and globally for international solidarity and socialist work.
169. Develop a programme to support the growth and development of youth communist formations on the African continent in particular.

Conclusion

170. The major factor of hope is the youth. Despite what the problems of doom may say, there is much idealism amongst the youth in schools and institutions of learning in particular. It is the youth who will be the leaders of tomorrow and the builders of a more humane, just and equitable society.
171. Young South Africans must accept the responsibilities of today that go with the opportunities of today. The responsibility to end racism and all forms of discrimination. The responsibility to end poverty and class inequality. The responsibility to care for the elderly. The responsibility to ensure that our people have basic services. The responsibility to be educated, productive and contributing citizens. These are the responsibilities of the youth of today.
172. Society can no longer view youth as problems or a drain on national resources. Youth must be viewed as assets to society and as equal partners in development. The adultism currently characterizing South African society must be replaced with a paradigm shift where young people are seen as capable citizens

whose potential needs to be enhanced. Youth should be seen as those who are capable of helping and not just in a position of receiving assistance. Society must begin to have more faith in youth as benefactors of development and not just as beneficiaries of development.

173. This Revised Youth Manifesto of the YCLSA under the theme, *“Build Popular Youth Fronts for Socialism”* highlights the intentions, motives and views of the Young Communist League of South Africa in advancing, deepening, and intensifying youth development in South Africa through establishing 12 popular youth fronts for Socialism.

174. Build Popular Youth Fronts for Socialism:

A Youth Front for Jobs

A Youth Front for Youth Service

A Youth Front for the Peoples Data Economy

A Youth Front for Access and Success in Education

A Youth Front for Social Cohesion and Nation Building

A Youth Front for Healthy Lifestyles

A Youth Front against Alcohol and Substance Abuse

A Youth Front for the Environment

A Youth Front for Sport and Recreation

A Youth Front for Mentorship

A Youth Front for Enterprise and Cooperatives Development

A Youth Front for the Unity and Solidarity of the Popular International Youth

175. It is important to note that interventions across all 12 fronts are interconnected and mutually reinforcing.
176. The South African Road to Socialism must address the youth question. To address this question, a social mobilization strategy must be developed targeting unemployed youth, youth from poor households and youth in rural areas. These vulnerable groups of young people have largely been excluded from the gains made in the first phase of the transition post-1994. We need to engage today's youth not as 'adults in waiting' but as capable human beings with abilities that must be enhanced or fostered.