

**YCLSA 4<sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL CONGRESS**  
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**DISCUSSION DOCUMENT**

**“YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM AND YCLSA TO THE FRONT”**

It is common cause that Lenin summarised the tasks of the youth in the following generalisation: “**learn**”, “**learn**” and “**learn**”. In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky wrote: “**The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past. The ..... pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution.**”

**A. CONTEXTUAL ISSUES MATERIALLY PERTAINING TO YOUTH FOLK AND COMMUNISM**

1. Youth with specific reference to South African youth in all epochs of evolutions have always been in the cutting edge of revolution and thus youth in this country have earned its rightful reference as ‘**uFasimba**’, this bravery, dynamism, foresight, impatience, fortitude, courage, and hope can be traced in every epoch right from wars of resistance, formation of peoples organs, revolutionising of these organs, arm struggle, international struggles, mass struggles and the like.
2. That is why in the tradition of communist parties across the world and our Party is not different, a strategic importance is placed on youth because young people have been considered as “**a white sheet of paper**” on which anything could be printed. In view of catastrophic failures of capitalist system of production, this paper argues that the only sustainable solution is to mobilize the youth as primarily organised by YCLSA to fight for socialist order.
3. This youth must be moulded and persuaded towards construction of socialist project in that better future for all is sustainable under socialism. Failure to rise to this task because youth does not necessarily have its own ideology, other class forces or strata can as well capture this youth and with great determination it can be moulded to oppose and derail socialist project unless living YCLSA and all left axis seize the youth, mobilise, educate and awaken them in order to help them find the revolutionary truth and strive for this truth, which is socialism.
4. It is without doubt that what we do with our youth and its organs today will define whether revolution aborts or intensifies. If this country is to grow or stagnate largely depends on the young people. The path our revolution is to take is in construction and depends largely on the force of youth, and on the educating and training of young generations. The matter of youth is

a matter of life and death for the nation. It is also one of the decisive factors for the success or failure of the revolution.

5. From a general contextual perspective, there is evidence to suggest that the young population makes a statistically significant proportion in a majority of societies and that they can exert quite a large influence on political organization, mobilization and transformation. Observing with a close scrutiny the population bounded by parameters of this research (paper) the former Secretary of State for Education and Employment in the United Kingdom's Government, Mr David Blunkett (in National Youth Agency, 2001:02) stated with lived experience and approval that "**youth work changes lives**". At the most normative level, he implies that society becomes in the final analysis, what the youth make of it. From a qualitative analytical procedure, his statement validates growth of a widespread global admission and recognition about the role and significance of the youth folk in transformational trajectory.
6. Moreover, the "**wave**" of transformation dominates a plethora of debates in the concrete evolving context of the post 1994, democratic dispensation in South Africa (it is a recurring topic). "**Wave**" according to definitional logic set forth by Harvard scholar Huntington implies a trend that tends to occur in more than one country in more or less the same time (Huntington, 1991:13-26). From a politically informed perspective, it is a self-evident assertion that not only a single enterprise of the society (let alone the youth) can be exempted or untouched by its (transformation) normative implications as a political idea (Coetzee, 2006:06). Consequently, the youth exhibit new methodology of behaving and of relating to the dynamics consigned by the transforming societies. Against the backdrop of the preceding account, the characterization of SA suggests that is one of the societies in transition.
7. To give a South African mathematical perspective to the above, authority statistics reveals that her (South African) population is **51,7 million** (see Statistics South Africa, 2011) within a **median age 25**. Official estimates are that youth folk make up over forty percent (+40%) of the population. There is a corroborating historical data that this result was also found in the prior demographic researches. For example, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (2008:07) reported that youth constituted **41%** of the South African population. Corresponding figures (of the youth aged from fourteen to thirty five) were at **40.9%** in 2006 (dplg, 2008:07). This perspective seems to resonate worldwide. So wrote the President of the World Bank Group, Mr Paul Wolfowitz (2007:xi): the number of the youth worldwide has reached **1.3 billion**, the largest in history. A study by Mr Mark Hertsgaard, environment correspondent for The Nation Magazine implied that the world population was by then (2009) at about **7 billion** people (Hertsgaard, 2009:23).
8. Being a substantial percentage as it is, this interest group is fraught with a **flood of challenges**, viz:
  - 8.1. triple challenges of inequality, poverty & unemployment;
  - 8.2. Skill deficit;
  - 8.3. Land question & incompatible human settlement;
  - 8.4. Health problems including diseases such as Ebola, HIV/AIDS etc;
  - 8.5. Teenage parents;
  - 8.6. Inadequate sports & recreational facilities;
  - 8.7. Inadequate access to basic services such as water & sanitation (i.e unsanitary conditions), roads & storm water drainage; and Global warming and the likes.

## B. WHY YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM

9. Our 2<sup>nd</sup> National Council declaration made the following worth-noting observation: **“in our country, millions of young people are unemployed, and suffer from class inequalities, exploitation and poverty. This reflects a toxic interaction between the endemic crises of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and the persisting legacy of colonial and apartheid capitalism despite progress achieved since the 1994 democratic breakthrough. Many young people have no access to skills development opportunities, such as apprenticeships, learnerships, internships and experiential training, because our economy is dominated by private enterprises which have a single motive, profit making”**.
10. It is trite statement of social position that our country, SA has the highest inequalities than any other country in the world. Demographic evidence points to the effect that youth as a social demographic category is poorer than other members of the society or interest groups. This claim has been validated by the results of the Statistics South Africa (Census 2011), referring to unemployment which is of course another indicator of poverty. On unemployment it was crudely found that of the **40% unemployment rate** in the country, youth carries the heaviest burden of the demon of unemployment, estimate constituting **70%** or so of the **“reserved army of labour”** (consult Statistics South Africa, Census 2011 for finer details and further exposition). The effect of this statistical evidence is that the youth constitute the majority of the unemployed. Same was also shared by the International Labour Organization in 2001 (2001:2-4), thereby accentuating the relationship between the triple challenges (inequality, poverty and unemployment) that have been established by a numerous recent contemporary literature. In the prior years, Government has conceded that **“... at least 70% of the unemployed are the youth below the ages of 35”**.
11. From the observational evidence, the majority of the unemployed youth are demoralized, directionless and idle with low self-esteem and low self-efficacy. Although very similar trends have been observed elsewhere in the world (meaning that young South Africans have a great deal in common with the youth in other parts of the world), **“South Africa has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment”** (Emmett, 2004:33). In other words, it is conceded that the young population is not experiencing the ambitions visualized in the National Development Plan the country has initiated in recent years (2011). There is recognition that if left unabated, the current social system of production, capitalism, is likely to exacerbate the growing problem of unemployment among the youth populace.
12. Hence YCLSA posture, has consistently as it should, departed from an analysis that these challenges are further as a result of capitalism which is a social, economic and political system. Therefore that it is why after 20 years into democracy while there is one man one vote, living side by side at least with no legislated restrictions, no formal discrimination etc but in this country inequality, unemployment and poverty persist with embedded racial dimensions.
13. It is further evident that in South Africa class has predominately race dimension, in that the working class, in the main, remains black and African and subjected to poverty and unemployed and ruling class which owns the means of production remains white, sticking wealthy and male, this owes its substance from the fact that while race oppression was

dominant but fundamental oppression was class and resolution of racial domination cannot succeed without confronting the sharpening class question.

14. We should then always be in a position to organise YCLSA in such a way that it mobilises youth to confront this system. The challenge, based on our slogan (*Socialism in our lifetime*) and on the principal strategic focus of the SACP, is to *Build Socialism Now!* This is within the context of deepening the second phase of the NDR (National Democratic Revolution) in radically transforming base structure which is economy and ultimately for SACP- YCLSA socializing the means of production into the hands of the working class and the poor.
15. As borrowed from SACP SARS document as adopted **“The current global capitalist accumulation path is destroying our environment, exhausting non renewables resources wiping out the livelihoods of the 3 billion remaining Third World peasant farmers, and restructuring the working class leaving billions more unemployed and under employed. Global capitalism is unable to correct the destructive path upon which it has launched the whole of humanity. A different, a socialist world, based on meeting social needs, not private profits, is imperative. Socialism is a requirement for the survival of human civilisation itself. However, the fact that global capitalism is enmeshed in crisis is no guarantee that a better world will emerge. That requires world – wide struggle, led by the working class, and drawing on the widest range of progressive forces”**.
16. In a remarkable effort, and of course, cementing on the foundation laid by Marx, Lenin spelled out and designed succinct road as an ameliorating / mitigating perspective of bourgeois society: **communism, where means of production become common property**. He tailored, adjusted, moderated and/or contextualized his conception of democracy towards the end of Chapter 5 State and Revolution. The relevant part reads: **“Democracy is of enormous importance to the working class in its struggle against capitalists [for its emancipation]. It must be overstepped, it is only one stage on the road from capitalism to communism”**. Added Lenin in rich detail: **“Democracy, is a form of State, it represents on one hand, the organized, systematic use of force against persons, but, on the other hand, it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens , the equal right of all to determine the structure of, and to administer, the State”** (Lenin, 1917: Chapter 5). This says volume about scientific connotations and leanings of Communism. For, Lenin was neither **selective** nor **one-sided** in a myriad of his classical research outputs.
17. Communism, per se, is analogous to equality. Only can humanity advance further from **‘formal’** to **‘actual’** equality under communism via socialism. As to by **“when”** or **“what stage”** or by what particular **“measure”** humanity will proceed to this supreme aim, Lenin says **“We do not and cannot know”** (State and Revolution, 1917: Chapter 5). This led to some of **our critics** within the bourgeois circles seeing socialism as something **lifeless, rigid, fixed** once and for all. There is ample body of historical and contemporary evidence rendering this claim gravely assailable and by extension unreliable. The Soviet experience where we have seen revolutionary dictatorship of proletariat proved invalidity & unreliability of this claim. Cuba, China, for example are modern day living proof of falsehood of this bourgeois claim.

## D. DEFINING AND LOCATING YOUTH

18. If we are to succeed in winning the hearts and minds of youth we must forever be interested and understand the dynamics and mobility of the very same youth we seek to mobilize. *Phuong and Nguyen* in *Youth and the State in Contemporary Socialist Vietnam* make interesting contribution on who is youth and how to locate and understand the whole notion of youth, to begin with 'youth' is frequently used and perceived as a categorisation of people based on their age, although there is no clear theoretical basis for such a categorisation and it is difficult to define it precisely. Age and the concept of youth, as a matter of fact, refer to different phenomena, with the former referring to a biological category and the latter – as a subject of social studies – referring to a social and cultural category or construct. Whilst biological processes seem to be acknowledged as similar everywhere, social and cultural experiences of youth vary greatly. As such, it is argued that the categorical approach is overly simplistic and of an “**ahistorical and static nature**”, assuming similarities among those within the age category whilst overlooking the differences and disregarding continuities linking past, present and future.
19. In social science analysis, it has thus been argued that the relation between age and the concept of youth should only be acknowledged to the extent that youth describes aspects of people's social position and cultural categorisation which are an effect of their biological age but not completely determined by it. Youth, therefore, needs to be considered in relation to specific social, cultural, political, and economic conditions. **An argument can be sustained that youth is a stage and a transition in the life course which is socially, culturally and institutionally constructed.** This life course approach provides a coherent way to document the intensity of social change through the study of the effects of certain societally shaped events (for example, first entry into the labour market, marriage, retirement) and/or major historical events (for example, war, the Holocaust, the Cultural Revolution) on individuals, generations and cohorts.
20. Institutions such as the state, the family, the educational system, and the labour market also play a central role in constructing and implementing the life course. The Communist Party, like any other party which takes itself serious, attempts to penetrate all corners of the society and to occupy a central position in the construction of the life course, particularly with reference the stage of youth. And this is what YCLSA must be and is pre occupied with. Whilst events and institutions exert a number of certain universal impacts on youth as a whole, it is important, however, to bear in mind that youth is not a homogeneous group. Indeed, the social features of a person such as gender, social class, ethnicity, citizenship, family and cultural backgrounds determine social differentiations and generate heterogeneous outlooks.
21. Additionally, in the contemporary globalising world where societies integrate to various degrees into the global system, foreign influences constitute another important factor impacting upon young people's lives. Therefore, it imperative that YCLSA appreciates that for it to be agile, flexible, campaigning at the forefront with youth struggling for socialism that conditions are vast different to those of its establishment in 1922 and that it is youth wing with its mother body is in alliance with historic alliance partner in power and therefore while it's not a governing Party, it is a Party of governance.
22. This proximity with power and consideration of youth dynamics as outlined above places a unique responsibility to YCLSA to not only represent but also to be seen to be representing the down trodden, vulnerable youth which is super exploited and/or either not at work or

school which is not imagining but live in poverty. This task can be realised if YCLSA as an organisation is united and strong enough to confront this task as failure to do poses a risk of alienating rather sizeable portion of South African youth population which out of its despondency may be lured by populist revolutionary sounding demagogues or right wing parties who may be rallied to defeat the same revolution but not for their interest but down right reactionary agenda.

## **E. THE YCLSA AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM (SARS)**

81. SARS as elaborative Party program which YCLSA is integral part of places certain tasks on YCLSA for full realisation of this program. It is important to reflect on these tasks as to enable Congress to take stock of the work done in implementation and where we are lacking to develop a program accordingly. SARS identifies that YCLSA must be strengthened to prioritise the organisation and communist education of all sections of youth with particular attention being paid to young workers, students, professionals, and marginalised and unemployed youth.
82. It identifies what should, in the main, constitute YCLSA base in that the core of the YCLSA organisation must be **young workers, students and unemployed youth**. And further outline tasks as elaborated above in that the YCLSA must be strengthened to undertake ideological work, with its members being encouraged to participate, as members in their own right, in all structures of the progressive youth alliance and seek to build a positive relationship with the ANCYL. All Young Communist Leaguers must be encouraged to join branches of ANCYL. As part of strengthening its ideological organisational work, YCLSA must be assisted to build its structures in all universities and colleges in our country. All YCLSA structures in education institutions must establish Marxist-Leninist Reading & study Circles and the SACP must mentor and groom young communist writers.
83. Also that YCLSA must be strengthened by SACP to be leading communist formation on matters relating to young people. An approach is affirmed that YCLSA must serve as preparatory school of the SACP. It further affirms the YCLSA program of making education, to make (formal) education fashionable.

## **F. BUILDING A CAMPAIGNING YCLSA**

84. Whether how much our ideas are brilliant if they are not backed and translated into action by functional organisation they will soon be a distance memory. Hence a capable organisation must identify with working class youth what are the campaigning areas and take those matters up not for them but with them. The forms of organising and campaign have to take into consideration the nature and character of youth as elaborated in the earlier chapters. There have been important campaigns which 2<sup>nd</sup> National Council had mandated the organisation to focus into which include but not limited to as it declared our fifteen-point minimum programme arising out of our deliberations, as thus we should build from these programs as outlined below: As part of the measures to confront youth unemployment and skills deficit, to campaign for adoption of compulsory skills development targets for apprenticeships, learner ships, internships and experiential training for the youth, binding on both the public and private sectors.

85. Having observed that the private sector has evaded responsibility in both the National Skills Accord and the Youth Employment Accord, therefore identified need to embark on mass mobilisation to confront the private sector to exert pressure for skills development targets of at least three apprenticeships for every artisan, three internships and experiential trainees for every technician and engineer and all other professions.
86. Mobilise for the implementation of the youth employment targets as enshrined in the Youth Employment Accord, and the expansion of these targets with special focus on the private sector which, again, has by and large averted responsibility on youth employment targets in the accord.
87. Campaign for centralisation of the NSFAS and for the fast tracking of the establishment of the Central Applications System for universities.
88. Campaign for establishment of provincial offices of the Higher Education and Training Department in order to improve effective interaction with stakeholders, in particular students and communities.
89. Identified challenges in the basic education sector including the finalisation and public release of the norms and standards for schools which we believe must reflect the best model that the national democratic revolution seeks to achieve.
90. Intensify our Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign which has become a standing campaign to expand access to education, transform curriculum and improve the quality and outcomes of learning and teaching.
91. Continuously engage in the discourse of policy development, among others on policies such as the National Development Plan (NDP), New Growth Path, Industrial Policy Action Plan and the Infrastructure Development Programme. We shall advance the last SACP Central Committee resolutions which we endorsed in relation to the NDP. Similarly, we shall advance and enhance the recommendations in our discussion document in relation to the NDP, including the need to industrialise our economy, to de-tenderise the state and the provision of social services, among others scholar transport.
92. Campaign for an overarching strategy and long term vision on youth development, as we believe this is one of the areas where the NDP lacking. The National Youth Development Agency must engage in fresh, and this time meaningful, consultation with young people aimed at developing an Integrated Youth Development Strategy and reviewing the National Youth Policy which term of office is coming to an end.
93. Intensify mass recruitment, organisational expansion through the launching of new branches coupled with a thoroughgoing political education and ideological training, paying a particular attention on colleges and universities which we regard as part of the key sites of struggle and the battle of ideas as it is with other centres of knowledge production.
94. It is part and parcel of our duty to build the PYA strong, and as thus contribute meaningfully towards the rebuilding of the ANCYL. The best suited of all contributions requires all Young Communists to join the ANCYL, and in their own right as its members to take active

involvement in defending the organisation and carrying forward its historic mission as entrusted by the ANC.

## G. MAKING EDUCATION FASHIONABLE

95. “... every young person who regards himself a Communist and clearly understands that, by joining the Young Communist League, he has pledged himself to help the Party build Communism and to help the whole younger generation create a Communist society. He must realize that he can create it [Communism] only on the basis of modern education, and if he does not acquire this education, Communism will remain merely a pious wish” (said Lenin, 1920:06). The importance of formal education and skilling of youth in South Africa if revolution is to succeed can never be overemphasised. But education can never be for sake of education but should be for sake of advancing particular interest in this regard, the national interest of constructing democratic, united, non-racial, non-sexiest, prosperous South Africa.
96. Therefore how do we influence class interest within these critical terrains of struggle? Critical and evolving debate has been social position of students, one school of thought has been that students who graduate will become part of the “**middle class**” — that is, that they will have higher incomes and better working conditions than non-graduate workers, a thoroughly un-Marxist view of a class.
97. While university education used to be reserved for the rich, since 1994 through the ANC led Alliance programs, we have seen dramatically expanding role of universities in allowing a large influx of students from working-class to enter. As well as the fact that, since that period, a majority of students came and still are from the working-class backgrounds, the vast majority are also destined to be wage workers when they graduate. This process of the proletarianisation of university graduates, professionals and white-collar workers — as intellectual labour is introduced into the productive process on a larger scale — increases the links that the student body has with the broader working class, and the impact of neoliberalism in forcing many students to work their way through university intensifies this.
98. The contradiction exists between the aspirations of students and the reality of education being a thoroughly alienating process has also steadily intensified. Instead of being about learning, working with others and contributing to society, education than producing conscious revolutionaries to end domination of man by another have universities have intended to remain the key indispensable means of capital to reproduce and propagate bourgeois ideology. Students and staff are denied a meaningful level of control or participation in decision-making over the functioning of the institutions, and the loyalty of the vice chancellor is bought by the ruling class with enormous salaries. The above is compounded by the so-called “**institutional autonomy**”.

## “PEOPLES EDUCATION FOR PEOPLES POWER”

99. Within the context of locating role of youth and students, its program must be to “put forward a program that transcends the campus in its goal but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale; that shows students how their own demands relate to these bigger



struggles, are an integral part of them and can help advance them.” It aims to help university students understand the role of the university under capitalism.

100. It must set out demands for the transformation of university from ivory towers institution into one serving people. Key demands that can be raised consistently are for free education, access for anyone who wants to study, for student-staff greater participation in decision making. All of these raise questions about the role of the university, and are demands that require fundamental change in broader society in order to be met, helping to develop the revolutionary consciousness of students.

101. It is worth considering some of the key goals in the creation of the new Bolivarian education system that Eloy Ruiz outlines are:

- -The “municipalisation of education”. This aims to physically take universities and schools to the people by constructing them in all the municipalities where they don’t currently exist.
- -Building the system around urgent social needs, for instance, placing a big emphasis on training new doctors and teachers.
- -Integrating the university with other new institutions of the revolution — for example, everyone who is doing environmental science should be in one of the community missions to improve the environment. All students and courses should be connected with a community. “You are not studying for yourself but in a social context and reality.”
- -For interdisciplinary studies — everything is connected, and the rector argues that this will help to overcome the very atomised mind-set that has developed under capitalist education
- -To reverse the power relationship between students and staff and to democratise the universities, by shared student-staff administration, and for the integration of physical and intellectual work.
- -Education should be about the development of the consciousness of a person. Achieving the goal — to develop critical consciousness — will allow the individual to participate in the community productively.

## **H. YCL ON BATTLE OF IDEAS.**

102. It is common cause that since re-establishment of YCLSA in 2003 the organisation have grown lips and bounds being present in every district and province in this country, it has cemented its presence in hearts and minds of young people in this country through its programs. While that may but owing to structure of our economy, dominant values in society are not per se shared views and aspirations of social order.

103. For YCLSA to contest ideas in society, presuppose that it has placed particular importance to ideological training and transformed its presence and numbers into highly advanced detachment of young revolutionaries. Therefore political and ideological training can no longer be matter of nice declaration but must be pre occupation of every structure of YCLSA.

104. Our association with ruling party and PYA must not mean we are the same in our outlook and focus, yes we share membership but we are not the same. As we should not be blind that sharing of membership and being in alliance we will influence each other both positively and negatively, but as YCLSA we must insist through our focused program not just

having members but having cadres and ultimately young communists. Culture of reading, self and collective development and writing cannot be a matter of choice but must worse in higher structures of YCLSA.

105. If we to mobilise majority of youth to be in our side as we should as an organisation we must agile and flexible as to use the available instruments and platforms to propagate our views and be able to utilise the language that is understandable to people we want to speak with while essence is not lost, we cannot be organisation of our own but organisation of youth is desired alternative society.

## **J. ORGANISED AND UNORGANISED YOUNG WORKERS — YOUTH OPPRESSION**

106. Organised and ideological trained youth workers remain the most trusted and advanced section of working class and it should follow that they form the core of YCLSA among others. In that regard therefore young workers worse organised one's should be playing a strategic role in the life of the organisation.
107. There is no doubt that youth is most venerable at workplaces and in more often than not paid peanuts. Plight of youth in farms, service sector, retail sector leaves much to be desired while in overall it can be argued that all youth, regardless of whether they're studying or not, are subject to the same specific oppression, especially in the workplace as they hold precarious and menial jobs, semi-stable jobs, skilled and specialising jobs and managerial jobs in line with both inhibitions and opportunities of our time.
108. Lack of work experience and the need for training is often given as justification for pushing different set of labour laws, pay rates. Young people are forced to do the same work for less pay than older employees —it is not strange to learn that in service sector some youth workers get their income from tips and same sector some do not even have contracts worse those who are employed in what is regarded as informal sector.
109. These young workers are subjected to poor wages and working conditions, often falling prey to bullying, sexual harassment and physical and verbal abuse, and are more likely to put up with it than other workers because of their weaker position in the workplace.
110. The task at hand is to understand the space of organised workers and that of the unorganised workers, as an arena that serves to catalyse radical social change as a practical consequence of struggles at the shop floor, the working class's location in social and class relations and as a consequence of the historical cleavages that persist in the work place and the wider space of labour relations.
111. The initial presumption is that the class position of those that do not control the means of production should necessarily cause them to be unionised and organised in a particular historically determined direction than the opposite but history has taught us that even that space the hegemonic contest blocks automated answers demanding from the liberation movement a deliberate effort at a brand of working class consciousness.
112. From that deliberate effort emerges a unique worker chiselled in definite political circumstance; the prototype of that shop steward is that whose awareness has grindingly constructed the South African Trade union movement as we know it. Therefore to develop a worker and a worker leader who has holistic understanding his position as a worker in relation to that which he occupies in relation to society at large ought to be central to wider effort at building a new cadre.
113. In the context of this historical reflection South African working class has not been static in its composition and the posture taken by its advanced sections and its organisations.

The common thread however is its mutation. It has been subject to the mirage of historic changes as such its current outlook entails changes of the pre and post 1994 eras. The emergence of the managerial strata is one of the unintended consequences of the apartheid power structure.

114. The profound expansion of that stratum in the post 1994 presents a new challenge to all organised forces as it does to the emerging class itself: the challenge to carve a niche area in a transforming environment. As history would have it a formidable portion this group are young people. These young people, as per the dictates of the capitalist environment, Young people do not constitute a class by themselves; they are subject to the prevailing class formations of society. The intellectual and all political discourse born of the material need to respond to these contemporary questions necessarily must demand us as the organisation to look at how the organisational and operational structure becomes relevant to this class or strata.
115. It naturally follows that structures of the mass democratic movement that organise in different places and should not only participate but should have working partnership with. In this way the organisation's intentions of organisational growth are possible. Many COSATU unions have formed Youth Sections and these form a critical space to enhance the viability of the platform. YCLSA must insist on its structures launching industrial youth units and or closer relationship youth desks which have been established by various union within COSATU

## **K. ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN**

116. 2<sup>nd</sup> National Council as mandated by the National Congress deliberated in great deal on Organisational design and adopted many constitutional amendments which go a long way in redesigning organisation. Therefore it is suggested that National Congress allows these amendments to be tested in the next term of office for Fourth National Committee and only review them in the Fifth Congress as many of them have not been thoroughly applied and a period far less than term of office make it difficult to make proper assessment.
117. However the National Council mandated structures of YCLSA to further deliberate and conclude in Congress as to whether branches of YCLSA must ward of Voting District based. Persuasion of aligning YCLSA branches with those of the party and thus being closer to the electorate while having agile and flexible structures was referred to Congress for final decision.
118. Further a term of office is ending ever since, we applied a constitutional amendment of affording National Committee a prerogative to decide as to whether which National Committee member must be full time. We have to assess the impact of this resolution as against organisational growth and coordination and directing its work.
119. However it can be argued that profile, campaigns and presence of YCLSA have grown immensely during this term of National Committee of the Third National Congress and organisation is by far sufficiently united and coherent.
120. Refined areas as now contained in the constitution of YCLSA as contained
- Character of YCLSA with specific reference to application of democratic centralism
  - Basic administrative procedure of membership
  - Responsibility of members towards effective organisation
  - Amended National Working Committee to be Political Commission with defined functions
  - All leading structures of YCLSA for alignment are now referred as Committees i.e National Committees, Provincial Committees etc
  - Duties and functions of leading structures were refined

- Constitutional establishment of Sub Districts and their functions of coordination
  - Basic vacancies principles of governing vacancies
  - Refined Code of Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures
121. For completeness below are some of material resolutions and constitutional amendments which were resolved in 2nd National Council:

## **L. MEMBERSHIP**

122. All YCLSA Provinces must:
- i. at least double their membership by the 4th National Congress;
  - ii. expand through new branches in areas where the YCLSA does not have branches;
  - iii. and work towards achieving membership targets of at least 50 000 in between National Congresses.
  - iv. All YCLSA provinces must establish branches in all public colleges and universities by the end of the first quarter 2014 and thenceforth there must be no public college or university without an active YCLSA branch.
  - v. There must be constant membership audit every quarter and the process of membership cards must be finalised once for all.
  - vi. Membership forms and fees must be submitted to branches or districts in the case of totally new branches and in order to avoid the negative impact of bank charges the fees must be combined when deposited into a recognised YCLSA bank account.
  - vii. All branches must submit membership forms and proof of payment to districts and keep their own copies; if necessary, all the fees from branches must be handed over to their respective districts which shall in order to avoid the negative impact of bank charges make combined deposits into a recognised YCLSA bank account;
  - viii. the districts shall keep their copies of membership forms and proof of payment and hand over originals to the provinces;
  - ix. provinces must do likewise and hand over the originals to the head office.
  - x. The National Secretariat and the Political Commission must strengthen their hands and ensure improved coordination of the YCLSA programme and activities.

## **M. GUIDELINES ON NEW BRANCHES**

123. There is a need to set guidelines on the launch of new branches and the recruitment of new members, in particular the combating of wrong tendencies such as entryism and congress branches and congress members instead of genuine YCLSA branches and members.
124. No YCLSA branch must be launched without first:

- i. members receiving induction;
- ii. at least one branch political school;

iii. Records of both of the above being kept for reference, including if necessary consideration during audit processes.

That there is a need to set guidelines on relations with international organisations.

## **N. POLITICAL EDUCATION**

125. The National Committee commission responsible for political education and ideological training must develop and constantly update YCLSA induction and leadership development manuals for presentation by way of a workshop or political school to the National Committee for consideration and adoption for use by lower structures.

126. The National Committee commission responsible for political education and ideological training must streamline curriculum for YCLSA political schools for approval by the National Committee updated on an annual basis and ensure that YCLSA political schools are properly coordinated and synchronised.

## **O. GENDER REPRESENTATION**

127. The Constitutional amendment adopted in the 2nd National Council, raised the minimum quota of female representation in the leading committees and decision making structures of the YCLSA from 30% to 40% it must further be motivated that this minimum representation to apply to delegation in any gathering of YCLSA including in any ad hoc or subcommittee of YCLSA.

## **P. ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION, VOTING RIGHTS, AND FOR SERVING IN A LEADING COMMITTEE OF THE YCLSA**

128. (a) Only members of the YCLSA in good standing and who comply with the YCLSA Constitution and Code of Conduct shall be eligible for nomination, election, election by co-option, and voting rights at YCLSA congresses, councils and meetings.

(a) For a member of the YCLSA to be eligible to vote at a branch congress or branch general meeting such a member must have been in good standing for at least six months, except for a totally new branch in its first branch congress and all the general meetings before it is six months old in existence in terms of which all members in good standing shall have voting rights.

(b) Only YCLSA branches that have existed for at least six months in good standing prior to the cut-off date for auditing may have voting rights at the congresses and councils of the YCLSA taking place at district, provincial and national levels.

(c) Should a congress of the YCLSA be convened after the lapse of the term of office of a leading committee, unless approved otherwise by the National Committee, only branches that have existed for at least six months prior to the lapse of the term of office may have voting rights at such a congress where a new leading committee shall be elected.

(d) Only members of the YCLSA with three unbroken years of service in good standing shall be eligible to be nominated or elected into the National Committee, and the Provincial Committee.

- (e) Only members of the YCLSA with two unbroken years of service in good standing shall be eligible to be nominated or elected into a District Committee, and into the positions of Sub-District Convener and Sub-District Coordinator at a Sub-District level.
- (f) Only members of the YCLSA with six months unbroken service as members of the YCLSA in good standing shall be eligible to be nominated and elected into a Branch Committee with the exception of a totally new branch in terms of which any member of the branch in good standing shall be eligible to be nominated and elected into a Branch Committee.
- (g) Only members of the YCLSA with twelve unbroken months of service in good standing shall be eligible to vote at a district, provincial and national congress and council.
- (h) A member who is serving in a higher leading committee is not eligible for nomination and election in a lower leading committee.
- (i) Should a member who is serving in a leading committee of the YCLSA become older than the age of 35 (thirty-five) s/he shall continue to serve in that capacity until the logical conclusion of the respective term of office.

## Q. RESEARCH AND POLICY

129. The move to establish a policy and research unit must be expedited. The policy and research unit must carry out the research commissioned by the National Committee or the Political Commission or National Congress/Council or as requested by lower structures. The unit must be able to conduct policy review, monitoring and evaluation and advised the National Committee or Political Commission through research reports.

## R. CONCLUSION

130. Communist youth are encouraged to learn the Communist science.
131. Make “education” to use and even endorse the word of the SACP’s General Secretary Cde. Blade Nzimande “**Fashionable**”. Several studies including the Human Sciences Research Council (2003:100) found that increases in education improve prospects of employment. There is recognition that education contributes to crime reduction – poor education or lack thereof, is one of the factors that push or pull young people into offending. The above may include lobbying for review of remuneration packages of **educated-like minded individuals, professors** etc. This could in turn, ameliorate the challenge in our country of those youth who do not like **education** – majority of whom like or want **quick wins** and see/look forward to **politics as a career**. The resultant effects of these are factionalism, opportunism, careerism and the like. Even the so-called ‘*a new tendency*’ recently disentangled, has origin from this or their main proponents. International research illustrates that most countries including China, India, Cuba and others solved most of their problems through education. Advocate for curriculum change to including the teaching of laws that govern the development of human society, dialectical and historical materialism.
132. Encourage and ensure that those who are in positions of trust show (communist) fiduciary responsibility. Fiduciary responsibility means acting with fidelity (faithfulness/loyalty), honesty, integrity & in the best interests of the ailing population.
133. Actively participate in the sites of power envisioned in the Medium Term Vision of the SACP.

134. They should not conceive themselves as the stepchildren of the current unfolding transition (second phase of the political transformation). They are *a bona fide* player in the body politic.