



International Perspective

1. Introduction

The relationship between any nation State and the global environment has been intensified by the widely debated phenomenon of “globalisation”. Such a relationship signifies very lucidly the conceptual attributes of dialectical analysis, revealing both the mutually reinforcing and at the same time antagonistic relations between a nation and the rest of the world – that being the struggle and unity of opposites. Indeed globalisation is qualitatively introducing a new world, one hailed by some as milestone in development while scorned by others for the huge inherent inequalities.

Our “self-interest” as a State on the Nation State – Global village relationship is underpinned by our values both as a movement and as a country. First and foremost, our role as a liberation movement within the country and our solidarity with international role players explains our attitude and policy positions on international matters. Over the years, the ANC benefited from international solidarity in its struggle against apartheid. The historic solidarity actions informing this solidarity were themselves informed by the ideological dispositions of those organisations and ruling parties that stood by the ANC, and this same ideological character still informs the continued solidarity with most of these historic alliances.

Some individuals may win Nobel Peace prizes for their individual effort or contributions in the struggle against various forms of injustices and promoting development within the context of a more humane world. However, experience on the nature of the global challenges facing the world, particularly the weaker countries of the South, requires the solidarity of the likeminded people fighting against the same oppressors for the same values of justice, democracy, peace and the well being of all the people’s of the world. Unlike some Nobel Peace prize winners, ours is not just to leave a legacy or indelible mark on the trends to be followed, but to actually ensure that we bring about qualitative and quantitative change in a sustainable manner beyond the lifespan of individuals.

Therefore, much of what characterise our perspective and the tactics that must be employed to confront those challenges in the global or

international domain, require solidarity as both basic principle and springboard of all our actions – premised on the old adage: divided we fall and united we stand!

1.1. Global characterisation of Ideological dispositions

In the last ANCYL National Congress, we acknowledged the world power disposition as that of a uni-polar world dominated by the US, following the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the end of the bi-polar world of the Cold War era, but with ingredients of new disposition towards a multi-polar world characterised by the rise of China and the continued regional integration of Europe.

The 52nd Conference of the ANC affirmed the analysis of the “Strategy and Tactics” of a world bending on the wagons of uni-polarism. This is premised on the understanding that the conceptual framework of a uni-polar world based on military power only, is contradicted by some developments that are emerging, especially in Latin America, China, India and some parts of Europe.

The emergence of Social democratic forces as an alternative to the neo-liberal tendencies espoused or led by the US, is loosing ground slowly. This beckons the question: whether the alternative powers, indeed are a force for the betterment of the world. A deeper analysis of the emergence of social democrats in the world needs to be under taken.

The Cold War era did not provide justice in world affairs, but characteristically provided a twin power balance between two competing powers, the US led western block and the USSR led eastern block, each characterised as “capitalist” and “communist” respectively. Basically the Cold War was a competition over spheres of influence by these two super powers, each attempting to make globally hegemonic its ideological disposition, assisted in the main by the might of their military establishments.

The Cold War era became catalyst of much of the anti-colonial wars in Africa, that saw the liberation of Africa after much protracted struggles over a number of decades, with South Africa, save for

Western Sahara, being the last country to be liberated from colonial oppression. Therefore, the Cold War era helped spur African liberation movements, many which had links with the USSR, because much of Africa's colonial oppression was effected by European capitalist powers aligned to the US. Where the west was enemies, the east became allies and this was essentially the battlefield of the Cold War itself.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980's put pressure on the apartheid government, for so long hiding under the bushels of being buffer zone against the perceived communist linked ANC that was leading in the struggle against apartheid. For instance, in the 1980's, the US President Ronald Reagan, assisted by Margaret Thatcher of Britain, provided a rightwing coverage for apartheid to thrive as they were vehemently opposed to South Africa's liberation movements on account that these were "communists" and therefore a threat to their war against the expansion of communism globally. Therefore the collapse of the Soviet Union removed this threat façade and unmasked apartheid for what it truly were: an evil oppressive system that disregarded and denied all forms of human rights against the majority people in South Africa.

The uni-polar dispensation ushered in the global hegemony of neo-liberalism wherein capital reigned supreme. Structural Adjustment Programmes became enforced even more amongst the weaker economies, while the so-called developed economies continued to enact various forms of protectionism contrary to the gospel they preached on open markets that are without regulations.

1.2. Globalisation

The post-Cold War era of the 1990's saw an acceleration of the expansion of capitalism, which became interwoven with the technological advances that promoted globalisation. Globalisation, for those who hail it, was seen as the success-result of capitalism, while those who loathe it saw it as the resultant failure of capitalism. The Internet, higher access to telecommunications through the use of cellular phones, increase in airways transport and a general increase in trade within the context of an increased numbers of countries joining in the market economy paradigm, resulted in the phenomenon that we now call globalisation. These mainly technological and related advances cut the real distance in terms of time in communication, transport and trade in goods and services. Globalisation effectively made distant countries as good as neighbours hence the term "global village".

However, due to the unequal distribution of wealth

and ability to trade in the global community, injustices and inequalities persisted. Now the ideological conflicts ceased to be the bi-polar axis of capitalism versus communism, to a mainly North - South dichotomy characterised by high levels of inequalities.

The rapid economic developments in the globalised world resulted amongst others in environmental pollution, which has not only posed health hazard to human and other life species, but has also contributed to the hugely debated phenomenon of globalisation.

Liberation movements and likeminded ideologically driven organisations throughout the world had to adapt to the new struggle terrain as informed by a world rapidly undergoing globalisation within the context of a uni-polar world.

This uni-polar world is essentially driven by the capitalist/neo-liberal agenda, which in essence puts forth the liberties of individuals and corporations ahead of those of the collective. As it is, neo-liberalism disdains the solidarity of collectives because it thrives on exploiting those that are divided and therefore powerless. As it is, the neo-liberal agenda which seeks to open up all markets around the world is done in a manner that favours the already advanced economies. The hypocrisy of this neo-liberal agenda is manifested in the inconsistencies in the opening up of these markets, hence the economies of the South have always decried the fact that for instance their agricultural products face unfair trade competition with say the EU's heavily subsidised agricultural products. The same could be said in manufactures, as well as across the spectrum of the advanced economies such as the US and Japan. For this and many other reasons, neo-liberalism remains an agenda to subjugate the economies of the South by the advanced economies.

1.3. New progressive forces

The consequences of globalisation have impacted negatively on various aspects of human life, including the environment. As a result, various groups concerned by such consequences have risen to lobby against the injustices perpetuated by globalisation. At some differing levels, they are united by the common principles of democracy, freedom, peace, justice, equality, care of the environment and sustainable development.

Many of these social movements have appreciated international solidarity as vehicle to champion their differentiated and common interests. Many of them convene under the banner of the World Social Forum, and the Youth League President, on his

capacity as IUSY President has had the privilege to address them.

There have been therefore various ideological permutations across the world, responding to the common and differentiated impacts of globalisation. Africa heralded the African Renaissance and hence the declaration of the 21st Century as the "African Century", while other progressive paradigms and movements influenced events and processes in places such as Latin America where there has been a rise of leftist movements ascending to power.

But why the African Renaissance? This is partly a borrowed concept, from the European Renaissance of Medieval Europe, when the rise in the use of the press, declaration of rights and freedoms, changes in the modes of production and the political organisation of society, influenced by unparalleled philosophical and literature role in society. It was an age of enlightenment.

On the African front, the Renaissance meant the consolidation of post-colonial Africa's development through the politicisation of its masses to understand the basis of its historical and contemporary exploitation as a race and as a continent, in order to better position it to face these as surmountable challenges through solidarity and belief in oneself as an African to effect change for the better.

From Nkrumah's clarion call for the independence of the entire continent in the late 1950's after Ghana's independence up to the formation of the African Union as successor to the Organisation of African Unity in 2002, the African Renaissance gained ground as a concept over time.

Amongst the more tangible strides has been the adoption of the NEPAD programme as well as the institutionalisation of the AU. However, challenges persist, and many have questioned Africa's readiness to emulate the European Union by forming its own continental "union". Some leaders have called for increased efforts as governance integration, calling for the United States of Africa with one army, one bank, one currency, one parliament and perhaps all the attributes of a unified State such as the US of America. But again there has been much resistance on these suggestions with the simple reasons that they are not tenable in the African scenario, at least at the moment.

One of the challenges in Africa is the definition of what is progressive, with European powers and some international organisations seeking to define

what is acceptable and what is not acceptable as democratic and progressive. The common danger to this is the fact that Africa is in development and trade "wars" with the rest of the world, and surely the rest of the world cannot determine the content, shape and form of Africa's response to such a "war".

However, the simple fact is that an Africa that is not united and weak would remain at the mercy of the outside world that seek to divide it in order to rule and influence it for its own selfish benefits, otherwise modestly known as "national interests".

But Africans have to ponder the question on the character of the new parties ascending to power, some replacing old liberation movements such as in Zambia where UNIP has lost the elections. Equally, it must be asked if former liberation movements such as those of Zimbabwe still qualify to be called "progressive". This therefore must explain the composition of the forces that we suppose would provide leadership in the African Renaissance and in fact is at all this concept would remain a mirage.

In Latin America, in the countries of Chile, Bolivia and Venezuela, the victories of leftist organisations has opened a new chapter in global ideological dispositions. In particular, Venezuela's Hugo Chavez has been a leading proponent against US imperialism and advocating for solidarity amongst countries of the South and in some instances putting his money where his mouth is by using his oil revenue to boost such solidarity in real terms.

On a more global scale, there has been the rise of social movements, some founded on single campaign issues such as environment or health etc but all united in their struggle against what they perceive as injustices. Therefore, the World Social Forum has become a mass people's movement to be reckoned with, with movements that participate in various campaigns including the UN Conference against Racism and Related Intolerances and the Earth Summit which both South Africa hosted.

All in all, much of what is considered progressive by the majority of the world people does not hold sway, as real power resides in institutions that allow the unilateral actions of the powerful, such as the UN Security Council, the G8, the WTO, the latter despite its supposed democratic principles. On the military plane, NATO rules the world, while the US that is member to it dictates most of the recent international military aggressions such as those against Afghanistan and Iraq, with war trumpets being blown against Iran. The consensus of these powerless masses of the people around the world that consider themselves progress is that they are

united in their call for multilateralism to hold sway on issues of international and global nature.

The emergence of China as a possible future super power provides Africa in particular and the South in general on how to navigate the challenges of the global world. Much could be learnt on how a country at whose helm is a communist party but has become a subject of envy even by the most advanced economies. Not only that, China has indeed posed threats to the uni-polar configuration of our world and by extension threatens the unilateral role of the US. The rise of China economically and militarily will continue to define global relations into the future, including what other powers would do in response. But Africa may do good to learn some of the secrets on how to ensure self development and massively shift from being a peripheral region.

1.4. Relevance of multilateral institutions in a changing world

Increasingly, it became clear that the struggle was now around the democratisation of postcolonial Africa as well as democratising the international institutions such as the UN system, particularly the UN Security Council with its attendant veto powers, as well as other institutions such as the WTO, IMF, World Bank. In Africa, we had to grapple with the relevance of institutions created during the struggle against colonialism such as the Southern African Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Subsequently, the SADC whose main aim was to minimise southern African countries' dependence on apartheid South Africa in order to effect sanctions, became the Southern African Development Council, upon post-apartheid South Africa attaining membership. On the other hand, the OAU became the African Union, in line with other processes for change such as the adoption of the NEPAD programme.

While intra-continental challenges of democratisation continued amidst very bloody conflicts fuelled by lack of good organisational leadership, the Berlin colonial boundaries and the neo-colonial complicity in tribal relations in order to divide and rule as in the DRC where Patrice Lumumba was assassinated, challenges of international relations beyond the continent continued.

The challenges of economic / trade inequalities, terrorism, civil conflicts across the world, climate change etc; saw unilateralist threatening the hegemony of multilateral approaches in the resolution of these same challenges. Military and

economic power has been used mainly by the US to determine the global agenda. This remains a major battle in international relations and multilateralism has been one of the most important aspects fought for by both IUSY and WFDY.

2. Solidarity

Through out its existence the ANC and its leagues have understood the power of Solidarity as a weapon to achieve a better world order, whether be it in the context of liberating the oppressed or fighting for the protection and adherence to human rights and dignity for all.

It is in this regard the ANCYL should continue to forge relations regionally and globally with ideologically like-minded organisations in pursuance of this just world order. Accordingly the ANC YL has taken resolutions over a number of congresses to pledge solidarity with those of the world who are oppressed, dehumanised and not afforded the dignity to be treated as human beings.

Therefore the pursuance of our Solidarity initiatives in the following areas remains key:

2.1 Western Sahara

The ANC YL should continue to lobby for a free and self determined Western Sahara as per the Resolutions of the UN, of 1960. This should be achieved through engagements both with the governments and youth of Morocco and the Saharawi people to determine the best cause of action in achieving this objective. The YL should continue to agitate for the recognition of this in all international platforms.

2.2 Palestine

The struggle to free the people of Palestine from the occupation of Israel in their territory is paramount and needs to be waged at all times and all levels. The ANC YL must continue to agitate for the recognition of separate and independent states in this area. However it is important to ensure that dialogue amongst the people of Palestine and Israel continue, and for both sides to denounce the use of religion as a tool to further armed and violent conflicts in the region.

2.3 Cuba

The freedom of the people of Cuba to choose their leaders and ideological disposition is a fundamental right that has to be afforded them as much as it is afforded to the rest of the citizens of the world. In this regard the call to end the economical blockade spearheaded by the US is fundamental. The call for the release of the 5 Cuban prisoners in the US

and to protect the right to choose their leaders is an ensuing struggle.

2.4. Swaziland

We continue to lobby for the unbanning of all political parties in Swaziland and call for the hosting of free and fair general elections based on legitimate constitutional order agreed to by all the people as represented by all the main political role players in the political affairs of that country, through which the people of Swaziland would determine their leaders.

2.5. Burma

The YL must reiterate its call on the UN to enforce its resolutions on the independence of the Burmese people.

2.6. Zimbabwe

In pursuance of a stable and democratic region, we must re-affirm the call of the ANC to denounce the violation of human rights in pursuit of a solution on the crisis in Zimbabwe. Over and above, we firmly believe in the ability of the people of Zimbabwe to resolve their own problems and encourage the world to refrain from dictating the best solution for the people of Zimbabwe.

2.7. General Conflicts in Africa

Much of post-colonial Africa's challenges had to do with embracing democracy, precisely the failure to do so. The political challenges facing countries such as Kenya, Ivory Coast, Sudan, the DRC, Burundi etc, have demonstrated that Africans are capable of providing leadership towards negotiated settlements. However, we must find ways of inculcating the culture of democracy so that we do not come to the brink of war before we resolve our political differences.

2.8 Environment, Gender struggle and Racism

Globalisation has externalised the degradation of the environment, and trans-national corporations have benefited immensely in profit making without due consideration of their negative impact on the environment. Climate changes and therefore global warming are the results of the destruction of the ozone layer mainly by human industrial activities, yet there is insufficient commitment by the big industrial powers to reduce their contribution to negative climate change through pollution. Some countries such as the US still refuse to sign the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change. Regions such as South America and Central Africa must be compensated for keeping their natural vegetation and forests that acts as the earth's lung for oxygen. As a country we have been at the centre of these debates as we have hosted the 2002 World Summit of Sustainable Development.

The struggle for gender equality also requires international solidarity, particularly in the context of women trafficking, where even young girls are sold into sex trade brothels beyond their countries of birth. As a country we are a trend setter in women empowerment, including membership to parliament, cabinet, business forums etc. We must not rest on our laurels because the reality is that the struggle is far from over.

Racism, xenophobia and related intolerances remain a problem worldwide. In 2001 we hosted the World Conference Against Racism and Related Intolerances. The US and other countries sent downgraded delegations demonstrating their non-committal to the resolution of this issue. As processes to review the last conference resolutions and strides taken in this regard, countries such as the US and Canada have already distanced themselves from participation, mainly decrying that the processes unfairly castigates Israel. No doubt, Israel deserves to be blamed for the continued atrocities they have committed against the Palestinian population. In sports, migration policies and various spheres of life, racism is still a serious problem. Related to this is the need to roll back xenophobia and any other form of intolerance against any people everywhere in the world, and this calls for solidarity.

3. International youth organisations

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), remains the two largest international youth organisations. The YL has continued to engage WFDY and IUSY to find common ground as part of pursuing a global cause for Youth Development. Attempts to have WFDY working closely with IUSY were not embraced, and these continue to champion youth led struggles internationally informed by their respective ideological paradigms.

3.1. WFDY

WFDY was formed on November 10, 1945 in London. This was during the World Youth Conference convened "at the initiative of the World Youth Council which was formed during the II world war to fight against fascism by the youth of the allied countries brought together for the first time in the history of the international youth movement representatives of more than 30 million young people of different political ideologies and religious beliefs from 63 nations. It adopted a pledge for peace." (WFDY website)

In that conference, they adopted the following as their pledge: We pledge that we shall remember this unity, forged in this month, November 1945.

Not only today, not only this week, this year, but always. Until we have built the world we have dreamed of and fought for. We pledge ourselves to build the unity of youth of the world All races, all colours, all nationalities, all beliefs. To eliminate all traces of fascism from the earth. To build a deep and sincere international friendship among the peoples of the world. To keep a just lasting peace. To eliminate want, frustration and enforced idleness. We have come to confirm the unity of all youth salute our comrades who have died-and pledge our word that skilful hands, keen brains and young enthusiasm shall never more be wasted in war.

WFDY is dominated by organisations that are either independent youth communist structures or youth wings of communist organisations. Due to the fact that many former communist or countries known as communist collapsed with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the relevance of these communist youth organisation and WFDY at large has come under much scrutiny. WFDY remains a very radical organisation, but nonetheless one whose voice does not find space within governments as they are now considered defeated ideologues.

WFDY is at the helm of the World Festival of Youth and Students (WFYS) which sees thousands of youth across the world participating in the festival of ideas around national, regional, continental and global political, economic, social and environmental challenges. One of the challenges facing WFDY is its definition of youth with concerns that there must be a limit as some members reasonably should not qualify as youth. Also, because "communism" is not longer hegemonic in the eastern block of countries as in the Cold War, many communist organisations that are WFDY members are marginalised by the funding communities. This impacts negatively the ability of WFDY to convene statutory meetings or to spearhead campaigns.

The ANCYL participates in WFDY activities although it does not hold any office in its current leadership, this is due to the fact the YL participated both in WFDY and IUSY. These scenarios presented itself as a challenge to the member Organisations of WFDY and the YL will need to investigate the best methods of engagements for the future.

3. 2. IUSY

IUSY was formed on 24 August 1907 and celebrated its centenary in 2007. To date it has over 143 Socialist, social democratic and labour youth organisations from over 100 countries around the world. Its stated mission is to put in practice and defend the ideals of democratic socialism guided by the principles of freedom,

human rights, equality, democracy, universal solidarity and political solutions to problems.

Over the years we participated in the international festival of ideas in the IUSY World Festivals as we as the World Festival of Youth and Students. Essentially IUSY consist of social democratic organisations throughout the world and remains the largest youth formation in the world today. IUSY is a youth wing of the Socialist International, though it is autonomous in its characterisation and pursuit of solutions on global challenges. Many Socialist International member organisations are ruling parties in Europe, while in Africa we have seen the gradual ascendancy of some formerly in the opposition now becoming ruling parties. Of course the number of socialist parties in power is not static, as some win political power; some loose it, while some regain it. The ANC is member of the Socialist International.

Our election into the Presidency of IUSY for two consecutive terms, wherein the ANCYL President Fikile Mbalula became the actual serving President was a tribute to the positive role the ANCYL has played over the years but most particularly since we re-launched the YL in 1991. The YL hold the office of Vice President in the current presidium of IUSY.

As members of the progressive international community of youth organisations, we fought for the principles of peace, stability, democracy, equality, non-racism, non-sexism, multilateralism and the prosperity of all the people of the world. We fought for democracy and opposed unilateral actions in the domestic affairs of each of the nations of the world, as well as within the institutions of global governance such as the UN system, the WTO, the IMF as well as regional bodies such as the AU and the EU, but to name a few.

The fact that most Socialist International and IUSY members in Africa are in the political opposition has also meant that translating IUSY of Socialist International resolutions is a huge challenge. There must be ways found to deal with this challenge, otherwise IUSY in Africa risks being the home of opposition parties and thus failing to bring concrete action to the resolutions and Campaigns of its Africa Committee.

3.3. Pan African Youth Union

Continently, we participated in the re-organisation of the Pan African Youth Movement into the Pan African Youth Union; the latter's intention being to participate within the institutions and programmes of the AU representing the youth of Africa.

The ANC YL needs to spearhead the issue of the constitutional reform of the PAYU, looking at the issues of age definition, membership, structure and resource mobilisation, moving towards the establishment of an African Youth Council that would be integral to the workings of the AU and the five regional blocks in the continent.

4. International Economic Development

One of the very critical issue pertaining international relations is the issue of trade, as well as access to latest knowledge in combating diseases and spearheading development. In this context, the issue of patents rights remain an issue, especially in the field of medicine such as those relating to treat AIDS patients. The battles with pharmaceutical companies are ongoing, with the aim to avail cheap and affordable drugs for the treatment of poor ill people. This issue of denial of access to knowledge can be extended to all forms of knowledge such as industrial development.

The ongoing Doha Rounds of negotiations within the WTO, and negotiations with the G8 and the EU around trade, particularly of basic commodities such as agricultural products, remain a thorny issue. At issue is that while the developed economies of the EU, the US and Japan requires Africa in particular and the South in general, to do away with agricultural subsidies and lead unfettered market economies, the contrary is applied in their own economies and this constitute unfair trade. The question that African countries should be asking is the relevance of their continued bemoaning of the EU and US policies on subsidisation, instead of forging their own forms of subsidising their weak industries.

The region owns up to the world oldest customs union (formed on 1st March 1970), that being the Southern African Customs Union. The aim has been to facilitate free trade amongst the member states of South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. Following South Africa's democratic breakthrough in 1994, there have been processes to democratise this body and its experiences can be good example on what other African countries can do to ensure more intra-regional trade. Such regional development must take into account the strengths and consumption needs of the people in the region and not just exports to other regions.

The fact of the matter is that it is not tenable that Africa would develop without giving support to targeted developmental priorities, and this is a fact supported by the economic history of major economic role players today.

What is required therefore is the solidarity of countries of the South to enable their cause of struggle to make any inroads possible. However, Africa must invest in promoting skills and ensure direct investment in the manufacturing sectors in order to produce goods and services that would meet its own consumption and cease to be exporters of cheap basic commodities such as minerals and agricultural produce. As South Africa, we have the capacity to lead in the beneficiation of minerals, so that we maximise benefit from exporting value added products. Our path to economic development must not attempt to emulate other economic experiences, as usually the global conditions that made possible those developments no longer hold and will never again hold in the same manner they ever did.

What Africa needs, is a development trajectory that is interlinked with the rest of the world economy, but one that would not necessarily be failed by the world economy as a whole. This requires enormous self-belief in the potential, capability, solidarity, unity and leadership of the Africans amongst themselves. This belief must of course be justified by democratisation, freedom and the creation of basic institutions that would be foundation for such elaborate development. So far the NEPAD promises to be this trajectory; however, a lot needs to be done if this were indeed to succeed as instrument to turn around Africa's development.

The emergence of China as a potential superpower in the long run has caused much debates about the re-configuration of global power relations, with arguments of a shift from a uni-polar world to a multi-polar world. Some have argued that much of the increased investment by the US on the next generation of weapons is caused by their anticipation of the Chinese growth as a threat to US uni-polar dominance. Already there are fault lines in the EU – US relations, and the US has fought many economic battles with Japan over the years. These are evidences of the multi-polar power re-configuration.

Again, Africa may find itself as victim of global developments, without a sustainable solution to advance its own interests as these multi-polar power dispositions unfold. While a uni-polar world perpetuated unilateralism and injustice, there is not guarantee that a multi-polar world would usher in substantial positive ramifications for Africa.

Much at issue on the world economy is the issue of international finance and trade. Regulations around this issue have historically been structured to favour the policy development of the stronger economies, while the weaker ones are forced

to follow inappropriate policies for their own development. The roles of the IMF and World Bank, and the notorious Structural Adjustment Programmes led to the underdevelopment of the continent. Hugo Chavez of Venezuela has come up with a regional development finance bank, and perhaps Africa can learn a thing or two on that.

International finance and trade are protracted issues in the WTO Doha Round. Key amongst the issues being negotiated are: Agricultural market access, agricultural subsidies, industrial market access, trade through services and trade facilitation. From a South perspective, the balance between protecting weak domestic industries and unregulated economies remains a divisive issue, as countries of the North are inconsistent. While they seek to open up south based economies and are against their subsidies of industries such as agriculture, they nonetheless are not keen at stopping supporting their own industries.

5. Implications of the global environment on youth organisations

The state of youth organisations, particularly those that are progressive in the continent leave a lot to be desired. We have in the past spoken of strengthening youth progressive organisation, but perhaps it is indeed easier said than done! How do you ensure that another organisation existing in another geo-political space that has laid claim to autonomy get influenced by your own, often perceived to be lofty views, on development? The only efficient sponsors of change in foreign lands remain imperialists and the consequences speak volume of their intentions!

We must at all times be seized with efforts at ensuring that we champion the cause of our struggle as a nation State, as well as the countries of the South in general and Africa in particular. In order to do so, we must have clarity of the organisation of the world around us, and particularly the various forces and their intentions at work in the determination of that global organisation. In doing so, we must take to heart in that we have ideological allies through IUSY in all parts of the world, including in the advanced economies of the world. Having analysed the global environment, we must find ways in which we can tilt the current dispensation to favour our advances for a better world for all our people, here and abroad.

While world powers will continue to define the global order, such as what constitutes its priorities including the so-called war on terror, we must insist that poverty and inequality in trade remains our top priorities as Africans. But we must have sustainable

development of our own and not just respond to the crisis of poverty. We must find ways of moving beyond being beggars of our global competitors for AID to engaging them robustly on the basis of the strength of our people, natural resources and whatever is available to us a nation States and as a region. We must refuse to believe the lie that we are helpless and that there is nothing we can do unless we get Aid from abroad!

The first road to our development is investing in the people, and stop corrupt governments swindling our resources into Swiss banks and other coffers abroad. Above all, we must fight for investment in the youth, through massive skills development drives, as well as ensure they become the next generation of entrepreneurs that would lead to vibrant economic activities. We must inculcate the values of pride in being an African, as opposed to scholars and skilled personnel that rushes to the west at the slightest provocation or fears of political and economic instability and therefore avoid the problems of the brain drain. In our case, perhaps the "oath" advanced by the President of our country and the Minister of Education could come handy in this regards. Indeed we must discuss its content and relevance against the backdrop of its stated purpose.

As the ANCYL, we must strengthen our participation in the ANC International Affairs Unit, and also continue to popularise our international work amongst our membership so as to build a broad national front on our international work.

6. Bi-lateral Engagements

The YL needs to continue its bilateral engagements in both the continent and elsewhere. Our aim must be both to benefit ourselves through learning from the experiences of other progressive youth organisations, as well as ensure that we assist where we can to lend our experiences in building strong progressive youth organisations in other countries. It is important that as part of the continuity of the ANCYL, we sustain our bilateral relations with progressive, like minded youth organisations around the world.

The primary focus of the YL will be to continue regional engagements with progressive youth organisation, who uphold the principles of freedom, peace, justice and equality as their core principles. This will ensure that the YL is in a position to rallying like-minded formations behind the call to achieve a better world order.

At the level of WFDY and IUSY the YL must continue to engage with member organisations of both organisations, with the intension of forging

closer and stronger working relations between the two organisations. A specific focus will have to be strengthening the Africa Committee's of both Organisations and ensure that those we characterise as progressive forces of the left uphold the same principles and visions as us.

7. Role of the YL

Amongst the roles the ANCYL can play on international issues is to provide leadership in the execution of campaigns as agreed to by the PAYU, IUSY and WFDY, as well as those resolved to by our own National Congress. Amongst such campaigns we can cite the following:

- A. Right to Decent work.
- B. Right to free movement in the world
- C. Peace and Stability
- D. Democracy building
- E. Fight against xenophobia, racism and related intolerances
- F. Building strong youth organisations through active bilateral networks
- G. Taking up the causes of struggle by specific peoples across the world such as those relating to Palestine and release of the Cuban five
- H. Exchange Programs and South African's studying Abroad.
- I. Free and Fair Trade Campaign.

Therefore, some of the campaigns that must be waged relate to country specific issues, such as those of Sudan, Western Sahara, Palestine, Burma, Cuba and a number of other country based challenges facing the world today as and when they arise.

In order to do these things successfully, we need to investigate the possibility of establishing an International Office in the YL, headed by a member of the NWC, inclusive of strong interactive YL organs on international affairs. The International Office will lead amongst others the following debates:

- ❑ The type of support the YL must provide to South African Young People abroad.
- ❑ Establishment of YL branch unit in countries that have high S.A. population, what the relationship will be to YL, S.A, what are the constitutional implications.
- ❑ Facilitate the implementation of Exchange programs, evaluate its impact and develop

a database on existing exchange and those who have successfully completed their studies.

- ❑ Coordination of all our international campaigns, with specific reference to, Solidarity, free and fair trade campaign, rolling back xenophobia, the right to free movement and decent jobs.

While international affairs remain by and large the competency of national office bearers, we must find ways of involving the masses of our youth at large.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, we quote the great revolutionary Che Guevara:

"Let me say, at the risk of seeming ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love."

This is the essence and root of solidarity. Those who loved us felt our pains under apartheid and lent their hands of solidarity. Having considered the international balance of forces and the fact that progressive ideas are not held by the most powerful militarily or economically, this means that solidarity remains indispensable. Our efforts must be conveyed through practical actions which National Congress and other meetings of the ANCYL must be continuously seized with. In other words, we must always attempt to go beyond words and ensure solidarity is indeed a tangible reality. Our biggest challenge remains the ideological dispositions that stand opposed to our progressive values of peace, stability, democracy, justice, equality and the prosperity of all order to build a more humane world, irrespective of gender, race, nationality or regional location. We must therefore do our part as South Africans, to mobilise our people to fight for these values as principles informing global governance and most particularly oppose the injustice of unilateralism and imperialism. We must learn from China on how to spearhead massive economic development, without embracing some of the negative aspects of its development, such as issues around human rights. We must convince the entirety of the South that AID will never be a sustainable option for development. In the words of Che Guevara, "**Better to die standing, than to live on your knees!**"