

DRAFT ANCYL DISCUSSION DOCUMENT ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GLOBAL YOUTH SOLIDARITY

This discussion document is a preparatory paper developed by the African National Congress Youth League's Drafting and Resolutions Sub-Committee. It seeks to provoke discussion and dialogue whilst providing information and educating ANCYL structures with the context, issues and propositions towards an integrated International Relations and Youth Solidarity Strategy, towards Economic Freedom, in our Lifetime. It should also be read along with the various other thematic and preparatory discussion papers particularly the ANCYL "Programme of Action towards Economic Freedom in our Lifetime" and "Organisational Renewal" documents. This document is not for public distribution and quoting, but it does aim to prepare the ANCYL for its 24th National Congress to be hosted in Gauteng, during June 2011.

1. Historical Context and Introduction

The African National Congress (ANC) derives its internationalist mandate from its founding documentation as well as its understanding and strategic approach to strive towards a better international order with greater collective leadership in order to secure greater security, peace, dialogue and equity between and amongst poor and rich nations. Drawing from its own liberation history and its international solidarity character, the ANC in pursuing its national and international agenda is guided by the pursuit for "*peace and friendship*"¹ in "*a just world and a better Africa*"². Consequently, the ANC's strategy is to work "with African and global progressive forces to advance human development in our country, our continent and across the globe"³. The advancement of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and its objectives of fighting colonialism, racism, poverty, underdevelopment and gender oppression (in all their manifestations), is global and requires the realignment and mobilisation of progressive forces of the world.

To meet the above mentioned objectives the Department of International Relations and Corporation (DIRCO) is guided by South Africa's Foreign Policy and is informed by the

¹ Freedom Charter, Clause 10

² Resolutions on International Relations of the 52nd National Congress of the African National Congress

³ 52nd National Conference: Adopted Strategies and Tactics

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and national interests. The Constitution and Foreign Policy are informed by objective and historic realities. National interest is informed by somewhat subjective circumstances. Consequently on the surface appearances on tactical positioning by South Africa sometimes appears to be wavering and/or inconsistent. The foreign policy vision is to *“build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations”*⁴. Consequently, the foreign policy vision for South Africa is *“an African Continent, which is prosperous, peaceful, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united, and which contributes to a world that is just and equitable”*⁵

Tactically, the ANC integrates the role of the state as a central and gravitating force towards attaining this just and equitable world, thus the prevailing ‘development state discourse’. In this paradigm *“one needs to look at whether the state is developmental in its thinking and action and also whether it is organised in a way that “developmentalism” wherein developmentalism is seen as the “proactive role of the State in pursuing and defining a developmental vision to be attained in the long-term, [by] coordinating economic activities and steering them toward desired outcomes,[through] mobilising and synergising class and social forces in support of the developmental agenda.”*⁶ The dominance of the capitalist system presents enormous challenges for social development, global governance and world security.⁷

In securing the developmental agenda, as Africa advances steadily into the “African Century” and the ANC into its centenary, an analysis of the global balance of forces is required, as a necessary prerequisite to effectively advancing the African Agenda. In founding the ANC in 1912 and in response to Pixley ka Isaka Seme’s call for Africans to forget their differences and unite, traditional leadership and members of South African societies and beyond (including the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basotho land, and Swaziland) were invited to participate and support of the establishment of the movement in Mangaung. The situational analysis of the time revealed a fast changing world. With the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 and the consequent demand for cheap labour, severe labour and tax laws were put in place so as to force Africans to work in the mines. With this oppressive strategy not reaping maximum benefits for the mine bosses,

⁴ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No 108 of 1996

⁵ www.dfa.gov.za

⁶ Guy Mahone quoted in V Gumede; *“The South African Developmental State in the Making”*, The Thinker Vol.25, 2011

⁷ 52nd ANC Congress Strategies and Tactics

further pieces of legislation were promulgated including the Land Act of 1913, aimed at preventing Africans from buying, renting and utilising land, except in the reserves. Throngs of Africans lost their land whilst millions were cramped into just 13% of productive land with a resulting overcrowding, poverty and hunger. This would lead to legislation and policies that sort to govern relations and movements (influx control) within society, whose combined architecture became the battle ground for the ANC's struggle and the broad international Anti Apartheid Movement.⁸ The broad international movement was preceded by several bilateral appeals to the Queen and British Empire; this included the 1914 and 1919 SA Native National Congress delegations to appeal to Britain against the Land Act. Although militant in character as displayed by President S.M Makgatho's May 1919 address "*we ask for no special favours from the Government. This is the land of our fathers*", the appeals did not bear transformative fruits. This, together with the prevailing material conditions, necessitated the formation of the ANCYL in 1944. In its 1944 Manifesto the founding fathers and mothers noted that "*whereas Africanism must be promoted, Africans must struggle for development, progress and national liberation so as to occupy their rightful and honourable place among nations of the world*". The resulting and militant ANCYL Programme of Action, which was subsequently adopted by the ANC in 1949, boldly called for targeted timetabled campaigns and actions which would secure FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME. To achieve this, the ANCYL called on "*African Youth [to be] united, consolidated, trained and disciplined*" so as to fulfil their leadership role.

Africa has largely been politically liberated, with some of the ANCYL founding fathers and mothers witnessing political freedom within their lifetime. The NDR recognises this as a fundamental step towards total emancipation. The ANCYL, on the eve of its 24th Congress, confronts a similar crossroads (in relation to economic freedom) as the founding youth of the ANCYL. This therefore necessitates that the ANCYL adopts a radical time-bound 30Year Programme of Action which will radically change State-Capital-Society relations at national, regional and global levels, in order to secure Economic Freedom in OUR LIFE TIME. The programme of action encompasses all levels and classes of society whilst paying attention to the make up and shape of the global, regional and national economy. The Programme of Action recognises that some of the 1944 thinking remains relevant, particularly as it relates to key policy shifts such as the nationalisation of mines and major sectors, some of the contexts have somewhat changed.

⁸ See, Brief History of the ANC, www.anc.org.za

With the advancement of industrialisation, political de-colonisation of African states, and globalisation, the current situational analysis reveals a largely uni-polar world with some glimmers of multi-polarity. Which multi-polarity is spurred on by the constitution and reconstitution of trade and economically based alliances such as the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) and the G20. In the context of this uni-polar world advances made in some so called 'advanced democracies' initially brought about hope with the election of the first non Caucasian president in the United States of America (USA). However change in the racial make up at the White House had very little significance in the global and socio-political positioning of that super power. Further observations in elections elsewhere, particularly in Europe, saw the ascending to power of traditionally more conservative parties, with a hopeful 'retaliation' of the youth in some states as was the case with the Great Britain, France and Italian Student Revolts.

The central question, in relation to these new found alliances and existing multilateral institutions is; do they serve to advance the national and regional interest, in general, and the African youth development agenda in particular? Are the pseudo multi-polar emerging alliances in the interest of global pluralism and congruent with the militant spirit of the ANCYL and the broad progressive forces for and by the youth? Are there any other alternatives and programming options which can be directed by the progressive forces for and by the youth of the world and Africa, in particular?

In order to effectively engage in these new found alliances and multilateral or mini-laterals with the broad international solidarity objectives in mind, attention must be paid to the enormity of the task at hand especially when one considers that "*the move to create a better international climate will need resources, capacity and well equipped structures both at party and state level*"⁹.

The international economic and political climate, as punctuated by the 23rd and 24th Congress of the Youth League, is one of economic decline, recession, and finally upswing as directed by crony capitalism and global financial markets. The recession affirmed the 23rd Congress' observations that being developmental in orientation requires a "*new look economic posture leaning more heavily towards development than on narrow economic*

⁹ Resolutions on International Relations of the ANC's 52nd Congress

growth".¹⁰ The recession points to the nature of the interconnectedness of the global economy; unreliability of global capital; and signals the anti-thesis of the prevailing economic orthodox.

More than ever before, it has become apparent that the orthodox and current global relations, unless fundamentally altered, cannot be a source for sustainable development and total economic emancipation for the peoples of the African continent and the broader developing world. It is also significant that despite an about "10% to 12% *inter African trade...compared to 40% of intra North American trade, 57% intra-ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) trade and 63% of intra Western European trade*" Africa's Top 500 companies during 2008 (the toughest year in the downturn) merely experienced a turnover pause of US \$566.9bn.¹¹ The African Market immunity could be viewed as an indicator of the exclusion of the African Market from the global economy and perhaps its overreliance on commodity markets.

These point to new found and market directed forces which are multinational in nature which often pay no attention to political legitimacy and/or local loyalties. In the context of these forces and in relation to the African Agenda, South African companies are beginning to play the global capital assimilation role, more so when one considers that thirty eight (38) of Africa's Top 50 companies are in fact South African and actively involved in the African economy. This would bear little significance if the South African companies' were less prone to global influence and funding (outside Africa). As these companies advance their capitalist agenda, do they seek to affirm the South African Foreign Policy objectives? Do they seek to advance the total economic liberation of the youth of South Africa and the Continent?

One of the greatest global threats to the economic emancipation of young people are the serious disruption to the world's weather and climate patterns, which have seen significantly higher extreme weather occurrences and sea level rises. In general the developing world, in particular, faces greater challenges than the developed world, both in terms of the impact of climate change and the capacity to respond to it. Whereas the ANC Youth League must recognise and acknowledge the work conducted by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) through principally the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate

¹⁰ ANC Youth League 23rd National Congress Report, pg 11

¹¹ The Africa Report, No 27, February 2011

Change (UNFCCC), it must strive for its alignment with the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation on Sustainable Development. The Plan is pillared on human development, environmental considerations, and economic development as directed by effective global partnerships. Thus, as the ANCYL advances its economic emancipation agenda it must pay attention to the people, planet and prosperity mutually reinforcing principles. Such an outlook would favour the ANCYL with the possibility of ensuring that it bequeaths a worthy world to the Pioneers of today and Youth Leaguers of tomorrow. Consequently the Youth League must congratulate the South African Government for winning the rights to host the United Nations Conference on Climate Change (COP17) during November 2011. The ANC Youth League must commend the progressive and proactive stance taken by the South African Government in ratifying the UNFCCC and acceding to the Kyoto Protocol as well as developing a National Climate Change Response Strategy for South Africa. As the ANC Youth League welcomes COP17 it must actively participate in the preparatory processes with a view of ensuring that all its objectives are met with an emphasis on ensuring that all nations observe and accede to the Kyoto Protocol and the principle of employing renewable and more sustainable energy resources.

In finding the space for participation in the COP17, related activities and global multilateral platforms, the ANC Youth League would do well to recall the outcomes of the 17th World Festival of Youth and Students, which noted that:

*The “capitalist globalization”, the system of exploitation and control of the people and resources is pushing masses of young people into the margins of society. They are the first victims of the social inequalities at all levels. The 212 million of people unemployed, in a world that precarious, temporary occupation is the rule, are a proof of this. Due to the economic crisis, even more jobs were lost, condemning more people to misery and poverty. We struggle against the elimination of the majority of labour rights, especially those of young workers who suffer more the effects of unemployment. An entire generation of young people is being transformed into a generation without rights.*¹²

This progressive policy position assumed by this “global carnival of ideas” and Festival Movement also maintained the African National Congress Youth League’s relevance as a force to be reckoned with on the continent and in the world. The festival and its attached

¹² 17th WFYS Final Declaration

marches and jamborees as well as subsequent actions served as a global show of the power youth internationalism and the deepening of a youth directed global struggle against imperialism and for peace, solidarity, and social transformation. The potential for youth global solidarity is significant since “*young people between the ages of 15 and 24 represent approximately 18 percent of today’s global population, signifying the largest youth cohort in history*” and “*half the population of the world is under 25*”¹³. However the intersection between global interest as driven by solidarity and local relevance as understood by the masses will require greater attention. This understanding is often militated against by global power relations as transmitted by local media and perceptions.

Consequently, the ANCYL at its 23rd Congress in adopting Resolutions on its International Work noted that “*the system of capitalism holds sway across the world, and it is underpinned by unique dominance of...uni-polarity [with] secondary multi-polar features*”. The promotion of this global hegemony in form and content is the central anti-thesis for the unification of progressive forces of the world, especially those that are youth led. Thus the ANCYL must applaud UN attempts to employ youth inclusivity and participation in the UN by declaring August 2010 – July 2011 as the International Year of Youth. In line with this the ANCYL must call for the inclusion of youth delegates in all UN meetings and engagements, either through member states representation and/or a revised framework that facilitates for a youth voice at all major UN meetings (including the UN General Assembly).

As the ANCYL prepares for its 24th Congress, under the theme “*economic freedom in our life time*” it must remain cognisant of the fact that the world has progressed with globalisation being a current and deepened reality. The embracing of technology by the global youth has (as recent events in North Africa and the Middle East have shown) promoted new and more socially interactive mechanisms to promote global solidarity and local mobilisation. These cannot, however, be viewed as ideology free even though on the surface they all purport to promote more inclusive societies. The realities of these experiences directed by the principle of causality which states that every change or event has a cause, which cause/change is not necessarily linked to the root cause or perceived origin.

¹³ Ban ki Moon; in Guide to Youth Delegates to the United Nations, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/delegate-guide.pdf>

Thus in conducting its international work the ANCYL may be advised not to sway in the causal direction but rather on the principle direction of global social and economic justice as well as the pursuit for a pluralist and democratic world. To effectively direct this, the Youth League and the broad progressive forces must also practically and principally internalise and practise those very same principles it wishes to promote globally.

The pursuit of these ideals will challenge both old and new global youth alliances which will, in the context of the ANC's centenary celebrations, require an astute and detailed understanding of historic realities and alliances. Such an understanding will provide for the ANCYL to develop a revised set of alliances with common interests that strive for economic emancipation. This also presents an opportunity to deepen (in content) some traditional solidarity platforms and friendships for the pursuit of total economic liberation for the peoples of the continent in particular. In pursuing these, the ANCYL may have to discard of some alliances whilst affirming those that are of strategic nature and reformulating those that are tactical in nature. Wherein, strategic alliances "*are cooperative relationships to which partners bring particular and complementary skills or resources that are designed to achieve mutually-beneficial goals*"¹⁴ and tactical alliances "*are shorter-term with less organisational involvement*"¹⁵.

These platforms and alliances must seek to reverse the current reality which is characterised by the fact that over 1.2 billion people in the world are aged between 15 and 24 years. Of these, about 87% live in countries with developing economies and 200million of these are in Africa. It is also significant that 72% of those who live in sub-Sahara survive on less than \$2 per day.¹⁶ Consequently, these platforms must create conducive environments for youth empowerment in the developing world in general and on the African continent in particular. To effectively do so the youth formations on the continent should be strengthened as should the regional governance structures, including the Pan African Youth Union and the African Union. These governance structures will best be served if sub regional communities are strengthened and the youth development agenda is integrated in their programming.

¹⁴ JP Jeannet and HD Hennessey, *Global Marketing Strategies* (1992)

¹⁵ M.J Polonsky, R Garma and N Chia, "Australian Environmental Alliances from an Environmental NGO's Perspective", *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* 12 (2004) pp 73-86

¹⁶ World Bank, *Africa Development Indicators 2008/09; Youth Employment in Africa – The Potential, the Problem, the Promise*

To meet this objective, mutually beneficiary alliances and bilateral relations which may be rooted in the continental and global anti-Colonialism/Apartheid movement have to be struck. This will require local and organisational capacity which is equal to the task. The ANC centenary celebrations offers the broad Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) with the opportunity to strengthen both alliances and bilateral relations particularly with the global and regional progressive forces that stood side by side the ANC in its quest to liberate South Africa.

To these ends, the resolutions of the 22nd National Congress of the ANCYL and the 52nd National Congress of the ANC are partially relevant to guide the ANCYL actions and responses to international work. As a result of this the ANCYL must develop its own customised International Relations and Corporation Strategy and Programme of Action with specific nuances towards youth solidarity and economic emancipation.

2. Pursuit of global social and economic justice for the youth

The United Nations Charter as amended seeks to promote global governance and is perhaps the most relevant instrument for the promotion of fundamental rights, social progress, and a better life for the citizens of the world. The Charter also regulates relations amongst the nations of the world by embracing multilateralism and an equitable world by binding all its member states to international conventions (including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The Charter seeks to promote: practice tolerance and peace; unity as a source of our strength to maintain international peace and security; assurance for the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, which desist from the utilisation of armed force, save if its in the common interest; and employment of the international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.”¹⁷

To further advance the objectives of the Charter, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration on Human Rights on December 10 1948, amongst other articles, *Article 22* directs that:

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with

¹⁷ Charter of the United Nations, 26 June 1945

the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

This clause is cardinal to global and local actions and obligations which should be directed at youth for total economic emancipation in their life time. How much have national and international institutions integrate the realisation of these economic, social and cultural rights?

Certain amendments have since been made on the United Nations Charter, including the amendment to Article 23 of 17 December 1963, which amendment enlarged the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen. This amendment made it possible for a rotational and non permanent representation, which made it possible for South Africa to recently benefit its second term (up to 2012) in the Security Council.

Whereas the youth of the world and South Africa in particular have to welcome and celebrate this representation, the availability of veto powers to five of the members continues to perpetuate inequality amongst UN Member States, with the developing world having limited representation and influence. It would be imperative to review these Veto rights if total economic emancipation of the youth of the world is to be secured. With the current non permanent members being (and the end of their term) Bosnia and Herzegovina (2011), Brazil (2011), Colombia (2012), Gabon (2011), Germany (2012), India (2012), Lebanon (2011), Nigeria (2011), Portugal (2012) and South Africa (2012), the power balance is against the progressive forces of Africa and the developing world.

Consequently, the ANCYL must (as it pushes for total UN Reform) embrace current UN reform initiatives such as the proposed expansion of Permanent Security Council Members, as this, if dispensed with appropriately, has the potential of ensuring greater representatively. The first prize for the ANCYL would be representation by South Africa and second prize would be the inclusion of a progressive African and/or developing state(s). This would sway the balance of forces and possibly by implication economic development towards Africa and the developing world. Such reform, from the Youth League perspective and in line with The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations (The Ezulwini Consensus), also ought to permeate all organs and bodies of the United

Nations including the International Criminal Court, which is notorious for prosecuting mainly African leaders.

The current reform initiatives in the United Nations, do not necessarily translate to a progressive agenda in support of effective global youth development and/or Africa's prosperity. To sufficiently achieve this, processes to empower and enhance capacities of African member states and the youth in particular ought to be embarked on. The ANCYL embraces the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond (WPAY), as the principal platform to promote youth participation and inclusion within the UN system. Since, the Programme of Action identifies 15 priority concerns including intergenerational issues, employment, hunger and poverty, youth participation, globalisation and Information Communication Technology (ICT), the ANCYL must utilise the WPAY to measure progress and/or regress in youth development in the United Nations and member states. A cursory analysis shows that although the UN and member states have selectively taken forward some of the action points, not all UN instruments and agencies as well as member states have taken all the action items forward, including South Africa. Although some states (notably in the developed world) have integrated young people to delegations to the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations has a limited mechanism, mainly through the Third Committee and the Commissions of Social Development (CSocD) and Sustainable Development (CSD), to process the desires and aspirations of young people of the world. These together with the UN Secretary General's Report on the Status of Youth, which is now to be presented every 2 years, is the only existing mechanisms to collectively influence the UN agenda for the youth of the world.

Noting this anomaly some member states such as Norway, Sweden and Thailand have consciously sort to include, through a transparent process, youth representatives in their delegations to the general assembly and other major United Nations meetings and events. For instances Norway has since 1971 selected 2 candidates, one rotationally selected from political parties, through the Norwegian Children and Youth Council. Romania on the other hand selects both its candidates through the Romanian National Youth Council and pays attention to gender balance. Whatever the mechanism of selection the youth receive permanent representatives (for a fixed term) to the United Nations who form part of delegations to major UN events and meetings. The youth representatives have the obligation to represent youth interests and report back to the youth of the sending country.

To this end the ANCYL must emphasise the mutually reinforcing nature of all the action points and call on the United Nations, Regional Blocs and Member States to actively pursue all the objectives of the WPAY, together. The ANCYL must also call upon the South African Government, through the Department of International Relations and Corporation (DIRCO) to institute a programme and policy directed at securing youth representation, empowerment and retention in delegations to major United Nations meetings and events with a view instituting permanent representation. In addition to this the ANCYL must call for the formalisation of the United Nations Youth Assembly as a genuine and authentic part of the United Nations system so as to secure the effective participation and influence of young people who constitute more than half of the world's population. Consideration must also be provided for an elected Chairperson for the Youth Assembly to be afforded adequate speaking and presentation rights at all major United Nations meetings and events including the General Assembly. In the meantime and in preparation for the institutionalised Youth Assembly the United Nations must convene all the major and representative global youth bodies, with a view of reviewing and strengthening the WPAY.

3. Pursuit of progressive global alliances and igniting the young African Diaspora behind the regional economic liberation agenda

There is no assurance that when global youth representation is secured it will necessarily translate to global equity and a prosperous Africa and developing world. Since the balance of forces in key global governance structures is away from the youth and Africa, the ANCYL may wish to pursue a programme to unite and galvanise the support of the broad progressive movement in general and the African Diaspora in particular. This will require a revitalised Pan African Union, a strengthened African Union and a networked African Youth Diaspora. It will also require strengthened and focussed participation in the youth organisations of the world, whilst paying particular attention to traditional alliances and the new trade and economically based alliances.

3.1. *Non Aligned Movement (NAM), G77+China and traditional and new global partnership: aligned to youth economic empowerment?*

3.1.1. *The Non Aligned Movement (NAM)*

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is an intergovernmental organisation which was founded in 1961 to ensure “*the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries*” in their “*struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics*”¹⁸. The Non-Aligned Movement has played a major role in the resolution of various ideological conflicts throughout its existence, including extreme opposition to apartheid regimes and support of liberation movements in various locations including Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The organisation was largely the brainchild of Yugoslavian President (Josip Broz Tito), India’s first Prime Minister (Jawahraail Nehru), Egypt’s second President (Gamal Abdel Nasser), Ghana’s first President (Kwame Nkrumah) and Indonesia’s first President (Surkarno) as a response to the general armament and alignment of the then world’s super powers as a result of the Cold War. However, the fact is the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is disintegrated. The question is; is the movement still relevant given the current geopolitical configuration? Does the common cause for which member states were united still remain?

The ANCYL should embrace the objectives of the NAM since the material conditions and objective realities as directed by globalisation, imperialism and global hegemony, which the movement sort to address still, persist. More so if it is considered that the 118 member states represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations and 55% of the world’s population mainly in the developing world. The NAM can therefore act as an important lobby and pressure group in the push for the Global and United Nations Reform as led by the NAM High Level Working Group for the restructuring of the United Nations and its related thematic working groups. The ANCYL must actively lobby, in line with WYPA, for the inclusion of youth representatives to NAM Summits by member states as well as their representation in the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation, even if it is at the level of observer.

¹⁸ Fidel Castro, Speech to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations, in his capacity as chairman of the Non Aligned Movement, 12 October 1979

3.1.2. *The Group of 77 (G77) + China*

The Group of 77 (G77) was established on 15 June 1964 by seventy seven countries which signed the “*Joint Declaration of the Seventy Seven Countries*” issued at the end of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva.¹⁹ Although the members of the G-77 have increased to 132 countries (including China), the original name was retained because of its historic significance. The platform provides the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, and promote South-South cooperation for development.

The G77 in Algiers (Algeria) on 10 – 25 October 1967 adopted the Charter of Algiers. The Charter set in motion a gradual permanent institutional structure which led to the creation of Chapters of the G77 with Liaison Offices in [Geneva](#) (UNCTAD), [Nairobi](#) (UNEP), Paris (UNESCO), [Rome](#) (FAO/IFAD), [Vienna](#) (UNIDO), and the [Group of 24](#) (G-24) in Washington, D.C. (IMF and World Bank). Thus the G77 can play an influential role in global governance transformation and global financing, especially when it is considered that at the height of the global recession “*during 2008 the dollar value of total debt of developing countries increased by \$176bn and total debt surpassed \$3.7 trillion*”²⁰.

Although China is not, strictly speaking, a developing nation, it is nonetheless an influential member of the G77. The balance of trade between the G77 members (with the exception of China) and the developed world is skewed against them. Within the G77 trade is skewed towards China. It is significant in this regard that South Africa remains one of China’s major trade partners in the developing world and Africa. Consequently, the Havana Declaration stresses the continued commitment to “*creating a more just and equitable economic system that offers security for all people*” such a system would “*create a new spirit of international cooperation based on the principle of achieving shared benefits [wherein] countries of the South can participate on an equal footing in decisions which affect them.*”²¹ To advance this the Marrakech Framework of Implementation convenes institutions such as the South Centre and the G77 Fund so as to amongst others promote South-South cooperation, trade and a sharing of ideas²².

¹⁹ www.g77.org

²⁰ Dr. Li Yue-Fen, Head: debt and Development Financing (UNCTAD), to the Joint South Centre-G77 and China Workshop, 28 July 2009, Geneva, Switzerland, www.southcentre.org

²¹ www.g77.org

²² www.g77.org/marrakech/Marrakech-Framework

The ANCYL must commend the G77 + China's stance towards striving for reform and transformation particularly at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) through the outcomes and actions of the first (Havana 2000) and second (Doha 2005) South Summits, as well as the Marrakech Framework of Implementation of South-South Cooperation. Although the actions, outcomes and frameworks seek to promote South-South relations and a more equal society, it remains unclear what instruments will be utilised to ensure specific and targeted benefits for the youth. Given that the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) are the most comprehensive targets set by the United Nations with the highest potential benefit to youth and that 2013 is the penultimate year prior to the realisation of the MDGs, the ANCYL ought to call on the G77 to convene representatives and Ministers Responsible for Youth Development during 2013 so as to take stock of the attainment of economic and social development goals as well as youth empowerment within the group.

3.1.3. New formations: in the interest of Africa's development?

Although NAM has been by and large an effective mechanism to influence the global political landscape and the G77 + China has been an effective mechanism for influencing global trade and economics for developing countries, the "consensus principle" of the institutions has proved to be a short coming for most ideologically charged issues. To this end several developing countries have constituted themselves into organisations which pursue particular agendas and promote inter-country trade beyond the current inter and intra trade blocs and agreements. Four such institutions within South Africa's purview are; the Group of 20 (G20), India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA), Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), and the Africa-Caribbean Community (Africa-CARICOM) Forum.

3.1.3.1. Group of 20 (G20)

The Groups of 20 (G20) was established in 1999, in the wake of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, to bring together major advanced and emerging economies to stabilize the global financial market. Since its inception, the G20 has held annual Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors' Meetings and discussed measures to promote the financial stability of the world and to achieve a sustainable economic growth and development.²³

²³ www.g20.org

The G-20 is the premier forum for international economic development which purports to promote “*open and constructive discussion between industrial and emerging-market countries on key issues related to global economic stability*”. The institution seeks to contribute to the strengthening of the international financial architecture and provide opportunities for dialogue on national policies, international co-operation, and international financial institutions. By so doing the G-20 attempts to support growth and development across the globe.

The G20 has 19 countries, including South Africa (which is the only African state), and the 20th member is the European Union (EU) which is represented on a rotational basis by the Council presidency and the European Central Bank. Given global power dynamics and the fact that the G20 is driven by colonial and imperialist powers it would be appropriate to recall Kwame Nkrumah’s words again; “*it is far easier for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle’s eye, hump and all, than for an erstwhile colonial administration to give sound and honest counsel...to its liberated territory*”.

Consequently, the central question that remains is; to what extent will Africa benefit from South Africa’s membership to this elite group of nations? To what extent will the progressive forces of youth in the world benefit from this economic cabal? How can the ANCYL and its aligned progressive forces influence the G20 to realise its strategic objectives and its Programme of Action towards ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME.

3.1.3.2. *India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA)*

The India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) trilateral partnership was established in June 2003, with some real aspirations for three developing economies and as a coordinating mechanism amongst them with a view of constructing a new international architecture so as to bring their voice together on global issues and to deepen their ties on various areas.²⁴ IBSA through its fund and other mechanisms also pursues concrete projects of cooperation and partnership with developing countries. IBSA has contact points, working groups, various sectors (including women and social issues) and forums (including the Business and Academic Forum).

²⁴ www.ibsa-trilateral.org

The partnership has no youth sector nor do any of the agreements entered into deliberately target young people and the strengthening of solidarity within this constituency, despite the fact that the youth form a vast collective majority in these states. To advance youth development the forum should be influenced to take up all relevant action points of the ANCYL POA on Economic Freedom in Our Life Time.

The relevance of the partnership is also questionable since the formation and reconstitution of BRICS, which includes the three IBSA members plus 2 others.

3.1.3.3. *Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS)*

Brazil, Russia, India and China made up the initial BRIC group of nations and they are the nations that the 2003 Goldman Sachs report, “*Dreaming with BRICs: the path to 2050*”, identified as the most important emerging economies in the world and the ones which would outshine many of the developed nation economies by 2050.²⁵ In January 2011 South Africa received an invitation from the economic coalition to become a full member of a new emerging markets bloc dubbed BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

“The BRIC countries are also defined by particular traits that have helped their tremendous growth trajectories. The high percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) spent on research and development (R&D) is the first such trait. Brazil spent 1.04%, Russia 1.28%, India 0.84% and China 1.31% of their respective GDPs on R&D in 2006, according to The Economist. This is on average higher than most developed nations and therefore contributes to their growth in innovative and competitive business concepts. South Africa on the other hand only spends 0.74% of its GDP on R&D. This is something, which South Africa will have to change to catch up with the innovative BRIC nations.”²⁶

Again, the central question that remains is; to what extent will Africa benefit from South Africa’s membership to this elite group. To what extent will China seek to grow it’s over

²⁵ www.tradeinvestsa.co.za/feature_articles/345544.htm

²⁶ *Ibid*

US\$100billion Africa trade book at the expense of South Africa? To what extent will India seek to utilise SA as gateway to Africa for Indian goods and services? To what extent will Russia seek to rekindle the erstwhile USSR trade relations with Africa by utilising SA? Given that South Africa's own growth strategy hinges on the growth of the African economy, as propelled by South Africa's private and public sectors, could this alliance not cost South Africa dearly as it becomes the vehicle which introduces its own competition? To what extent will the progressive forces of youth in the world benefit from this institution?

In order to advance the progressive and transformative agenda of youth development and ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME, BRICS ought to integrate the ANCYL POA. The ANCYL must also prepare itself to provide leadership to the youth of South Africa and BRIC towards the realisation of its progressive agenda.

3.2. *Global progressive youth movements and alliances*

The United Nations annually convenes a gathering of some 100 selected young people from around the world, this together with the Secretary General's report and possible youth member state representation are the only mechanisms to ensure youth participation. Consequently, these young people may have no direct accountability mechanism and are incidentally selected. Thus the common and progressive agenda is not secured by the Assembly.

Youth activism and the progressive youth agenda around the world has been directed by the World Federation for Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY).

3.2.1. *World Federation for Democratic Youth (WFDY)*

On November 10, 1945 the World Youth Conference, organized in London, founded the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This historic Conference convened at the initiative of the World Youth Council which was formed during World War II 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.²⁷ The ANC Youth League was amongst the founding members of the Festival movement with South African Andile Yawa being the first African President of WFDY. Today, the Federation is the largest network of progressive youth and the Youth League has recently affiliated to the organisation. Through an agreement amongst the African group as well as the ZANU PF Youth and the ANCYL, Zimbabwe represents African interests at a Vice Presidency level.

The 17th Festival of Youth and Students was hosted in South Africa during December 2010 and was dedicated to Presidents Fidel Castro of Cuba and Dr Nelson Mandela of South Africa. Much media and negative publicity went into the hosting of the 17th Festival for the organisation, principally because of its anti-imperialism stance and perceived disorganisation. However as can be seen in a picture on the WFDY website the festival was also a source of encouragement of the Egyptian youth.

Consequently, in order to deepen its economic and social transformation agenda towards a just world, and taking into cognisance historic ties and the ANC youth's historic leadership positions in the organisation, the ANCYL must affirm its membership to the body, whilst also seeking to deepen its own participation. That the organisation is progressive does not augment the ongoing battle to ensure improved governance in the organisation with greater and more effective African representation. Critical to this is the mobilisation and igniting of the African voice, through the active engagement of African member organisations and the strengthening of the PYU. Thus considerations for the preparations for the next festival ought to start now and be interspersed by national, sub-regional and regional engagements and activities so as to ensure a more effective African and South African participation. Additionally, WFDY's elective conference will take place in the later parts of 2011, it may be important to negotiate with ZANU PF Youth as well as the African group for the ANCYL to take up a leadership position of WFDY as part of the process to attain and popularise its POA on ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME.

3.2.2. International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY)

The International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) is aligned with the Socialist International in the international labour movement. It brings together democratic socialist youth and student

²⁷ www.wfdy.org

organisations in their fight for socialism, democracy and internationalism. IUSY aims at realising the democratic socialist ideals, such as expressed in the Declaration of Principles. In this respect, the primary task of IUSY is to build ever stronger solidarity among all young socialists in the world, thus making cooperation, common mobilisation and success for socialism possible.

The ANCYL, in line with its agreement for the participation and leadership role assumed by Zimbabwe in WFDY has currently and previously taken up leadership positions within IUSY. The ANCYL had also previously tried to unite the objectives as well as members of IUSY and WFDY, with a view of delivering a united and formidable progressive global youth movement and platform.

Given its active participation and assumption of key leadership positions in the organisation the ANCYL may wish to recall the words of the revolutionary Simon Bolivar who observed that *“judgement comes from experience, and experience comes from judgement”*. The experience of the ANCYL of progress within IUSY reveals the organisation as somewhat inclined to the liberal agenda with the organisation refusing to take up positions which are progressive but may compromise the agenda of certain states and regions.

Consequently, it may be in better judgement for the ANCYL to formulate a tactical alliance with IUSY, with a view of transforming it and aligning positioning of the global youth organisations. To achieve this the ANCYL and ZANU PF Youth League agreement on Zimbabwe's leadership in WFDY and ANCYL leadership in IUSY will have to be revisited with a view of reorganising the deck chairs and a possible swapping of roles. This will not require the ANCYL to directly affiliate with the organisation, since the presence of South Africa and the influence of the Youth League on all global and progressive frontiers remains imperative.

3.3. Promoting the African Agenda

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first democratically elected President once reiterated that:

Africa is a paradox which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from above and below the soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's impoverishment."

In order to reverse this, on 25 May 1963, 32 African governments formed the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to promote the unity and solidarity of African States; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradicate all forms of colonialism; promote international cooperation; and coordinate and harmonise members' political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies.²⁸

An Extraordinary Summit of the OAU held in Sirte, Libya on 9 September 1999 called for the establishment of an African Union in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the OAU Charter and the provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Following this, the Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted during the Lomé Summit of the OAU on 11 July 2000. The Union evolves from the OAU and the African Economic Community (AEC) into one unified institution.

In general, the African Union objectives are different and more comprehensive than those of the OAU, and it builds on strengthening the various sub-regional economic and development blocs. However key principles such as 'sovereignty' and 'territorial integrity' have been maintained in the new AU. Despite having reorganised Africa's governance, the continent trade relations with the rest of the world are slowly turning the corner; however it is unlikely that Africa will meet the Millennium Development Goals. The historic "action lull" of the AU as a result of the 'sovereignty' and 'territorial integrity' as well as the reluctance of Africa's leaders to act against one of their own has been a huge shortcoming. However, recent events (without providing a value judgment) particularly as it relates to Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) have displayed the grudging willingness for Africa's leaders to act against one of their own with impunity. Unfortunately, in the Cote d'Ivoire situation the AU's start-stop-envoys starting with the failed Ondinga, subsequent ECOWAS military intervention threat, and the

²⁸ www.dfa.gov.za

High Level envoy under the leadership of Mauritania. Nonetheless despite the grudging political broader reforms have to sort in the AU if its mission is to be inclusive.

The African Union also recognises regional youth formations including the Pan African Youth Union (PYU), as critical contributors to the actions, programmes and institutions of the AU. However several sub-regional and regional institutions and platforms have mushroomed as the struggle for youth economic and social empowerment assumes centre stage. This has not only caused a delay in decisive actions towards youth development, but has failed to provide a consolidated African youth agenda which is time bound, measurable and reportable to the youth of Africa who (when considering the ages of 15 – 24) constitute 200million people of Africa's population.

3.3.1. *The African Union (AU), inter-intra trade relations and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)*

The African Union is constituted by 53 African states, with the exception of Morocco, Eritrea, Madagascar, Niger and more recently Ivory Coast. The main objectives of the AU are:

- to accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- to promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
- to achieve peace and security in Africa; and
- to promote democratic institutions, good governance and human rights

The AU and its predecessor (the OAU) had over the years received criticism over its inertia mainly as directed by the core principles of "sovereignty" and "territorial integrity" which have largely seen a no 'interference' paradigm in the AU. However recent events have shown the potential and need for a decisive AU. The AU is not often the port-of-first-call with regards to developments in Africa. It is also telling that just two years ago the World Bank rated Tunisia as the most open society and promising democracy on the continent, and the AU could not offer any alternative opinion despite the fact that Tunisia did not form part of the 30 nations who have acceded to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The APRM could become a locally grown instrument which could also act as an '*issues for consideration*' early

warning system which could be instituted by the AU as a transformative tool. However, the time lag, capacity and the conflation of both political and administrative bodies, has disabled this much needed platform.

During 2001 at its Lusaka meeting the AU adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a flagship programme of the AU. In general terms NEPAD is a home-grown initiative to address Africa's development challenges which integrates strategy and frameworks principally through the attainment of MDGs and regional integration. Significantly, the numbers of wars in the continent have declined and the region will have no less than twenty elections in the year 2011. Most sub-regional blocs have been consolidated and all of them have developed sub-region specific and time bound programmes, as a critical step towards attaining regional integration and harmonisation. Key to these building blocks has been economic emancipation and Africa's aspirations to graduate from aid to trade. However greater attention has to be paid to intra African trade. In addition more equal trade relations with the external world and accelerated and equitable internal African trade should be seen as key propellers to Africa's regional autonomy.

The 2003 United Nations "*Economic Development in Africa: Trade Performance and Commodity Dependency*" noted the continued decline and general poor performance of the continent's share in world trade, but notes that "*about 70 percent of exports are manufacturers...in contrast to the situation two decades ago when primary commodities accounted for three-quarters of developing country exports*".²⁹ Nonetheless these could be goods utilizing Africa as a gateway to elsewhere, especially when one considers trade relations between Africa and China which is her second biggest single country trade partner and third most significant partner in relation to the US and EU. In this regard approximately 70% of registered exports to China consist of crude oil and 15% of raw materials in contrast close on 40% and 30% of Africa's imports from China are in the machinery and manufacturing sectors, respectively.³⁰ The total bilateral trade between China and Africa in 2008 was US\$114 billion of which US\$52 billion consisted of exports by Africa to China and US\$ 62 billion imports by Africa from China.³¹ China has for instance invested US\$1 billion

²⁹ United Nations, Trade Performance and Commodity Dependency report, 2003, www.g24.org/awunctad

³⁰ African Development Bank, Chinese trade and Investment Activities in Africa, policy Brief Vol1, Issue 4 29 July 2010

³¹ African Development Bank, Chinese trade and Investment Activities in Africa, policy Brief Vol1, Issue 4 29 July 2010

in Zambia during 2010. Khadija Sharife, in the February 2011 Africa Report notes that; *“between 1991 and 2002, capital from Mauritius accounted for nearly 40% of India’s foreign direct investment. Yet while Indian, and increasingly Chinese, multinationals have used Mauritius for round-tripping purposes, it is also a gateway for those wishing to springboard into Africa.”* It is significant that these trade relations figures do not entirely cater for informal, small and medium sized trade figures.

It is also significant that despite an only about 10 to 12% of African trade takes place within the continent, a below potential, continental output of \$1.6 trillion was recorded during 2009.³² In contrast intra regional trade in North America is 40%, in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is 57%, and in the Western Europe is 63%. With the World Bank forecasting a 5.3% growth in sub-Sahara for 2011 and 5.5% in 2012 and 4.3% in North Africa this year, interests in Africa’s economy are bound to grow in leaps and bounds.³³ The European Union, United States of America and China, in that order are currently Africa’s most important trade partners.

South African private sector companies are driving the intra-African trade and investment with 66 of the top 100 companies coming from South Africa. SASOL leads the South African pack with a turnover of over US\$18 billion and the Algerian petroleum company SONATRACH with a turnover of over US\$47 billion, leads the African pack.³⁴ The Deloitte 2010 Report, Global Power Retailing, comments that African retailers led by South Africa’s Shoprite holdings, Pick ‘n Pay stores, Massmart holdings, and the Spar group *“are emerging market retailers rapidly becoming world-class players”*. However this may have attracted global players who may dilute the African share of business in local businesses especially when one considers deals such as the proposed 51% acquisition of the SA based Massmart by the US based Walmart at a reported US\$2.3 billion. Where acquisition fails, global expansion has become the norm, for an example the US based Yum Brands (which owns KFC) has expansion and franchising plans which will double its Africa revenues to \$2 billion at a total investment cost of \$500 million over 4 years. Some African leaders who have noted these anomalies have called on a pan-African stock exchange as well as a pension fund which could be proponents for an African driven economic and infrastructure development.

³² The Africa Report, No 27, February 2011

³³ “Dragons and born-again traders descend on Mother Africa”, in The Africa Report, No 27, February 2011

³⁴ Top 500 African Companies, The Africa Report, No 27 February 2011

To this end, the ANCYL must affirm the NEPAD as a genuinely African oriented programme which will require the deepening of the AU Reform Agenda so as to turn the AU into a proactive and not reactive organisation. To effectively undertake this all AU members should sign up for the APRM, and the ANCYL must utilise the Pan African Youth Union as a mechanism to urge member states to subscribe. The ANCYL must also welcome the near 6% growth rates recorded by the continent but must begin to seek mechanisms to ensure an Afrocentric and patriotic capital. To this end the ANCYL must consider calling on all external investors to favour local partners by ensuring that their entry does not dilute African shareholding. The ANCYL remains convinced that in the key and strategic sectors nationalisation would be the only mechanisms to rebut afro-pessimistic and non patriotic capital, since nationalisation ensures a shared and broadened economic growth shared by all. In addition to this, serious consideration should be given to an indigenisation of the economies of African states in general and South Africa in particular.

In the spirit of mutually and beneficiary partnerships the ANCYL must appeal to South African public and private sector companies investing on the Continent to develop and enhance a charter which will ensure greater sustainability, empowerment and participation of receiving country nationals in general and the youth in particular. The ANCYL must also call on the relevant Ministries to investigate and report to the South African public on the possibilities of instituting financial instruments and mechanisms such as common markets, currencies, stock exchanges, and pension funds in Africa, with a view of securing Africa's total economic emancipation.

The ANCYL may also wish to commend the African Union and its Heads of State and Government for adopting the African Youth Charter, since it provides the continent with a framework to develop and implement more tangible youth policies and programmes. However the ANCYL together with the progressive forces for the youth must request for the intensification of efforts to ratify and implement the Charter. The ANCYL must also commend the AU for having convened the African Ministers of Youth (COMY III) in Zimbabwe from 12 to 16 April 2010 under the theme "*Accelerating Youth Empowerment for Sustainable Development*" and urges for the acceleration of time bound programmes to address this urgent need.

3.3.2. *The Pan African Youth Movement*

The Movement regrouping youth associations on the African continent enjoys a rich experience from its formation with regard to its active participation in all the struggles waged on the continent in search for a liberation and better future. This was the case in the past for the liberation of the continent, as it is the case today and will be so tomorrow in the struggle for Peace, Democracy, and the sustained Development of Africa. The Pan African Youth Union (PYU) is the offspring of the Pan- African Youth Movement (PYM), and is the result of a deep process of renaissance of the PYM with a view to its adjustment to the transformations that have occurred on the political scene of the continent and of the world. The PYU is the only pan-African platform of youth organisations recognised by the African Union as a focal point to work in the fields of youth policies and development as set in the African Youth Charter. Recent events in North Africa stand to reiterate the importance of youth participation and involvement in the development of the continent, since the youth constitute over half of the African population.

Consequently, the PYU should remain the first-port-of-call with regards to regional and global youth related struggles. However the ANCYL ought to pay particular attention to the capacity availed by the AU and member states to that body. The quality of leadership and strategic direction the body has been able to offer is a function of the level of deployments and programmes employed in the PYU. The ANCYL has occupied the Vice Presidency of the continental body, however beyond active participation at the PYU gatherings very little effective action and programming has been recorded.

To mitigate this, the ANCYL may wish to consider deploying capacity that is within the proximity of PYU (which has relocated to South Sudan). Since South Sudan is a fairly new country staffing arrangements may not have been finalised, the ANCYL may wish to lobby to ensure that either the Ambassador and/or political secretary is also placed as a representative after following the due election/deployment processes in the institution. This would strengthen the position of the ANCYL on the continent whilst ensuring that it exercises effective leadership on the continent and beyond. To complement this, the organisation may wish to develop a regional specific Social and Economic Development Programme of Action for the Youth emanating from the African Youth Charter. Which action plan must integrate the African Youth Volunteer Corps, exchange programmes and must be supported by the

African Union and African Development Bank as a response to economic emancipation and up-skilling of the youth of Africa.

These efforts must be complemented by the attempt to unifying the progressive youth organisations of the continent (and beyond) principally through exchanges, collaboration in common platforms and strengthened bilateral and solidarity campaigns.

3.3.3. *The African Diaspora*

The Second Conference of Intellectuals from Africa and the Diaspora hosted in Brazil in 2006 called on the strengthening of relations between the descendants of African people located outside the continent. Such solidarity would further advance the African Agenda, since key African Diaspora figures, including Angela Davis, Bob Marley, Malcolm X and Dr Martin Luther King advocated for the liberation of Africa. People of African origin constitute close on 15% of the world's population of which just over 140 million people can be deemed to belong to the African Diaspora.

The African Diaspora continues to contribute to Africa's development in art, literature, social development and economics. For instance in a study conducted by the Western Union the Diaspora remittances to developing countries was estimated at US\$ 240 billion and in a correlated study conducted by the World Bank the remittance flows to Sub-Saharan Africa were estimated at US\$ 21.5 billion. It is also significant to note that many of Africa's economies are driven by these remittances. Consequently the ANCYL cannot afford not to pay attention to the African Diaspora in its quest for total economic liberation of the youth of South Africa and the continent.

The Constitutive Act of the African Union "*invite(s) and encourage(s) the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our continent, in the building of the African Union.*" Consequently, along with the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) and the Civil Society the AU utilizes the Diaspora as an integral part of its consultative mechanisms. There has been a growing call for the African Diaspora to be considered as an additional region of the AU, which would afford it greater input and influence. Such propositions may seem on the surface to be progressive; however careful consideration will

have to be afforded to such proposals, since these (depending on ideological positioning) could act against the African Agenda. At the Fifteenth Ordinary Session of the AU (Kampala, Uganda July 2010), South Africa was commended on its efforts on the Diaspora and its preparations to host the African Diaspora Summit during 2012.

In noting that at least 40% of Ph D students coming from the region choose to settle outside the continent, the ANCYL should consider supporting the AU and PYU in its efforts to harness the contributions of the Diaspora. The exchanging, interaction and networking of the youth of Africa and the Diaspora serves as a cardinal inclusion and enhancement mechanisms for the African Diaspora Summit and beyond. Consequently, the ANCYL may wish to call upon the AU, PYU, South African Government, and the National Youth Development Agency to seriously consider developing exchange and networking programmes between the youth of Africa and its Diaspora, which programme could be kick-started with a Preparatory and Representative Summit to the African Diaspora Summit, so as to enhance a common youth agenda and inputs. Further the ANCYL may wish to call on all participating nations and organizations to include significant youth representation to the African Diaspora Summit.

3.3.4. On solidarity campaigns

The ANCYL as part of its International Relations Strategy will develop guidelines with regards to international solidarity campaigns and tactics so as to guide the organisation and its membership in this regard. In the meantime the ANCYL may wish to highlight the following key positions:

3.3.4.1. Sudan

Sudan has experienced turmoil since the will of its people had been perpetually ignored from independence in 1956. These sustained conflicts and the subsequent self-imposition of Colonel Omar el Bashir have led to untold hardship for the people of Sudan, particularly those of Southern descent. The conclusion of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement granted some level of autonomy for Southern Sudan through the referendum of 9 January 2011) and laid the foundation for the secession on 9 July 2011. South Sudan could possibly become the AU's 53rd state on 9 July 2011.

The liberation and emancipation of the people's of South Sudan, in particular, through a largely peaceful process marks an important chapter in the development of the modern African history. The report of the ANC observer mission further advances and deepens the ANC's 2009 Memorandum of Understanding with the Sudan Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The ANCYL remains committed to strengthening the friendship between the two democratic movements with a view of sustaining their viability, strengths and accountability. The victory remains an inspiration to the young people of South Africa and beyond to which end the youth of South Africa and Africa wish to contribute their energies towards the reconstruction and uplifting of the people of South Sudan. The ANCYL may wish to call on the South African Government and the AU in constituting missions to the South Sudan to include young professionals and experts who will facilitate for new ways.

The ANCYL may wish to acknowledge and support South Africa's position with regards to not supporting the indictment of President al-Bashir to the International Criminal Court, but should however call on the South African government and regional governance structures to persuade him to employ more inclusive and democratic means to secure a lasting and sustainable peace for the peoples of the Sudans.

The ANCYL remains grateful for the support received by the peoples of Sudan principally as it relates to Africa's struggle for total emancipation and integration, and pledges to place all available resources and efforts towards ensuring the deepening of the South Sudan democracy towards total economic emancipation and freedom.

3.3.4.2. *Egypt*

Egypt owing to its geographical location, endowments and historical significance has always attracted attention within and outside the continent from ancient to modern day 'civilisations'. Much of the ancient and modern day interference had been to the exclusion of the will of the people of Egypt.

The ANCYL must recognise the recent and inspirational great victory recorded by the people and youth of Egypt. The result of which has managed to remove from power President Hosni Mubarak, whose thirty year reign of terror was largely characterised by brutality largely supported by the United States of America. He was largely seen as a puppet of imperialism in the region because his regime was armed and abetted by imperialist force. The ANCYL dips its head for the brave and courageous youth who lost their lives or were hurt during this modern day revolution. The ANCYL encourages these youth to soldier on towards finalising the process of change and constitutional reform, as we stand behind the Union of Progressive Youth of Egypt who belong to the Festival Movement which we recently hosted on our shores.

3.3.4.3. *Libya*

Libya is officially known as the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and was one of the first African states to receive a 'token independence in 1951'. This token independence was to be presided over by King Idris until the 1 September 1969 coup d'état of the revolutionary forces led by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who continues to preside over the nation. Libya, being one of Africa's first Free States has played an instrumental role in the support of liberation movements of many African countries. On his first official visit to Libya, former President Mandela commented about Gaddafi "*This man helped us at a time when we were all alone, when those who say we should not come here were helping the enemy*". Perhaps the greatest challenge to Gaddafi's Libya had been total isolation and aggression by the West which was supposedly not motivated by his embracing socialism but rather by the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie in Scotland. President Mandela was to play an instrumental role in persuading Gaddafi to offer the proverbial olive branch to the West. Recently, youth-led protests in Libya have been met with sheer force by forces loyal to Col Gaddafi.

The ANCYL observed the recent events in Libya with grave concern, as images of protesting youth were met with disproportionate force. Despite the dearth of reliable figures, it is believed that thousands of innocent Libyans were killed by forces loyal to Col Gaddafi. The ANCYL must record its dismay at the utilisation of this undue force, no matter the causes and circumstances.

The ANCYL may wish to take exception to the reaction of mainly imperialist forces who believe that their will, mechanisms and solutions supersede those of the people of Libya. We remain unimpressed with ludicrous propositions such as 'no fly zones' and whatever other solution emanates from these reactionary forces. The Youth League therefore calls for an indigenous, peaceful and inclusive solution to the Libyan situation; any other intervention from elsewhere may prove fatal.

3.3.4.4. *Tunisia*

The Youth League notes that the reactionary forces as propagated by the World Bank, just two years ago lifted Tunisia as a shining example of progressive, inclusive, democratic governance despite the silent despair of the people's of Tunisia. We salute the undying spirit of Mohamed Bouazizi, which has inspired revolutions in that country, sub-region and beyond as well as shown the proverbial door to former dictator, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. His departure has reminded us of the words of revolutionary Che Guevara who remarked that "*I don't care if I fall as long as someone else picks up my gun and keeps on shooting*".

The ANCYL will not rest until the social and economic scourge of youth unemployment and exclusion is defeated. The ANCYL therefore remains supportive of the total transformation of the Tunisian state towards a more inclusive and caring society.

3.3.4.5. *Côte d'Ivoire*

The ANCYL notes with concern the protracted disagreements and the resultant difficulties and governance crises. The ANCYL remains concerned of the desire for imperialist forces to interfere in the attainment of a lasting and peaceful solution which remains within the reach of the people of Côte d'Ivoire and Africa. To this end we salute the efforts of the AU High-level Panel.

3.3.4.6. *Zimbabwe*

The ANCYL resolutions of the 23rd Congress remain relevant as the solution of a lasting solution remains with the people of Zimbabwe. The ANCYL notes the progress and

challenges presented by the Global Political Agreement and the fact that despite great difficulty the country is going through an economic upswing with a near 8% growth in the past year has been realised.

Zimbabwe remains an inspiration to the youth of South Africa and beyond, consequently the ANCYL will continue to cultivate and maintain relations with the Youth League of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) since ZANUPF YL is our historic ally which has emerged through unity amongst the authentic liberators of the people of Zimbabwe. We do so convinced that *“as comrades in arms, we are facing a common fate – hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries”*³⁵.

Consequently, the ANCYL is committed to its position that only through a deepened and inclusive constitutional reform will the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe be truly captured. The ANCYL remains convicted to its position that the solution to Zimbabwe rests with the people of Zimbabwe. To which end the ANCYL calls upon the leadership of Zimbabwe to accelerate the constitutional reform processes whilst moving towards inclusive, free and fair elections. Since the ANCYL believes that the biggest losers in the current sanctioned environment are the people of Zimbabwe, the ANCYL calls for an immediate end to economic sanctions.

3.3.4.7. *Swaziland*

The ANCYL may wish to note that it is possible to have traditional leadership functioning side by side with democratic and open governance systems. The ANCYL may also wish to note, with dismay, the utilisation of undue force against the youth and organisations for change in Swaziland, which has led to levels of frustration on the peoples of Swaziland. The ANCYL may wish to recall the resolutions and discussions of the 23rd National Congress which pledged the League's support to the people of Swaziland. The ANCYL may wish to accelerate, for the final push, its solidarity campaign with a view of securing constitutional reform and inclusive and plural forms of governance.

³⁵ Declaration by OR Tambo Deputy President of the ANC and JRD Chikerema Vice President of ZAPU, 5 August 1967

3.3.4.8. *Western Sahara*

The ANCYL may wish to recall the outcomes and declaration of the 17th World Festival for Youth and Students which called for the total emancipation and exercise of free will for the people of Western Sahara. The ANCYL may also wish to recall its position and actions as informed by participating youth organisations of Africa to the WFDY which requested for the expulsion of Morocco from the Federation since its actions were imperialist in nature and contrary to the spirit and vision of the broad Festival Movement. The ANCYL may wish to also consider applying pressure to the G20 nations in general and particularly the EU and US to desist from signing exploitative contracts on mineral resources in the developing world in general and in the Western Sahara in particular.

3.3.4.9. *Cuba*

The economic blockade continues to impact negatively on the lives of ordinary Cubans and the initial reform promised by the Obama administration has brought about insignificant changes in the foreign policy stance of the USA. In anything the position has deepened towards a more conservative agenda. The ANCYL wishes to recall its resolutions of the 23rd Congress which reaffirmed its solidarity campaigns in relation to Cuba. The ANCYL may also wish to activate its membership behind the Campaign of the Cuban Five.

3.3.4.10 *Palestine*

The ANCYL recalls that 2011 marks the 64th Anniversary of the Nakba which resulted in the dispossessing of land from the Palestinians. The ANCYL may also wish to align itself with several United Nations resolutions which recognise the illegality of the Israel occupation, the illegal settlements, the building of the apartheid wall, the system of road blocks, seizure of land, detentions without trial, extra-judicial killings and the imprisonment of thousands of Palestinians including women and children. The ANCYL may also wish to record its distain with regards to the Apartheid style rule of law as instituted by Israel in relation to the people's of Palestine whilst also recording its belief that the Israeli and Palestine state can possibly coexist harmoniously. To achieve this, the ANCYL will intensify its solidarity efforts to support a just solution which will strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the Palestine state.

3.3.4. 11. *Party to Party Relations and Former Liberation Movements*

The ANCYL may wish to promote fraternal and strategic relations with youth wings of former liberation movements such as SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU PF, PAIGC, CCM, SPLM/A, etc. To sufficiently do so the ANCYL will prioritise meetings and events undertaken with and by youth wings of former liberation movements in the region. Additionally the ANCYL may wish to conduct its own audit to establish a better understanding of the ideological orientation and character of the parties in the continent so as to identify those that share the same political vision as the ANCYL. A deliberate effort will be made to strengthen relations with all progressive and like-minded parties in the region, continent and the world.

3.3.4. 12. *Regional integration*

SACU: The 1912 gathering formative gathering of the ANC had delegations from the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basotho land and Swaziland. This and subsequent engagements with the peoples territories proved the intertwined nature of their politics, economies and peoples, since in any case their border were imposed by colonialists, yet their culture and languages remained the same. Noting the power of these territories the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) with the inclusion of then South West Africa (now Namibia) was constituted in 1910 under the tutelage of South Africa. SACU, outside the East Africa Community (EAC), remains one of Africa's most viable trade areas. A new SACU agreement was developed in 2002.

SADCC – SADC: In 1980 with the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration the Frontline States constituted themselves into the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Whereas the objective of the Frontline States was the liberation of Southern Africa, the SADCC added the objective to move towards the economic liberation of Southern Africa. With the liberation of most Southern African states, the Heads of State and of Government signed the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Treaty and Declaration on 17 August 1992. The Declaration sets the goals of regional integration in economic and social dimensions for the now 15 member states. With a population size of 257.7 million inhabitants and a GDP of US\$ 471.1 billion it is one of Africa's most viable economies. However very little has been recorded with regards to trade liberalisation within the community owing to external interests, particularly as it relates to the EU and US. Even recent exercises aimed at harmonisation of economic and social policies, including common markets and currencies as well as free-movement for goods and persons, have yielded

limited impact, mainly owing to the protection of national economies and interests under the guise of sovereignty. And yet the sub-region has displayed the highest potential for integration and progress on the continent.

The ANCYL wishes to consider the implications of this slow progress. The ANCYL believes that, tactically, further considerations ought to be placed on progressing single governance structures, economies and social policies first with the peoples of the territories who attended the 1912 Mangaung Conference, then eventually all the members of SACU and finally the membership of SADC.

4. The African National Congress Centenary Celebrations embracing the African legacy and the global Anti-Apartheid movement

The ANC will be celebrating 100 years on the 8th of January 2012. It is the oldest Liberation Movement in Africa. Whereas the ANC has developed its programme of action towards the centenary celebrations it is necessary for the ANCYL to emphasise its desire that such celebration incorporate progressive forces in Africa and beyond who played a major role in liberating South Africa from Apartheid. The ANCYL remains committed to contributing towards ensuring that historic sites on the continent a given prominence these will include:

- Angola, where most of the Umkonto Wesizwe operatives were trained these would include sites such as Nova Katenga, Quibaxe, Funda, Fazenda, and later Pango and Caculama as well as Cuito Cuanavalle and Quatro,
- Zambia, where Lusaka acted as the headquarters for the ANC in exile and most South Africa children attended Leopards Hill School. As well as Kitwe and Kwabe where landmark conferences and events of the ANC occurred
- Tanzania, Morogoro which acted as an administrative headquarters for the ANC in exile whilst Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College was a future and prototype post liberation school which was attended by exiled children, and
- Other sites of significance including (but not limited to) Kawaweta in Uganda, Hwange in Zimbabwe, Matola in Mozambique, Maseru in Lesotho, Algiers in Algeria, and Mbabane in Swaziland.

All these and more sites bear a special significance to the youth of South Africa in general and those of the ANCYL in particular. Thus the ANCYL believes that events and exchanges to these sites would provide a historical insight for the youth of today so as to empower them to deal with the challenges of today.

To facilitate for this the ANCYL may wish to deepen, participate and support the OR Tambo Heritage, which is developed by the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFSCO). The exchange and learning programme seeks to follow OR Tambo and the Movement in exile with a view of educating young South Africans on our heritage.

To effectively deepen this agenda the ANCYL may wish to consider hosting a series of public lectures and supporting research and documenting exercises which will profile the role of global leaders who supported the MDM, these leaders could include António Agostinho Neto (Angola), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo (Zimbabwe), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Olof Palme (Sweden) and Samora Machel (Mozambique).

These lectures could also be attended by youth leadership from the region and beyond and should be syndicated in other parts of the world including, Cuba, China, Palestine, Former West Germany, Russia, Scandinavian Countries, and the United Kingdom

Literature and Political Lecturers must be given to the Members of the ANCYL on such rich history about the support and role played by Africa during the liberation struggle. ANCYL members must be dispersed all over the Continent to celebrate with members of these communities on those historic landmarks.

5. The public broadcaster supporting the African agenda?

The public broadcaster's role as facilitator and voice for the African agenda and agent for youth development will require a sharper focus. Whereas the discussion document on Communications and the Battle of Ideas elaborates on this role it is pertinent to point out, in relation to international relations, that the National Broadcaster has the responsibility to become the world's window to Africa.

Consequently, the ANCYL calls upon the SABC to include more local and African content in its programming. The ANCYL further calls on the national broadcaster to pay particular attention to developing quality local and African content, by amongst others developing more localised broadcast platforms and African bureaus; since Africa can no longer afford to have others tell African stories. The ANCYL further calls on the SABC to advance on its plans to constitute a youth and Africa oriented public broadcaster.

6. **Coordination of International Work**

International Relations and Global Solidarity are cardinal to the realisation of the objective of economic liberation. The ever changing terrain requires that the ANCYL develop a time bound and live International Relations Strategy, so as to enable the membership to understand and measure the objectives of our global struggle for economic liberation and against imperialism. To effectively advance the development and implementation of the strategy will require full time and focussed capacity at the ANCYL head office.

To complement this capacity the ANCYL will swell (through deployment and recruitment) the ranks of the Cadet Training Programme, with a view of rendering a more youth friendly International Relation Policy.

We will also swell the ranks of persons deployed to temporary and permanent foreign missions with a view of **Fighting** imperialism, **Producing** leaders of today and tomorrow, and **Learning** new ways to ensure our total emancipation.

7. **Conclusion**

The ANCYL emphasises its internationalist role well aware that total economic liberation for the youth of South Africa is intertwined with the economic renaissance of the African continent in a more equitable world. As we advance with our programme of action for our Economic Freedom; IN OUR LIFETIME, with certainty in our victory, the ANCYL remains conscious that the youth will not enjoy such freedom until the people of Cuba enjoy total economic emancipation from the US embargo. The ANCYL membership dare not rest on

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their laurels until the Cuban Five are unconditionally set free. We dare not celebrate our forthcoming victory until the people of Palestine enjoy uninterrupted freedoms equal to ours and any other part of the world. We dare not rejoice until the children on Nepal and their parents enjoy opportunities and progress.

We, the progressive youth of the ANCYL therefore stand side-by-side, certain of the support of the progressive and broader global youth movement, to declare that we shall not rest nor leave any stone unturned until we enjoy **ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME.**