



*"Rebuilding a united and radical  
ANC Youth League for the advancement  
of economic freedom in our lifetime."*

# **ANC Youth League 25<sup>th</sup> National Congress**

**GALLAGHER ESTATE**

**24 – 28 SEPTEMBER 2014**

**SPHERES OF INFLUENCE**

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT & INTRODUCTION:

Advancing a Progressive International Youth Agenda: An assessment of the continental and global balance of forces

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### 1. Introduction:

In a continent and world that is in a constant state of flux, the ANCYL reaffirms the centrality of the youth in the pursuit and attainment of a 'just and equitable world order'.<sup>1</sup> The post cold war global order has bequeathed to the youth of South Africa and the African continent a complex set of challenges, amongst them the emergence of a uni-polar global power configuration and a slow progression towards multipolarity, thus resulting in an uneven distribution of global power.<sup>2</sup> The ANCYL is all too aware that the task of overcoming these challenges towards a progressive realisation of a continent and world order in which the African youth development agenda assumes primacy will require close scrutiny and analysis, which is the chief aim of this document. On the eve of its 25<sup>th</sup>, Congress the ANCYL recognises the significant global political and economic shifts which have taken place since 2011- when the ANCYL concluded its 24<sup>th</sup> Congress- and thus reaffirms its commitment to the pursuit of the principle of 'progressive internationalism'<sup>3</sup>, thus building on the vision and international programmes of action –which are aimed at attaining a just and equal world- previously articulated by its fore bearers. Therefore, it is against this backdrop that an analysis of the regional and global balance of forces and their impact on the youth will take place.

### 2. Africa:

#### ***Sustainable Economic Development***

The ANCYL recognises the significant developmental strides that have occurred on the African continent since its democratisation, this is reflected inter-alia in the significant decline of malaria deaths to 10% in the last decade, the decline of HIV/Aids infection rate by 74%, the increase of life expectancy by 10% coupled by a

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<sup>1</sup> ANC 2012; The ANC in a Changing world: A perspective on International Relations, An ANC NEC discussion document.

<sup>2</sup> \*

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

simultaneous decline in child mortality rates.<sup>4</sup> The ANCYL further notes the emergence of the “Africa rising” narrative, in this regard, the African continent has seen accelerated economic growth rates and is currently characterised as the world’s fastest growing continent. This is reflected by the increase in real per capita income to 30%, following two decades of shrinkage by 10%. It is estimated that over the next decade Africa’s GDP will grow by an average of 6% per annum, the continent has also managed to attract high levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which has seen FDI levels increase from USD 15 billion in 2002 to USD 46 billion in 2012.<sup>5</sup>

Despite this continental ‘boom’, South African and African youth remain afflicted by arguably the most acute social and developmental challenges. The level of youth unemployment remains at staggering levels, “according to the quarterly labour force survey by Statistics South Africa in the third quarter of 2013, 34.8% of young people could not find a job compared with less than 15% of adults over 34”.<sup>6</sup> The ANCYL notes with much concern that Youth represents more than 60% of the African continent’s population, yet 50% of the continent’s young people remain illiterate and without prospects for participating meaningfully in the continent’s productive economic and social life. In Sub-Saharan Africa youth unemployment hovers at a concerning level of 20%.<sup>7</sup> The aforementioned scenario presents an ironic and/or contradictory youth development narrative which begs the question: for whom is Africa rising?

The ANCYL therefore questions to what extent Africa’s positive growth narrative has translated into sustainable economic development for young people on the African continent? The continent’s political-economic status quo presents the ANCYL with monumental historical task of fashioning international programmes which are responsive to the emerging contradictions that continue to pose a challenge towards realising sustainable economic youth development. To this end the ANCYL supports the view that the attainment of the MDGs remains a key global developmental priority which should in turn inform the Post-2015 developmental agenda.

As observed by the 24<sup>th</sup> ANCYL Congress, the acceleration of intra-African trade and integration remains a key priority, Intra African trade still remains very low in comparison with other global regions totalling a mere 7%. On the other hand intra

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<sup>4</sup> The Economist; Africa’s rise How real is the Rise of Africa? 19<sup>th</sup> June 2014,

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> South Africa’s Youth Unemployment Crisis, <http://www.numsa.org.za/article/south-africas-youth-unemployment-crisis/>, 5 March 2014, Posted in NUMSA bulletin.

<sup>7</sup> African Economic Outlook, “Youth Unemployment”, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/theme/developing-technical-vocational-skills-in-africa/tvsd-in-specific-contexts/youth-unemployment/>

European trade is estimated to be in excess of 70% and intra Asian trade is in excess of 55%,<sup>8</sup> the ANCYL affirms the call made by its 24<sup>th</sup> congress, which calls for “the development of trade corridors linking the entire African continent”.<sup>9</sup>

Further, the ANCYL notes that sustainable youth development on the continent remains hampered by a reliance on single commodities which are sold thus resulting in a lack of beneficiation, it is therefore crucial for the ANCYL to consider how best the continent’s extractive industries could be utilised for the sustainable development of young African people. The implementation of the MDGs, the post 2015 agenda, the development of Intra Africa trade and ensuring an equitable global trade regime will be crucial towards realising a better “Africa and better world”.

### **3. *Peace and Security:***

The ANCYL echoes the recognition by the ANC’s 53<sup>rd</sup> National conference that “there can be no peace without development and no development without peace”,<sup>10</sup> therefore the ANCYL affirms the recognition that South Africa’s destiny is inextricably linked to that of the SADC region and the African continent. Therefore regional and continental integration is remains crucial to the realisation of a united and economically emancipated continent.<sup>11</sup> Consequently the ANCYL affirms South Africa’s role in its continued support of regional and continental processes aimed at responding to and resolving crises, strengthening regional integration, increasing intra-African trade and championing sustainable development and increased development for Africa.<sup>12</sup> It is against this backdrop that the ANCYL notes with concern the recent political instability in the Central African Republic, Mali, Libya, South Sudan and Egypt; and supports a sustainable peaceful resolution to the conflicts through multilateral diplomatic efforts. The ANCYL further calls for the safe return of the 200 girls and 20 women who were captured by extremist elements in Nigeria. Through its progressive continental solidarity alliances (including the continent’s progressive student movement), the ANCYL calls for youth exchanges through which the continent’s youth will share perspectives and experiences towards raising awareness around peaceful conflict resolution and bring about sustainable social and economic development for the youth.

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<sup>8</sup> Maboja W, Intra Africa trade still hampered by infrastructure deficit, <http://www.cnbcafrica.com/news/resources/2013/08/01/intra-africa-trade-still-hampered-by-infrastructure-deficit/>

<sup>9</sup> ANC Youth League 24<sup>th</sup> National Congress Resolutions- Consolidated.

<sup>10</sup> ANC 53<sup>rd</sup> National Conference Resolutions

<sup>11</sup> South African Foreign Policy White Paper

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

#### **4. Human Rights:**

The ANCYL affirms the role of the South African Constitution as the main arbiter of South Africa's engagement with the continent and the rest of the World. The United Nations has declared the international decade for People of African descent from 2015 -2024; it will be launched immediately after the general debate of the sixty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly.<sup>13</sup> This is a critical intervention on the global human rights agenda, as it seeks to place a central focus on remedial strategies and interventions for the historical ills such as colonialism levelled against peoples of the African continent. Therefore, the ANCYL recognises the importance of the international decade for People of African of African descent and supports the role of the South African government in calling for the implementation of human rights priorities such as health and education and rendering the implementation process legally binding.

#### **5. Global North:**

The post-cold war era bequeathed to the world a specific configuration of global political power, consequently this power configuration was dominated by a single country in the United States of America which presided over global affairs unilaterally with close cooperation from its western allies, thus creating a uni-polar global power axis. Significant shifts have since taken place in the locus of global power, which have seen the recent emergence of alternative global centres of power reflected by countries such as Russia and China, thus the current global political landscape can be characterised as demonstrating aspects of multi-polarity. This is reflected in significant extent of trade between Russia and China which amounts to USD100 billion per annum.<sup>14</sup> However, the ANCYL deems it necessary to interrogate to what extent these shifts have resulted in a structural reform of global power and thus the improvement and much needed global governance reform?

The ANCYL also closely observes the current electoral trends in Europe and the broader West which have seen the rise of conservative political parties winning elections and forming governments. This trend has seen inter-alia the entrenchment of political economic orthodoxy and a strain on global peace architecture as these neo-conservative governments lean towards militarised solutions as a means towards resolving political conflicts. Consequently, the ANCYL affirms diplomatic negotiations through multilateral institutions towards resolving the protracted political conflict in Syria. The ANCYL condemns the unconstitutional change of political power in the Ukraine which is supported by the USA and the EU\*. The

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<sup>13</sup> UNTERM,

<http://unterm.un.org/DGAACS/unterm.nsf/8fa942046ff7601c85256983007ca4d8/96968505631c25e185257acd00772f6d?OpenDocument>

<sup>14</sup> <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/5/20/russia-china-bankdeal.html>

ANCYL notes with much concern the recent resurgence of political instability in Iraq; and consequently takes exception to the utterances of the USA President Obama who stated that the US is prepared for “targeted and precise military action, if and when...the situation on the ground requires it”.<sup>15</sup> The ANCYL reaffirms the peaceful resolution of conflict in Iraq through the United Nations multilateral system.

## **6. UN Reform and Youth Participation**

The youth comprises a significant component of the global population, number of youth between the ages of 15 and 24 stands at 1.1 billion, constituting 18% of the world’s population.<sup>16</sup> This presents a compelling case for the inclusion of youth in global decision making structures such as the UN. Following on the United Nations General Assembly’s 1995 adoption of the “World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and beyond”-this presented a global framework to address key youth issues.<sup>17</sup> The ANCYL affirms the centrality of development, peace and participation as the key global youth priorities.

The UN Charter as accordingly amended seeks to promote democratic global governance and remains the most relevant instrument for the promotion and realisation of a just and equitable world order which prioritises the enjoyment of fundamental rights, sustainable social and economic progress and a better life for all global citizens. The Charter seeks to “maintain international peace and security...to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples...to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion and to be the centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends”.<sup>18</sup> These commitment set out by the UN Charter are a central guide towards strategies and programmatic interventions towards a holistic attainment of sustainable development and economic emancipation for the youth. Therefore the ANYCL has an obligation to critically assess to what extent the letter and spirit promoted by the UN Charter informs global actions? And to what extent do these accrue to the benefit of the youth?

In pursuit of a substantive global governance reform agenda, the ANCYL notes the amendments that were made to the UN Charter, including the amendment made to Article 23 of 17 December 1963 which increased the size of the United Nations

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27932443>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.advocatesforyouth.org/publications/publications-a-z/455-youth-and-the-state-of-the-world>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> UN Charter, San Francisco 1945, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

Security Council (UNSC) from eleven members to fifteen. This amendment also made room for rotational and non-permanent representation on the UNSC, which made it possible for South Africa to serve two terms on the United Nations Security Council. Whilst the ANCYL and the youth of the world commend this amendment, the use of the veto power of by the five permanent members of the UNSC is noted with concern.

This demonstrates an uneven distribution of power in the global governance framework which sees countries of the developing South enjoying significantly less influence and representation in comparison with their counterparts in the global North. This anomaly stands to hamper the pursuit and attainment of agenda of complete economic and social justice for the youth. Consequently the ANCYL embraces the various reform initiatives which include the Common African position on the proposed UN reforms (Ezulwini Consensus). The ANCYL also notes the role the International Criminal Court (ICC) has played in dispensing international legal justice and takes a dim view of its disproportionate prosecution of Africa leaders since its inception, when the Rome Statute entered into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2002 after ratification by 60 countries.<sup>19</sup>

### ***7. Multilateralism and the promotion of the African Agenda Globally***

Institutions such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) , International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organisation, United Nations, G20 amongst others speak about African Rising. None of the above institutions carries the plight and interest of African people but rather in their actions clearly shows no intention to allow Africa to be economically emancipated. Africa will only rise to the benefit of its people if the necessary reforms of these institutions come into effect. The ANCYL should interrogate the concept of African Rising as viewed by multilateral institutions and establish whether this rise would be in view of development and prosperity in Africa.

Thus, unity in the continent is a cornerstone when taking positions in multilateral institutions in the interest of the people of Africa imperative. Africa is not homogenous but common platforms and decisions on common areas of agreement politically, socially and economically should be advocated to ensure that the objectives on the continent of lasting peace, development and prosperity is accomplished.

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<sup>19</sup> [http://icc-cpi.int/en\\_menus/icc/about%20the%20court/Pages/about%20the%20court.aspx](http://icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/about%20the%20court/Pages/about%20the%20court.aspx)

The ANC YL embraces the vision and priorities of, one such platform, Agenda 2063 initiated by the African Union Commission as an approach of how the continent takes the lessons learnt from the past, “build on the progress now underway and strategically exploit all possible opportunities available in the immediate and medium term, so as to ensure positive socioeconomic transformation within the next 50 years”.<sup>20</sup> In its vision and priorities “at its heart, this new roadmap, emphasizes the importance to success of rekindling the passion for Pan-Africanism, a sense of unity, self-reliance, integration and solidarity that was a highlight of the triumphs of the 20th century.”<sup>20</sup>

### ***The Non-Aligned movement (NAM)***

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded in 1961 and consists of an intergovernmental organisation that ensure “the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the non-aligned countries” in their “struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neoliberalism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics.”<sup>22</sup> Historically, NAM played a role in the resolution of conflicts and supported liberation movements from parts of the world including, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The movement endeavoured to produce an independent path in world politics to prevent Member States from being dragged in as hostages in the power struggles between major countries. This resulted in a large part of its history being influenced by the global tensions of the Cold War between two Super powers. The Cold War has ended and the Soviet Union no longer exists and the countries that formed the Soviet Union are now individual sovereign countries with different ideological positions.

At the 16th NAM Summit in Tehran, Iran held in August 2012, the membership of NAM was 120 . The main focus of the last NAM Summit was on nuclear disarmament, human rights and regional issues. The only issue raised about youth at the summit captured in the Tehran Declaration is that “Special attention should be paid to the rights of the youth and women and the way be paved for building capacity in this respect and facilitating their participation in the politico-social and economic processes.”<sup>23</sup>

The ANC YL continues to embrace the objectives of NAM as the realities of globalisation, imperialisms and global neo-liberal agenda continues to persist. which the movement sort.

The next meeting is scheduled to be held in Venezuela in 2015 and the ANCYL together with the global progressive youth movement, whose countries are members of NAM, should more vigorously advocate and lobby in line with WYPA for youth representation in the NAM Summits as well as their representation in the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation. Achieving the recent mentioned would allow the Youth to advance relevant



issues pertaining to youth challenges in the developing world finding its way onto the agenda, particularly, in Africa around large numbers of unemployment, attaining peace and security, youth development and prosperity.

The NAM has become more relevant since the end of Cold War, becoming more prominent with the number of countries participation increasing due to the continued unilateral action of the US and its allies. Nevertheless, NAMs major challenge, although it produces excellent program of actions towards attaining its objectives, is the role the neo-liberal media's abatement of the impact of NAM and its resolutions.

How could the progressive youth movement assist with ensuring that the resolutions of NAM Summits become more Prominent in the Media space and what how should NAM organise its communications profile to outmanouvre the neo-liberal agenda of attempting to make its decisions irrelevant. How can NAM be utilised as vehicle of investigating challenges the roots of country internal conflicts in Africa to find lasting sustainable peace in these countries as a premise for development to address the Youth Challenges so that the youth would realise economic emancipation in this lifetime?

### **The Group of 77 (G77)+China**

The G77 established on 15 June 1964 by seventy seven countries which signed a "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). It retained the name although it has increased to 132 countries (including China).

In the G77 countries of the South are able to discuss and promote their collective economic interests and negotiate jointly on all major international economic issues within the United Nations.

The ANCYL must continue to support and commend the G77 + China for the positions they are taking to advocate for reforms in the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The youth agenda initially found its way onto the agenda of the G77 at the Ministers meeting held in New York on 25 September 2009 when "The Ministers valued and supported the initiative by H.E. President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia, calling for proclaiming 2010 a "World Youth Year", and for organizing during the same year, under the auspices of the United Nations, and in cooperation with the concerned international organizations, a world youth conference to be attended by young people from all parts of the world and which shall focus on youth issues and be crowned with the issuing of an international pact, to serve as a close tie uniting all young people of the world in their commitment to the common universal values."<sup>24</sup> The youth matters has been on the agenda

since 2009 in different ways but main focus has been on social and educational aspects of youth as pronounced on by various country presidents.

The Summit held in Santa Cruz, Bolivia in June 2014 deliberated extensively on some of the challenges faced by young people. Under its decisions of Creating employment declared that they “are deeply concerned about the continuing high levels of unemployment and underemployment, particularly among young people, and affirm our commitment to reducing unemployment through employment-intensive macroeconomic and development policies”.<sup>25</sup> They “affirm the need to launch an intergovernmental process, within the United Nations, to include the issue of youth employment and youth concerns in the current process of the post-2015 development agenda”;<sup>25</sup> and further “affirm the need to launch an intergovernmental process within the United Nations to develop a global strategy on improving employment skills and generating youth employment”<sup>25</sup>

The ANC YL welcomes the positions taken by the G77 to deal with challenges faced by the youth in many developing countries. The ANCYL further calls for the development of the strategies to deal with youth unemployment be fast-tracked and a program for speedy implementation be rolled out as soon as possible. The ANCYL also calls for the focus not just to be on the creation of employment but also on entrepreneurship and sustainable programmes to create self-employment be implemented.

## **G20**

The global crisis that struck the international arena 1999 again in 2007 maturing in 2008 is a crisis of the “ideology and system of global capitalism” which has evolved. The G20 was established in 1999 to address the global financial crisis and has been unable to address the issues to create radical global economic reforms because the North in the G20 continues to ensure that neoliberal agenda remains without taking into account the proposals tabled by the South. Thus the impact of the G20 rendering the role of resolving the global crisis has become irrelevant.

There is a persistent trend developing of a small group of countries usurping the role of the more democratic United Nations and creating exclusive clubs. The youth should be concerned about this continual development of the undermining of the legitimate body i.e. UN. The youth should further find mechanisms of exchange between the various countries to influence positive agenda changes that would create a process of ensuring that the legitimate multilateral body plays its role decisively. Further ensuring that the plight of the youth is taken into account and that is influenced by greater Youth representation within these structures to ensure their issues serve on the agenda of those discussing issues of global importance that directly impact on them amongst others.

The ANC Youth League should further continue to support as stipulated in the ANC conference resolutions on the G20 but should assess the issues that have been evolving within these structures and dissect if the G20 has been impactful at any point to find solutions to the global crisis which has been impacting negatively in Southern Africa, Africa and countries in the South.

The ANCYL ought to apply their minds to the fact that South Africa is the only African country in the G20 and if this would have any impact for Africa? Analysis and discussion on whether the agenda of the G20 is beneficial to realise a just, equitable and humane world? How relevant are the decisions of the G20 to youth challenges and would it impact significantly to create a positive environment for young people?

The G20 Youth Summits take place outside G20 meetings since 2005. "That concept of the "G8 Youth Summit" and the "G20 Youth Summit" involves the selection of young experts by a jury to become the young heads of states and ministers for the "G8 Youth Summit" and the "G20 Youth Summit". During the Summit the young heads of states and ministers meet together and work over several sessions in order to produce the Final Recommendations (Communique) to be presented to international organizations, governments and society at large." Another elite organisation that operates on a selection basis. A non-governmental organisation, thus how does an organisation like the ANCYL become active participants in these summits and how successful is the Forum in influencing governments of Member States of the G20.

### **India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA)**

IBSA was established in June 2003 as a coordinating mechanism amongst three emerging countries of multi ethnic and multicultural democracies. The three countries decided to:

- “• contribute to the construction of a new international architecture
- bring their voice together on global issues
- deepen their ties in various areas”.<sup>27</sup>

IBSA areas of cooperation is through working groups or people-to-people. IBSA have various projects of cooperation and partnerships with developing countries in areas such as health, education, culture, energy, amongst others.

IBSA has contact points, working groups, various sectors (including women and social issues) and forums (including Business and Academic Forum).

Agreements exist on women cooperation but youth cooperation through sports and cultural exchange programmes exists but there are no youth agreements.

The ANCYL should consider what agreements could be established to promote cultural, educational and skills development by utilising this vehicle. Clarity on the impact of the role of IBSA on the African Continent

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

BRICS is the association established of five major emerging economies. The original formation was BRIC established in 2001 and South Africa was included in April 2011 BRICS has had five summits in each of the countries respectively.

BRICS from the onset was committed to reform international financial institutions and therefore at the first summit adopted the principles as follows:

- democratic and transparent decision-making and implementation process at the international financial organizations;
- solid legal basis;
- compatibility of activities of effective national regulatory institutions and international standard-setting bodies;

strengthening of risk management and supervisory practices.

BRICs had established governmental cooperation on Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Health, Finance/Economics, National Security Advisers and Senior Officials Science and Technology. It had established an Academic and Business Fora, it held a competition conference, has a statistic organisation, Development Bank, Joint Study, Friendship Cities.

South Africa hosted the Fifth BRICS Summit in Durban in March 2013. At this meeting new for a was established:

- BRICS Public Diplomacy Forum.
- BRICS Anti-Corruption Cooperation.
- BRICS State Owned Companies / State Owned Enterprises. - National Agencies Responsible for Drug Control.
- BRICS virtual secretariat. - BRICS Youth Policy Dialogue. - Tourism. - Energy. - Sports and Mega Sporting Events.<sup>28</sup>

BRICS Youth Programme has unfolded and the South African government held the first BRICS National Youth Consultative conference in November 2014. Discussions ensued

around a number of issues such as opportunities for youth in BRICS Development Bank and BRICS Council.

The ANCYL must ensure that it actively participates in the Youth Consultative meetings. The ANC Youth League should and be at the forefront of carrying forward the needs of youth and insist on the development of a programme of implementation for advancing the youth agenda in a developmental and prosperous way.

Global progressive youth movements and alliances:

As mentioned in the previous 24<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Youth League global youth representation does not necessarily translate into equity and prosperity in Africa and the developing world. This is even more evasive under the current circumstances where the global crisis has intensified and the increase in unemployment has not just affected the youth in Africa and developing world but has now directly affected people in the North and in greater numbers in countries such as Spain, Portugal and Greece. The ever increasing rate of unemployment of both skilled and unskilled labour has its largest numbers residing amongst the youth. Therefore it becomes even more imperative for ANC Youth League to pursue the programme to unite and galvanise the support of the broad progressive movement in general and on the African continent with the African Diaspora, in particular. The Pan-African Youth Movement and strengthened African Union and the African Youth Diaspora will realise this objective. However, in pursuant of this objective it would be important for the ANCYL through the networks that is established moving towards the progressive movement to also create unity amongst African youth, galvanising the support of others in the global youth arena to build a strong movement for peace in the world, in particular in Africa. Without sustainable peace in the continent development and economic emanancipation would become a distant dream for many.

The UN convenes an annual meeting of about 100 youth of which some are selected. This is the together with the UN Secretary General's report and possible youth member state representation is the only way youth participate in the meetings. This participation is very limiting and thus does not allow for much space for the youth to ensure that their issues are in the agendas and programmes of the UN.

***The World Federation for Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) direct the progressive youth agenda in the world:***

**World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)**

WFDY established on 10 November 1945 at the World Youth Confence held in London. The conferene was the initiative of the World Youth Council formed after World War II to fight against facism by youth of the allied to countries brought together for the first time in history of the internaitonal youth movement representatives of more than 30 million young

people of different political ideologies and religious beliefs from 63 nations. The ANC Youth League was amongst the founding members of the Festival movement and today the federation is the largest network of progressive youth.

The late Andile Yawabing was the first African President in WFDY. Since 1947 we have had ANCYL members, including progressive youth participating in the festival namely; Ahmed Kathrada (Former Secre, Victor Mbobob, Sonia Bunting, Dawood Seedat, Bax Nomvete, Percy Cohen, . Lionel Forman and his wife were representing the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Dr Nthatho Motlana, Welile Nhlapo, Jackie Selebi amongst others. In 1952 it attracted 1,500 participants with a variety programme of Music, Dance, Discussion and a special Football match of Youth vs. Veterans. The Veterans had national figures whose very presence, even without play, made the day for the overwhelmed fans. J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Oliver Tambo and other popular leaders and personalities

Participation at the Bucharest Festival was enhanced by the invitation of the Secretary General of the ANC (Walter Sisulu) and the Secretary General of the ANCYL (Duma Nokwe) as Guests of Honour. The actual delegates included Henry Makgothi, Paul Joseph, Alfred Hutchinson and four others. After the Festival, they were taken on a tour of Socialist countries: Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, Poland, and Czechoslovakia among others. In August 1967, Sindiso Mfenyana was assigned to WFDY Secretariat on behalf of ANC Youth and remained there till August 1970. In 1968 the Festival was held in Sofia, Bulgaria. By the time of the next Festival in 1972, which was held in East Berlin, the Youth Representative in Budapest was Conny Dlingea (Vakala)

After Conny Dlingea the ANC Youth representative at the WFDY secretariat was Max Sisulu, who became part of the organising committee (responsible for Africa) for the Cuban Youth Festival, held in Havana in 1978. The Head of the ANC Youth contingent to the Cuban festival, held in 1976 was Eddie Funde This was the biggest South African contingent to any Youth Festival. The delegation to Cuba in part travelled by ship. The South African representative at the WFDY after Sisulu was Jackie Selebi. The next festival after Havana was held Moscow in 1985. The head of the ANC Youth and Students was Welile Nhlapo. Other ANC youth leaders at the Moscow Youth Festival, were Manala Manzini and former Director General in the Presidency Vusi Mavimbela.

Following the above-mentioned leaders' participation over the years, there has been continual representation to the World Youth and Student Festivals from the ANC Youth League and therefore South Africa was eventually afforded the opportunity to host this significant event, the 17th World Youth and Student Festival in December 2013.

The 18<sup>th</sup> World Youth and Student Festival held in Quito Ecuador in December 2013 under the theme “**Youth unite against imperialism, for a world of peace, solidarity and social transformation!**” The main objectives of the Festival was to:

- **Raise critical** current issues in order to impact the shaping of policies of the world and governments of world
- **Unite the youth of the world** for peace, solidarity and social transformation to create a world free of human rights abuses and creation of sustainable environments. The main characteristic of WFDY is its solidarity, peace and democracy.
- Platform to assist the South African Youth in the pursuit of creating awareness and building an active citizenry with government departments as part of **mainstreaming** youth development issues throughout government’s economic and social development programmes.
- Integrate a youth focus with **Government outcomes**, particularly outcomes 4&5 (employment, economic growth, skills development), outcomes 7 & 8 (rural development & improved quality of household life) and outcome 11 (social cohesion).

The ANC Youth League together with the PYA structures formed a sizeable delegation at the festival and actively participated in the Programme.

### ***International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY)***

The ANC is a member of the Socialist International (SI). IUSY The International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) is the youth component aligned to SI and It brings together democratic socialist youth and student.

The ANCYL must be active in this terrain as it held the President position and Secretary General positions, respectively, in the past. Currently there is very little interaction and this should be rectified.

A new body known as the Progressive Alliance has emerged post the SI Council meeting hosted by the ANC in 2012. This body is operating as a parallel structure to the Socialist International. The ANCYL through active participation should assess whether the agenda of the Progressive Alliance has spilled over into IUSY.

# **YOUTH SOLIDARITY IN ACTION FOR A BETTER AFRICA, IN A BETTER WORLD**

## **BACKGROUND:**

Discussions and therefore Resolutions of the ANCLY 25<sup>th</sup> National Congress would need to root and base themselves on some of the key fundamental and emerging trends about and on the youth in Africa and beyond. These emerging and fundamental trends, as reflected below, present both the opportunities for effective engagement towards a youth that is seen and capable of playing a positive role in their individual countries, as well as collectively, across the continent and globally. Conversely, these trends also present or reflect the fundamental challenges that a progressive youth movement such as that of the ANCYL would have to grapple with in order to confront, deal, and therefore able to advance an agenda that would seek to contribute to transforming the lives of the younger population, in particular on the continent, and globally.

## **MOBILISING THEME/AGENDA:**

The current generation of the ANCYL derives its strength from the struggles and political mobilization of its former leadership and cadres from a previous generation. Of all the decisive moments and epochs in the life struggle of the young people, under the banner of the ANC, the 1949 generation continues to be a reference point, with good reason. This was a generation, that not only assumed the mantle of leadership within the broader movement, but it also had the courage of its conviction to imagine a different and better future not only for South Africa, but indeed for the rest of the continent. The 1949 generation, responded to, and discharged its responsibilities under the mobilizing programme of action entitled, "Freedom In Our Lifetime".

The coincidence of history demands that, when traversing the challenges facing the continent, the generation of today adopts this clarion call of Freedom In Our Lifetime, both in word, in deed and in action. However, the generation of today must be calling for a different freedom in our lifetime. It is a freedom that must connects the struggles for a better Africa, in a better world in South Africa with those that are being prosecuted by other youth formations in other parts of the continent.

Although this generation is called upon to maintain this as its mobilizing theme and agenda, it is however, freedom under different circumstances. These are circumstances that require an enlarged framing of the ideas of freedom to mean and to include freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to live in dignity. These three freedoms have to be inter-



connected and weaved together so that an all-round struggle for a continent that is politically stable, economically prosperous, and socially cohesive could be attained.

The African people's yearning for these freedoms, which are sharply expressed through the younger generation, finds expression in the continued indignity visited upon young people who are unemployed, who subjected to the harsh reality of wars and poverty, and who, as a result resort to all manner of dangerous activities including the continued exit to other continents, being used and abused as guns for hire in many a conflict situation on the continent. At the same time, Africa can tell many stories of young people who have been able to, under guided political leadership and engagements make a contribution to a continent that is changing.

### **EMERGING TRENDS:**

The fundamental issue concerning the current crop (read: generation) of African leaders with regard to the continent's significant and growing population of young people is one that is intrinsically intertwined with broader considerations relating to development, socio-economic advancement, security and stability, in other words, the issues of larger freedoms.

Indeed, as cited in the complementary report of the 2012 Ibrahim Forum, "*African Youth: Fulfilling their Potential*", Africa is the only continent with a significant growing youth population to the extent that in less than three generations 41% of the world's youth will be African. It is also estimated that by 2035, Africa's labour force will be larger than China's. Additionally, different studies have forecasted that in the not-too-distant future Africa will possess the lowest economic dependency ratio in the world (referring to the percentage of the continental population who will be economically active *vis-à-vis* those who are either too young to work or are of retirement age). These general trends, which are often collectively grouped together and understood within the rubric of Africa's 'youth bulge' present a number of potential positive and negative implications for the stability and security of the continent – particularly in light of the relatively recent experiences in North Africa, where young people were at the forefront of mobilized efforts to bring about political changes and shifts through concerted mass protests.

Specifically, the overriding potential positive features of this youth bulge refer to an ever-expanding working-age population, and the associated benefits that this may confer on the political-economy of the continent in terms of:

- Larger (and potentially more diversified) national economic markets;
- Greater propensity for economic growth and development based on market expansion;
- and

- Greater levels of civic and political engagements on social and political issues.

This potential is, however, hampered by a myriad of challenges currently confronting the continent's youth - which, if not adequately addressed, may conversely exacerbate existing challenges to the extent that meaningful gains *vis-à-vis* security and stability are jeopardized. These challenges are inclusive of, but not limited to the following:

- **Education:** by most measures, education levels across the continent lag behind global standards. In the context of an increasingly globalised economic system premised primarily on the principle of labour competitiveness this may well exacerbate and entrench the status quo of underdevelopment and under-performing national economies.<sup>20</sup>
- **Unemployment:** An associated issue, in the broader context of education, is the considerable levels of unemployment (and under-employment) in formal economic activity by young Africans. Indeed, it is estimated that the informal sector represents more than 80% of total employment in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, it is often cited that most young Africans are better educated although less employed than their parents, and that the key economic sectors in Africa which drive GDP growth are generally capital-intensive - to the detriment of labour and the creation of meaningful employment opportunities. These are significant issues which require redress as it effectively excludes young job-seekers from the security provided by formal employment in terms of worker rights, whilst dually contributing nothing to the expansion of states' tax bases which could be used to further advance socio-economic development policies and thereby build the existing stock of human capital across Africa.
- **Inequality:** Compounding the above-mentioned challenges is the issue of inequality and the vastly different levels of youth development across the continent. A key component of these differences are the fundamental developmental challenges experienced by certain communities across Africa in terms of access to healthcare, justice, social services and of course education.

Cumulatively, these challenges, if not adequately addressed would likely generate a critical mass of upward pressure on national governments to reform - and may generate a considerable wave of instability and insecurity across the continent. A case in point, being

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- <sup>20</sup> Current African educational levels are lower than China's and India's;
- Roughly 50% of all African countries have a pupil-teacher ratio of 40 to 1;
- 50% of primary school-age children are out of school in Niger;
- Education is not compulsory in Ethiopia;

the birth of what became known in popular culture as the Arab Spring, a significant epoch in the recent history of the continent, where young people in countries such as Tunisia and Egypt rose up against what they perceived as social and political injustices created by the failures of their respective governments to provide the necessary public goods and thereby contribute to their social mobility, and development.

Thus, a well-informed, pragmatic and holistic policy framework must be advanced now in order to optimally account for the challenges of tomorrow. In essence, it is the development of this policy, and the effectiveness of its implementation, that is the fundamental determinant of whether Africa's youth bulge will either come to be understood as an asset or a liability in the not-too-distant future - such that the continent reaps the full benefit of this demographic dividend.

### **Contemporary Developments and Context:**

#### ***Post-2015 Development Agenda***

Following these trends, Congress would convene during a politically interesting epoch in the recent history of Africa and that of the world. Firstly, 2014 marks an end of what has been called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were essentially an internationally agreed common approach to dealing with a collage of socio-economic and political challenges that needed to be addressed so that the world can be a better place. To date, many a studies have been done which show the extent to which many African States lagged behind from being able to fulfill or to meet these goals. While attention has indeed been focused on this failure to meet the MDGs, particular attention was not paid to the dominant international context, both economic and political, that inhibited Africa's forward march to fulfill these goals. A question that has never been correctly and concretely answered was whether, in a world where neo-liberal, and abundantly capitalist world holds sway, would it have been possible to advance genuinely the full fulfillment of these goals.

However, the focus of the world's attention in 2015 and beyond would be the process under which a new global development agenda (Post-2015) has to be created. These new global indicators and benchmarks of development will be decided upon and finalized at the next UN General Assembly meeting and would have followed a lengthy and much more comprehensive series of consultations than those that informed in the MDGs.

It is important to note that while youth engagement, particularly in Africa, around the Post-2015 Development Agenda will be critical in supporting broad-development across the continent, what is of equal importance is the support provided by African youth on the **common position** adopted by African Heads of State and Government on the Post-2015 Agenda itself. While the Agenda is yet to be finalized, it is critical that the youth mobilize

around these issues from now in anticipation of the decisions taken at the next UN General Assembly. This would mean among other things, and as a lesson from the failures to fulfill the MDGs, that the youth ought to remain engaged on the implementation of the Post-2015 Development Agenda and serve as a centre of gravity of efforts to ensure its full implementation, so that, in our lifetime, there would no need for such an Agenda.

Additionally, this mobilization and engagement must be further tempered by an appreciation of the Other Agreed International Development Goals (AIDGs), which taken together with the MDGs should have been able to contribute to a better world. Part of the challenge in this ending period of MDGs was that the focus on these Goals meant that there was less attention paid to the fact that these were but, part of other existing Goals that the world leaders had not been able to live up to or to fulfill. In sum, it is essential that struggles and campaigns led by the youth form part and parcel of the Resolutions of Congress, on issues of development, in order to hold both Governments on the continent and beyond to account in relation to the fulfillment of these goals.

Concomitant to the above is a need to face up to the reality that the agenda to reform the global institutions of political and economic governance for the greater benefits of Africa, and all humanity at large is not yet accomplished. Therefore, any engagements on the Post-2015 Development Agenda must not be separated from the existing struggles for the transformation and reform of these institutions. In this regard, the youth must take stalk of the African Common Position on UN Reform (*Ezulwini Consensus*), and consider what progress has been made in advancing this agenda, and thereby identify spaces and strategies for further and more determined campaign for its realization. However, in doing so, the youth must not assume a posture that uncritically accepts this Common Position, meaning that, a genuine reflection should be done, to consider whether the position is still viable? Is Africa still fully united behind it? And if so, what role should the youth play in further advancing this position or if need be, call for some re-engagements on the issue. As things stand, it serves no revolutionary purpose to have crafted a Common African Position on such an important issue but fail to constantly and persistently ensure that it remains on the agenda of all relevant multilateral fora both inside Africa and beyond.

### ***African Union's Agenda 2063:***

Congress would convene a year after the adoption of the ***African Union Agenda 2063*** which is premised on “A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development” in Africa. The Agenda 2063 presents a visionary programme of action for the continent for the next 50 years. It is pillared on the AU’s Vision of an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, an Africa driven and managed by its own citizen and representing a dynamic force in the international arena. The Vision contains eight key pillars around which

a programme of action for a different continent in 2063 would be implemented, and these pillars include: African Identity and Renaissance; the struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination of peoples still under colonial rule; Agenda for social and economic development and the agenda for peace and security, among other things. The pillars of this Agenda are directly connected to most of the previous discussions, and Resolutions of the ANCYL including issues of self-determination and anti-colonialism. As such it should be proper to engage with this Vision thoroughly, and find areas and issues that the youth can be able to mobilize towards a common cause.

For example, the remaining call within the Agenda 2063 for self-determination opens up further spaces for continued engagements on the question of Western Sahara. One of the issues to be reflected upon is that fact that, 30 years on since the progressive decision of then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to recognize the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), this question is yet to be resolved. Accordingly, and in the context of a commitment that remains as expressed within the Agenda 2063, we would need to take stalk of what have been the contributing factors that have resulted in Africa not being able to contribute to the full resolution of this challenge. In this regard, one of the issues to note is that not all African countries have remained seized with this matter, due in part, to a concerted diplomatic and international strategies deployed by the Government of Morocco which result in some of the countries on the continent deciding not to openly support the cause of self-determination in Western Sahara. For the progressive youth the matter has to be understood in its correct historical context, including the fact that, the African position on Western Sahara is not necessarily anti-Morocco, as it has often been made to appear, it is however, following through the decisions of relevant international bodies, and it's aligned to international law, which grants every person a right to determine for themselves their own sovereignty. Given the fact that 30 years on this issue remains unresolved, whereas it is part and parcel of the campaign programmes of many a progressive forces, it is arguably time to reflect on what more needs to be done, and what other strategies could be deployed for a decisive action towards the resolution of this issue. Either way, and until such time that a contrary decision is taken, progressive youth should re-commit itself not to lower its voice on this self-determination question.

Progressive youth would have to engage with this Agenda as it seeks to contribute and build a continent that is united. Such an Agenda is made more important today given what is clearly the presence of a determined offensive to oppose such unity within the continent. This determined offensive is found in for instance the gatherings such as Africa-EU whereby in this case, the EU would decide on its own who to invite, at the expense of the continent's positions on these issues.

The infringement to such unity on the continent is also found in how Africa's stance when it comes to the International Criminal Court (ICC) has been approached, and viewed by many actors. We are made to believe that Africa is opposed to justice and that the African leadership wants to continue a culture of impunity on the continent which is why it is opposed to the ICC taking action where it deems necessary. However, the AU's position is more nuanced than what has been reflected. It must be recalled, first, that the AU's position on the ICC emerged around the time when many negotiation processes were underway on the continent including between Sudan and South Sudan. The initial call made by the African leadership was for the International Community, through the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to invoke Article 16 of the Rome Statutes which inter alia, allows for a deferral of an investigation or prosecution for a period of 12 months. This approach was never engaged with by the international community and the UNSC in particular, as it should have. It is quite possible that it is within this context that African position got hardened, and overtime it was able to clearly articulate that matters of justice should not be used or interfered with by political and foreign interests on the continent.

Another matter that arises out of the Agenda 2063 is that of how Africans can and should shape and drive our own perceptions on and of Africa, that is, Africans must tell their own story. As the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia Zenawi would argue, if we do not shape our own destiny, someone else would shape it for us! One of the challenges we confront is that most of what we know, read, and hear about the continent is reflected and written by those who are not from the continent, but also, and this is core of the challenge, from a perspective and epistemology of imperialism. This perception and angle is easily demonstrated for instance, on how the international media would shine a spot-light on any issue long enough until the interests of the powerful have been served. This was for instance the case in Libya (when an agenda was at play to remove Ghadaffi) and in Ivory Coast (when an agenda was at play to remove former President Gbabgo). Today, the media is silent on Libya; there is hardly any coverage, similar to what went on during the NATO campaign, on the current violent civil conflicts in Libya. This demonstrates how the global media, supported by some of their counterparts in Africa, would use their power to shape and influence our views about the continent.

Accordingly, it becomes important for Congress to decide on how to enhance the quality of engagements and understanding, through an on-going political education programmes on issues of international relations, in particular as they relate to Africa. One of our tasks which would contribute a great deal to the Agenda 2063, a task that is very much relevant in our context as a country, is how to re-shape the existing pessimistic attitudes about the continent that still exist in this country. It should therefore not be a challenge to among other things, for the ANCYL to strengthen its information campaigns by making use of important political calendar days in Africa such as Africa Day (May 25), African Refugee Day

(20 June), to discuss, engage, inform and make them as platforms for political education. These efforts could go a long way in contributing to an ideological battle that continues to define Africa as a continent without much hope or any progress.

***Conflict and Instability:***

Particular attention must be paid to the ongoing political malaise of numerous countries across the continent which directly impact, first and foremost, on human security - as well as socio-economic development more broadly. In this regard, Congress is urged to consider, specifically, the cases of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Central African Republic (CAR), Sudan and South Sudan as well Mali, Nigeria and Somalia to varying degrees. In considering these cases, we must not lose sight of the many, and dominant interests from outside the continent that have a negative role to play, and therefore continue to derive benefits from these on-going conflict situations. For instance, the protracted nature of the conflicts in DRC continues side by side with the never-ending extractive industries that continue to exploit the country's mineral resources. To be sure, such a perspective does not seek to shift the burden of responsibility from the leadership of some of these countries, however, it serves to underscore a point that, powerful and dominant international interests are at play in some of these situations.

With regard to the dynamic political and security-related developments in South Sudan for example, there is indeed great scope for inter-party dialogue which may be centered on the exchange of knowledge to help strengthen a robust democratic culture within the SPLM. Such efforts would go a long way in terms of dispelling the popular, if not dominant, notion that the SPLM is simply a military outfit that parades as a political party.

Indeed, facilitated youth exchanges to these ends could be highly effective as it is specifically the youth who may make a marked difference to the current political trajectory of the country. Most significantly, however, is the potential role that a progressive youth delegation from South Africa could play in outlining the specific challenges encountered and effectively addressed (through dialogue, negotiation and concessions) by the ANC in terms of the country's social cohesion in the post-Apartheid era. Indeed, many parallel lessons could be drawn and applied to the current challenges being faced by the South Sudanese with specific reference to the ongoing tensions within the SPLM which has taken and expressed itself in militarized and identity-based manner.

Similarly, in Somalia, for example, there exists a significant margin of opportunity to engage with the country's youth particularly on the issue of strengthening the Federal Government and what concessions would need to be considered for the purpose of longer-term national unity and social cohesion. This area of intervention is also well placed for further consideration with Central African youth who, whilst grappling with the immediate concerns

of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform, will need to be further engaged on issues of nation building, reconciliation and sustainable socioeconomic development. Indeed, it is specifically within the realm of reconciliation, dialogue and nation building that there is much room for engagement with youth from across the continent. By leveraging these strengths - which are merited by South Africa's liberation history - the YL can make significant in-roads into areas previously considered the sole domain of more traditional actors.

The issues of peace and stability on the continent are further compounded by the increasing militarization of many conflict situations on the continent, which end resulting in armed violence. A number of factors coalesce to account for this militarization but they include, the persistence of programmes such as AFRICOM, the speed with which outside forces, as it happened in Mali and CAR (with France) would immediately deploy their forces on African soil all in the name of defending or contributing to peace and stability. Of course the presence of foreign militaries on the continent must enjoy a nuanced understanding by the progressive youth, that is, while we should be able to oppose these moves s they serve only to stress situations that are already complex, we must not shy away of admitting that the existing weaknesses within the continent itself, when it comes to issues of peace and security do contribute to such foreign presence.

Accordingly, the attention of a progressive youth, and therefore it mobilizing principles when it comes to a secure and stable continent should be multi-prong and seek to address the following: a) being opposed to a military response, especially by foreign elements on the continent; b) further engage, and campaign for the full realization of African efforts such as the African Standby Force (ASF), as this would frustrate the efforts of outside forces deploying on the continent. In this connection, efforts such as the African Capacity for Immediate *Response* to Crises (ACIRC), whose formation has yielded positive results in the situation in the DRC where the ability of negative forces such as M23 to unleash violence on civilians was greatly crippled, are among those that require encouragement. These efforts, it must be noted, should not be perceived as ends in themselves, but a means to an end. A means that should enable the emergence of dialogue, and ending violent conflict on the continent through dialogue.

However, reflections on peace and security on the continent by contingent of progressive youth should also be able to acknowledge that great many strides have been achieved on the continent when it comes to ending violent wars, both inter-and intra-states. This acknowledgement must also be informed by a view that all has been made possible by determined and responsible collective leadership of the continent to take rightful ownership of efforts to bring about peace and stability in Africa.



Accordingly, in order to fully lend support to the ongoing efforts of the African Union (AU), within the context of Agenda 2063 and its call to *end all wars by 2020*, it is imperative that progressive South African youth formations become much more aware of, and attuned to, the most pressing challenges standing in the way of a unified and prosperous Africa. It is therefore important to make clear and determined Resolutions on what should be the role of progressive youth towards Vision 2020 that is a Vision that commits all of us not to bequeath the burden of conflicts and wars to the next generation. Moreover, it is imperative that these challenges are contextualized within the pan-Africanist school of thought such that there may be a far greater degree of coherence and coordination of efforts by the ANCYL through all of its associated efforts toward a better Africa, in a better world.

### ***Socio-Economic Issues:***

It is also critically important to facilitate a greater engagement of the country's progressive youth movements on socio-economic challenges facing the continent in order to allow us to understand how such challenges are indeed largely informed by external forces, which may be directly attributable to the exploitative, unjust and unsustainable practices associated with global capitalism. By making these necessary links between the nature of the world's dominant economic paradigm, the skewed level of development in and amongst African states, and the plight of the continent's most vulnerable and marginalized communities, invaluable insight would be provided. This would in turn be drawn upon in order to act and intervene in line with an articulation of the Freedom Charter on a continental stage, and in line with the six pillars<sup>21</sup> of the ANC's International Relations Programme of Action.

Other broader, albeit critical, areas of international youth engagement should be considered vis-à-vis healthcare issues, for example, and the lessons learned by SA in its ongoing fight against HIV and AIDS. Moreover, technical youth exchanges could focus on issues to do with nutrition, higher education and learning; as well as the processes, mechanisms and structures which have been established by the youth in order to facilitate the accumulation of human capital and advance a more equitable and just society. It would also be wise to facilitate inter-youth dialogue sessions on how the structures and processes complement and support their respective national development frameworks in order to generate recommendations and lessons learned.

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<sup>21</sup> These are namely:

- *Building a better Africa and World inclusive of peace building, post-conflict reconstruction and development*
- *Continental and International Solidarity*
- *Party-to-Party, Intra-party and Multiparty Relations*
- *Transformation of Global Governance*
- *Policy Development Issues*
- *Campaigns*

Another key area of consideration refers to the demography of the continent, in general, and trends in urbanization and migration, in particular. This is critical transnational issue on the continent which speaks to a wide array of cross-cutting issues to do with youth employment, peripheral underdevelopment and the skewed urban-rural distribution of education and social services across the continent. Furthermore, the impact of this dynamic demographic landscape cannot be underestimated as there are numerous links which may be deduced from these trends in relation to social cohesion, xenophobia and the rights of non-nationals. Cumulatively, these trends, if not adequately explored, understood and accounted for may pose significant threat to continental cohesion and unity - and, ultimately, the realization of a number of pan-Africanist ideals.

Lastly, youth engagement around the issue of illicit financial flows in Africa is another key area which should be considered and prioritized. In reference to the work of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows, established by the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the AU, illicit financial flows in and out of the continent are, by some estimates, costing the already many cash-strapped nations of the continent roughly U.S. \$50 billion a year - and represent one of the foremost threats to governance and economic development.

Interventions in these areas would be well received if further articulated with specific reference to the AU's African Youth Decade 2009 - 2018 Plan of Action, which is a framework for multi-sectoral and multi-dimensional engagement of all stakeholders towards the achievement of the goals and objectives of the African Youth Charter. Within this context, all AU member states have been urged to consider the Decade Plan of Action (DPoA) as a framework that links youth empowerment and development to national development goals and priorities as well as with instruments used for: continental and regional assessments, setting standards, criteria's and indicators. Thus, by seeking meaningful engagement with youth in conflict affected states the YL could dually bolster South Africa's adherence to the aims of the youth DPoA by furthering the country's national development agenda whilst contributing to its proactive international role in advancing a pan-Africanist agenda.

Youth engagements beyond the continent must also be wholly considered in terms of fostering greater relations amongst the nations of the global south, particularly in terms of building networks of solidarity based on common interests. These engagements should ideally complement existing official diplomatic fora, processes and mechanisms whilst also forging new links amongst nations which fall outside the immediate foreign policy priorities of the country.

Entities such as BRICS, IBSA and the G20 for example provide ample opportunity for greater youth engagement, whilst even sector-specific relations may be considered amongst relevant youth groups and organizations from across the world, relevant to the development agendas previously mentioned. In this regard, it is important to remain cognizant of Africa's general international relations with a range of key actors including China, the European Union and the United States, and follow the relevant processes which inform and give meaning to these relations - with particular regard to the foreign policy objectives of these states. Indeed, it may often times be equally, if not more, beneficial to understand and become engaged on a range of foreign policy issues pertinent to these major international actors in their dealings with the continent, than confining this analysis and engagement solely to Africa and the priorities of the AU. In this light, African youth engagement on issues such as global energy security, Chinese economic policy and the decisions of the Parliament of the European Union, amongst others, must be understood as key issues which do affect and impact upon Africa, in an increasingly globalised international system.

In the context of making connections between the youth in Africa and other areas especially within the global south, consideration must be given to the fact that 2015 would make the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the 1955 Bandung Conference. This was a gathering that united Africa and Asia, and therefore could be regarded as the mid-wife of South-South co-operation. Given the existing marginalization of Africa, which certainly is being decisively challenged, a programme to commemorate the Bandung Conference could be designed for, among others, the sole purpose of strengthening the voice of the youth from the South on matters of international relations.

### ***Conclusion:***

These observations adjoin congress, and therefore the youth formation in South Africa to make concrete determinations with regards to their role in contributing to a country and a continent that safeguards the interests of the youth. The current generation of members and leaders are called upon, as the 1949 generation was when it sought 'freedom in our lifetime', to seek and call for our own freedom in our lifetime. We are called upon to commit all we can to ensure that we contribute to an Africa that is politically stable, economically viable, and socially cohesive. The resolutions adopted at the congress must be able to project a youth formation that is committed to a number of fundamentals, and key among these would be the determination that the burden of conflict and wars, the undignified and humiliating challenges of living in poverty, are not passed on the next generation of Africans in ten years (NDP) and 50 years time (Agenda 2063).

These efforts are of paramount importance in terms of Africa taking ownership of its own peace and security challenges, and the YL is already well positioned to play a leading role in contributing to these developments. As Africa's oldest, and arguably most well-renowned liberation movement, the ANC - and, by extension, its youth - maintain considerable gravitas throughout the continent. This political currency should therefore be ideally wielded to effect wide-spread change across the continent in support of the dreams and aspirations of Africa and all her peoples who continue to face wide-spread and systemic marginalization and underdevelopment on account of the hegemony enjoyed by an essentially unjust and exploitative system of global political and economic governance.

The onus here should be placed squarely on advancing a programme of action which may be explicitly understood within the context of the African Renaissance and pan-Africanism. In so doing, the YL would provide considerable support to an overall articulation of the country's work on a continental level which would be easily understood and appreciated in a coherent and coordinated manner with national-, regional- and continental-level structures and normative frameworks. These efforts should also, however, contribute toward the overall strengthening and enhancement of our own organisation.

Thus, it is in the interests of our youth to follow in the steps of the forebears of our liberation struggle and continue to support freedom and a better life for all not just in South Africa, but in Africa and beyond. Whilst official government engagements may more greatly focus on technical issues relating to interstate and multilateral cooperation and governance, the youth should remain forever cognizant that the international relations of the ANC and South Africa is one which is fundamentally underpinned by the principle of ubuntu. We should thus remember that our development, security and well-being cannot be achieved in isolation.

As stated by President Zuma in his address on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the ANC Youth League, "... the Youth League derives its existence and its programmes and vision from the ANC's vision to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa." And it is these values which must underpin the international engagements of our youth in order to spread these values and seek to contribute to a better Africa, and a better world.

