

for investment, including Business Process Outsourcing and Bio-fuels.

Therefore resolve

1. That a national democratic, state-led industrial policy promoting a labour-intensive manufacturing sector is the basis to transform, diversify and build a vibrant economy. This industrial policy should link actively with and support our major infrastructure development, skills development, and equitable spatial development.

2. To campaign for and ensure the re-nationalization of companies in strategic sectors such as SASOL and Mittal Steel with an ultimate aim of nationalizing and socializing the commanding heights of the economy in line with the vision of the Freedom Charter.

3. To call for improved beneficiation of minerals and measures to regulate and stimulate the fabrication of raw materials into finished and semi-finished products.

4. To call for increased investment in infrastructure and the ramping up of the public works programmes as a basis to provide economic and social infrastructure and employment.

5. Integration with the region should be on the basis of a strong industrial policy to provide basic goods in South Africa and the region.

6. Trade and macroeconomic policy should be subordinated to the logic of an industrialisation strategy to meet basic human needs.

7. Procurement policies should be reviewed to support local production and support broad based empowerment, employment, and small business development.

8. Any agricultural and industrial process in the production of bio-fuels should be legislatively regulated to guarantee food security and avoid possible food price hikes.

Agricultural and Rural Development

Noting

1. The slow pace of land redistribution and agrarian reform. At this rate, even the modest target to transfer 30% of land by 2014 is likely to be missed.

2. The resolutions of the Land Summit which, among other things, called for the review of the "willing seller-willing buyer" principle.

3. Liberalisation of agriculture has led to evictions, production substitution as farmers shift to game farming, and an uncontrolled free market resulting in fluctuating prices of staples like maize.

Therefore resolve

1. To campaign for the expropriation and redistribution of land within the context

of a reformulated agricultural development policy. In that context the "willing seller-willing buyer" principle should be effectively abolished to allow for a more effective and rapid land reform programme.

2. That the state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers as part of a sustained agrarian reform.

3. To call for the restructuring of the Land Bank to redirect its funding to small-scale farmers and cooperatives.

Transformation of the Financial Sector

Noting

1. The positive results of the SACP Financial Sector Campaign, including the establishment of the Mzansi Account, partial amnesty for people blacklisted by the credit bureaux, and the enactment of the National Credit Act.

2. The Growth and Development Summit and Financial Sector Summit agreements on the Financial Sector, especially with regard to the mobilisation and deployment of investment. In particular we note the resolution that 5% of investible income should be directed to infrastructure and social development.

3. The adoption of the Financial Sector Charter and Codes.

4. South Africa has a well established, sophisticated financial sector made up banks, the insurance industry and public sector financial institutions like the Development Bank, the Industrial Development Corporation, and the Land Bank. However, this financial sector is failing miserably to meet the needs of the poor.

Therefore resolve

1. That the financial sector should be transformed and regulated for developmental purposes. In this regard, to continue the unfinished business of the Financial Sector Campaign.

2. The State must redirect state development finance institutions to support structural transformation of the economy and industrialisation. In this regard Development Finance Institutions must privilege and improve the allocation of finance to cooperatives.

3. The state should develop a State Bank to mobilise savings and direct credit to support investment.

4. Call on private capital, the state and labour movement to implement the GDS and the Financial Sector Summit resolution that 5% of investible income in the hands of retirement funds be directed towards infrastructure develop-

ment.

5. Build the capacity of the SACP to monitor implementation of its gains and to drive campaigns better.

Social development Education and Training

Noting

1. The huge skills imbalances reflecting years of apartheid education and discrimination in the workplace and the education system.

2. While recognising the shortage of skills in the South African economy, the blaming of high levels of unemployment on a skills shortage is misplaced.

3. Efforts to rebuild and reconstruct an education and qualifications system based on the ideals of the Freedom Charter.

4. Notwithstanding these efforts, education often remains inaccessible, unaffordable and inequitable.

Therefore resolve

1. To campaign for free compulsory and quality education from early childhood to higher education.

2. To call for an audit of the skills development system to ascertain the type of skills programmes that are required, and the level of funding that is needed.

3. There should be development of well-resourced and strategically directed education and training to overcome the massive skills distortions in our society.

4. To call on the government to review the Higher Education merger process to assess the impact on access to higher education, jobs and other pertinent issues.

5. The ideological orientation of the curriculum should change to teach working class ideals.

Social Security and Health Care

Noting

1. South Africa has a large and extensive social security system made up of contributory schemes linked to employment and social grants from the government.

2. Social grants play a developmental role, providing income and livelihoods to poor people and support local economic development.

3. Despite this extensive social security system, millions, especially the unemployed, fall through the cracks of the system.

4. The impact of HIV and AIDS and the burden of diseases on the poor and the cost it imposes on workers and the economy.

Therefore resolve

1. To reaffirm the call for a Basic Income Grant as an important intervention for economic and social development.

2. Insist on the provision of basic health care to all South Africans especially the poor.

Appropriate, supportive macro-economic policy

Noting

1. Government's macroeconomic framework aims primarily to stabilise the economy and is not linked to or supportive of an industrialisation strategy.
2. That the fiscal policy stance has become slightly expansionary since 2000 and has realised a 'surplus' in this fiscal year and projects another surplus in 2008/2009 in the midst of high levels of poverty and underdevelopment.
3. The Reserve Bank has increased interest rates in the recent past and this is beginning to have an impact on growth.

Therefore resolve

1. The Central Committee should articulate the details of the SACP's approach to macroeconomic policy including on reprioritisation of the budget, interest rate and exchange rate policies, and measures to control the volatile flows of speculative capital.
2. The mandate of the SA Reserve Bank and PIC should be aligned to the development strategy. That means changing the narrow and one-sided SARB focus on inflation to incorporate objectives such as employment, growth and industrial development. The PIC's deployment of investment must support sectors with potential for large-scale absorption of labour.

Protecting Workers

Noting

1. The protections afforded to workers in the Constitution and the labour laws.
2. Capital's response has been to casualise and subcontract labour to avoid compliance with the labour laws. The effect is that hundreds of thousands of workers, especially in construction, retail and finance, are not in practice enjoying the protection legally afforded to workers.
3. Workers' real earnings have remained stagnant, increasing only marginally above inflation while productivity, profits and packages paid to executives have soared.
4. It is in this context that we should locate the recent upsurge in industrial action as organised workers demand a fair share of the wealth they have helped to create.

Therefore resolve

1. To work to guarantee workers' basic rights within the context of a campaign for decent work.

2. To call for the strengthening of regulation to deal with new forms of employment.

3. To support current worker struggles to improve wages and working conditions.

Information and Communications Industry

Noting

1. That while playing a regulatory role, the State has not been directly involved in the economics of information and communications technology.
2. That ICT is one of the fastest growing economic areas in the South African economy.
3. With its rapid growth, ICT has not reached the poorest of communities, with the digital divide widening along class lines.

Therefore resolve

1. That the State should play the following roles in the ICT sector:
 - a. Be a leading investor (postal, broadcasting and telecoms)
 - b. Discourage cost before call by incumbents (interconnection fees)
 - c. Promote the manufacturing of all major components (.e.g. cellular phones, optic fibre cables, etc.) – as part of the creation of decent and sustainable jobs
 - d. Monitor investment by foreign owned companies and the performance of foreign investors
 - e. Improve the capacity of the industry regulators and other related bodies (e.g. Competition Tribunals) – in a liberalized and competitive environment
 - f. Bridge the digital divide (within and outside our borders)

Building a Democratic, Activist Developmental State

Noting

1. Renewed interest in the role of the state in driving and leading economic development.
2. The role states have played in leading and driving development in various countries and regions across the world.
3. That a developmental state needs a structural capacity, developmental ideology and a mass backing to lead, intervene on behalf of, and guide developmental programmes.

Believing that

1. In our context a developmental state must be located within the theory and practice of the National Democratic Revolution

Therefore resolve

1. In order to advance the agenda of building working class power we need an active democratic developmental state, buttressed by a mobilised national dem-

ocratic movement in which the working class increasingly plays a leading role. A South African developmental state should seek to roll back the domination of the mineral-energy-finance monopoly capitalist complex.

2. That the Developmental State has to be built around a development vision to transform the race, class and gender contradictions.

3. The orientation of the developmental state must, at the minimum, be based on the Freedom Charter, the RDP, and the goal of transforming our society.

4. Development must be reconceptualised to support the broad thrust of the goals of the NDR including transforming gender relations and empowering women to participate in the economy and society.

5. The Developmental state should have the capacity to compel and/or expropriate the means of production for developmental purposes.

6. That a Developmental State requires a strong, efficient, motivated and well compensated public service as a vital cadre for a developmental state.

7. The development strategy must also affirm and value the reproductive work performed by women and should align policies including taxation from a gender perspective.

8. To intensify the transformation of the state on all fronts to ensure that all state institutions support, reinforce and implement the developmental vision.

9. The state's capacity to plan and execute its developmental mandate should be consciously built and developed.

Building the SACP's Economic Policy Capacity and Campaigns

Noting

1. That the SACP needs to build its policy capacity in order to give practical coherence to its ideological, political and policy perspectives.

Therefore resolve

1. That the incoming Central Committee should develop a work programme which will include commissioning research, holding workshops to develop the Party's capacity on economic policy issues and to develop a more substantial vision of a socialist economy in South Africa.

2. That the incoming Central Committee should facilitate or ensure facilitation of Policy Development and Research Workshops, which will give a focused attention to various areas identified. ●

RED OCTOBER

Towards a better health system

This years' Red October Campaign focussed on the the public health system. The campaign included our annual recruitment month. SACP structures were required to convene Red Forums to report back on the successful 12th National Congress and to visit to health institutions to.

The SACP met with the Department of Health and they agreed to co-operate in the campaign, including by making available officials to take questions.

The SACP and all health sectors affiliates of Cosatu set up a joint campaign task team at national level co-ordinated by Cosatu. Similar structures were meant to be set up at provincial level but this did not happen to any significant extent. Below is a brief report on the campaign in the provinces

KZN

All districts launched the campaign with varying degrees of success. The province continues to implement the recruitment campaign and has managed to launch branches in the former strongholds of the Inkatha such as Ulundi. Among the hospitals visited were Prince Mshiyeni, Edendale, Northdale, Town Hill, Umgeni, Richmond Chest, St Marys, Ntshongweni, and Mahatma Gandhi. The situation in Prince Mshiyeni is typical of the hospitals visited. At this hospital:

There are acute staff and equipment shortages. The clinic is malfunctioning and has low levels of cleanliness. Staff is highly demoralised.

The HIV-Aids programme has 1 doctor instead of 4, 7 nurses instead of 15 and 7 counsellors instead of 26. It receives close to 150 adults and 40 children per day. Lack of nutritional food.

The maternity ward receives patients referred from 21 clinics. Shortage of midwives with 12 nurses instead of 25. Attends to 57 patients per shift and shortages of staff leads to injuries and even death of babies. The ward has one ultra sound

machine. The HR department has no computers.

The SACP hosted a provincial forum of health sector stakeholders. Key issues identified included:

Lack of staff, equipment and access to basic services such as water, electricity and roads, especially in rural areas.

Lack of proper career-pathing for professionals and problems with the training regime of nurses. Inability of the health system to cope with the HIV-Aids pandemic. Most people do not have access to ARV's.

Eastern Cape

The province has conducted visits to hospitals which are followed up by report-back meeting to communities. Hospitals in the province have been grouped into three – East London, Port Elizabeth and Mthatha. There is a problem of staff and equipment shortages in hospital. The health department has continuously under-spent its budget. There is an ongoing process to downgrade the Cecilia Makiwane hospital by government. The SACP is now part of the "Save Cecilia Makiwane Campaign". Huge staff cuts have been experienced by this hospital whilst more resources are being channelled to Frere Hospital.

The only doctor who was in charge of the HIV-Aids programme at CMH has now resigned. This hospital has close to 170 patients on the ARV programme treated daily. The province also addressed the Cosatu shopsteward council on the campaign. Visits will be conducted in PE and Mthatha.

Gauteng

The provincial launch was held in Leratong Hospital. As part of the campaign, the province held a series of memorial lectures to mark the 40th anniversary of the passing away of Cde Che Guevara, himself a medical doctor. The General Secretary visited the Chris Hani Barag-

wanath hospital. Further activities include the Memorial lecture on the 90th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the launch of the socialist forum in Tembisa Hospital on the 11th November and the National Closing Rally on the 09th December.

North West

The province hosted the National Launch on the 06 October which was disturbed by the rain and had a poor attendance. The provincial launch was held on 11 October, jointly with Cosatu. The provincial leadership of the ANC chose to covertly oppose the campaign assisted by SADTU. The labour relations department in the office of the Premier issued instructions to workers not to participate in the campaign. 31 October was declared "Red Day" and the SACP General Secretary and the National Secretary of the YCL addressed Cosatu locals and districts in JB Marks District and Mafikeng respectively. There are efforts to convene a provincial health summit where a report of the visits will be tabled to all stakeholders.

Free State

Membership month was launched at Thabanchu. The province also addressed the POPCRU Provincial congress on the outcomes of the 12th Congress, held a recruitment drive at Thabo Mofutsanyane and at Theron Farm where issues of access to land, water and absence of quality health services and transport were raised by workers. The Josie Mpama District convened a Red Forum in Viljoenskroon. The hospitals visited included Moroka, Elizabeth Ross, Tebang, Bongani, Mamapo and Parys.

Northern Cape

The province has launched the campaign successfully and all districts have taken up the campaign. There was a march, led by CC Member Cde Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya, to Karoo Hospital in the Joe Slovo District where a memorandum of demands was submitted. The Dora Tamaana District organised clustered Red Forums and a visit to Gordonia Hospital. The Kimberly District visited the Kimberly Hospital, Galeshewe Day Hospital, Pampierstad Health Centre, Jan Kempdorp Hospital and Haartswater Hospital.

Mpumalanga

The province organised a successful Provincial Council that served as a report back forum for the 12th National Con-

gress. The Ephraim Mogale District held a march in Witbank to the Witbank hospital to demand better services for the people. A march was also organised to the provincial government, jointly with Nehawu, to demand an increased budget allocation for health and better working conditions for workers

Western Cape

The Southern Cape District organised Red Forums in George and Knysan that were used to report back on the 12th National Congress and revive the structures of the SACP. In the Boland District the SACP held a successful report back ses-

sion in Ashton and re-launched the branch. A workers mass meeting was held with Nehawu and Denosa at the Tygerberg Hospital and was addressed by Cde Nozizwe Madla-Routledge. The province is worried by the manner in which SABC TV conducted itself at the event. The reporter and cameraman were called back and subsequently instructed to erase recordings of the event.

The initial round of visits to hospitals and health care centres have exposed serious weaknesses in our health care system. The SACP has to consolidate all the hospital visit questionnaires to enable us to conclude a register of needs for our

public health system by the closing rally. The media has tended to turn a blind eye to our campaign, especially SABC TV, and where the print picked up issues it has focussed more on sensationalism. The campaign has however enjoyed much positive coverage in radio.

Closing rally

The closing rally for the 2007 leg of the campaign will be hosted jointly with the Gauteng province on the 9th December 2007 at Mohlakeng Stadium. The rally will also be used to mark the commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. ●

YOUNG REDS / From Page 12

Dexter: Celebrated coward or misunderstood hero?

into the newspapers was found to be ridiculous. He was once asked to substantiate the allegations contained in the document, and when he failed, he was instructed not to repeat the allegations unless he has proof. The reason why a harsher sentence was not meted on him is primarily because the party leadership was persuaded by his stern apology and admission of guilt. The Party also wanted to avoid a tedious process of disciplinary action in the lead up to its 12th National Congress.

After his suspension, Dexter went on a heroic parade in public, declaring himself a victim of Stalinism and centralisation of power by the General Secretary, Blade Nzimande. He made various unsubstantiated allegations against Nzimande. Dexter purports to know of Nzimande's affairs since because they worked closely. Obviously this he uses as an advantage hoping that whatever he alleges against Nzimande is likely to be believed.

We need to ask why Dexter waited until just on the eve of the Party's 12th National Congress, where he was to be confronted for his incompetence, to start singing like a canary? Did Dexter play victim in order to hide his villainous alter ego? Should we believe stories of a man who claims to have awakened from a political coma to start realising that he is a member of an 'unholy' organ

of the working class where he was not supposed to be?

Dexter's betrayal was also catapulted in May when provincial structures of the SACP started discussing the leadership question, and though he was available, he was not being nominated. He had privately expressed interest in serving on the Central Committee. This, to him, was yet another onslaught by Nzimande in thwarting his political hopes and it deepened his hatred towards the General Secretary.

To me, and for many communists, Dexter is not a hero, but a coward who uses his positions anywhere to either to earn money or to generate a value for his name. As long as it benefitted him, the Party was a well-oiled machine determined to attain socialism. When he was exposed and could no longer suck from the Party's tits the milk that made him survive, he accused it of Stalinism.

It is not unusual for villains to claim victim status and use this status to afflict pain wherever they go on the attack. He may be busy briefing journalists about cars Nzimande does not have, bonuses the SACP staff can only wish for or shares SACP leaders own in some companies. But the truth is that he is guilty of the allegations he is making. Ultimately, the fooling will end and the truth will come out. ●

900 delegates for KZN Congress

About 900 delegates will converge at the Mangosuthu Technikon in eThekweni from 9 to 11 December for the 5th provincial congress of the SACP in KZN. With some 12 000 members organised in 13 districts, KZN has the largest provincial membership in the SACP.

"It wasn't always like this", said Provincial Secretary, Cde Themba Mthembu. "In 1999 we were in a very bad state, with very few active branches and a membership of less than 600. But since then, with a new, dynamic leadership we have been able to grow."

The SACP has also been quite successful in penetrating conservative rural areas that were previously the monopoly of the IFP, like Ulundi, Bulwer Jozini and Greater Vryheid. The SACP in the province has also been in the forefront of major campaigns launched by the Party, including the Red October, Chris Hani, Financial Sector and the "Know Your Neighbourhood" campaigns.

Cde Mthembu said that the Provincial Congress will need to focus on how to maintain and service the huge membership in the province. He said the Congress will also have to focus on developing a stronger fundraising strategy.

"We have lots of plans, but without the funds we will not be able to implement these. The matter of raising funds should not be left to the provincial leadership. Districts and branches must become more involved." ●

The views expressed in Umsebenzi are not necessarily the official views of the SACP



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VOICE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA ★ DECEMBER 2007

Revolution is on trial: Is Dexter a celebrated coward or a misunderstood hero?

This is an edited version of the article carried in the "Bottomline". The full version can be found on www.ycl.org.za

By Buti Manamela, YCL National Secretary

The postman delivered yet another message this week. Phillip Dexter has been wandering around the editorial rooms of newspapers telling his story to those who care to listen. Although the postman swore me to secrecy, I could not help but beg him to use the "Bottomline" to shed light on the wandering Dexter so those who care to listen may have another side of the story about this repentant communist and modern day Brutus.

I must indicate that the YCL had no intention at all to engage with Dexter's publicity-seeking stunts, and that we remain committed to the internal Party processes. Secondly, the Party has already been involved in an extensive process which has exonerated our General Secretary. Therefore this article has no intention to serve as a smokescreen for whatever allegations that were made. Instead we believe, after much deliberation, there is a need to expose Dexter for who he really is.

When Phillip Dexter was suspended from the SACP, he made various accusations which are now in the public domain. The Party is supposed to be a despised Stalinist grouping; a bunch of opportunists and hypocrites; on the road to becoming another Zimbabwe; its leader

embezzled R500 000; and, the Party was doomed because it continued to hoist its banner behind Jacob Zuma for president of the ANC.

All of these were as a result of Dexter's determination to ensure that as his political activism reaches oblivion, the party-Party and its image follows suit. In the *Mail & Guardian* (13 July 2007), for instance, it was reported that Cde Nzi- mande has four cars, earns a huge salary and is corrupt to the core. The *Mail & Guardian* did not even bother to check the facts, reminiscent of how lacklustre journalism has prevailed over facts.

The media take people like Dexter seriously because they are not obliged to prove the allegations made, but are mainly interested in the sensational nature of what they allege.

Whistle-blower?

The public can be easily be duped because Dexter was the National Treasurer of the SACP. He hangs on to the hope that he will continue to be celebrated as a whistle-blower who was purged from the Party for challenging the leadership to account. Why has Dexter decided to implode like a suicide bomber on his former comrades at Cosatu House, telling tales about the jobs of their spouses and the bursaries of their children in the name of bravery against hypocrisy?

Is Dexter really the hero who deserves a bravery award for having withstood Stalinism? Who are the real hypocrites and opportunists? Or is Dexter a coward who waited for political guarantees elsewhere before going berserk?

Dexter is a member of the ANC NEC and is currently suspended by the SACP for 12 months. He is also a businessman and has in the past few years held more than 50 directorships in various companies. He has been a member of the SACP Central Committee for more than 10 years, and the Politburo for five years. He has also served as Chief Executive of Proudly South Africa, and Director of NEDLAC. He was accused of corruption while serving at PSA and also recently while working for the Mpumalanga Economic Development Council.

The SACP has exposed Dexter for what he is. He is a known businessman and an opportunist who was using his position in the SACP as its National Treasurer to further his own interests. He had shareholding in a company, on behalf of the SACP. When these were supposed to be returned to the SACP, he reneged, claiming that these belonged to him and that he would only 'donate' 5% of the 11% - less than half to the Party.

Many people who have worked with him attest to his shrewd business tactics. Part of the beef he has with the Party was when it was decided that he should not be getting a stipend because he was employed by the Mpumalanga Economic Development Corporation.

Some of the companies that he holds directorships with did extensive work for the Party and were contracted by him as National Treasurer. This constituted a clear conflict of interest and effectively made him a 'business communist' of unacceptable standards and moral standing because he abused his position as National Treasurer. He claims not to be a factionalist, but his attacks on the SACP and its leadership clearly shows his factional side and his determination to back one 'camp' in the ANC succession battle.

Phillip Dexter was suspended by the SACP in June because his explanation on why a document he had authored lambasting the organisation found its way

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