

Program of the Communist Party of Australia

Adopted at the
Seventh National Congress
October 1992

Adopted as the Program of the
Communist Party of Australia
when the Socialist Party of Australia changed its name to
Communist Party of Australia at the 8th Congress, 1996.

Published by the Communist Party of Australia 2001
65 Campbell Street, Surry Hills. NSW 2010
Phone: (02) 9212 6855 Fax: (02) 9281 5795

Printed by New Age Publishers Pty Ltd
65 Campbell Street, Surry Hills. 2010

ISBN 0 908077 54 8

Contents

Chapter 1	
Times of Change	5
Chapter 2	
Australia -- Past and Present	10
Chapter 3	
Changing Australia	21
Chapter 4	
People Make History	32
Chapter 5	
Unity is Strength	38
Chapter 6	
The Role of the Communist Party	49
Chapter 7	
The Asia-Pacific Region	53
Chapter 8	
The Capitalist System	59
Chapter 9	
The Developing Countries	70
Chapter 10	
Socialism -- Its Past and Future	75
Appendix	
Immediate Issues and Policies	91

TIMES OF CHANGE

**In the name of those washing others' clothes
(and expelling others' filth from the whiteness)**

**In the name of those caring for others' kids
(and selling their strength
in the form of maternal love and humiliations)**

**In the name of those living in another's house
(which isn't even an amiable womb
but a tomb or jail)**

**In the name of those eating others' crumbs
(and chewing them in fact with
the feeling of a thief)**

**In the name of those living on other's land
(the houses and factories and shops
streets cities and towns
rivers lakes volcanoes and mountains
always belonging to others
and that's why the cops and the guards are there
guarding them against us)**

**In the name of those who have nothing but
hunger exploitation disease
a thirst for justice and water
persecutions and condemnations
loneliness abandonment oppression death**

**I accuse private property
of depriving us of everything.**

**“You never think it will happen to you.... All my life I thought that this was the best possible system mankind had devised. Now I'm not so sure. So many people are being thrown out of work that there must be something radically wrong with this system.”
(a sacked worker)**

The Communist Party of Australia has as its aim the establishment and development of a socialist society in Australia.

This aim is based on the conviction that capitalism, which itself succeeded earlier forms of society will, in turn, give way to another and higher form of society.

The CPA's conviction that socialism is the higher form of society and is valid for Australia, is substantiated by:

- * the uneven and unstable development of capitalism, the recurrence and, in some aspects, the permanence of structural and conceptual crises in the economy, in politics and in society generally;

- * the contradictions inherent within the system of capitalism which inevitably produce detrimental effects and social conflicts;

- * the inability of the capitalist system to prevent the development of acute social problems or to resolve them. They include extremes of wealth and poverty, ignorance, racism, drug addiction, oppression and international conflict;

- * the fact that socialist society contrasts fundamentally with capitalist society and, among other things, stands for equality of opportunity and the elimination of poverty, friendship between all nationalities, the extension of democratic rights, international peace and disarmament. Socialism is a humane form of society.

- * knowledge of the laws of development of society which include recognition of the inevitability of change in both nature and society and other principles of dialectical materialism.

The CPA's vision of a socialist society in Australia is based on the scientific teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin applied to the reality of conditions in Australia and the aspirations and needs of its people.

It is becoming clearer year by year that the Australian economy and, with it, the political and social life of our society are beset by a number of serious problems and are becoming more unstable.

Despite intermittent periods of relative prosperity, the overall picture includes widespread and long-term unemployment, serious decline in some areas of industrial and rural production, reduced living standards and cuts in education, health, housing and social welfare services. There is high taxation for working people, trade difficulties, budget problems, speculation and financial instability.

In the current world economic crisis employers are increasing their attacks on working people and their organisations, particularly the trade unions, hoping to force working men and women to accept a lower standard of living. Basic democratic rights, such as the right to organise and strike, are under attack.

Racism and discrimination against Aborigines and migrants and discrimination against women, plus poverty, insecurity, homelessness and social breakdown remain characteristic for many in our society.

What is happening in Australia is similar to events in all other capitalist countries.

Although capitalism has increased production enormously it distorts economic and social development, making it dependent on the profit motive. It uses and depletes natural resources irrationally and irresponsibly. The greed and arrogance of the transnationals and the military-industrial complexes of capitalist states are the major obstacle to peace, disarmament, the independence of nations, social progress and environmentally sustainable economic policies.

Vast numbers of people live in Third World countries. Today, most of these countries comprise the developing or Third World. Despite achieving nominal political independence the position of the people in most of these countries is desperate. They continue to face starvation, poverty, insecurity, illiteracy and unemployment. The exploitation of these countries by the major imperialist countries is as harsh as ever and the gap between the industrialised and developing nations is widening.

The suffering of so many millions is made worse by global military spending which, in addition to ravaging our environment and threatening all life on planet Earth, is an enormous, pointless waste of human, scientific, technical, natural and economic resources.

These economic and political facts raise fundamental questions about how society should be organised and run.

During the 20th century, struggles by people in many different countries for liberation and social justice achieved victories of world-wide significance. Changes, opening a new stage in human history, began to be put in place and the political map of our world was qualitatively changed. This process of revolutionary transformation of society is still going on.

The 20th century began with capitalism in the ascendancy. Then, a new era opened as working people took the reins of power into their own hands and began creating societies without private ownership for profit and without exploitation and oppression of working people -- socialist societies.

The decisive factor in this historical period has been and remains the unparalleled level of action by millions of ordinary people against the injustice and misery inflicted by capitalism and for reforms and revolutionary transformation.

Communist parties, often in alliance with other organisations, have been in the forefront in these worldwide struggles. Revolutionary parties came into existence as organisations fighting for the interests of the oppressed and exploited, in the bitter and long struggle for independence, freedom and socialism. Where members were closely connected with the working people and were concerned with the immediate and long-term needs of all the progressive social forces in the community they were supported and became influential. They became ineffective whenever they lost their close connections with the people.

The communist parties, with their scientific understanding of the world and the laws of social development, helped to guide the people's struggles. It became possible to anticipate the direction of events.

With the 1917 Revolution in Russia, the world witnessed that it was possible to create strong publicly owned industry and collectively owned agriculture, to eliminate unemployment and eradicate illiteracy, to advance participatory democracy and promote national identity and culture, and to provide free education and health care on an extensive basis, plus social services and housing for all at a minimal cost based on a very low percentage of total family income.

The basis of socialism is the public ownership of the means of production, the planning of economic development and the elimination of the exploitation of labour for private profit. Socialism ends the domination of the capitalist class as the ruling class. The political leadership of society and political power pass into the hands of the working class supported by other progressive and democratic social forces.

The existence of a number of powerful socialist states, their achievements and example, made it possible for working people to make many social and political advances. They created new hopes and demands among the working people of the developed capitalist countries and the Third World.

With the change in the world balance of forces in favour of imperialism following the defeat of socialism in Eastern Europe, the United States is using its pre-eminent military power to bolster its declining economic and industrial position. The US is working for a new military centered global order where the share of markets, income and resources is decided not by market power or people's needs, but by political-military dominance. Under these rules, the military might of the US would ensure its global supremacy and would undermine the capacity of its powerful economic allies and competitors to mount an effective challenge to its position.

However, this campaign for global supremacy absorbs scarce economic resources, further erodes social conditions and deepens social polarisation and class antagonisms in the US. It exploits its own people in order to expand militarily abroad.

Neither the difficulties of the moment nor the virulent campaigns by the bitter opponents of socialism prove that socialism has "failed" or that capitalism is the "natural" form of human society. The achievements of the socialist states and their impact throughout the world are immense and can never be erased from human history.

The communist objective of the economic, social and national liberation of the people is an irregular, complex and lengthy process. But it is the fundamental direction of our times. The historical period of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale has begun.

In this century, the development of science and technology has created great benefits and even greater potential advances for human society.

But it has also, for the first time in history, placed in human hands the means of self-destruction. Industrialisation and the squandering of resources has created another deadly threat-the environmental crisis.

The problem is -- how to prevent a nuclear war, preserve a livable and sustainable environment and, at the same time, continue humanity's liberation and social advance? These tasks are not separate but go hand in hand.

Around the world, millions of fighters for freedom, democracy, social progress, national independence, peace, disarmament, development and socialism are confronting capitalism. This struggle, which arises irrespective of anyone's will, takes the form of the class struggle in class societies. It is this struggle which is the motor of development of society and the guarantee of social progress.

Events which have taken place this century indicate that it is possible to change Australia and create a better society. It is this vision of a socialist and eventually a classless communist society which motivates the work of the members of the Communist Party of Australia. But to change the world we must first of all know it.

“Intelligence enough to conceive, courage enough to will, power enough to compel. If our ideas of a new society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate the due effective majority of the working people; and then, I say, the thing will be done.”

William Morris

CHAPTER 2

AUSTRALIA-PAST AND PRESENT

From the first white colonisation beginning in 1788, Australia developed as a capitalist country, smashing the communal system of the Aboriginal people who had owned, occupied and cared for the land for over 40,000 years.

A capitalist social system was implanted in Australia because Britain, the colonial power, had already become a consolidated capitalist state. What already existed in Britain was reproduced on Australian soil.

Although Australia won a measure of political independence from British colonialism at the turn of the century when the States were federated, our national independence and sovereignty remain limited.

In the first place, British capital predominated. After World War II, US investments rapidly increased and the US joined Britain as substantial controllers of Australian industries and resources. By the 1990s, Japanese investments had also grown and Japan joined Britain and the US as the main sources of foreign capital investment in Australia.

Foreign monopoly penetration of the economy has reached an advanced stage. The transnational corporations occupy significant positions in many key industries and financial institutions.

Important sections of Australian capital linked up with foreign capital economically and share the same class interests. The Australian ruling class has played the role of junior partner to British, United States and Japanese capital.

This dependence and pursuit of common imperialist interests has led to the establishment of a number of key US military bases on Australian territory and active co-operation between Australian intelligence services and their counterparts in the United States, Britain, Israel and other reactionary states. It is expressed by Australia's adherence to the ANZUS Treaty and the Five Power Defence arrangement together with Britain, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore.

The acceptance by Australia's ruling class of this role is also reflected in its consistent opposition to socialist countries and movements for national independence and sovereignty. It led it to act in alliance with the US, in particular, in carrying out various imperialist tasks in the South East Asian and South Pacific region.

Both the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal and National Parties accept this subservience as the cornerstone of their defence and foreign policies. That basic position is not altered by the Labor Government's welcome recognition of the People's Republic of China, opposition to apartheid in South Africa and progressive decisions on some other questions.

These policies carry with them disastrous economic, political and military consequences for Australia. The development of the economy is distorted, Australia's political institutions are subverted and the country's security is threatened by participation in the aggressive military adventures of US leaders.

While the Australian ruling class is an integral part of the world imperialist system, Australia's rulers also have their own economic and political objectives. They want to increase their own strength and influence in the region and seek to do this by the export of capital and growing militarism.

Since the 1960s, Australian capital has considerably increased its foreign investments. Capital is invested in Southeast Asia, the Pacific, Britain, the US, Latin America and a small amount in Japan. Australia's imperialist policies are illustrated by its economic and military activities in Papua New Guinea and its attempts to play the leading role in the South Pacific Forum.

From time to time, the interests of Australia clash with those of its partners. This is to be seen in the conflict over trade questions, particularly the marketing of rural products and the demand by Australian farmers that the subsidy of rural products by both the European Community and the USA should be ended.

However, these differences are not yet reflected in any substantial demand for an independent position or the adoption of an independent foreign policy on the part of the Australian ruling class.

From the very earliest days of white settlement, a clash between the

interests of the ruling class and those of the working people arose and has been expressed in many struggles during the two centuries of white settlement.

The movement which finally brought an end to the convict system was the first major political action for democratic rights. The 1850s were marked by the militant action of the Eureka miners who played an exceptionally important part in the earliest development of parliamentary representation against the largely military colonial regimes appointed by Britain which ruled the separate colonies at that time. The first Australian trade unions were also formed in this period.

The consolidation of the Australian States into a federation marked the beginning of transition to political independence from British colonialism. Federation reflected the growing integration of the economies of the States, the extension of communications and trade, and the emergence of an Australian nationality. Australia established a federal parliamentary system of government.

There were many actions by workers and their trade unions to improve working conditions, wages and the rights of trade unions. One of the outstanding democratic rights struggles was the "No" vote in the referendum on legislation which attempted to ban the Communist Party of Australia in 1951.

Issues of war and peace have also been a constant theme of mass action by the Australian people. Examples include the anti-conscription campaign during World War I, solidarity with Republican CPAIN and the movement against war and fascism in the 1930s, the post-World War II campaigns against nuclear weapons, opposition to Australia's involvement in the war against Vietnam and in the Gulf War, and the continuing struggle against US bases on Australian soil. The peace movement campaigned for universal disarmament, for peaceful co-existence and an independent foreign policy.

In recent times, the campaign to implement multiculturalism is important because Australia has become a multi-national and multi-lingual society. Multiculturalism is the policy necessary to achieve the harmonious consolidation of all who make up our modern society.

These constant struggles on many issues represent the actions of the forces for peace, independence, democracy, social progress and security

and they will continue in the future as well.

Some other features of the economy

Regulation and Deregulation

Following the devastating political and economic crisis of the Great Depression in the 1930s, some government control and regulation was accepted by the capitalist class as necessary to protect the system from the effects of unrestrained competition. Limited government regulation of banking, interest rates, currency exchange rates, borrowing and lending, the inflow and outflow of capital and even control of prices of some commodities were introduced.

However, in the 1970s and 80s, under pressure from the financial sector and major corporations and reflecting the growth of huge transnational companies, regulation gave way to deregulation. Governments reduced the use of or abandoned many of their regulatory powers.

Privatisation

A drive to sell government services, facilities and undertakings to private enterprise became widespread. Banking, communications, transport, education, hospitals, housing, land holdings and even the work of government departments were considered suitable for contracting out or sale to private enterprise.

These and other structural adjustments had the effect of strengthening the political and economic stranglehold of the transnationals and local monopolies while reducing the progressive role that governments could play in the economy.

Industrial changes

As a consequence of the adoption of class collaborationist policies the working class movement has been weakened. The collective principles of the trade union movement are being undermined by the introduction of

individual work contracts, attempts to exclude trade unions from the workplace, and severe penalties for individuals and unions for industrial action.

The theory that lower wages would create higher profits which, in turn, would lead to more production and hence more jobs became widespread. In fact, the reduction of real wages has contributed to widespread unemployment not to more jobs.

Capital inflow and overseas borrowings

Capital inflow and the levels of foreign ownership increased together with the outflow of interest and principal repayments and the repatriation of profits to overseas owners. More and more industries, services, resources and land passed into foreign hands.

Following deregulation and a currency devaluation in the early 1980s, the borrowing of capital overseas by private companies and by governments contributed to a dramatic increase in Australia's overseas debt. Much of the private borrowing was used for speculation and takeovers. A large part of Australia's Gross Domestic Product now goes overseas as interest and repayments on the foreign debt.

Taxation

In addition to direct exploitation of labour, the taxation system is used against workers with wage and salary earners paying the lion's share of direct and indirect taxes. There has been an equally marked decline in taxes paid out of company profits. Many tax benefits are extended to companies to "encourage" investment by increasing profits. Tax avoidance schemes, use of overseas "tax havens" and other devices as well as outright corruption in business are widespread.

Social Welfare

On the other hand, cuts in government spending affected social welfare, education, health and housing programs and employment. A permanent pool of unemployed has been created and the number of people living below the poverty line increased.

Unemployment benefits as a right have been abolished, Medicare health care and the public hospital system have been undermined, free tertiary education has been abandoned. The universal age and invalid pension scheme is also being undermined by the extension of the “means test” and the introduction of superannuation which is intended, eventually, to replace government paid pensions.

The idea of services for the community is being replaced by the “user pays” principle. It is a means of increasing charges to householders and recipients of various government services, the costs of which should be spread across the community.

Interest rates

High interest rates, which persisted for many years as a feature of the economy, were borne by consumers through price increases and particularly by home buyers. Housing became a major expenditure absorbing ever-increasing proportions of the income of hundreds of thousands of families. The profits from high interest rates and rents flowed to the banks and other lending institutions and to landlords.

All these measures had the aim of increasing the rate of exploitation of labour by lowering its unit cost, transferring wealth from the working people to employers, reducing the expenditure by governments on services to the people while increasing handouts to employers.

The policies adopted in this period were a reversal of the traditional policies adopted since their inception by the trade unions and the Labor Party. This represented a major shift in direction and commitment by the labour movement. These policies, far from leading to economic growth, have contributed to a substantial slowdown and created crisis circumstances in a number of major areas of the economy.

Some other social and political issues

Democratic rights

As a result of ceaseless struggles since the earliest days of white settlement, a number of important democratic rights have been won by

the Australian people. However, these rights remain under constant threat. As the problems of the system increase and the demands for reforms and change grow stronger, restrictions on even the existing democratic rights are imposed.

Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the range of legislation introduced by both Federal and State governments which is intended for use against the trade union movement. Much of this legislation violates Australia's obligations as an adherent to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions.

The same objective led to the attempt to introduce ID cards. Although this was rejected by the people the same objective is being achieved by the build up of computerised records of many aspects of citizen's lives by police, banks, medical, taxation and other agencies, by phone tapping and other forms of high-tech surveillance.

The private ownership of the mass media and its concentration into very few hands raises another democratic rights issue. Concentration of the media ensures that the supply of news and information will favour the interests of the ruling class. Distortions, lies, the selective presentation of news, the exclusion of information not favourable to ruling class interests and owner imposed editorial policies are examples of democracy denied.

The electoral system is also constructed in a manner which aims to keep government within the limits of the two-party system. While the class composition of the Labor Party and its policies of reform differentiate it from the Liberal Party, both parties have similar policies on many basic issues. They maintain the capitalist system and are interested in preserving the dominance of the present two-party system.

The top echelons of the State apparatus -- the police, army, courts, government departments and publicly owned business undertakings are drawn from among those who will uphold the interests of the existing system. In all these ways, limits on the democratic rights of the people are imposed and maintained.

The emergence in Australia of the New Right and the maintenance in the shadows of neo-fascist organisations indicates that the rulers are prepared for even harsher restrictions and the cancellation of other democratic rights should their interests be threatened by popular action supporting alternative policies.

Aborigines and Islanders

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders form two national minorities within the Australian state. They suffer racial discrimination and oppression, segregation and isolation, and many live in conditions of poverty and deprivation. Equally unacceptable conditions are imposed on the South Sea Islander ethnic minority in Australia.

A major political and social struggle has been developed by Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders against their exploitation and racial oppression. The campaigns have taken many forms but the central issues are the recognition of the Aboriginal people as a national minority and the restoration of land rights.

Migration

Mass migration to Australia in the post-war period considerably altered the composition of society, including the working class, and introduced new factors into the struggle for democratic rights and for working class unity. Mass migration was introduced to provide developing Australian industries with the necessary labour force in the post-war years. It has been a source of cheap labour for the clothing and some other industries. Discrimination against migrants and racist attitudes continue to exist and may be fanned during periods of economic difficulties.

Australia has become a multi-lingual and multicultural society. The development of multiculturalism will enrich the whole of Australia's cultural life. A new Australian culture reflecting the multicultural character of society is arising but this is not to be regarded as a mere adding together of a number of different cultures standing separate from each other. It is the outcome of the cultural interaction between the various groups without prejudices or discrimination. It will contain elements of all the individual ethnic cultures to be found in Australia. The new Australian culture must be national in character, and be unified and integrated, not the result of a process of assimilation.

The struggle for migrant rights has an important role in the overall movement for democracy in Australia. Demands for equal opportunity, against racism and discrimination, the development of democratic and progressive culture all add to the democratic movement.

Corruption

The exposure of corruption in nearly all States shows that it has become institutionalised in Australia's economic and political life. Billions of dollars find their way from the public purse into the pockets of the government's corporate mates through subsidies, tax evasion and avoidance, government purchases and bail-outs and by other means. Conversely, favours are paid for in bribes and donations to the major political parties which at present form the governments of Australia.

Environment

Another feature of the situation in Australia is the rapacious treatment of the environment. The pursuit of profit and the lack of planning by capitalism has created major ecological problems, including waste disposal, erosion, salination, the pollution of cities and other environmental degradation. The nuclear industry, both for military purposes and for power production, adds to the total of pollution.

The emergence of active environmental organisations has forced governments and some companies to alter their policies and accept responsibility for some environmental protection measures. However, much remains to be done.

Changes in the class composition of society

Classes are groups of people defined by their relationship to the means of production (land, raw materials, machinery, factories and other production premises, transport and communications facilities, etc.) and the role they play in the process of production. The principal classes of capitalist society are the working class (which does not own the means of production and is exploited by the capitalists) and the capitalist class (the owners of the means of production and of the commodities produced).

Overall, the number of wage and salary earners and their proportion of the total number engaged in production has continued to grow. The working class remains by far the most numerous social class in our society.

The character and composition of the working class in Australia has changed in recent decades not only as a consequence of migration but also as a result of the scientific and technological revolution.

The proportion of manual and unskilled workers has decreased as a percentage of the whole. Workers with scientific and technological skills, clerical workers and intellectuals and workers in service industries have increased. The proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing has declined relative to those in primary production and the service industries.

There has been a steady decline in the number of farmers while the number of small businesses and small producers has remained steady.

The number of those involved as owners and as managers of the largest monopolies and who effectively control the means of production, financial institutions, and the land and mineral resources of Australia remains a small fraction of the total engaged in production. They comprise the ruling class of Australia.

These changes have to be taken into account in determining the policies to be put forward in the course of the Party's work. The changes, however, have not altered the basic character of the working class nor its role in society. Not only is the working class the most numerous but it is also the best organised and is that class which has a direct interest in a progressive, democratic and revolutionary solution to society's problems.

Class struggle

Associated with the economic aims of the capitalist class is the objective of either incorporating the trade unions as partners in the state-monopoly capitalist system or destroying them.

In 1983, the Labor Government negotiated a "Prices and Incomes Accord" with the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

The commitment of the trade unions to the Accord meant a radical turnaround on a number of fundamental economic and political questions. The argument that wage increases were the cause of price increases and job losses was accepted as was the argument that higher profits would lead to more investments and hence jobs. Adoption of the Accord marked the beginning of a period of class collaboration and retreat by the labour movement.

The ideological and political impact of the Accord was disastrous for it disarmed the majority of working class organisations.

The ruling class prefers to persuade workers and their organisations to give up their rights voluntarily. For a time, they were successful with the Accord.

In a continuation of their economic offensive against the workers, enterprise-based agreements, individual work contracts and enterprise-based unions are being promoted to cause divisions among workers and unions and so weaken or even make them irrelevant.

When persuasion fails and unions fight militantly for the interests of their members or act in solidarity with other workers, unions, their officials and individual workers receive heavy fines and/or jail sentences. Employers take legal action against unions and threaten deregistration as a means of preventing strikes, picketing or acts of solidarity with other workers. Other draconic measures have included the use of military forces in industrial disputes, the employment of scabs, and the declaration of states of emergency.

Confronted with the consequences of the policies of the class collaboration and the attacks of the employers, the working class and other progressive social forces have continued to wage struggles for reforms and for social change.

While the level of struggle ebbs and flows the working class has resisted efforts to force down wages and living and working conditions and to limit or deny them their rights to organise and to strike.

Based on the many-sided people's actions, a change has come to Australia's political life. It is shown by the emergence of a strong trend calling for and supporting political forces which are outside of the formerly mainstream political parties -- the ALP and the Liberal/National party coalition. This provides the basis for steps towards the formation of a political coalition pledged to implement radical alternative policies to those which have been followed by the major political parties in the past.

CHAPTER 3

CHANGING AUSTRALIA

It is real life experiences which cause women and men to organise and take action around day to day problems and issues. Issues with immediate impact include unemployment, attacks on wages and working conditions, cuts in social welfare, restrictions on the democratic rights of trade unions, militarisation, military bases, destruction of the environment, and the betrayal of Australia's national independence and sovereignty.

Over two centuries, the Australian people have struggled on many issues and won valuable reforms. They include the struggles against convictism, the political reforms demanded by the Eureka stockaders, the formation of trade unions, the federation of the states into a commonwealth, for voter franchise, for democratic and social rights, for multiculturalism, against militarism and war, for secure living standards and much else.

The significance of the various issues may alter as the mass struggle unfolds. Some issues persist for a long time while others arise suddenly and are resolved in a short time. They may multiply or reduce in number and the intensity of the overall struggle will ebb and flow.

These struggles have not, so far, had the objective of changing the social system. Much more needs to be done to develop and link the separate campaigns into a powerful and unified mass movement striving to achieve agreed upon policy objectives. In addition, alternative policies and the ways and means to achieve them must be popularised.

Despite the apparently democratic political system, none of the elected State or Federal governments, irrespective of their political complexion, have affected the control over society by big business or adopted policies which secure social progress, security and well-being.

The Communist Party regards parliament and parliamentary campaigns as having an important place in the whole process of the struggle to advance the interests of the people-provided that parliamentary activity is combined with vigorous struggle by the people outside parliament.

The existing two party system in which government is alternately shared between the Liberal-National Party coalition and the Australian Labor Party obscures and protects the dictatorship of capital over economic and political life.

It is necessary to build a left oriented, politically progressive force strong enough to challenge and break the two party monopoly. This alternative must be the aim of and arise out of the demands and mass actions of the working people.

As the level of struggle and political consciousness develop and specific anti-monopoly and democratic demands unite growing sections of the people, a new type of government will be formed. New policies will be introduced which change the present orientation of governments in favour of the monopolies now dominating the economy and political life.

A broadly based left/progressive and democratic movement or coalition, fighting for a program of constructive demands, would bring benefits for the Australian working people, the disadvantaged and other social groups. Such a movement is the force which will eventually change the direction of Australia's political life and bring about the defeat of reaction and monopoly domination.

The creation of a left/progressive political alternative to challenge the two-party system which has dominated Australia's political life for almost 100 years is a main task. The two main political forces have repeatedly disappointed the Australian people and have not overcome many of the deep-rooted economic, political and social problems facing the people.

The situation shows that an alternative political force which commands substantial public support could be created. The CPA sees the task of uniting the left/progressive organisations and individuals as a major objective in the present period.

No one political party represents all progressive and democratic opinion nor is any one party able to command sufficient support to form an alternative government at Federal, State and local Council level. But a coalition could. Coalitions have proved effective and powerful and are capable of winning much support and generating enthusiasm.

There are already a large number of issues on which there are similar or identical policy positions held by a number of existing political parties, independents, trade unions, other public organisations and single issue mass movements.

By forming a coalition, these organisations can create the necessary alternative political force. It would be a jobs and union rights coalition, a peace and environment coalition, a social justice coalition, a coalition for democratic rights, a coalition for the Aborigines and ethnic migrant groups, a women's and youth coalition.

Its aim must be to win government so that its policies can be implemented. It must not see itself as merely a ginger group pushing existing governments to implement better policies.

With the victory of the people's forces, parliaments and councils can be transformed into institutions which take decisions and adopt laws expressing the will of the overwhelming majority of the people and become, thereby, more democratic.

The control of the economy by big business, its influence over governments and legislation prevent workers from making secure, lasting gains. More fundamental economic and political changes are needed to do that.

The new type of government envisaged can arise in situations of political crisis when the ruling class is no longer able to cope with the rise of powerful mass movements. The former government and the state apparatus become disorganised and paralysed to such an extent that the people's movements can form a democratic, people's government.

In this process, the working class and other progressive social forces would begin to take control of political life and the economy and introduce measures to alleviate some of the worst features of the capitalist system.

A new kind of popular government would be elected with a mandate to substantially curb the power of monopoly and introduce far-reaching changes in the private enterprise system and its monopoly on political power.

These changes will take a considerable time to bring about and cannot be implemented simultaneously. As more and more of them are introduced and consolidated, the present dictatorship of capital will be replaced by the power of the working people, expressed through a popular government.

Government of People's Unity

Such a government-a Government of People's Unity-would be democratic and multi-party. It would be made up of the political representatives of all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces, from socialist and labour parties, trade unions and progressive community organisations of all kinds, small working farmers, professional and middle class circles. It would include all who are concerned to overcome the consequences of the exploitation and domination imposed upon the nation by the present regime of state-monopoly capitalism.

It would take steps against the overseas and Australian monopolies and implement a program of policies in the interests of working people. A high level of action by the working class and the broad progressive forces is a fundamental condition for success.

The formation of popular organisations would be encouraged to give voice to the views of the people, support the popular program and to defeat the inevitable destabilisation attempts and outright sabotage by reactionary forces.

Control of the mass media would be democratised. The best way to break up the existing control of the media by a very small number of rich and powerful men is for the mass media to be owned and run by the democratic and progressive organisations such as trade unions, environmental, cultural and community organisations. Private companies or individuals would not have the right to own and run the mass media.

The new government would begin to democratise the state apparatus, introduce laws and alter the administration of justice making it answerable to the people's needs, not the interests of big capital.

Federal and State constitutions facilitating the introduction of the necessary political and economic policies would need to be drafted.

Parliament would be changed from an instrument serving the class interests of the capitalists into an instrument serving the interests of the people. The machinery of the state would be transformed. In the civil service, police, judiciary and armed forces, reliable representatives, answerable to the people, would be appointed.

Parliaments at Federal and State level and Local Councils would be filled by true representatives elected from the people's movement, subject to recall at any time by a majority of their electors.

New Democratic Economic System

The Government of People's Unity would introduce new economic policies in consultation with and in the interests of the majority of the people.

Details of national plans and other policy proposals, together with detailed explanations of them would be widely publicised and representative organisations encouraged to arrange discussions of the plan and its purposes and invited to submit proposals and amendments. Representatives from public organisations would be active in the planning process.

Trade union job committees and joint trade union/management committees would be established to enable maximum participation of workers in management, administration, development of the enterprises, health and safety, conditions of work, welfare, etc.

In carrying out a national plan, the government would take on a much greater role in areas of social welfare, national development, public works, trade, commerce, banking and other areas. Central planning combined with regional and local initiative and accountability would begin to be combined with market mechanisms in the economy.

This responsibility would require maximum efficiency, strict observance of economy in the use of resources (finance, labour and materials) and must be subject to regular review and audit to ensure firm control over the size of the administrative apparatus. It also requires vigilance to prevent corruption and the growth of an unnecessary and self-serving bureaucracy.

To achieve planned, balanced, crisis-free economic development, all existing enterprises above a certain size in manufacturing, building, resources, transport, finance, commerce, energy production, mining, the media and communications would be taken over by the government, together with the working people and conducted as publicly-owned enterprises.

The take-over process would proceed on a planned basis commencing with selected key enterprises. Private enterprise would continue to work but on a basis restricted as to size and in accordance with the national plan.

There would be public or co-operative ownership of rural industries and land used in production by big landowners and companies. Land used for housing and small industries would remain as private property. This includes small farms. Private ownership of land would be limited in size.

Land would be returned to Aboriginal communities with the transfer of communal, inalienable title to groups on the basis of traditional ownership, long association and/or need.

The Government of People's Unity would need sufficient powers to plan sustainable economic development, including control over capital investment, availability and planned use of raw materials and labour. The aim would be the comprehensive, co-ordinated, balanced development of the economy with emphasis on strengthening the public sector. A substantial role for the private sector would remain, while the economy would be developed using a combination of planning and regulation and use of the market forces of supply and demand.

Government departments and agencies would develop overall and sectional plans. The planning process would require the active involvement of committees consisting of representatives from trade unions, academic and environmental organisations and other representative community organisations.

The government would implement strict control over the movement of money in and out of the country. Speculation and the transfer of money to the detriment of the nation's economy would be prohibited.

Strict government control over interest rates and credit policy in the interests

of the working people would be introduced. Application of differential rates to encourage investment in government loan raisings might be necessary. The interest rates on government advances to private enterprises would be fixed at differential rates to favour smaller enterprises and enterprises having a greater value to the nation's economy. Interest rates on housing loans and hire purchases would be controlled to assist home owners.

Taking into account the need for economically viable enterprises and businesses, prices would be controlled and profits limited.

Taxation would be assessed and levied in accordance with the needs of the national economic plan and the government's responsibilities for social services, health, education, housing and other necessary purposes.

Taxes would be levied on the profits of public and private enterprises and from personal income in accordance with the ability to pay, thus reducing taxes on lower paid wage and salary earners.

The amount of capital to be raised would be determined by the needs of both the private and the public sector. Capital funds for privately owned enterprises would be acquired by the compulsory allocation of a portion of profits made by private enterprises and from government loans as well as from private investments by individuals.

The capital needs of publicly-owned enterprises would come from the accumulated profits of such enterprises, from taxation, through government loan raisings and from funds contributed by the public.

All foreign investments in Australia, capital withdrawals, the payment of profits overseas and Australian investments overseas would be controlled by government legislation. Foreign investments and borrowings would be acquired to develop the nation's economy and the amount of foreign equity would be regulated in accordance with this priority consideration. This does not exclude fully owned or joint venture enterprises under terms and conditions determined by the government.

Existing foreign owned enterprises which do not meet the national interest or comply with legislative changes would be bought out, turned into joint venture enterprises, or nationalised.

International trade would be under direct government control with the trade in major commodities entirely in government hands. Appropriate government bodies to promote trade would be established and would include representatives of the private sector and the trade unions.

The use of tariffs, import quotas and preferred nations treatment would be applied to areas essential for the success of the overall national economic plan and consistent with the need to preserve jobs and industries and to protect the economy from damaging foreign competition.

Trade with all nations would be developed on the principle of mutual benefit. Trade between Australia and those countries whose economies are based on similar principles would be developed as part of economic co-operation and reciprocal specialisation.

Development of the Australian economy depends to a considerable extent on the maintenance of stable international conditions and is therefore related to foreign policy. Australia's economic well-being, security and national independence require a foreign policy which upholds peace and supports disarmament and is based on the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems.

In accordance with these principles, Australia's subservient military links with the United States or similar alliances with any other country would be terminated. The ANZUS Treaty would be ended and the US bases on Australian territory removed.

In addition, Australia's military capability and strategy would be altered to provide an adequate defence without threatening the territory of other states. An independent, peaceful foreign policy requires adoption of a defensive strategic doctrine. Flowing from such changes would come cuts in military spending, the "peace dividend", which would be used for investment in job creating, socially useful and environmentally sustainable areas of the economy.

The government would support and actively participate in the implementation of the New International Economic Order adopted by the United Nations. The NIEO calls for the building of economic and political relations between nations on a basis of mutual benefit, eliminating the present exploitation by the rich and powerful nations of the Third World underdeveloped nations.

Serious problems related to the protection of the ecology and natural resources and the pollution of the environment raise vital short and long term issues for Australia and all other countries. The stability of the life-support system on our planet is under threat, though the urgent need to tackle the problem is not yet appreciated.

The far-reaching changes taking place raise the question of the type of society -- its values, organisational principles and its practices-which can best provide for the satisfaction of human needs and, at the same time, preserve and improve the environment.

The motive of profit above all else, the unplanned exploitation of resources, the sanctity of private land ownership, unbridled individualism and the authoritarianism of bourgeois governments produce an uncaring destruction and distortion of the environment.

Monopoly capital is in many instances directly to blame for irreparable environmental destruction and depletion of resources. In Australian class society the natural environment is viewed by each group largely according to the possibilities of exploiting it. The struggle of the environment organisations is generating concern for the environment and the need for its protection and preservation.

The environmental struggle raises consciousness about humanity's relationship with nature, stresses social responsibility and the need for democratisation of decision making about environmental issues.

It is important to build the connections between working class organisations and environmental activists from other classes and strata. It is necessary to deal with the crucial issue of the relationship between employment and protection of the environment by raising the necessity for democratic social, economic and environmental planning.

Public ownership of industry and resources, their democratic control and comprehensive planned development which must necessarily take into account environmental factors, is the basis for the satisfaction of the justified demands of workers and environmentalists and the future needs of all humanity.

The fulfillment of the above program would bring considerable change to the life of the Australian people setting them on a new course. These and other policies reflect the many progressive demands put forward by the working class, all the working people and other progressive, anti-monopoly sections of society.

These processes are likely to take a prolonged period of time and will not be free of setbacks. Progressive achievements can be cancelled out by the activities of those who demand that society return to former conditions and also by ill-considered policies which try to artificially accelerate social change. Ideological, economic and even military pressure from capitalist forces and external intervention by their allies must also be taken into account.

The move to revolutionary change

The first stage in the process of transition to socialism is directed against state-monopoly capitalism, aiming to weaken the power of monopoly and to extend the democratic rights and participation of the people. Australia is now in the initial stages of this process.

The process of transition from capitalism to socialism does not and cannot end with the successful conclusion of the first stage.

The process of change would continue towards the construction of a socialist society which is the logical further development of society and is the guarantee that the progressive changes made will be maintained and consolidated.

The second stage requires the replacement of capitalist class power with working class power and further steps to break and end the control and ownership of the economy by capitalism. The new government of the working class supported by its allies would commence the restructuring of political and economic relations along socialist lines.

In the second stage, the alliance of forces established to challenge the power of monopoly must be consolidated to achieve new targets. To achieve this, the working class must act not only on its own behalf, but also demonstrate that it is capable of playing the leading role in social development by recognising, supporting and developing the political and economic demands of the other anti-monopoly social groups.

However, not everyone who takes part in the struggle for reforms supports the socialist objective. Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie may withdraw from and come to oppose further social change.

Those who do want a socialist society invariably support the struggles for the day to day improvements in conditions, rights, the environment and for peace, but also recognise the need to go further.

The process of change will be strenuously opposed by those forces whose privileged position is being challenged. Ideological and political manoeuvres and pressure, the flight of capital and other economic measures, sanctions, sabotage and other activities by the capital class will make the process of transition complex and difficult.

It is necessary for the revolutionary movement and the working class to master and be prepared to use all forms of struggle. Any limitations on forms of struggle will create weaknesses which will be used by the ruling class to retain its hold.

The best defence of the gains won by the people is the active unity of the working class and the wider unity of the working class with all other progressive forces. Equally vital for success is a close and dynamic relationship between the members of the Marxist-Leninist party and the people involved in struggle.

It is not sufficient to state the aim of establishing a socialist Australia as the way to solve the economic, political and social problems inherent in the capitalist system. It is also necessary to estimate the process of change, the nature of the transition from capitalism to socialism in Australia and to understand the issues and the class forces involved in such a change.

Conditions in Australia and experiences in other countries make it clear that the process of real change to a socialist society is likely to pass through at least two and perhaps more lengthy stages.

CHAPTER 4

PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY

Around the world, millions upon millions of people take action on a great variety of issues. This is a positive factor of great historical importance for it is the people, above all working men and women, who make history. Their activities and struggles are the motor for many of the political and economic changes which take place in society and are the guarantee of social progress.

There are many examples. The big movement against the war in Vietnam helped to bring that war to an end and to defeat the Liberal/National Party government of that time. The many years of activity by the peace movement has created strong support for peace in the community. There have been many struggles to preserve and extend democratic rights by trade unions and other organisations. They have helped to achieve the democratic rights that now exist. Various social forces have taken part in these struggles.

Not all activities and struggles are progressive. Sometimes support for nationalism, racism and other concepts cause divisions in society, hold back its development and even bring about retrograde steps.

While the working class is the only force with the social and economic power to overthrow capitalism, even in a country like Australia where the working class is the vast majority of the population, it cannot challenge the ruling class and win power without the support of other social groups. These are the professional workers and intellectuals, working farmers, small business people and Aborigines. They can be won as allies of the working class because they share a common interest with the workers in breaking the domination of monopoly capital.

The working class

In the capitalist countries, the working class is the principal, but not the only, driving force of the democratic and progressive movement.

Working men and women are in constant struggle against capital for jobs, working conditions and democratic rights. The contradiction between their interests as workers and those of the capitalist class is expressed in this struggle. The working class is at the centre of the economic life of society.

The fact that large numbers of workers are brought together in the production process helps to create a spirit of common collective interest and develops ideas of mutual aid and support. This encourages the growth and unity of workers' organisations such as trade unions and political parties.

Compared to the working class, none of the other progressive and democratic forces in society have the same opportunities for organisation or experience the exploitation of capital so directly. None of the other classes or social groups can have such a decisive effect on the production process taking place in society.

Furthermore, the working class is the class which is most interested in the abolition of the system of private ownership and its replacement with public ownership of the means of production.

Historically, it is the responsibility of the working class to come to the head of society and to liberate itself as well as all other classes and social groups exploited by big capital.

The working class does not have any interest in exploiting other classes. Instead, when it takes revolutionary action, it ends the whole system of exploitation and replaces it with real social unity. It ultimately welds the nation into a classless society in which each has a common interest in the well-being of all.

It is for these reasons that we can speak of the leading role of the working class.

Intellectuals and professional workers

The individuals who make up the social group of intellectuals and professional workers occupy different positions in the economic life of society. Some are self-employed, many are wage and salary earners, others become part of the employing class.

As a result of the scientific and technological revolution, the number of workers in communications, the sciences, education, engineering, cultural activities, the service sector and workers who do not work in industrial production industries has greatly increased. They contribute a great deal in the production process and in other social activities. Many are wage and salary earners and in that respect have a similar economic position to that of workers. They become a part of the working class.

The growing monopolisation of the economy and other social and economic changes is forcing more and more intellectuals and technologists into the ranks of the wage and salary earners. Their intellectual capacities are exploited and they are under constant economic and political pressure to serve the ruling class.

While most receive higher wages and enjoy better living standards than many industrial workers, they are also alienated in the production process. Their talents are used for the private profit of others and their livelihoods are threatened by the deepening crisis of the system.

Intellectuals and professional workers suffer the intensification of exploitation, unemployment, insecurity, or an inability to find employment in accordance with their training. Their struggle around these day to day problems helps to bring them into contact with working class ideas and organisations.

Intellectuals and professional workers are an influential section in the political, ideological, cultural and productive life of society. It is important that they are won to the side of the working class as allies in the democratic movement.

Intellectuals can and do take up important and influential positions in the mass struggles for peace, democratic rights, for a progressive and democratic culture, freedom of information, for progressive ideas in education and so on.

However, their lack of a direct relationship to conditions existing in mass production industries can exert a negative influence on their thinking and the political positions they adopt.

The ideas of classes are rooted in their relationship to the economic system. Workers' ideas and their class consciousness arise from the collective nature of the work that most do and from their daily experience of their exploitation by capital.

The nature of the jobs of those in science and the professions influences their outlook as well, often towards individualism.

Working farmers

Working farmers are vital contributors to the national economy, supplying essential foodstuffs for the home market and considerable surpluses for export. The Australian economy relies heavily on agricultural commodities for its export earnings.

There is increasing monopolisation of key sectors of the rural economy and this strengthens the domination of capital over the nation as a whole.

Farmers who work small and medium farms are exploited by the monopolies which control the supply of seeds, chemicals, machinery and other essential commodities and by the middlemen, processors and distributors when they buy agricultural products from the farmers.

The development of large scale agri-business has intensified the competition with small and medium farms and increased their exploitation. Thousands of farmers are being forced off their land.

Farm labourers and workers in the country towns, many of whom are employed in rural related industries, have an important role in linking the farmers' struggle with those of the city working class.

Small business

Small business involves a large and diverse number of people who own and operate factories, shops and services in almost all areas of the economy. They are sub-contractors, small proprietors and entrepreneurs in transport, entertainment, manufacture etc. They are spread throughout the community in the cities and towns of the countryside.

Small business people hold an intermediary position between big capital and the working class. They play an important role in some sections of the

economy, supplementing big monopoly enterprises and, in various ways, convey the products of capitalist enterprises to the people.

The economic security of many small businesses is vulnerable and affected directly by the decisions of foreign and local monopolies and big landlords. Some are totally dependent on monopoly for contracts and are forced to follow production requirements and prices determined by monopoly. Others are connected to and supported by government programs and are, therefore, subject to changes in governments and their policies.

While many small business people are dependent on workers as consumers and understand the needs of workers, they are held to ransom by the monopolies and are fearful of rebuffing the more powerful monopoly corporations.

While holding an intermediate position between the working class and the big business monopolies, they are constantly squeezed by monopoly. The general insecurity of small businesses is heightened during periods of economic crisis.

Great variations exist in their conditions of life, from the well-to-do to those who work long hours for small remuneration. Some small business men and women move up into the ranks of the big capitalists while others are forced into the ranks of the working class as businesses fail and bankruptcies occur. Many small businesses are created by workers who are unable to find employment as workers and are forced to start small businesses to survive.

In the development of the democratic movement, intense ideological work is needed to overcome concepts of free competition and the individualism inherent in the economic relationships which are characteristic of the small business strata.

Aboriginal national minority

The Aborigines are an oppressed national minority within the Australian state. Under the impact of 200 years of colonisation, they have been integrated into the capitalist system and the great majority have been transformed into members of the Australian working class.

While the process of class formation among the Aborigines is predominantly one of the gradual growth over 200 years of a black proletariat, the development of middle-class elements and ideology are also part of this picture.

Aborigines suffer racial discrimination and oppression, segregation and isolation. As a result of this and their resistance to exploitation and deprivation, they have retained many aspects of their traditional ways of life and thought (languages, culture, customs, etc). They have also developed a consciousness of themselves as a separate people.

The political and social struggle by Aborigines is centred around the issue of land rights. This campaign is not only a question of civil rights; it goes beyond this bourgeois democratic aim for it contains a significant revolutionary aspect, the demand for the return to collective ownership of part of the basic means of production.

The demand for Aboriginal communal and inalienable landed property challenges capitalism for it puts forward a case for the expropriation of private property generally and it creates an alternative to state monopoly (government) and to private landed property.

The land rights campaign is a significant element in the struggle for socialism and these Aboriginal demands lay the basis for the transition to social ownership by all the people, black and white, of land and other resources in a socialist Australia.

All these social groups and classes, together with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander national minorities, are involved in various struggles and activities and contribute to social change. They share a common interest with the working class in opposing the economic and political domination of society by monopolies and corporations. The unification of all these forces is the responsibility of the working class and its political organisations. Collectively they will have an immense influence on the historical development of our society.

CHAPTER 5

UNITY IS STRENGTH

Unity and co-operation between the different progressive classes and social forces is a powerful force for change. Unity of the Left, working class unity and democratic/people's unity each has its own basis and characteristics. However, all forms of unity are interdependent, interconnected and influence one another.

Left unity

The political left is made up of those who recognise that class struggle is a basic feature of our society and that it must be fought in the interests of the working class. They recognise the need to end the capitalist system and replace it with a socialist one.

The left defends and fights for the interests of the workers and does not shrink from the truth that the working class must pursue its interests by struggle against the employers and their political representatives.

The left is for peace and disarmament, democracy for the people, security and employment, equality for women, and the many other issues which have been listed in this program.

The left shows that the capitalist system is the cause of the present economic and social crisis and that it must be challenged and replaced.

Unfortunately, for several decades the Australia left has been politically divided. Because many people who are politically left are members of various political organisations, re-uniting the left is a matter of bringing both individuals and the existing left political organisations and parties together.

Underlying the divisions which have occurred are differences on questions of ideology, strategy and tactics. These cannot be ignored but they cannot be resolved either by taking differences to the level of organisational

divisions. Impatience, opportunism and subjectivity have also played a considerable part. The situation damaged the communist movement as a whole and its individual parts.

The process of rebuilding and re-uniting the left can best start with agreements on issues and joint actions in support of policies held in common.

As experience and confidence grow, regular and structured co-ordination can emerge in support of an agreed upon program. This process creates better circumstances for ideological discussion between the left forces and opportunities for the eventual joining together of the left forces into a single party on the basis of the ideology and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

While each of the existing left parties has a certain influence and following, this remains, even in total, limited. This is demonstrated in elections when left candidates win small and often very small votes. For the left to become an alternative, it has to win support for its program and activities and demonstrate its capacity to lead the struggles for its implementation.

Co-operation in elections and the presentation of a united ticket would offer the people a much more acceptable alternative but even that is not enough.

The left still has a principal task of substantially increasing its mass connections and influence.

The left political parties have the responsibility to strengthen their co-operation, develop effective programs which reflect the interests of the working class and propose a strategy and tactics to achieve the program. Successes of the left parties in uniting workers in positive action will serve as an example and a stimulus to all political parties and organisations associated with the working class to act in the interests of the workers.

The left parties (and a coalition of the left parties) have to win the support of the workers which will be reflected in votes for left candidates in elections for trade union positions and for parliament, in the actions that the workers are prepared to take, in the greater numbers who will join the left parties, and so on.

Left unity does not stand on its own, isolated from other forms of unity. Left unity, the unity in action of the working class, and the unity in action of the working class and the other progressive and democratic social forces in society is an interdependent process.

Working class unity

Wage and salary earners make up over 85 per cent of all those who take part in production and provide community services. This provides an enormous social base and potential for the development of working class unity and for the wider unity of the left/progressive forces.

The united front of the working class means the establishment of unity in action by all sections of the working class in support of their economic and political interests at each given stage of development and directed against the class enemy, state monopoly capitalism.

Most of the struggles which occur in society are conducted by the workers as they fight for their interests on a variety of issues. They have waged many campaigns and strike struggles for higher wages against unemployment and the effects of inflation, for a shorter working week, increased compensation payments, safety in industry, increased social services and against the penal provisions of anti-trade union legislation.

Other struggles include those for democratic rights, a peaceful foreign policy, environmental protection and regeneration, taxation reform, a greater say in production, for nationalisation of big industries and so on.

Building the united front of the workers means advancing policies, demands and slogans which workers will actively support and which will strengthen the struggle and organisations of the working class. It means seeking the widest support and involvement of all working class activists to achieve the policies decided on.

It means being prepared to work with other political organisations and individuals willing to advance the unity in action of the workers irrespective of other differences.

The united front can be facilitated by agreements between working class organisations and parties to achieve certain policies. It is desirable that agreements lead to joint action by the workers.

The united front is also a political concept, the essence of which is unity of those forces favouring a revolutionary change to socialism with those who, as yet, limit their political concepts to the struggle for reforms.

The Marxist-Leninist party is an essential element in the united front and, in working unreservedly for the aims of the front, has the responsibility to maximise the socialist consciousness of the working class.

The development of united action by the whole working class is a complex and uneven process. It involves overcoming racial, cultural, ideological and political difference, sex and age divisions and divisions arising from different kinds of work and roles in the economic processes.

The experience of all of the struggles undertaken will help to show that it is the system itself which has to be changed and that a mere change of government or the winning of a reform, valuable as it may be, is no lasting solution while real political and economic power remains in the hands of monopoly.

The ruling class recognises the importance of the working class as its opponent and makes strenuous efforts to split the working class. It tries to persuade workers and their leaders that their interests are better served by collaboration with employers. However, falling wages and living standards, the loss of conditions and jobs and attacks on union rights show the error of this course.

The role of the working class is not limited to its own struggles or its specific needs and interests. To assume the leadership of all the progressive and democratic forces in society and to eventually become the ruling class, the working class must support the progressive demands and interests of the small working farmers, intellectuals and small business and fight for their interests as well. The working class must convince the other strata that the effects of transnational and monopoly domination which they suffer can only be overcome by struggling in alliance with the working class.

The Australian Labor Party

The major political and ideological influence in the working class remains that of the Australian Labor Party.

The ALP was founded as a working class challenge to the monopoly of government by the capitalist class. The party was dedicated to reform and concepts of social justice and worked for legislation which looked after the interests of the working people. The party supported the federation of the Australian States and the formation of a central Commonwealth government and the adoption of unifying, Australia-wide laws. It supported the concept of public ownership of the means of production, but did not call for the replacement of capitalism by socialism. Its early membership and leadership included many trade unionists, militant workers, reformers and socialists (mainly utopian socialists).

In 1921 the party adopted the “socialist objective” under the influence of the victory of the Russian socialist revolution and the world-wide revolutionary upsurge at that time. However, the party did not develop a theory or program to change the system. While the Labor Party has been responsible for many reforms, its limited objectives ensure the continuation of the capitalist system with no significant modifications to it.

The ALP receives support from sections of big business, the urban middle class, intellectuals and professional people. Nonetheless, much of its membership and voting support comes from the working class.

However, the social origin of the members and supporters of a party do not determine its character. It is the party’s ideological position which is the determining factor.

The ALP is a social democratic party. It seeks to win government not in order to fundamentally change society but to administer the affairs of existing capitalism. In certain circumstances, such parties do press for some social reforms but are quite capable of taking action to dispense with or dismantle reforms to protect the interests of capital.

The Labor Party is based on reformism, that is, reforms within the capitalist system, and it rejects the need for class struggle, for socialist revolution and the establishment of the rule of the working class. It attempts to combine private ownership and social justice, social inequality and general prosperity, democracy while leaving the capitalist state unchallenged, peace without struggle against the source of war, and so on.

Reformist ideas and policies of compromise with capitalism on the one hand, and the largely working class support for the party on the other, produce continuous right-left struggle within the party -- a reflection of the struggle between capital and labour.

The reformist position of the Labor Party enables the leadership to claim to represent all the people and not solely or mainly the working class. This position also allows ALP parliamentarians, particularly when in government, to desert Labor policies and principles which members committed to the working class regard as basic. In such circumstances, Labor governments frequently implement the anti-working class policies of the anti-Labor parties. These actions lead to disillusionment and frustration among ALP members and supporters and to the subsequent electoral defeat of the party.

Many Labor Party and some trade union leaders believe the unions are the “industrial wing” of the labour movement while the Parliamentary Labor Party constitutes its “political wing”. They see the main purpose of the unions as supporters of the parliamentary party and attempt to tie unions to supporting ALP government policies. This denies the independence of the trade unions and relegates them to being a mere appendage of the parliamentary party.

Another trend within the ALP is made up of those members who are committed to struggle to implement the adopted policies for reform which are in the interests of the people. They sincerely seek to serve working class interests.

Many of this trend support the struggle for socialism. However, they tend to favour a concept of socialism which retains capitalist democracy rather than establishing the democratic power of the working class. This trend is forthright in upholding Australia’s national independence and sovereignty and participates in the struggle for peace.

In the course of its existence, capitalism has been marked by recurrent economic crises. When objective conditions have favoured the working class (during the “boom” periods), Labor governments hold back workers’ struggles to take advantage of the situation to improve their lot. When the economic “busts” occur, Labor governments assist the attacks on the conditions and rights of workers.

When in government the Labor Party subscribes to the view of capitalist economists on the need for control over the labour market and to the mechanisms proposed for this purpose. They support the theory that restraints on wages level, which results in boosting corporate profits will, as a result, increase capital investment with consequential increases in employment.

In foreign affairs, Labor governments have been subservient to United States imperialism and have obeyed US demands for its allies to “share the burden” of military spending.

Because of those features of its activities the Labor Party frequently appears, and in fact serves, as a prop for the ruling class and its agencies. Upon many occasions it adopts policies and follows practices very similar to those of anti-working class parties. This enables the media to depict the Labor Party as “stealing the clothes” of its parliamentary opponents.

This position, the creation mainly of sections of the party leadership and the party’s leading organs, causes dismay and arouses disaffection amongst sections of the Labor Party’s traditional working class supporters and results in large scale withdrawal of support by those affected and substantial dissension in the party membership.

Despite these features of the labor Party it is, and will remain for some time, a main force in the political life of Australia. Its ranks include, at leadership and membership level many who express opposition to policies and practices of the party which they consider to be departures from what they hold to be Labor Party traditions and standards.

Some of these forces support the concept of a socialist society. They clearly have a role to play in the task of successfully building both working class unity and left/progressive people’s unity.

Like other governments, Labor governments are susceptible to mass pressure in support of economic, political and social reforms. Any concept of united action for social advance should take these possibilities into account.

The long-term support given to the Labor Party by many workers, intellectuals and others means that the participation of members of the

ALP is an important factor of success in the task of building both working class unity and left/progressive unity and in bringing about progressive social change in Australia.

Trade unions

The trade unions are the main and the largest mass organisations of the workers. They are indispensable in the task of winning the many urgent demands and needs of the working people. Their leaders and members have an important part to play in building the unity of the working class.

Since their formation more than 130 years ago, the underlying outlook of the trade union movement has been struggle against capital for the interests of the workers. Trade union leaderships have, in the main, worked for this objective.

Trade unions combine in their membership workers who have in common a basic antagonistic relationship to the employer but who have a variety of political opinions and commitment. They unite workers in a particular industry or trade and look after their day to day interests.

This is reflected in their constitutions and the organisational structure of trade unions. They do not usually contain any far-reaching political objectives such as are contained in the programs of the left political parties.

Some union organisations including the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) do refer in their constitutions to socialism but in practice they pay little more than lip service to that objective.

Nonetheless, the trade unions must be won to support fundamental social change in the interests of the working class.

Trade unions, however, cannot replace the left parties when it comes to the political leadership of the class. Nor can the political parties replace the vital role played by the workers' trade unions.

Anti-union forces and right-wing trade union and labour leaders try to restrict trade union functions to economic demands limiting their activities to getting a better deal from capitalism but not in any way challenging the system, let alone attempting to change it.

Adoption of the Accord in 1983 led most trade union leaders to abandon the historic position of struggle and adopt a class collaborationist approach. The strengthening of right-wing domination in a number of trade union leaderships poses difficult problems for union members and underlines the need to organise the rank and file at the job level, to establish trade union organisation on the job and to encourage worker participation in all the affairs of their union.

Democratic or people's unity

All progressive and democratic sections of society take up campaigns against the effects of socio-economic crisis, the drive to war, the betrayal of Australia's independence and sovereignty, the attacks on democratic rights and living standards and so on. Workers are not alone in attempting to achieve a better society.

A range of progressive movements already exist which involve workers, intellectuals, professional workers and other social groups.

While there are overlapping memberships and organisational links, these movements, in the main, remain unstructured, but provide a realistic form by which to build a broad and active people's unity in support of progressive issues and demands. In fighting together for programs in the interests of the other social groups and the working class, a cohesive democratic unity can come into existence directed against the most reactionary big business circles.

In many of these mass movements, workers and working class organisations play a part but their participation is often limited and does not fulfill the need for the working class to play the leading role which their size, experience and organisation calls for.

In assuming leadership in the struggles for peace, national independence, democracy, economic security and progress, the working class must also give specific support to the needs of the other anti-monopoly social forces.

Principles of unity

In strengthening the various forms of unity there are some principles that need to be adhered to. They include:

- * Every organisation and the individuals involved must approach others on the basis of equality, mutual respect and honesty.
- * There must be consultation at each step of the unity building process to ensure agreement on policies, tactics and actions.
- * An atmosphere must be created in which the results of agreements and steps taken are frankly discussed and evaluated. Mistakes will be made and they should be recognised and corrected during the course of work.
- * Agreements by co-operating organisations must be reached by consensus. Voting should be resorted to only as a last resort and be limited to procedural matters.
- * Where agreement is not reached on an issue, this issue must be put aside with each organisation free to express its view on the issue using its own facilities.
- * Once agreements are reached, all organisations must help carry them out.
- * Ideological differences should not stand in the way of co-operation on issues held in common.
- * A contest of ideas between co-operating organisations is natural and inevitable. This contest or any criticism of one organisation by another should be stated in a manner which does not undermine the unity achieved on agreed issues but should contribute to clarity and to strengthening the developing unity.
- * Each organisation must be free to publish its views and carry out activities in support of policies which are not the subject of agreements.
- * Discussion and agreement at leadership level must be backed up and deepened by co-operation at all levels of the organisations involved.

* * * * *

The more the different forms of unity are integrated with each other, the stronger the progressive forces will become.

Strong unity in action by the left, the working class and other democratic and progressive forces is essential if the economic, political and social problems facing the people are to be overcome and changes made to the root causes of these problems, bringing about lasting solutions and starting to build a new kind of Australian society.

CHAPTER 6

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Australia is a political organisation whose aim is the establishment and development of a society that is fairer, more democratic and far more enriching for the people than the present society.

Our goal is the creation of a society that will start to resolve the problems inherent in capitalism, including war, environmental catastrophes, oppression, poverty, unemployment, ignorance, bigotry, racism and discrimination. Such a society can only be a socialist one.

The CPA is a working class party and its members are workers, scientists, technicians, writers, farmers, progressives from many walks of life, women and men, young and old, and have different national origins. All are united by a commitment to work for the interests and needs of the working class.

The first communist parties came into existence about a century ago in the bitter and long struggles for democracy and freedom, for peace and an end to colonialism, for a secure life without poverty and unemployment. The parties became the hope of the people and proved to be indispensable in the struggles for liberation and in the subsequent task of building socialist societies.

The parties, with the support of millions of people, won many achievements. The present times demand the maintenance and strengthening of the communist parties. Tendencies which weaken, split or even dissolve a party must be condemned and rejected. This truth is a conclusion drawn from Australian experience where liquidationist tendencies inflicted enormous damage on the communist movement.

The Communist Party reaffirms its commitment to remain as a party dedicated to the struggles of the working class and all progressive groups and classes. The members of the Party are committed to socialism, are

closely associated with the working people and base their activities on Marxism-Leninism.

It is our aim to develop the Communist Party into a party capable of helping to educate, organise, lead, unite and fight together with all politically progressive forces in building a broad people's movement with the working class as its core.

The Party and the people

The Communist Party is confident that the working class is capable of leading the struggle to win political power from the capitalist ruling class and the agencies maintaining its power. The socialist reconstruction of society is only possible when the working class becomes the ruling class.

Communists can play the decisive role in these tasks if they are guided by Marxism which brings an understanding of the laws of social development and the direction of events. By high levels of organisation and discipline, the parties have proved in a number of countries that they are capable of conducting the struggle to end the rule of the exploiters.

All this is worthless, however, if the members of the communist parties are not closely connected with the working people and, at all times, concern themselves with the daily as well as the long-term needs of the workers and other progressive social groups in society.

Political leadership must be constantly earned by effective policies, by work done, by commitment, by integrity and honesty. It cannot be bestowed or established by declaration or law.

The Communist Party of Australia seeks to establish its political leadership by winning support for its policies and the respect earned by its members for their commitment and activities in the struggles of the working people. Winning acceptance for CPA policies depends much on our ability to work democratically side by side with others, arguing our position while respecting the views of others and, at each stage, helping to unify the politically progressive and socialist forces.

The Communist Party's national newspaper, "***The Guardian***", plays a central role in this process. "***The Guardian***" helps to educate and organise

the Party to carry out its activities as a Marxist-Leninist organisation. At the same time, the paper links the Party with the more class conscious and politically aware members of the working class and working people generally.

The Communist Party seeks to have all its members distribute "***The Guardian***" which must develop a wide readership amongst working class and progressive people.

Scientific socialism

The Communist Party of Australia is guided in its work by applying to all issues of the day and to all problems the scientific socialist theory founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and further developed by Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism is a living science and not a dogma. As developments take place and new problems arise in society and nature, ideology and theory must develop as well. Answers must be found to meet the new circumstances. Theory must, therefore, be a part of the everyday activity of each member.

The basis of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical materialism which recognises the existence of a material world and that interconnections exist between all material things. Changes take place because of contradictions within and between things and there is a process of constant change in the material world. The laws of natural and social development are disclosed by dialectical materialism.

Marxism-Leninism recognises the class struggle in present day society as the starting point to understand social change and as the motivating force of that change. It regards the working class as the developing class which, upon becoming the ruling class in society, will end the exploitation of one class by another and build a socialist future.

The Communist Party seeks to study and apply Marxism-Leninism in practice in the light of conditions in Australia. At the same time it recognises the universality of the general laws of scientific socialism.

Internationalism

The Party combines defence of the best interests of the working people and the independence and sovereignty of Australia with international working class solidarity. The Party sees itself as a part of the international communist and workers' movement.

The Party bases its relations with other communist and workers' parties on the principles of solidarity, mutual assistance, respect and friendship, independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The CPA accepts the responsibilities these principles carry.

The Communist Party of Australia is an independent political party, not bound by the decisions, policies and activities of other parties. It makes its own decisions and stands on its own feet. This does not mean that the Party is unconcerned about the activities, successes and failures of similar parties of other countries. Nor does it mean any lessening of our internationalist commitment.

Responding to change

The Party recognises that it is necessary to make changes in a constantly changing world. But this does not involve departures from basic concepts nor changes just for the sake of change. Each situation needs to be assessed and changes made in the light of reality and necessity.

The Communist Party cannot ignore the profound changes taking place in both capitalist and socialist countries in this period of human history. The Party has to face and deal with all the new and additional developments as they arise if it is to serve the interests of the working class and advance the cause of socialism in Australia. It is an obligation of members to take part and learn how to work and act in ever changing circumstances.

The task is within the capacity of the working class and the Party membership. It requires only the will to achieve it. The party's aims are genuine, legitimate and sound. They represent the best interests of the people of Australia and in particular the working people. They are well worth fighting and sacrificing for.

CHAPTER 7

THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

Australia is placed geographically in the Asia-Pacific region which contains the world's most populous countries. Many of the nations have long histories and cultures stretching back for thousands of years. It is a region with rich material and intellectual resources and is now growing rapidly economically but there are extremes of wealth and poverty.

Following the defeat of German fascism in Europe and Japanese militarism, national liberation and socialist revolutions swept the region. China at last won free of colonial oppression. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia won liberation from the French and then American colonialists and Cambodia rid itself of the murderous Pol Pot regime and has proceeded to establish a democratic and politically progressive system. Indonesia overthrew Dutch colonialism and India the British. The Japanese were driven out of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in the northern part of the Korean Peninsular defeating attempts by the United States to impose its rule. In Japan, the former militarist regime was discredited and replaced with a bourgeois democratic government. A strong anti-war movement directed against re-militarisation and use of military forces outside Japanese territory arose.

The struggles for national independence and sovereignty, democracy and social progress are continuing. The most recent to win their political independence are the island nations of the South Pacific and Papua-New Guinea.

Some of the newly independent states have taken the socialist road, others the capitalist. Many of the Third World countries have a generally anti-imperialist orientation. Some have democratic regimes while others are ruled by repressive or militarist dictatorships.

It was in response to this revolutionary and anti-imperialist sweep that the imperialist powers reacted with outright military intervention, economic

and political pressure, the establishment of a network of military and naval bases and a number of military and political alliances.

The military interventions included the attempted Dutch invasion of Indonesia, and the US-led wars in Korea in the 1950s and in Vietnam in the 1960s.

Soon after the Second World War, the United States began extending bases so that Asia and the Pacific became enmeshed in a network of over 500 military facilities. They are vital elements in the efforts, using all means including military force, to re-impose neo-colonialist rule in the liberated countries. Out of eight major military pacts which the US constructed world-wide after 1945, five were in the Asia-Pacific region. They include the ANZUS agreement, the UK-USA intelligence-sharing agreement, and the so-called "defence" treaties with Japan and South Korea. Australia is party to another such pact-the Five Power Defence Agreement involving Britain, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore as well as Australia.

Asia and the Pacific is the only region in the world to experience all the consequences of the nuclear age, beginning with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear weapon and missile testing, nuclear waste dumping, the deployment of nuclear weapons and the forced removal of peoples to make room for military bases.

Despite attempts to roll back the clock and re-impose the domination of imperialism, the countries of the region have continued their political and economic development in a progressive direction. The economies of a number of the Asian countries are growing apace and the aspirations of the people for peace, national independence and social and political progress and justice continue to find expression.

The Asia-Pacific region generates more than one-third of the world's trade. By the end of the 1990s, countries of the region are expected to create more than half of the world's economic output. It has been predicted that between 1970 and 2000, Asia's proportion of the global GNP will have grown from 16 to 25 per cent. It is estimated that by the end of the 20th Century, the Asia-Pacific region's economic growth will exceed the world's average increase level and the focus of international trade will shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In the 50s and 60s Western Europe was the main focus of United States economic activity. However, an important shift occurred during the 1970s and by the early 1980s, United States trade with the Asia-Pacific region surpassed its trade with Western Europe. There has been a relative increase in United States investment in the region and the US is substantially dependent on the Asia-Pacific countries for a number of raw materials (e.g. titanium, tin, mica, tantalum).

Japan has had a major impact on the region's rising economic influence and this is added to by the so-called "four tigers" -- the newly industrialised countries of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Thailand.

The region has played a central part in Japan's economic expansion, absorbing an increasing proportion of its industrial products. Japan's industrial and technological offensive has been widely felt throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

The United States and Japan are trading partners but also fierce economic competitors. Their rivalry is a constant factor in Asian-Pacific and world politics.

Japanese economic aid to the Pacific region is used to secure access to resources and to establish industries which are dependent on Japanese assistance for their existence. Commercial interests underpin much of Japan's official development assistance --and Japan is now the world's largest aid donor.

With a population of over 1.1 billion people, China is the world's most populous country. It occupies a vast territory with rich resources. The steady growth of China's socialist economy, modernisation programs and opening up to the outside world is exerting a growing economic and political influence in the region and the world. The country's experience in socialist construction with "Chinese characteristics" is an important example for countries embarking on the socialist path. China's continued stability and progress is a vital factor in the peaceful and progressive development of the nations of the world.

India has the second largest population in the world and faces enormous economic, political and ethnic problems. The colonialist legacy has not yet been overcome. India took the capitalist path following its liberation from British rule.

Although great efforts have been made to overcome impoverishment and a still largely peasant economy, a continuation of landlordism and the absence of land reform, a backward industry, continual outbreaks of ethnic and religious strife stirred up by reactionary political forces in league with imperialism and the impositions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have, as yet, prevented India from entering the path of real national independence and development.

The general economic dynamism of the Asian-Pacific region must be viewed in the light of the fact that the competitive edge of these countries owes a great deal to cheap labour costs, highly disciplined workforces and varying degrees of political repression.

Sooner or later, however, demands for a better life will give rise to a powerful dynamic for change. The worker and student unrest in South Korea and the militant political and industrial struggles in Japan are signs of this trend.

Despite its economic dynamism, many developing countries of the region are trapped in international economic relations which keep the people in a state of dependence and poverty. Transnational corporations bleed them of their wealth. The so-called aid packages often benefit the donor more than the recipient.

Many of the ex-colonial states in the region have economies which depend on the revenue from a few agricultural or mineral commodities. Most countries of the region are subject to the crises of foreign debt payments, currency instability, volatile commodity prices and trade imbalances.

Impoverishment, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment and disease can all be attributed to the burden imposed by imperialism. States which pursue reactionary foreign policies also repress the movements of their own people for a better way of life. Those states which do not align with imperialism live under the threat of destabilisation and interference in their internal affairs.

Australian capital, with the connivance and assistance of Australian governments, participates in this plunder. In the post-war era, Australia has become a middle-ranking imperialist power, whose governments have willingly participated in imperialist military interventions in Malaya, Korea and Vietnam. Australian governments assist repressive neo-colonial governments throughout South-East Asia and the South Pacific. Australia seeks to be the dominant imperialist power over Papua New Guinea, Fiji and the other island nations of Melanesia and Polynesia, all of whom have only recently won their independence as nation states and face many economic and social problems.

Japan is engaged in an ambitious program of military modernisation and in 1990 boasted the world's third largest defence budget, well in excess of \$30 billion. Japan's reactionary parties are attempting to remove the constitutional restrictions which prohibit use of Japanese military forces outside its own territory.

With growing arms transfers and large military budgets in many of the region's countries, Asia and the Pacific has become increasingly militarised. There has been a growing tendency for states to rely on the accumulation, threat or use of force as the primary instrument in matters of external security and to secure domestic social order.

Australia has assisted in these processes by its own rearmament program, increasing arms sales to the region and by the militarisation of its foreign policy. In 1989, Australia's Foreign Minister stated: "The contribution that our military capabilities make to our general national status strengthens our ability to exercise leverage across many fields."

At the same time as the capitalist powers build up their military potential, attempts are being made to penetrate the socialist states and other countries which follow an independent anti-imperialist course by "peaceful" economic and political means.

In the forefront of this are the campaigns for "human rights", "democracy", "freedom of the press" and so on. The aim of these campaigns, which make use of these widely held objectives, is to impose Western political, economic and social values on other nations, irrespective of their own histories, cultures, values, ways of doing things and priorities.

For those who are impoverished, without work, education, housing or medical facilities, the priority is the solution of their economic needs. It is on the basis of the satisfaction of these needs that it will be possible to build democratic political structures which are appropriate and acceptable to the people of the countries concerned.

CHAPTER 8

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Capitalism came into existence about 300 years ago. The political power of the rising capitalist class was consolidated by the 1642 revolution in Britain, the 1789 revolution in France and during the Wars of Independence in the USA. Capitalism developed in other countries in the succeeding decades and, gradually and unevenly, became a world-wide political and economic system.

Capitalism spread to other countries by means of conquest, the “opening up” of the colonies for the benefit of the “home” country and then by investment of capital and cultural penetration. Capital always looks for the most profitable areas in which to invest and is attracted to countries where labour costs are cheaper.

Capitalism brought about an enormous explosion in the productive forces, producing a vast range of commodities and services and a network of transport and communication facilities.

Small scale capitalism led to monopoly and later to wealthy and powerful transnational corporations CPAanning many countries and continents.

Far from capitalism promoting competition, its operations have led to the elimination of competition and the creation of ever larger and more powerful monopolies and transnational corporations.

During its 300 years existence, capitalism has changed considerably but its essence remains the same. All the capitalist countries have many common features despite the differences between one country and another.

It is a system whose primary objective and motivation is private profit-making through exploiting the labour of working people. This gives rise to constant struggle between the working class and the capitalist ruling class. The social nature of production under capitalism-that is, the production of

commodities and the provision of services by the social or co-operative activity of many workers-conflicts with the private accumulation of wealth through the private ownership and sale of the commodities produced and the services supplied.

Under capitalism the main producers, the workers, are denied ownership and control over the means of production. They are forced to sell their labour power to the capitalists for wages which they use to purchase the things they need for daily life.

The difference between the value of the goods and services created and the wages paid is the profit taken by the capitalists.

The capitalists try constantly to reduce the amount of wages paid to workers. Introducing new technology, speeding up production lines and other methods are combined with direct efforts to reduce wage rates.

Control of the means of production gives the capitalists economic, political and social power over the rest of society.

The contradictions of capitalism

There is a contradiction between the drive to constantly expand capitalist production, stimulated by the profit motive and competition, and the restrictions placed on the ability of workers to consume what they produce. The efforts of capitalists to maximise profits and hold down wages is the basic cause of the periodic crises of over-production.

These periods of over-production are characterised by a decline in production, increased unemployment and a general decline in economic activity.

The scientific and technological revolution has intensified this contradiction as it has vastly increased the potential to generate greater material wealth and services while intensifying the exploitation of labour. It is a major contributing factor to the much higher levels of unemployment in all capitalist countries.

As the capitalist system develops, it steadily sharpens the fundamental

contradiction between the fact that commodities and services are produced by many workers working collectively, while the machinery, raw materials and the products and services created in the production process are owned by private capital. The contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the constraints imposed by these property relations also sharpens.

There is a contradiction between the internationalisation of production, expressed by the growth of transnational corporations across national borders, by the development of trade, communications and all manner of exchanges-and the division of the world into nation states which create conflicts between nations and intensify inter-imperialist rivalries and competition.

The leaders of the capitalist countries are aware of these contradictions and make efforts to eliminate them or, at least, to keep them under control.

These problems are the motivation behind attempts to form the European Community, combining many European nation states into one economic and political bloc, the formation of the US-Canada-Mexico trade bloc, trade groupings in Latin America and the ASEAN group of Asian states. It is also behind the Asian Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) and underlies the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations which have the aim of overcoming the trade conflicts between the major imperialist economic groupings.

These efforts will not overcome the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system nor eliminate the problems they create. They may change the circumstances in which the contradictions operate but cannot solve them.

Imperialism

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Its main feature is the investment of capital by the monopolies and the transnational corporations in foreign countries and the exploitation of the labour and resources of these countries. These huge amalgamations of capital assets, concentrated finance, scientific and technical resources, raw materials and markets use their power to control other governments.

Another feature is the militarisation of the economies of major imperialist powers with a sharp increase in the influence and power of the military-industrial complexes. They are a pillar of extreme reaction, the core of the forces of war and aggression, the instigators of preparations for nuclear war which could destroy the whole world.

The imperialist stage is noted for the role played by the small financial elite which controls vast accumulations of finance capital. In the developed capitalist countries the banks and other financial institutions dominate over all other branches of the economy—industry, agriculture, raw material resources and governments.

State-monopoly capitalism

The imperialist stage is marked by the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism.

In this there has been an integration of monopoly and the state into a mechanism which protects and serves the interests of the monopolies. Leading persons holding important positions in the monopoly corporations also hold important positions in the machinery of state. Representatives of the monopolies are placed on government boards and commissions.

State requirements constitute a substantial market and state contracts are of major significance to monopoly enterprises. The state has close links with the military-industrial complex and awards immensely profitable contracts for armaments manufacture. The state finances research in various ways helpful to the monopolies, contributes substantially to the provision of infrastructure and provides, either free or at substantially reduced costs, facilities such as ports, roads, transport and so on. The state also gives direct financial handouts, subsidies and grants which are of great assistance to monopoly enterprises.

The state legislates in the interests of the monopolies and, through its budget, fiscal and monetary policies, controls and manipulates the economy to meet the needs of monopoly enterprises. In this process, the state will, if necessary, subordinate the particular needs of individual monopoly groupings to the basic interests of monopoly capitalism as a whole.

In the period of state-monopoly capitalism, the working class not only

confronts individual monopoly organisations, but the united forces of the monopolies combined with the forces of the state.

These conditions call for class-wide political actions by the workers and they tend to give a political content to major actions by the workers irrespective of the immediate aims of those actions.

The political content of the actions by the workers in these conditions is added to by the use, to an increasing extent, of the state machine, including the armed forces, the police and the courts, to suppress opposition to state-monopoly dominance.

The mass media have the task of “selling” the capitalist system, covering up the blatant dictatorship of capital, popularising false ideas and promoting acquiescence. They do this by promoting a false unity of purpose of workers and capitalists, including through nationalism, and by selling ideas which split the working class and progressive movements. Any divisive idea serves this purpose—youth against age, women against men, one race against another and worker against worker. They promote the enemies of socialism and slander the socialist countries.

Transnational corporations

The rapid growth of the transnational corporations in recent decades is an expression of the fact that the productive forces have grown to the point where they can no longer be used efficiently within the confines of a single state, even a very large state.

The transnationals concentrate and bring under centralised power, enormous conglomerations of wealth and productive capacity dominating all the major aspects of economic life and enable the main imperialist states to extend their control over others.

The transnational corporations establish their production facilities in a number of countries and diversify the sources of supply of raw materials. This enables them to switch production from one country to another in accordance with their interests. The profits of production are, however, appropriated by the owners in their home country.

As part of their drive to monopolise production by eliminating competitors and establishing their control over resources and the market, vast sums are employed in take-overs of existing enterprises. Such investments do not increase productive capacities but reduce the number of enterprises.

Another feature of the present situation is the use of money for speculative trading in shares and in currency and interest rate manipulations. The heroes of capitalism are no longer entrepreneurs who create new or cheaper commodities, but the professional gamblers who wager millions on fluctuations in the money market. Such speculation does not produce commodities or provide useful services. The parasitical nature of finance capital becomes more evident.

With increasing frequency, bankruptcies are occurring, involving heavy losses for many small investors and industries and wasting material and human resources. As state-monopoly capitalism develops, the internal contradictions reach a critical stage and affect all aspects of society.

Taken together, these processes have substantial negative effects for society and create a state of economic and social instability. The unstable nature of capitalism is becoming more and more apparent.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

Nearing the end of the 20th Century, capitalism has reached an advanced stage of general crisis which embraces an entire historical period and is not something transient. It affects all aspects of capitalist society-economic, political, social, environmental, cultural and moral.

The general crisis of capitalism began during the First World War and, more specifically, with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia. That event marked the beginning of the prolonged struggle between the systems of socialism and capitalism, the revolutionary process of the collapse of the world capitalist system and the formation of world socialism and communism.

Another feature is the rise of the movements for national independence and sovereignty, the collapse of the colonial system and the emergence of independent, non-aligned and often anti-imperialist governments.

A third feature of the period of general crisis is the aggravation of all the internal contradictions of capitalism and the growth of struggles by the working class and other social forces exploited by monopoly capital.

The scientific and technological revolution has intensified these contradictions of capitalism by increasing the exploitation of workers' labour and making it more obvious. The state sides openly with the monopolies and transnational corporations and against the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people.

The general crisis of capitalism has passed through several stages and each stage is marked by issues of increasing complexity and mounting difficulty.

In the current period the general crisis of capitalism has become interlocked with the cyclical and structural crises to create chronic economic and political difficulties.

Boom periods do not function as they did before. The downturns are longer and deeper, the upturns shorter and more feeble. There is a general slowing of capitalism's economic growth rate. Some countries advance while others decline, demonstrating the uneven nature of capitalist development.

A stage has been reached where crisis features such as unemployment are permanent. There is strong rivalry and competition between the major economic blocs and between individual countries whose economic and political interests clash, leading to aggressive policies and even to wars. The diversion of enormous sums of money in militarisation further aggravates crisis features.

There has been an enormous increase in the indebtedness of individual companies and whole countries whose economies depend on more and more borrowings.

In its general crisis, imperialism may resort to authoritarian and even fascist methods to maintain its rule if it is threatened by the democratic and socialist advances of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution and its impact on our world

The scientific and technological revolution is a gigantic qualitative change in the development of the productive forces which has brought about an unprecedented increase and acceleration in production. From the middle of the 20th Century, the world's industrial output more than quadrupled, hundreds of new major industrial complexes appeared, the whole energy base underwent great change, industrialisation of agriculture made great strides, transport and communications were radically transformed.

This revolutionary impact has been largely confined to highly industrialised countries. Seventy per cent of the world's people live in economically under-developed countries which have been effectively by-passed by the scientific and technological progress. Over 70 per cent of all the families engaged in agriculture in the capitalist sphere of influence continue to use hoes and wooden ploughs.

In contrast to the industrial revolution of the 18th and early 19th centuries, this revolution does not stem from the invention and spread of machinery, but from science. Discoveries in mathematics and physics made possible the development of computers; developments in chemistry provided the basis for fundamental changes in the technology of various production processes and led to the establishment of many new industries. Discoveries in biology led to profound changes in agriculture and medicine.

Among other features of the scientific and technological revolution are the explosion in every type of information, the growing differentiation and, at the same time, integration of science, and the emergence of new sciences.

The capitalist class has been able to harness the benefits of the scientific and technological revolution to stave off some effects of the system's inherent contradictions.

Higher productivity through the use of improved and more efficient machinery and further intensification of the exploitation of labour make it possible for capitalism not only to maintain but even to boost profits while allowing some increase in wages to workers. It used these opportunities to influence other classes and social forces to support capitalist interests and solutions to problems.

The scientific and technological revolution has increased the concentration of production and capital in the hands of the biggest monopolies. At the same time, it accelerates the ruin of non-monopolised and small enterprises which cannot afford extensive technological innovations. Renewing equipment to keep up with modern technology requires major capital investments which only the big monopolies can afford.

Some sections of the ruling class hope that scientific and technological inventions will provide them with the means to exert influence on masses of people through communications, surveillance, and biochemical, genetic and other means of control.

The clearest evidence of capitalism's abuse of the possibilities created by the scientific and technological revolution is the unprecedented growth of militarism.

In the major capitalist countries, over two-thirds of budget allocations for science go into military research and development, involving thousands of major research centres and prominent scientists. The arms race is not only a constant threat to the future of the planet but a criminal waste of vast material resources which could help to multiply the prosperity of all the people of all countries without exception.

The scientific and technological revolution has dramatically increased the productivity of labour. However, the main benefits from this flow to the owners of the means of production.

Another result of the growth of labour productivity is the drop in the demand for labour although this may be obscured in circumstances where a general growth in production and the creation of new industries and services can lead to an increase in the overall size of the working class.

While technological change has improved the living standards of some workers, many have seen their skills and professions eliminated. Whole industries and regions fall into decay. Although new "high-tech" industries spring up, they are capital and not labour intensive.

In these ways, imperialism distorts the very substance of progress, converting the great scientific discoveries and the vast potentialities of modern technology into sources of oppression and suffering and using them as instruments of destruction.

In addition to these negative consequences, private ownership, the selfish interests of the monopolies and bitter competition can hold back the pace of scientific and technological progress and prevent the full use of new discoveries.

The vast possibilities created by the scientific and technological revolution can only be properly used in a planned socialist society. With public ownership of resources and industry and the management of economic and social affairs in the hands of the people, the scientific and technological revolution can be fully implemented in the interests of working people.

Changes in the composition of classes

Major changes have been taking place in the nature of human labour activity and the composition of classes in society. The application of new technology to every branch of industry has done much to eliminate arduous work, reduce the intensity of labour required and increase the intellectual component of many jobs.

New technology can only be invented, produced and put into operation by making use of the developments in many branches of science. This has meant a considerable increase in the number of people who have a higher education and professional training in universities or technical colleges.

However, the growth in the numbers receiving a higher education does not come from the demands of technological progress alone. To a large extent it is the result of the struggle of the working class for education.

The proportion of unskilled workers in the working class has decreased but the number of semi-skilled workers has increased dramatically. In addition, the number of academics, technologists, scientists and intellectuals (as a social category) has grown as a proportion of the total engaged in production.

In many countries, the demand for more skilled and semi-skilled workers has introduced a large number of rural workers and the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of the working class. These changes in the structure of the working class have an impact on the level of struggle and consciousness of the class. The application of technology in agriculture

and primary production has been a factor in the substantial reduction of those engaged in these two areas of production.

Intellectuals are an increasingly influential sector of productive and cultural life of society and are becoming increasingly active politically. At the same time, intellectuals often preserve the individualistic traits of an intermediate social group even though their place in the system of capitalist relations does not really differ from that of the working class.

It is important that intellectuals are won to the side of the working class as allies in the democratic and revolutionary struggle, become part of the labour and trade union movements and members of the political party of the working class. The changes in the working class structure due to the scientific and technological revolution do not alter the nature of the working class or its role in social production and in the revolutionary struggle.

CHAPTER 9

THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The four decades following the Second World War witnessed the collapse of the colonial system. From 1946 to 1956, 16 countries achieved independence; 24 from 1956 to 1960 and another 16 between 1961 and 1965. While direct colonial rule almost disappeared, most of the newly independent states experienced new forms of economic exploitation and political interference through the growth of neo-colonialism.

In the post-war political climate established by the movements for national independence and sovereignty, it was far more difficult for the United States or any other power to impose its will by force. However, this did not end imperialist domination of the former colonies.

Neo-colonialism, a new form of domination and camouflaged economic and political control over former colonies, emerged. With its material base in the means of production owned by foreign companies and its social base in the reactionary elites of the local bourgeoisie linked with these companies, neo-colonialism stunted and deformed the economies of the developing world just as seriously as the old colonial domination had done.

In the late 1980s, transnational corporations controlled the basic industries of most developed countries. On average, transnationals controlled almost 40 per cent of the developing countries' industrial production.

Investments by transnational corporations in developing countries are frequently recouped within three to five years largely owing to their exploitation of cheap labour, cheap land, rich sources of raw materials, government assistance in many forms and other factors. As a result, the average rate of profit for transnationals in developing countries is more than double that in the developed capitalist countries.

In the late 1980s as a result of neo-colonialist policies, the developing countries, which had 70 per cent of the world's labour force, turned out 20

per cent of the world's gross national product and less than ten per cent of its industrial output. Their per capita production came to between seven and eight per cent of that of the imperialist countries while 500 million of their people were jobless, facing poverty and often starvation.

The imperialist countries, while not abandoning the use of military intervention, have increasingly put more emphasis on the use of loans and unequal exchange to plunder the resources of the developing world. This results in an enormous flow of wealth and resources from the world's poorest nations to the world's richest.

The financial dependence of developing countries on the developed world can be traced to the chronic balance of payments deficit experienced by most developing countries. Much of this deficit is because of foreign exchange payments for shipping, insurance, dividends, royalties and interest payments.

Developing countries find themselves trapped in a vicious cycle of primary commodity production, depressed prices for these primary commodities in the world market, increased trade deficits as a result, foreign loans to finance these deficits, higher interest repayments, recession and more trade deficits-all of which causes developing countries to be extremely vulnerable to economic deterioration.

In order to service their debt, many developing countries have had to resort to a more aggressive program of earning foreign exchange, for instance through tourism. However, this has been achieved at the cost of cultural commercialisation together with a loss of dignity and rights for many women.

The debt crisis is a problem of international capitalism. It is a form of the free market philosophy which holds that the capitalist industrialised countries, which built up their capital from the exploitation and oppression of their colonies in the previous three centuries, have the "right" to take advantage of and to make a profit from the "undeveloped" and prostrate economies of the Third World.

The developing countries are giving more money to the capitalist countries, in the form of interest payments, withdrawn dividends, earnings from foreign investments, and so on, than they are receiving. Yet capital from

capitalist countries continues to determine the development thrust of the Third World.

Export-oriented strategies are preconditions forced on developing countries in return for investments and loans coming from the industrialised countries. While they are told to export more, Third World countries have to negotiate on their own against trade protectionism by the same capitalist countries that have driven them to export at the expense of their people's needs.

Imperialism has also worked to involve the developing countries in the arms race which is another form of neo-colonialism. Arms export decisions by imperialist governments are aimed to exert direct pressure on the importing countries' political orientation, especially countries with strategic resources.

The arms trade and development are in competition with each other. The arms race and under-development are not two problems, they are one. If the funds now going into military spending were used in the civilian sector of the economy, many of the developing countries' economic problems and social development could be solved more swiftly and successfully.

Many developing countries have been forced to adopt distorted development priorities because of their need to maintain a good credit rating with international banks. Cultures and traditional lifestyles are destroyed to provide hydroelectric energy to invading transnational corporations. Because of the poverty of most developing countries, the promise of new money and investments forces the countries to submit to harsh terms imposed by the lending banks. The people of the Third World are paying their debt with their sovereignty.

People in developing countries are made to endure long working hours and low wages and deprived of their right to unionise in order to produce more competitive goods and to make foreign investments safe. Workers are killed or arrested on picket lines or in demonstrations by their own governments because industrial action hinders foreign investments and loans. People in the Third World are paying the debt with their lives and their democratic rights.

A growing percentage of the gross national product and export earnings of developing countries is committed to service interest payments. This is

money taken away from income-generating projects, from food, education, health services to the people. People are paying the debt with more poverty.

When export commodities fail to bring in expected foreign exchange, many developing countries export their workers. In many countries, workers' remittances are the principal source of foreign exchange. Women often become migrant workers, working as domestics, in the entertainment industry and as cheap factory labour. As men and women seek work abroad, they leave behind their families. Many people are paying their country's debts with broken families.

Because of the need to export and gain more foreign exchange, which is essential to keep their balance of payments manageable, many developing countries export more primary commodities-mineral ores, timber, agricultural produce, fish and so on. This results in the destruction of tropical forests, erosion, soil degradation, pollution of water and the air and other environmental damage. The developing countries are paying their debts with their environment.

Sovereignty and economic independence

All these processes intensify national and international contradictions which give rise to the growth of struggles for national independence and sovereignty which are increasingly focused on transforming formal political independence into genuine sovereignty and economic independence.

The movements for national independence and sovereignty of many countries adopt an anti-imperialist stand for they find imperialism is constantly interfering to maintain a stranglehold on their economies and governments. Another form of imperialist interference is support for repressive and ruthless regimes which facilitate continuing exploitation.

A key demand in the struggles of the developing countries has been for a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

In 1974, the United Nations described the NIEO as "based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all states, irrespective of their economic and social systems which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible

to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and support justice for present and future generations ...”

The NIEO is a program advanced by the developing countries for a radical restructuring of international economic relations on just principles. It provides for a comprehensive program of regulation of raw materials markets and curbs the rapacious activities of multinational corporations and foreign capital in developing countries.

The program envisages the establishment of a just correlation between the prices of raw materials and manufactures, the conversion of external economic ties into a form of mutually advantageous exchange, and the setting up of “buffer” stocks of raw materials and of a special fund to finance the latter.

The contradictions between imperialism and the developing countries have deepened and sharpened as these countries have intensified their resistance to the policy of neo-colonialism; class differentiation has increased and social antagonisms have deepened in the developing countries where a more vigorous political struggle is going on over the central issue of how to achieve further development and how to eliminate obsolete relations and domination by foreign monopolies.

The industrialisation of the developing nations creates a working class where none existed before. This adds new strength to the progressive forces as the workers become politically conscious and organise in political parties and trade unions.

The possibility of a firm alliance directed against imperialism and for progress and socialism is increased with the emergence of a working class. Workers and farmers comprise the basis of such alliances which include intellectuals, students, small businessmen, handicraftsmen and patriotic elements of the bourgeoisie.

CHAPTER 10

SOCIALISM -- ITS PAST AND FUTURE

During this century and starting with the October Socialist Revolution, revolutionary movements and struggles for national independence by many different peoples achieved victories of world-wide significance. The political map of the world was fundamentally changed. The world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism had begun.

The idea that a society should be developed on the basis of “everything for the good of the people” and on a co-operative basis started to become a reality.

The success of the October Socialist Revolution and the leadership of the CPSU served as an inspiration to people around the world to form Communist Parties to fight for the rights of all workers and to promote the cause of socialism.

The first socialist state was gradually joined by other countries in Europe, Asia and the Caribbean, creating a community of socialist countries which showed the way to a new society based on the political power of the working class. The means of production were turned into public property. Exploitation of working people was abolished and fundamental steps taken to end racial and sexual discrimination.

The majority of the countries which began to build socialism started from low levels of industrial and agricultural development. They faced devastation from war and cold war, were economically damaged by sanctions and blockades and forced to divert precious resources into defence. Despite these difficulties, they did develop a strong publicly owned industry and a collectively owned agriculture.

Unemployment was reduced or eliminated, illiteracy was eradicated and education made available to all. Extensive public health and social security services were created, participatory democracy was advanced and national identity and culture promoted.

Socialist states gained a foremost place in CPAce technology and in other fields of science. As their economies grew, they gained a substantial proportion of the world's production and trade.

New concepts of democracy-socialist democracy-were advanced which gave priority to the right to work and leisure, the right to an education and health care, the right of women to economic and social equality.

The socialist world advanced new forms of international economic relations based on mutual assistance, co-operation, specialisation and integration. This was aimed at raising the level and rate of development of the economies of each of the participating countries and closing the economic development gap between them.

The countries of the socialist world, through mutually beneficial trade arrangements, greatly assisted the economic development of many developing countries.

For the first time in history, a number of states arose which adopted the struggle for peace as a responsibility of the state itself. The aggressive power of imperialism was contained in the post-war years as the socialist states achieved military parity with imperialism and it became possible to state that a world war was not inevitable.

The foreign policies of socialist states were based on peaceful co-existence. The socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union repeatedly advanced proposals to eliminate the danger of war, settle disputes without recourse to arms, and to scrap all weapons of mass destruction as steps towards complete disarmament.

At the same time, the socialist countries assured their capacity to defend their borders against aggression and provided an effective counter to the global war plans of imperialism. Their moral, political, economic and sometimes military strength gave support to national liberation movements and protected the independence of small nations threatened by imperialism.

These and other achievements of the socialist states and their impact throughout the world are immense and cannot be erased.

The political map of the world is now vastly different and in many ways

better than at the turn of the century. These changes are due to the victories of the socialist and national liberation revolutionary movements and to the struggles of the working people everywhere.

All this represents an historical leap, opening up the possibility of creating societies freed from exploitation and oppression. The achievements of socialism have inspired millions of people in all corners of the world, showing that power can be won by the people and that they can create a new and better social system.

The crisis in the 1990s

The undoubted achievements of socialism to some extent obscured the existence of extensive problems and deformations. The negative developments in some socialist countries were due to a complex of internal and external factors. They are not inherent in socialism and need not arise in other socialist societies which exist now or will be established or re-established in the future. The task of building a previously uncharted society could not proceed without error.

However, these events were a serious setback to socialism. The image of socialism was weakened in the eyes of millions of people. Capitalism and imperialism were strengthened and encouraged.

In some socialist countries, capitalism was re-established and a multiplicity of non-socialist and anti-socialist organisations emerged, superseding the communist organisations in mass influence and in government. Some communist parties were affected by serious divisions and went out of existence. Others were weakened.

Views that there is a “third way” between capitalism and socialism or that it is possible to achieve a convergence or amalgamation of the two systems were raised.

The influence of social democratic, reformist ideas became widespread. In addition, there was growth and open activity by extreme right-wing and ultra-nationalist forces. Several of the socialist countries were wracked by religious and ethnic conflicts.

However, most communist parties and militant working class organisations have not abandoned their commitment to scientific socialism. They have retained their determination to struggle for both the immediate needs of the working people and for political solutions which will end the power of state-monopoly capital and the transnational corporations, leading eventually to a socialist solution.

In addition to a continuous and massive ideological, military, political and economic barrage by imperialism, people made mistakes in the process of building socialism. Serious mistakes were made in applying scientific principles to a new and enormously complex task and there were failures to recognise and/or respond to changing circumstances as they arose. Some of the main errors can be summarised as follows:

The socialist revolutions were the result of the heroic actions of millions of workers and peasants under the leadership of communist parties. Although working class power was proclaimed and implemented, it was, over time, eroded.

To a major extent, the communist parties, as the vanguard parties, replaced the working class in the exercise of power.

Socialist democracy remained underdeveloped and the necessary forms and structures both within society and within the party were gradually eroded. In many countries dissent was stifled and differences of opinion and approach on major issues were ruled out.

All countries building socialism set up planning bodies to guide and develop the economy. These bodies became bureaucratic and over-centralised because of the failure to work out a correct relationship between central planning and the necessary local initiative and responsibility of workers and management.

The scientific and technological revolution brought about changes in the class composition of all societies, growth in the size and complexity of modern economies and growing interdependence of the world's countries. It also created the need for socialist construction to take greater account of each country's specific conditions and required the extension of socialist democracy. All these developments demanded policy and planning changes which were not put in place or were not implemented in time.

The stagnation in the economies of many socialist countries and the unfulfilled material needs and expectations led to a disillusionment with socialism among many people. This proved fertile ground for the growth of a distorted, benign image of capitalism as a provider of plentiful consumer goods, without exploitation, unemployment, poverty, repression and insecurity.

A damaging concept grew up that it was incorrect to have different forms of property ownership when the new socialist society was being built. In addition, the time that was needed to build and consolidate socialism was wrongly estimated. Egalitarian concepts took root in clear violation of the socialist principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to the work done". Many socialist economies lost their momentum because of these reasons.

An underestimation developed of the dangerous nature of imperialism combined with a tendency to reject the need for and existence of ideological struggle between the two systems. The class content was removed from Lenin's concept of peaceful co-existence with moves to give up socialist interests or class positions and solidarity with the international working class and the movements for national independence and sovereignty. There were even trends which suggested appeasement of imperialism.

The role of the communist parties was also distorted. While correctly insisting on the need for Marxist-Leninist parties and on their vanguard role in society, the parties confused their political role in society with the somewhat different role of the State.

Party committees took over economic, social and state roles which rightly belonged to planning authorities, factory managements, community organisations and instrumentalities of the state. The national interests of the state became confused with the needs of proletarian internationalism, sometimes at the expense of the latter. Subsequently, these errors provided fertile ground for those who wanted to liquidate the communist parties altogether.

Marxist theory was not correctly applied to the changes taking place in society and the world. On a world scale, dialectical materialism is not yet as widespread or as old and deep-rooted as idealism, which is the philosophical basis for the ideology of capitalism and, before that, of feudalism.

Petty-bourgeois ideology remained widespread even in the socialist countries where Marxist education was widespread but often formal and dogmatic. Many people understood and applied only bits and pieces of Marxism-Leninism.

Some acute social problems were swept under the carpet because it was asserted that such problems could not exist in a socialist society and many theoretical problems were not worked out.

In practice the view was advanced that there was only one model of socialism and that was the Soviet model whereas, in fact, each country has particular characteristics and must build socialism in accordance with its historical circumstances, traditions and ways of doing things.

By the 1950s, the socialist community of nations had achieved a position of rough parity with imperialism and this helped to restrain imperialism's inherent aggression. But the weakening of socialism in the late 1980s changed this situation in favour of imperialism.

This in turn brought with it profound dangers to other parts of the world. The shift in the balance of forces towards imperialism encouraged it to proclaim a "new world order" which was nothing less than the re-establishment of capitalism throughout the world using political, economic and, if necessary, military means to achieve this objective.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, United States actions against Nicaragua, US intervention in the Philippines and Liberia, the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Panama and the Gulf War together with increased pressure on socialist Cuba and the open economic pressure applied to the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union all showed that imperialism was bent on recovering world hegemony.

The positive trend towards detente, disarmament and international co-operation came under threat. While socialism had struggled for peaceful co-existence and disarmament, imperialism responded with a multi-faceted ideological and economic drive for a "peaceful transition" back to capitalism and continued to arm itself to the hilt.

Imperialism took advantage of mistakes, ill-considered policies, weak and confused forces, opportunist and selfish elements, individualism and other residual expressions of capitalist thinking and the uncertainty created

by major change to achieve its aim of destabilisation and destruction of socialism.

The crisis in the socialist world in the late 1980s and early 90s underlines the danger of underestimating the capacity of imperialism to undermine socialism through its huge system of anti-communist agencies and its powerful use of ideological subversion. It also underlines the role of right-wing revisionism in opening the way for counter-revolution by whittling down and finally destroying communist ideology and Party organisation.

The mistakes of the past and the pressures and landishments of imperialism opened the way for widespread acceptance of the economic and political methods and values of capitalism in some of the socialist countries.

The profound human tragedy is that the people will not find a solution to their problems by reversion to capitalism. Every step along that path will bring with it consequences which are inescapable in a capitalist system.

Socialism -- the future

Socialism arose from the needs and hopes of the working people who have been exploited and oppressed. It was born from the reality of class society. However, it is more than a spontaneous response to suffering and resistance to injustice. Socialism is not based on faith but is a scientific concept of an alternative form of society to capitalism. It includes a profound philosophy, a related cohesive system of political and economic theory, and an understanding of the class nature of society.

Socialism is a profoundly humanitarian and partisan science which is a weapon in the movement to achieve a free, just, prosperous and secure society. These objectives will remain and communist parties will continue to fight for them.

The socialist societies proved superior in many respects to capitalist societies. They put an end to unemployment. They provided a lead to capitalist countries in social welfare, in education, health and housing, cultural facilities, women's rights, assistance for young people and in their generous assistance to the developing countries. The crisis in many socialist countries is not a product of the system itself but has mainly been caused by the wrong application of socialist principles. Socialism did not fail.

Communists will learn from the mistakes made in the first efforts to build socialism and will take them into account in their continuing struggle to win and build socialist societies.

Our vision of the socialist future

The Communist Party of Australia puts forward some ideas of how it sees a future socialist Australia.

What would socialism do about the economy?

Australia's economic life is dominated by the big banks, monopolies and the transnational corporations. Through interlocking networks of companies and company directors, real control resides in a relatively small number of very powerful individuals, many of whom are unknown in Australian public life and who are not subject to any democratic election. Big companies not only run the economy at present but tell the governments what to do as well.

A socialist government would make public enterprises the dominant form of ownership even though some forms of private ownership would continue to exist for a long time. Public ownership is particularly important in the key areas of the economy such as natural resources, transport, steel and heavy machinery manufacturing, banking, communications, basic food supplies, etc. Private enterprise would be restricted to socially appropriate areas.

A socialist government would ensure that foreign capital did not take over Australia.

Under socialism the inflow and outflow of foreign capital would be controlled so that no other country could gain a dominant position in the Australian economy. This is not only a question of maintaining Australia's national independence.

At present the substantial control over our own economy by foreign companies enables them to manipulate prices or play off workers in one country against those in another when both are employed by the same transnational corporation. Another consequence of foreign ownership is the export of profits out of the country and the avoidance of taxation.

The foreign debt

A socialist government would insist on adoption of policies which guaranteed that Australia's national independence would be preserved at all times. Much of the investment flowing into Australia have been used to buy up land and buildings or to finance the take-over of one company by another. Such manipulations, which add little or nothing to the economy, would be strictly regulated or outlawed.

Our trade must be put on the basis of mutual advantage and we should be prepared to trade with every country. However, we would support those United Nations trade sanctions designed to advance the cause of social progress.

The first priority is to improve living standards

The living standards of the working people are going down despite the increase in production and the use of modern technology. Working conditions are attacked based on the claim that industry must be restructured, the economy must be made internationally competitive and labor made more efficient and productive. There is a massive "take back" of long standing working conditions taking place.

A socialist system would give first priority to improving the living standards of the working people. While industries must be efficient and be

able to balance the books, the benefits from increased production must be passed on to the working people who are doing the work. There are many ways in which this can be done — increased wages, holiday pay, bonus payments, retirement benefits, improved working conditions, a shorter working week, etc. Wages must keep up with prices and be improved as productivity increases.

Socialists say that those with high incomes and who make big profits should pay more tax.

Taxation is another area in which the working people are coming off badly. The proportion of taxation being paid by individuals has steadily risen while the proportion paid by companies has just as steadily gone down.

A socialist government would levy taxes on the profits of public and private enterprises and from personal income in accordance with the ability to pay, thus reducing taxes of all types on wage and salary earners. A consumption tax would not be adopted because such a tax is paid by consumers most of whom are workers and their families. Taxation levels would be determined by the government's responsibilities in the areas of social services, health, education, housing, defence and other necessary purposes.

A socialist government would ensure that public enterprises became the dominant form of ownership even though some forms of private ownership would continue to exist for a long time. Public ownership is particularly important in the key areas of the economy such as natural resources, transport, steel and heavy machinery manufacturing, banking, communications, basic food supplies, etc. Private profit making would be limited to a level that prevented the making of excess profits.

Technology and planning

Socialism would make full use of new technology not as a means to increase exploitation but to reduce the working week and to eliminate arduous and dirty jobs. The benefits from increased productivity would flow to the workers in the form of increased pay and other benefits. Modern computer technology can also be used to plan industrial development taking into account the many social, economic, environmental and other factors so that it has the most all-round beneficial results.

Economic planning is an important aspect of any socialist system and is necessary to prevent the inevitable booms and slumps which are a persistent feature of all capitalist economies and to make the best use of the nation's resources, the technical skills of workers and the overall needs of the people.

What would a socialist government do about peace and independence?

We will not get a real change of direction until Australia has a government which is motivated by different principles, looks after the national interests of the Australian people and adopts a friendly and co-operative attitude to our neighbours.

First of all we must have a policy which insists on a peaceful, negotiated settlement of international disputes and consistently supports international and mutual disarmament. Aggression and interference in other country's internal affairs must be ruled out and be replaced by a policy of friendship and respect for the social systems adopted by other countries.

If, for a time, such an attitude is not adopted by all other countries Australia would need some armaments, but they would be acquired only for the defence of our country and not to launch aggression against others.

The continuation of Australia's military links with the US or similar subservient links with any other country are incompatible with such a policy. The ANZUS Treaty would be terminated and the US bases on Australian territory told to go.

Industries which are at present geared to produce weapons of an aggressive, offensive type should be converted as soon as possible to production for peaceful purposes. This process would create more jobs not less.

A socialist government would do all that is necessary to make Australia a truly independent country free from any economic or political pressure to adopt policies against our own national interests but in the interests of another power.

A culture of concern for the environment

Success in the campaign for peace and disarmament will release enormous resources for the conquest of poverty, hunger and disease and for protecting the world's ecology.

The problem of environmental protection has to be dealt with by co-operation between all states, irrespective of their social system, through a new system of international relations. This is essentially an international problem, one where the interdependence within the modern world is most apparent.

A major task for a socialist government would be to educate everyone in an attitude of concern for, and a lifestyle which protects the environment.

Measures to protect the environment will demand constant vigilance and public awareness together with democratic involvement and accountability.

At all times, the effects of human activity on the environment would be carefully monitored and research carried out to deal with problems as they arose in agriculture as much as in industry.

A socialist government would introduce an overall system of production in which waste products are either eliminated or reduced to an absolute minimum. The atmosphere, the oceans, and the land would no longer be treated as a garbage bin. Waste would either be recycled or used as the starting point for other processes. If this was not possible in a particular production process, that process would be abandoned or replaced by an alternative which did not produce unusable waste.

A program of research would be undertaken to ensure that present and future industries were environmentally sustainable. Every new industry would have to satisfy stringent environmental criteria.

An environmentally safe system of energy production would have to be found since present systems are a major factor in the changes emerging in the environment which, as the greenhouse effect shows, could become catastrophic. A research program to find alternative and renewable materials and energy sources would be undertaken together with careful conservation of existing resources. None of the world's resources are inexhaustible so present generations have to think of the future.

Community environmental organisations would be encouraged and supported. They have an important part to play in educating everyone in habits which protect the environment and in policing the effective protection.

Would the government run everything?

No it would not, even though governments have a big role to play in any modern society. For socialism to work the working people must be intimately involved in helping to run the country and industry. Workers would help to run management and be involved in decision making at all levels. That prevents the creation of a big bureaucracy and ensures that managements have the opportunity to make the decisions and take the main responsibility for their work taking into account the overall needs of society.

A socialist government would be mainly made up of working people together with scientists, technologists, intellectuals, farmers and representatives of small business. It could be a multi-party coalition with a choice of candidates. Those elected would have to decide things and run the economy according to what was best for the working people. There would be right of recall so that representatives who did not do their jobs well could be replaced.

What about democracy in a socialist Australia?

Socialism and democracy must go hand in hand. In addition to having the right to elect the government and to stand as a candidate in an election from time to time, it also means having social and economic responsibilities as well as rights.

Socialist democracy would not continue the situation in which the mass media -- newspaper, radio and TV -- is under the control of a very small number of rich and powerful men. The best way to break up this monopoly is for the mass media to be owned and run by the democratic and progressive organisations such as trade unions, environmental, cultural and community organisations. Private companies should not have the right to own and run the mass media which has such a powerful influence over public opinion.

Socialist democracy does not simply mean having rights, but equal rights and above all, having control over the economy. Democracy becomes very limited when company directors, even overseas directors, can decide that workers are put out of work at any time without having any say.

Socialist democracy means the right to elect and be elected, an equal opportunity to a say through the mass media and control over economic life. It also means freedom of expression and demonstration and the right of workers to strike.

These comprehensive socialist rights, however, will not be possible without getting rid of the capitalist system and the political and economic dictatorship which the big companies and the transnationals exercise in the present set up. Socialist democracy brings into existence, for the first time, government by the people, for the people and of the people.

What would our culture be like under socialism?

Australia has quite a rich progressive and democratic culture already but life for many cultural workers is hard because culture has become commercialised. If it doesn't make a profit for some entrepreneur it doesn't get a chance.

Socialism would encourage cultural life as never before by providing a living for cultural workers and protecting and promoting progressive and democratic cultural achievements. A socialist government would see to it that cultural life was not swamped by the cheap and tawdry rubbish that at present floods into Australia. We must have our independent life in this way too.

Culture plays a great role in bringing people closer together. That is why socialists and communists have supported multiculturalism in Australia. Migrants have brought much that is progressive and of a high standard from their original homelands which should be enjoyed by everyone and become part of our cultural heritage.

What about the individual?

Everyone has his or her individual interests and outlooks on certain questions and that's a good thing providing we do not stretch it to a point where the individual only looks after self — first, last and all the time. Every individual has to have space to think things out and to work.

But no individual can exist without society which collectively provides many goods and services needed by every individual.

Workers work to produce things that are needed by others and they work in a team. When there are natural calamities like bushfires or floods, everyone gets into the job of helping out. When there is a strike, workers pull together and often make great sacrifices not only for themselves but for all. Australians have shown that they are quite capable of working together and that co-operation gets better results than just looking after oneself.

To win socialism and to build it there must be co-operation by the great

majority. During the course of achieving this great task the characteristics of co-operation and care for others will become even stronger.

Hasn't socialism been a failure?

There have been some severe setbacks in some of the socialist countries and not everything was done right. The communist parties in those countries are paying for their own shortcomings. But these are not the shortcomings of socialism as such but the way in which socialist principles were distorted or not even put into practice.

The socialist countries achieved many good things for the people compared with the state of affairs before the socialist governments took over.

Although some socialist countries have suffered setbacks it is certain that, given time, they will resume the socialist path in the future. Many other countries which have not yet set out on this course will also start to do so. Communists and socialist believe that socialism is more than just a good idea. It works if it is done the right way.

The alternative is the continuation of capitalism. It always has and always will be based on the exploitation for profit of the vast majority of the people, while the real power is exercised by those who have money and see to it that the laws work for them. History is the continuous story of people rising up against those who exploit and oppress them, fighting for a better life, for freedom, security and independence. Socialism enables human society to move to this higher ground.

That is why the Communist Party of Australia is certain that the Australian people will also take this road, sooner or later, because that's the only way in which we will be able to solve the problems of our existing society some of which have been mentioned above.

The modern Australian nation has only a short history, but it is long enough to be able to say that the people have stood up for their rights, against convictism, for trade unions, for democratic rights, for peace and independence, against conscription and involvement in dirty wars and so on.

The above aims, which we are confident are shared by the overwhelming number of the working people of Australia, will not and cannot be satisfied by capitalism. Consequently, the demand for a change will inevitably arise. This is the guarantee that humanity's future remains a socialist one.

CHAPTER 11

APPENDIX

IMMEDIATE ISSUES AND POLICIES

Many of the major problems facing society are the consequence of the private enterprise system of exploitation and its insatiable drive for maximum profits in an unplanned economy. However, much can be done immediately by reforming aspects of the system.

The following are some of the main issues before the people of Australia in the present period and detailed policies to meet them:

The Economy

- * The maintenance and extension of public enterprises as a significant sector of the economy, to be protected by law against privatisation.
- * Controls over price and profit levels. Re-regulation of interest rates, the currency exchange rate, the inflow and outflow of foreign capital and overseas borrowings.
- * Taxes to be levied on public and private enterprises and from personal income in accordance with the ability to pay, thus reducing taxes of all types on wage and salary earners.
- * Opposition to any consumption taxes and to a flat rate tax.
- * Re-negotiation of terms and conditions of the public sector component of the national debt to ensure that payments of interest and principal do not exceed a limited percentage of gross domestic product or of foreign trade earnings. In the event of failure to reach agreement for re-negotiation, consideration to be given to the suspension of payment of interest.
- * Rigorous social control of scientific and technological innovations to

ensure that changes are in the best overall interests of society. The introduction of new technology to be tied to an obligation to find alternative employment.

* Investment of foreign capital to be controlled to ensure that enterprises retain a 51 per cent Australian ownership.

* The suspension of any further reduction of tariffs unless international agreement is reached by all the trading nations. Trade to be conducted on the principle of mutual benefit. The Federal Government to take responsibility for trade in major commodities such as wheat, wool, meat, coal, iron ore and gold.

* The Federal Constitution to be amended to give the Commonwealth Government the necessary powers over the economy to regulate and guide capital investment, the supply of raw materials, the training of personnel, economic planning, prices, profits, the inflow and outflow of foreign capital and borrowings, interest rates and currency exchange rates.

Wages

The wages paid to the more than seven million wage and salary earners of Australia are a major factor of the economy and determine to a considerable extent the ability of the “home market” to buy what is being produced. Well-off wage and salary earners will buy more and keep more in employment. The reduction of real wages reduces consumption and leads to unemployment.

The Communist Party calls for:

* The re-establishment of a national wage as a minimum or basic wage based on a socially acceptable standard of living. Wage rates above this basic minimum to be determined, taking into account skill training, conditions of work, social relativities and productivity.

* All wage rates to be adjusted quarterly, automatically and fully in accordance with movements in the Consumer Price Index.

* A yearly review of hours of work and working conditions with a view to the progressive reduction of hours of work and the improvement of working conditions such as annual leave, sick leave, and long service leave.

* The removal of restrictions on the right of trade unions to pursue wage and associated claims by strike action or any other form of industrial action consistent with the economic and political interests of the working class.

Job creation and unemployment

The task of job creation and measures to overcome the high levels of unemployment, including long term unemployment, is a major task. The number of people permanently unemployed has risen with each major economic downturn.

The main factors leading to unemployment are the exploitation of labour which reduces the ability of the working people to buy back what is produced, leading to over-production. When this happens, employers reduce the number of workers employed which further reduces people's spending power, leading to more sackings. This vicious spiral is a constant, underlying cause of slumps and, hence, unemployment.

The restructuring of the Australian economy, the introduction of new technology and other "efficiency" measures are intended to reduce the number of workers employed. Jobs also disappear because of cuts in working conditions, multi-skilling and speed-ups in production lines.

Many jobs have also been exported as capitalists move their investments offshore, to countries with cheaper labour, infrastructure costs and raw materials.

The policy of State and Federal governments to achieve an overall reduction in government spending also results in job losses. The creation of unemployment is used by governments as a mechanism to control inflation and to prevent excessive growth in the economy.

Job creation can only be achieved on a lasting basis if these causes of unemployment are recognised. While changes in production and technology

are necessary, their introduction must be associated with careful planning and measures to prevent unnecessary social disruption.

The Communist Party calls for:

- * The establishment of a central planning authority with power to investigate and propose methods of improving production mechanisms, to regulate the introduction of technology and to plan alternative employment. If this requires transfer of workers to new locations, transport and housing assistance to be provided.
- * Employers to be required by law to report, within a specified period of time, to government and trade unions, technical or economic changes which would lead to the laying-off of workers.
- * Economic planning to include estimation of employment needs and provision of appropriate vocational and training opportunities, e.g., apprenticeships and traineeships.
- * The provision of both government and private enterprise finance to develop infrastructure, roads, railways, housing, water supplies, environmental clean-up schemes, etc.
- * The adoption of the principle of the right to work for all who are physically able and willing to do so.
- * Equal training and employment opportunities and conditions for women. An end to sexual harassment.
- * Stricter safety and injury prevention measures in workplaces and open government inquiries into workplaces with high accident/disease rates. Compensation and rehabilitation for work-related injuries and occupational related diseases. Employers must offer dignified alternative employment to workers partially incapacitated.
- * Unemployment benefits to be set at 35 per cent of male average weekly earnings and to be indexed quarterly in line with the CPI.

- * Unemployed people to be entitled to the existing range of fringe benefits available to age pensioners. No eviction of unemployed people and their families.
- * The immediate restoration of appropriate unemployment benefits to persons under 21 years of age.
- * Waiting periods for the dole to be abolished.
- * No person to be denied unemployment benefits because they voluntarily left their previous employment or refuse an offered job on reasonable grounds.
- * The democratic right of unemployed workers to organise, to participate in demonstrations and other political activities, to be protected.
- * The organisations of unemployed workers to be encouraged to affiliate to appropriate trade union organisations, particularly Labour Councils.

The struggle to defend and extend democratic rights

The people of Australia have waged many struggles for democratic rights. It was a major element in the Eureka Stockade, in the early formation of trade unions and in the campaigns to win adult franchise. The defeat of attempts to ban the Communist Party in the early 1950s was a major democratic rights victory.

However, democracy is always limited by the dictatorship of capital. The maintenance and extension of democratic rights is a constant struggle.

The demand for participation of the people in decision making and in the running of society, to organise and struggle, freedom of expression, equal opportunity, an end to oppression of racial and ethnic minorities are important factors in this struggle. These struggles take place in many different forms and circumstances.

However, even the most democratic and liberal capitalist societies have

not legislated for or included in the country's Constitution the right to work, to social security, to health care, to rest and leisure, to education and to the free use of cultural achievements.

Sophisticated new technologies have also been developed for the dissemination of news, information and education. These have increased the influence of the owners and controllers of the mass media and their ability to determine the thinking of the masses of the people.

Even more dangerous are the new forms of surveillance and control over the lives of citizens created by the scientific and technological revolution. The extensive use of computers to systematically collect and store data on individuals, telephone tapping, bugging of homes, concealed cameras and other high tech equipment invade the privacy of people, trample on rights and freedoms, and increase surveillance. The surveillance of what people think and do and the collection of secret files on millions of people has become commonplace.

This is a most serious new aspect of the struggle for democratic rights and the preservation of the freedom and privacy of individuals.

The Communist Party calls for:

* The democratisation of the mass media by vesting control and ownership of the press, radio and TV in the democratic people's organisations such as the trade unions, youth, women, scientific, educational and sporting bodies and in corporations such as the Australian Broadcasting Commission. This requires that the control of the mass media by private monopolies be broken. Democratic political parties to have the right of publication. Restrictions to be placed on reportage of crime, violence and other topics which have a negative influence in the community and detract from the main issues facing the people.

* The independence of trade unions, their right to organise and to take industrial action to protect the interests of their members, free of the threat of deregistration and interference by governmental or other bodies. The protection of unions from being sued under common law for damages resulting from industrial action. The development of genuine industry based unions.

- * The elimination of racism, cultural suppression, sexism, inequality in educational opportunities, legal rights and so on. Expressions of racism, sex discrimination and acts which deny the democratic rights and privacy of others to be severely penalised.
- * Opposition to the introduction of any form of ID Card or the establishment of a centralised computer bank of personal information. The strengthening of public organisations to protect the rights and privacy of citizens.
- * Establishment of the principle of one vote, one value in all elections for public office and the introduction of the system of proportional representation. Elimination of election nomination fees above a maximum of \$100. Protection of the right of democratic parties to participate in elections and to propagate their point of view. The ending of government funding of political parties.
- * Elected representatives at all levels to report back to meetings of their electorates from time to time. Electors to have the right of recall.
- * In all public and private enterprises above a certain size, the establishment by election of trade union job committees and joint trade union and management committees to enable maximum participation of workers in the management, administration, planning and development of enterprises and in determining the conditions of work.
- * The right of democratic organisations to associate, meet, picket, publish and peacefully demonstrate to be established in a Bill of Rights based on the United Nations' Charter of Basic Human Rights.

The movement for women's equality and rights

The Communist Party of Australia stands for the full equality of women in every sphere of society based on the understanding that the oppression of women commenced at the point of history at which private property and the private ownership of the means of production came into existence.

In these circumstances, the productive role of women was greatly reduced and women became confined mainly to housework and child rearing.

Discriminatory laws were introduced and attitudes developed reinforcing the inferior position of women.

While the division of labour between men and women was to be found in societies before the emergence of classes, the work done was regarded as socially necessary work, contributing to the well-being, security and continuation of society.

It was not the attitudes of men which gave rise to the present inequalities and discriminatory laws but the emergence of private property and exploitation which gave rise to views and values designed to justify and maintain the interests of private property and profit.

The discriminatory laws and practices often took the form of unequal payment for work done and women became a source of cheap labour for the employing classes.

This inferior position of women only begins to change when women have equal opportunities to enter the workforce, equal pay and assume a productive role as socially necessary as that of men.

Capitalism and the struggles of women for equality have already commenced this process, even though economic and other expressions of inequality remain.

The second necessary provision for the liberation of women is to shift housekeeping from the individual to society, particularly by the provision of paid maternity and paternity leave, child education facilities, and services which remove the drudgery of private housework. In these circumstances, the family no longer remains as an economic unit which discriminates against women but becomes a matter of free choice on the part of both men and women.

Recognition of women's dual role in society as both worker and mother and the provision of various rights and services is fundamental to her achieving full equality.

In Australia, discrimination continues to be seen in the restrictions placed on the entry of women into the economic life of society and inequality in the role and conditions of those who do participate.

The Communist Party sees the liberation of women as inseparable from the liberation of men and the progress of society as dependent on the efforts of both women and men. The mobilisation of women in the struggle for their rights and for social change necessitates overcoming conservatism, prejudice and traditional bourgeois concepts of sex roles among both men and women.

Working class organisations have a vital task to draw women into action for women's rights, workers' rights generally, for social justice and other issues.

Progressive women's organisations can contribute by encouraging the participation of women in all these struggles.

The Communist Party therefore calls for:

- * The maximum opportunity for women to participate in the work force on the basis of equal pay, working conditions, promotional opportunities and equal rights.

- * Equal educational and vocational opportunities.

- * The provision of affordable, public, non-sexist education, Early Childhood Education places, health services, family planning centres, family support, refuges, crisis centres and other services.

It is also necessary to overcome the more severe exploitation and deprivation experienced by young, disabled, elderly, Aboriginal and migrant women. These are all the responsibility of the state.

Intellectual and professional workers

The Communist Party of Australia stands for a society which gives security to all and provides opportunities for the full use and expression of the capacities of those who have received a higher education.

In fighting for the rights of intellectuals and professional workers, we put forward the following key demands:

- * Job opportunities for all in their chosen profession.
- * Establishment of awards providing economic security and well-being and security through protection of status and tenure.
- * Freedom of research and conscience as a democratic right.
- * Maintenance of public ownership of educational, research and training institutions and democratisation of the management structures in these institutions.
- * The development of professional associations.
- * Provision of adequate refresher training facilities and paid time in which to keep up to date with the rapid advances in science and technology.

To meet farmers' needs

The formation of new co-operatives and the democratisation of already established co-operatives can improve the economic and political position of small working farmers, helping to break the power of the big monopolies in the countryside and ensure that good living standards are provided to farmers. Co-operatives could cover production, marketing, processing and the procurement of farm equipment.

Restructuring the home market for agricultural products would encourage grower co-operatives and grower-consumer markets, cutting out unnecessary middlemen.

Federal Government funding should be made available for grower co-operatives to gather information on advances in technology and farming methods on a world scale and to put such methods and technology into practice where suitable.

The Federal Government must protect farmers against exploitation by monopolies which patent and market genetically modified plants and animals.

Federal and State governments should guarantee stable farm prices which

ensure that the cost of production is covered. Prices of farm equipment and fertilisers should be controlled.

Financial assistance must be provided for farmers for training in environmental protection and regeneration, land and water use and preservation, and other ecological matters. Government subsidies which favour the small working farmers and low interest loans from the Commonwealth Development Bank should be provided. Repayments of principal and interest should be suspended for those affected by drought, flood or bushfire.

Another measure to benefit both growers and producers would be the establishment of city markets jointly run by producers and consumers.

Overseas trade in major agricultural products must be undertaken by national marketing boards with grower representation and, as far as possible, through government to government contracts.

Relations must be strengthened between trade unions and farmer organisations.

For the protection of small business

Local suburban and country town communities where many small businesses are to be found should be protected by decentralisation of industries to provide work and community development and the provision of housing, schools, hospitals, child care centres, transport, cultural and sporting centres, parks, shops and other necessary facilities.

Prices must be controlled to ensure economical margins of profit for small businesses.

Business practices must be regulated to eliminate unfair trading, market cornering and discrimination against small traders.

Co-operative forms of purchasing, distribution and marketing must be developed together with co-operation in production.

Small business people in chambers of commerce and other organisations which take a stand against monopoly pressure should be supported and encouraged.

For the National Rights of Aborigines

The Communist Party calls for a program to achieve Aboriginal national rights which includes:

- * Legislation for communal, inalienable land rights for Aborigines on the basis of traditional ownership, religious association, long occupancy and/or need; title to include full rights to minerals and other natural resources.
- * Establishment of autonomous areas for communities on the basis of their communally owned land where they can develop their own economic, social and cultural life.
- * Where natural resources can be used by a local community, they should be communal property and profits from co-operatives set up to exploit them should be controlled and used by the local community.
- * Where the development of natural resources on Aboriginal communal land requires more finance and/or skills than the local community has, they should become Aboriginal national property; in such cases, voluntary leasing agreements should be reached with the government (private companies to be excluded) on terms acceptable to the local community and government would take over the development of the resources; special provision for Aboriginal training and employment should be included in all such leases; from the profits from such enterprises an agreed figure of at least 50 per cent should be paid to a national Aboriginal organisation which would have the power to allocate these funds for programs in the interests of Aborigines generally with special consideration given to the local communities on whose land the resource development activities are taking place.
- * Representative Land Councils to be set up in all States with the necessary legislation to allow them to research and determine land claims and, where desired by local communities, to administer Aboriginal lands.
- * Title to all areas of sacred and traditional significance at present gazetted and those in future claims to be transferred to the local Aboriginal communities or to the body of their choice.

For the National Rights of Torres Strait Islanders

- * Inalienable ownership rights to land, minerals, fisheries and waterways on and between the islands.
- * The establishment of an autonomous region covering the 15 islands to be administered by an elected council;
- * Provision of government capital investment to ensure a sound economic base for the autonomous region and full employment.

Democratic Rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders

Steps to implement democratic rights for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders must include:

- * Abolition of all laws, regulations and administrative practices based on racial discrimination and unequal status.
- * Extension of legal services to combat discrimination by police, courts and in the payment of unemployment and other social service benefits.
- * Adequate price levels keeping pace with inflation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander works of art; sales of works of art by private bodies to be strictly controlled; use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander motifs and emblems to be subject to licence.
- * Commonwealth funding for an immediate building program for adequate housing which meets modern standards, is acceptable to Aboriginal and Islander communities and suitable for their specific needs; appropriately low rents to be maintained for as long as necessary.
- * A long-term, Commonwealth funded program for the full and equal development of primary, secondary and tertiary education and to cover apprenticeships and trade courses; primary education to ensure command of English but be based on instruction in local languages wherever desired; education in the history and struggle for liberation of the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders for all Australian children.

* A Commonwealth funded immediate medical and hygiene program throughout the country with a particular effort to substantially lower the high death rate among babies and children; Aboriginal medical services to be expanded throughout the country with increased and secure funding and training schemes to supply the necessary Aboriginal personnel.

Immigration and the struggle for migrant rights

In the interests of the progressive, democratic development of Australia, immigration criteria must be free from racial and cultural bias. Immigration policies must give priority to humanitarian considerations, particularly family reunions and refugees.

There is an urgent need for fuller understanding by parties of the working class movement in Australia of the national, political, economic and cultural backgrounds of ethnic migrant groups and greater commitment to their concerns and campaigns. This will help to avoid the establishment of ethnic political parties which can cause great harm to the working class movement. Working class political struggle is best undertaken by one working class party irrespective of national origin.

Working class unity requires that all members of the working class, irrespective of ethnic background, take part together in the working class movement. Overcoming the barriers which prevent this requires translations of documents and development of cadres with interpreting skills and extensive cultural knowledge and sensitivity.

Participation by migrants in trade unions must increase. To achieve this, extra efforts by trade unions are required to defend the rights of migrant workers. More facilities are needed to further migrant workers' understanding of their new conditions and rights. Active sharing and encouragement of their struggles will significantly increase migrant workers' participation in the trade union movement.

Ethnic segregation and discrimination in employment must be opposed in order to overcome divisions in the working class movement.

Segregation in education along ethnic lines should be opposed. A single system of education for all with provision for multicultural education is required.

There must be active support for and encouragement of multiculturalism.

Support should be given to progressive, ethnic organisations which encourage migrants to join trade unions, help build the unity of the working class, struggle for the rights of migrants, contribute to the peace and democratic movements and for progressive change in Australia.

Tendencies towards national superiority and antagonism towards others among both the Australian born and migrants weaken the working class movement and assist the ruling class to propagate racism and separatism. Instead of nationalism, the Communist Party advances the internationalism of the working class and the love of one's country of origin and adoption.

The strengthening of legislation and mechanisms for action against all expressions of racism and discrimination is essential.

Special language training for migrants must be introduced, including paid English classes on the job, with opportunities for migrants to learn their rights in Australia through publications in their original languages. Interpreter services must be extended.

Special campaigns must be launched to encourage English-speakers to learn another language. For Australia to be a truly multicultural community, the learning experience cannot be one-way. Efforts must be made on both sides to develop real communication, cultural understanding and sensitivity, and to strengthen the political struggle in the interests of the entire working class, regardless of ethnic background.

Government services for migrants, such as media, educational and welfare programs must be expanded and include presentations by trade unionists to encourage trade union membership.

The movement for peace

Australia's foreign and military policies are strongly influenced by the economic and political ties which bind it to global imperialism. Australian governments acting in the interests of the capitalist class have made Australia a regional tool of their global interests.

After World War II, Australia became tied into the nuclear weapons systems of the United States, hosting communications and spy bases, allowing nuclear capable warships and aircraft to use Australian territory and slavishly following the dictates of imperialism's global policies.

Hundreds of thousands of Australians have repeatedly demonstrated their readiness for action around the unifying issues of peace and disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, for the removal of US bases from our territory, for a ban on visits by nuclear-capable warships, and for an independent and non-aligned foreign policy.

At one level, peace is a moral issue and, to this extent, it is necessary to develop wide acceptance of the value of peace. Yet even at the moral level, peace is not an abstract question and demands for peace need to go beyond the concept of pacifism.

Peace actions will have greater impact if the role of Australian governments and the ruling class in regional and world affairs, and their connections with imperialism are recognised.

The peace movement is also strengthened by the growing understanding of the links between the struggle for peace and the struggles for national independence, sustainable development, environmental protection, social justice, democracy and social change.

The existence of various concepts in the peace movement reflects the diversity of social and political forces involved and, at the same time, highlights the need for ideological and political work in the process of developing unity in action.

An important task of the peace and democratic organisations is to assist the emerging nations of the region and extend solidarity in their struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress.

The successes of the peace movement weaken the position of imperialism and serve to isolate the reactionary pro-imperialist, pro-monopoly forces in Australia.

Although Australia's security depends on the regional and world situations, the converse is also true. In addition to steps taken on a global and

regional basis, Australian initiatives can help to improve regional and world security.

To move towards a peaceful and just solution of the threats facing Australia's security, the Communist Party sees the need for progress in the following directions:

- * An end to the hosting of US military-related bases on Australian soil and the termination of the ANZUS Treaty. Adoption by the Australian government of an independent foreign policy.
- * An end to foreign warships and military aircraft calling at Australian ports and airfields or transiting through Australian territorial space.
- * A change in Australia's defence policy and military capability to one of defence of our own territory, ruling out aggression against the territory of other states.
- * A reduction in the military budget. Planning for and implementation of conversion of military-related industries to socially useful and environmentally sustainable production with the consequent creation of additional employment.
- * A strict policy of non-involvement in the production, testing or deployment of any components of nuclear, space, biological, chemical or any other type of mass-destruction weapon.
- * Closer co-ordination of foreign policies with those of the non-aligned movement and the dissolution of existing alliances with imperialist powers.
- * An end to the supply of military equipment and the provision of military training to or joint military exercises with repressive regimes in the region.
- * A change in overseas aid policies, increasing the share of Gross Domestic Product allocated to the most needy countries. An end to restrictive conditions which specify that a proportion of the aid must be spent on Australian goods and services. Development policies to place priority on helping developing countries to break out of their economic dependence.

* Legislation so there are no barriers to the establishment of trade unions within the armed services.

* The compulsory adoption of appropriate peace education syllabuses in all primary and secondary schools, both State and private.

There are additional principles which Australia should support in the struggle for peace and social justice. Many of these apply particularly to the Asia-Pacific region. They include:

* Supporting steps to outlaw the use or threatened use of military force against any state or group of states.

* Respecting each state's national independence, and removing the threat of aggression, domination and exploitation.

* Settling international disputes and regional conflicts by international negotiation.

* Solving the problems of foreign debt burdens and other injustices experienced by the developing countries; ending discriminatory trade terms and tied aid packages.

* Developing trade, cultural and scientific exchange on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

* No country should remain under the effective colonial control of another. The rights of all indigenous peoples should be respected. Political, racial and religious discrimination should be abolished.

* Collective security arrangements from which no country is excluded should replace the alliances which embroil the region in conflict. The arrangements should bind all countries to mutual non-aggression. Until these new arrangements are possible no new alliances should be formed and existing ones should not be expanded.

* The Asia-Pacific region needs to be made free of nuclear weapons, particularly naval nuclear weapons, their support systems and bases. Reliable and effective nuclear-free zones need to be set up, with guarantees

from the nuclear weapons powers. There need to be strong barriers to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region.

* All other forms of military presence in the region should be the subject of negotiated reductions. All possible confidence-building measures should be explored to help bring about these reductions.

* There are many benefits for the people of Australia that would flow from peace and disarmament:

* Huge sums of money could be used to satisfy the needs of the people for jobs, housing, education, health, culture and leisure. Living standards could be dramatically improved.

* Democratic rights would be extended as it is war or the threat of war which is often the excuse for the restriction of democracy.

* The influence of war propaganda, racism, chauvinism and similar sentiments would be weakened. Cultural pursuits, science and education for the good of humanity would flourish.

For Australia's National Independence and Sovereignty

It is necessary for the working class and all patriotic citizens to take up the struggle for the consolidation of Australia's national independence and sovereignty.

A program for national independence must include:

* Control over foreign capital investments and the nationalisation of foreign capital property holdings or their conversion into joint ventures with a majority of Australian equity.

* A break with the US alliance and adoption of an independent and non-aligned foreign policy.

* Removal of US military bases.

* Promotion of progressive and democratic Australian culture, combating racism, chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism while upholding patriotism and internationalism.

* Adoption of a republican constitution establishing Australia's political, economic and military independence.

The movement for environmental protection and regeneration

Serious problems related to the protection of the ecology and natural resources and the pollution of the environment raise important short and long term issues for Australia and all other countries.

The far-reaching changes taking place raise the question of the type of society — its values, organisational principles and its practices — which can best provide for the satisfaction of human needs and, at the same time, preserve and improve the environment.

The motive of profit above all else, the unplanned exploitation of resources, the sanctity of private land ownership, unbridled individualism and the authoritarianism of bourgeois governments produce an uncaring destruction and distortion of the environment.

Monopoly capital is in many instances directly to blame for irreparable environmental destruction and depletion of resources. It is of paramount importance to draw attention to large scale land degradation and its association with agricultural needs so that the capacity for food production is not depleted.

The environmental struggle raises consciousness about humanity's relationship with nature, stresses social responsibility and the need for democratisation of decision making about environmental issues.

It is important to build the connections between working class organisations and environmental activists from other classes and strata.

It is necessary to deal with the crucial issue of the relationship between employment and protection of the environment by raising the necessity for democratic social, economic and environmental planning.

Public ownership of industry and resources, their democratic control and comprehensive planned development which must necessarily take into account environmental factors, is the basis for the satisfaction of the justified demands of workers and environmentalists and the future needs of all humanity.

Policies to protect the environment must include:

- * Efforts to publicise the degree and urgency of the global environmental threat.
- * Linking the peace-disarmament and environmental issues, both in terms of their root causes and the economic aspects.
- * A cut in defence spending with the funds released to be allocated to specific environmental and earth/air regeneration projects.
- * Ending military aid from Australia to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region and its replacement by aid intended to help reforestation and other projects based on the concept of sustainable development.
- * Introduction of laws which recognise that environmental destruction is a crime which threatens humanity. Companies which pollute or otherwise damage the environment should compensate the victims and pay the full cost of cleaning up the damage they have caused. They should also be subject to massive fines and/or jail sentences for breaches of environmental protection laws. In addition, companies should be forced to install pollution control equipment and environmentally safe technology and prohibited from passing on the cost of these measures to the consumers through higher prices.
- * A program of remineralisation of the Earth's now impoverished topsoils, desertified lands and former forest regions to be carried out before or in conjunction with programs to re-forest and re-green the Earth.
- * Governments to establish plants to recycle industrial and household waste. Introduction of special corporate taxes to fund research to develop environmentally-safe fertilisers and similar products.

- * Promotion of ideas and measures to reduce the CO2 build-up. Proposals include improving energy efficiency and consumption in factories, offices and homes, recycling waste heat from power generation and industry for homes, use of renewable energy forms (solar, hydro, wind and fusion) where appropriate, and development of national power generating programs which do not contribute to the build-up of CO2 in the atmosphere. Introduction of local, regional, State and Federal Government CO2 budgets.
- * Efforts to halt all industrial and commercial activities contributing to destruction of the ozone layer.
- * Promotion of energy conservation and appropriate alternative technology. Every enterprise in Australia be required to develop an energy conservation plan involving such things as conservation of resources, recycling techniques and waste control.
- * Greater use and development of public transport rather than continued encouragement for cars to enter the hearts of our cities. Development of a national rail network and transfer of long haul transport tasks to rail. The introduction of stringent efficiency standards for cars.
- * Support of campaigns for the elimination of the use of CFCs and halons in Australia and their replacement by alternative technology.
- * Active support for re-greening Australia to restore to the ecosystem the tons of carbon transferred into the atmosphere from forests, pastures, wetlands and fossil fuel deposits.
- * State and Federal Governments to consider a complete embargo on logging except for immediate and essential domestic use in order to preserve and restore forests, river systems and agricultural lands, recognising that the forests and vegetation cover of the Australian continent has been decimated in the last 200 years and is now being dangerously reduced by logging, land clearing, wild fire, planned burning, forest pests, fungicides, pesticides and herbicides.
- * Development and implementation of a national water regeneration program to overcome the the critical shortage of fresh, usable water in many parts of Australia, particularly now in the Murray/Darling Basin and newly desertified regions.

* A program to safeguard endangered species and to ensure no further losses to the Earth's bio-diversity.

The campaign for free and secular education

The content of education in Australia serves the class interests of state-monopoly capitalism and reflects the ideas of the ruling class. The educational system promotes negative attitudes to the working class, concepts of elitism and denigration and neglect of the less privileged. It encourages individualism and discourages progressive attitudes to social problems.

The guiding principle and aim of the education system must be the provision of free, universal and secular public education for all children to produce a highly literate and cultured society.

The public education system must be strengthened and State aid to non-government schools must be phased out.

Present trends towards privatisation in the tertiary as well as the primary and secondary levels of education must be reversed and brought to an end. Control of education and research in public institutions by private corporations must be eliminated.

Basic demands are for education which promotes collective and democratic values, provides for the all-round development of individuals in society and equips everyone for participation in modern-day life. The ideals of peace and progress should be promoted together with a humanist attitude to one's fellow men and women. Education must develop such values as collectivism not individualism, co-operation not competition, equality not sexism, multiculturalism not racism, democracy not authoritarianism, and class values that respect and defend the dignity and interests of labour.

The education system must be democratised with the appropriate participation of teachers, parents, students and public organisations in the administration, policy making and other aspects of education. Corporal punishment must be abolished.

An integrated and scientifically based curriculum must be developed to meet the literacy, cultural, scientific, technical, moral and physical needs of Australia's modern multicultural and multi-lingual society and the development of the individual within society.

The distortion and manipulation of history, anti-working class bias, racism, chauvinism, hostility towards socialism and the teaching of reactionary ideology and religious sectarianism must all be ended.

Equal access to education is an important democratic right. The state has the responsibility to provide free and secular education for all age groups. The existence of institutions for the elite, for particular religious or ethnic groups, creates harmful divisions in society.

Failure to provide adequate, relevant education for working class children, for Aborigines, migrants and the disadvantaged, reflects and reinforces their oppressed position in society. A high standard of education is vital for the improvement of their overall position.

Public transport

Public transport must be developed and expanded and fares charged at a level to ensure greater public use. Cars must be discouraged from entering our city centres to eliminate pollution of the people's urban environment and the associated health problems and to limit the consumption of non-renewable fuel.

Development of a nationally integrated public transport system including rail (using fuel efficient diesel locomotives), road and shipping and transfer of long haul transport tasks to rail from road will bring environmental gains.

For comprehensive social services

The provision of housing, public health services, services to provide for security at times of unemployment, sickness, old age, accident or other disability, child care facilities and for protection of the family are major issues in the democratic struggles of the people.

State monopoly capitalism, while reaping profits from the labour of the

working people and placing an increasing tax burden on them, returns services which fail to meet the social needs of individuals and families. In many cases, the inadequacy of services results in poverty, homelessness and gross impairment of the quality of life.

The principle underlying housing is the provision of ample, good quality well serviced government housing projects for both cheap rental and purchase at low interest rates.

Health services are among the many issues of concern to the people. Fundamental changes are needed to take health care out of the hands of private entrepreneurs and to establish a universal and democratically run national health and hospital scheme.

The closure of public hospitals and privatisation of others is a personal tragedy for many people and lowers the level of services available to working people. The public health system must remain public and its sale to private interests must be resisted. The introduction of the “user pays” principle in the provision of health care must be resisted.

Services to retired workers must be based on the provision of security in old age and a useful life with the necessary health, cultural and recreational facilities.

The switch to superannuation schemes rather than a universally available and nationally paid system of pensions and allowances will gravely undermine social welfare in Australia.

The possibilities for family units to stay intact should be created. Problems of the aged and their participation in society are matters of social responsibility.

The whole range of family services needs to be qualitatively shifted toward providing real possibilities for family members to participate gainfully in social, cultural and economic life.

It is to the detriment and the shame of society that the underprivileged and disabled are ostracised and often given mere handouts or token services. A democratic society will find a dignified place for all in the economic, social and cultural life.

Jobs and Education for Young People

It is society's responsibility that young people have maximum educational possibilities for all-round development of skills and talents, that jobs, vocational training and career prospects are available for young people, and that extensive cultural, recreational and sporting facilities are provided.

Young people are adversely affected by the system of state monopoly capitalism, which places the creation of private profits ahead of the interests of the people, including the young generation. In these circumstances, young people are highly vulnerable to unemployment, excessive exploitation, denial of education rights and opportunities for social, cultural and individual development. The young generation is a main focus of the ideological offensive by the ruling class.

The ruling class tries to isolate young workers from other workers, for instance, by propagating the idea of a "generation gap" and seeks to alienate student activity from the working class movement. The monopoly-owned mass media and the main thrust of the education system discourages collective action by young people around their problems, isolates young peoples' progressive movements and encourages fashionable 'cults' and bourgeois individualism.

Given the extensive problems faced by young people, the ruling class is content with young people being politically inactive and individualistically minded. But there is a danger of reactionary forces taking advantage of youth discontent and mobilising them in anti-working class and anti-democratic movements, particularly in times of acute economic, political or social crisis.

The plight of young people is best combatted by young people developing an awareness of class concepts, the need for collective activity and linking up with the working class movement. Marxism-Leninism has much to offer young people. Young people, by acting on their problems and in support of progressive movements can and will play a very significant role in the struggle for democratic social change.

It is necessary for action to end discrimination against young women, Aborigines, migrants, the unemployed and rural youth.

Special housing programs, training schemes, genuine job creation programs and support services are needed for young people.

A Secure and Peaceful Future for Children

In our society, the position of children and the plight of families caring for children has traditionally been relegated to a low governmental priority.

Few facilities exist for children that do not involve payment in one form or another to private businesses. Rates for child care and preschool education are exorbitant and government services are scarce and often inadequate.

From an early age, young people are conditioned towards individualism and competitiveness. Little education is provided which counters the prevailing ruling class values of private enterprise or combats ideas of racism, sexism and war. Support must be given to actions which provide for the needs and positive development of children and gives real assistance to families. Working class morality, including the concept of collective responsibility for the family and the young, provides a basis for social planning in a democratic society. Progressive children's organisations should be supported.

For a democratic and progressive culture

Culture is the sum total of the material and spiritual values and the means of creating and expressing them, created by society in the course of history. Culture includes the peoples' skills and techniques as well as achievements in the realm of science, art, literature, philosophy, ethics, education, etc.

In any class society, culture assumes a class character both as to its ideological content and its practical aims. The culture of Australia is, in the main, the culture of the ruling class and is influenced by some of the worst features introduced from other imperialist countries, especially the US and the UK.

By means of the monopoly-owned press and radio, films, TV and books, the minds of the Australian people are assailed with racism, glorification of war, violence and degraded sex as well as the concepts of bourgeois

individualism, glorification of the lifestyles of the rich and acceptance of class exploitation.

At the same time, a democratic, progressive culture has developed in Australia based on the experiences of the democratic movement and on the struggles of the working class. Many Australian writers and artists of all kinds produce rich, creative work in line with the democratic, peaceful and progressive traditions of the people.

A significant contribution to the development of working class culture has been made by the progressive and democratic cultures brought to Australia by migrant communities. It draws strength from and merges with the progressive and socialist culture of other countries.

The culture which will truly serve the people will be democratic and socialist in content and expressed in a form relevant to the people of Australia.

The democratic struggle calls for an end to imperialist and monopoly influence over the culture of the people and includes the demand for public ownership and democratic control of the mass media and the encouragement of democratic forms and content in the many spheres of cultural activity.

