Ashalia's Way Forward,
Program of the CPA, Gydrey,
1964.

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NEW GUINEA

The Communist Party at all times upholds the right of the peoples of Papua, New Guinea and other Pacific territories to full national independence and political and economic self-determination.

Attempts to perpetuate in various new forms the exploitation of these people and their resources by wealthy Australian and overseas investors are opposed by the Australian working class, who see such exploiters as their common enemy.

UNITE FOR BETTER LIVING STANDARDS

The Communist Party works for united action of the working class and its allies against the power of the monopolies.

While explaining that this power can be ended only through socialist transformation, the Communist Party advocates united action by the people to win public ownership of decisive monopolies by nationalisation.

Even more limited demands are important goals for united action—price and profits control, heavier taxing of company profits and capital gains and the private incomes of the rich, safeguards against monopoly takeovers and strict limitation of foreign investment.

The Communist Party seeks to combine such anti-monopoly demands with the mass struggles for improved working and living conditions and basic social needs.

Widespread mechanisation and the onset of automation in industrial and office work are being used in Australia as in the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries to increase the profits of the monopolies.

They result in restricted employment of the working people, whose future is thus again revealed as being one of insecurity and a tendency towards reduced living standards, under capitalism. At the same time, mechanisation and automation require new categories of specially trained wage workers, handling maintenance and aspects of the operation of complicated machines.

This situation requires closely united action and organisation of the industrial and white collar workers, male and female, young and old, for higher wages, shorter hours, full employment, trade union, professional and general democratic rights.

The Communists unite with people of every walk of life in campaigns of action for higher

pensions, greatly improved health and other social services, education reform and expansion, housing, efficient public transport and other urgent public needs.

It is characteristic of state monopoly capitalism that ever greater and more numerous taxation burdens are imposed on the working people to finance governmental activities that benefit the monopolies above all.

These include not only personal income tax but hidden and heavy sales taxes and duties on items of mass consumption, special charges and taxes on individual motor car and cycle owners, rates and water charges against small home owners etc.

The problems of the smaller working farmers, beset by debt, high prices of implements and production necessities, and burdens of flood, fire and drought, merge with those of the working class because they stem basically from the profit demands of the ruling financial, manufacturing and land monopolies.

DEFEND AND EXTEND DEMOCRACY

The state-monopolist power in Australia wages an unceasing war against ideas, policies and activity that oppose the interests of the ruling class.

This takes the form of attacks on the democratic rights won through generations of inspiration and struggle of Australian working people.

A large political police organisation has been developed, outside the control of the national parliament, to spy and organise intimidation against all persons and movements critical of monopoly, its governments and policies.

This sinister force has legal power to tap telephones secretly. Its main targets for attack are the industrial and political organisations of the labor movement, especially the Communist Party and militants of the Labor Party and trade unions.

The Crimes Act authorises penalties, even including death, which can be used against people working for peace and in normal industrial and political activity opposed to the policies of the monopolist employers.

A series of laws for the control of trade unions legalise extensive fining, jailings and direct interference in the organisation and internal affairs of trade unions, including their ballots. These laws are used to combat, on behalf of the employers, the struggles of the working class for their trade union aims.

The traditional right to strike has been legally abolished.

Women are denied equality of opportunity in many fields of work, and most women workers are denied equal pay for the job.

The economic and political rights of young people are unjustly restricted. Monopoly subjects young people to special forms of economic and cultural exploitation, seeks to isolate young workers from their elders, and gives minimum attention to their special needs in trade training, higher education, sporting and general cultural development. All young people are made the objects of propaganda attack and intimidation by police, the wealthy press and other agencies.

On the other hand, young people are affected by the basic insecurity of life under capitalism, especially the nuclear war threat, and many of them express their resentment in increased political consciousness and readiness to struggle for their rights, at an early age.

Semi-governmental and privately owned television, radio and press organs often deny freedom of speech, and even freedom to buy advertising space, to working class organisations. Use of public halls, the right of assembly and freedom of travel are subject to political discrimination.

Bans and censorship are systematically applied to the importation of books and films. Political bans are placed on appointments of talented academic specialists to certain education posts, and on their right to carry out certain research and field work.

All these restrictions are supplemented by enormously costly campaigns of propaganda, misrepresenting and attacking the ideas, aims and activities of the whole labor and progressive movement. All who take a stand for peace, economic and social progress are likely to be subject to these attacks.

The struggle to defend and extend democratic rights is rooted deeply in Australia's national growth. Historically led by the forces of the workers, it has embraced the great majority of our people.

The early establishment of trade unions, the shorter working day, the Eureka Stockade, self-government, universal franchise, victorious struggles against military conscription and against the use of the death penalty, and the historic defeat by national referendum in 1951 of an attempt to introduce "anti-communist" police-state legislation—these are a few examples of Australia's proud tradition of struggle for democracy.

Experience gained by different sections of the people in the day-to-day fight for democratic rights helps to increase their understanding of the need for socialist transformation.

The strength that is generated in the united movement for democracy in Australia can considerably influence the transition to socialism in this country.

The Communist Party therefore lays great stress on working for the widest public unity in action for democratic rights, including:—

- Elimination of the political role of the "security service".
- Dropping of all political and industrial sections of the Crimes Act and all antiunion penal laws.
- Ending of all political discrimination in the use of television, radio, press, halls, streets, parks etc.
- Prohibition of all discrimination on grounds of class, politics, sex, age-group, race, color or belief.
- Reform of the parliamentary system, with universal franchise from the age of 18, proportional representation and power to recall.

Socialism, ending the rule of a minority class over the majority, brings the greatest flowering of democratic rights.

Marxist-Leninist principles, backed by the practical experience of problems of socialist construction, give due recognition to the role of skilled and devoted leaders, but make it imperative that there are no restrictions on the creative genius of the people, and that leadership is collective and fully democratic.

FULL RIGHTS FOR ABORIGINES

The Aborigine people are an oppressed national minority, subjected by Australian governments and capitalists to gross racial discrimination. For many decades they were mercilessly massacred. Today they are treated as second-class citizens, persecuted, degraded and condemned to abject poverty. Many are exploited as low-wage workers on pastoral holdings. Others are herded into substandard government and mission settlements and there exploited for profit.

Denied land ownership, forbidden to organise and control their own individual and social affairs, denied up-to-date educational and health services, the Aborigines have nevertheless stubbornly maintained their

identity as a people whose numbers are now increasing. Many thousands of people of mixed Aborigine-European descent have to live in depressed communities around cities and country towns, denied adequate housing and normal educational facilities, and suffering social discrimination, including police ill-treatment.

In recent years the movement for full rights for Aboriginal people has taken firm shape as an organised, nation-wide, growing mass movement, in which capable Aboriginal men and women are representing their people and giving leadership.

Basic to this development is the active support being given by important sections of the organised working class movement and by other democratic groups and individuals.

A program of demands for full rights for Aborigines is now part of the policy of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

The Communist Party has its own comprehensive program, formulated with the aid of many Aborigines, Communist and non-Communist.

Many successes have been won against cases of discrimination and injustice against

Aborigines. Governments have been compelled to recognise the growing mass pressure.

The Aboriginal movement has already defined its main objectives, which the Communist Party energetically supports:

- Full citizen rights within the Australian community, with special stress on equal wages and working conditions and full trade union rights.
- Special benefits to counter the effects of more than a century of oppression and to enable the people to assume rapidly their rightful place, equipped with general education, trade and professional training, health, housing and other facilities necessary to make equal rights a reality and not merely a formality.
- The right to control their own affairs as members of a distinct national minority within the Australian nation and to preserve and develop their own language and culture; inalienable possession of remaining tribal lands including lands now set aside as government or mission settlements, or of better land where these are unsuitable; ownership of mineral and other natural wealth located on their lands; economic aid for modern community development.

MIGRANT WORKERS

Mass migration from European countries since World War II was organised to provide the employing class with an expanded force of cheap labor, and to weaken the established working class movement through nationalist divisions, language barriers etc.

But most migrants are workers and not strangers to capitalist exploitation. Despite systematic political screening and intimidation by the authorities, which must be opposed, most new migrants are drawn by experience towards the working class organisations.

Large numbers of the new migrant workers have taken part in militant struggles in Australia for better conditions, democratic rights and for peace.

The Communist Party regards it as an important responsibility of the working class to ensure that all migrant workers are successfully united into the trade unions and the whole fighting movement of the Australian working people against the policies and rule of monopoly capital.

All nationalist prejudices must be opposed and migrant workers' links with their land of origin should be respected as a means of strengthening working class international solidarity. Their cultural heritage will enrich Australian culture.

The Communist Party welcomes migrants from all countries, while demanding that the migrant intake be based on guarantees of employment, adequate housing and social services for migrants and resident Australians alike. Priority in migration should be for family members of migrant people already living here, and entry and citizenship rights should be granted without political discrimination.

The Communist Party, opposing all forms of racial discrimination, advocates abolition of the White Australia policy and adoption of a system of admitting migrants of all nationalities, based on the nation's capacity to absorb them into the community at the particular time without disruption.

AN INDEPENDENT AUSTRALIA

Australia became a self-governing nation after many years of struggle for freedom from British colonial rule, a struggle led by the workers' movement which created or inspired all that is best in Australia's national culture and traditions.

But the rule of state-monopoly capitalism has interfered with the independent further development of the Australian community.

Involvement in aggressive war preparation threatens the nation's entire future and subordinates it in particular to long-term U.S. militarist influence and control.

The widening grip of wealthy foreign monopoly interests on Australian land and other resources robs the Australian people of much of the product of their labor.

Industrial development and scientific research is being distorted for the profit-making and military interests of groups in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, without reference to Australia's long-term needs.

Agents of U.S. and British concerns actively collaborate with the Australian ruling circles in resisting the economic and political demands of the Australian working class.

There is a persistent offensive against Ausralia's independent culture by a combination of private monopoly and government policy. The media of films, recordings, TV, radio, mass concerts, comics, books and the press are used to assail the minds of the Australian people, particularly the younger generation,

with commonplace outpourings from the huge "culture industries" of the U.S.A. Much of this is of little value, some is degenerate rubbish, glorifying war, race hatred and the distortion of sex.

The Communist Party regards this trend as serious because it effectively frustrates Australia's own natural cultural development, which is, historically, strongly rooted in the labor movement.

Writers, artists and other cultural workers are producing a rich variety of creative work in line with the democratic, peaceful and progressive traditions of the people, and are resisting, through their organisations, the inferior inflow. But Australian cultural workers of nearly all kinds find it very hard, or impossible, to earn a living from their creative work, while American "culture" monopolists extract millions from their Australian audiences.

In these many ways, Australia's national character is threatened by the U.S. drive for world domination.

Proud of their traditional self-reliance, Australians have their own distinct contribution to make to the world's well being and culture. Australians must work out their own path to the future. Australia's right to self-determination in all ways must be defended by the whole of our people.

4. The struggle for unity against monopoly policies and rule

The Communist Party continually works to unite the working people of Australia for the achievement of socialism.

This historic task requires firm unity in the ranks of the working class itself—including the industrial and white collar workers—whose great strength, when organised, is capable of drawing all others exploited by monopoly into the broad struggle for economic and political demands.

Australia has a powerful industrial trade union movement which has much experience in united action for advanced economic and political demands.

Administrative and commercial workers, public servants, scientists and others working in specialist professions have been united in strong organisations and have gathered experience in effective, militant campaigns for their needs.

The people's experience of reformist Labor Governments, together with critical exposure of their inadequacies by the Communists, will contribute greatly to the development of a mass desire for socialist transformation.

5. Way forward to a Socialist Australia

The way forward for Australian democracy is through the ending of the state-monopoly-capitalist power, and the socialist transformation of Australian society.

No matter what form the transition takes, this will be a revolutionary social change.

The basic transformation is the ending of the private ownership of the means of production for private profit, and the establishment of social (public) ownership of the means of production planned to meet the peoples' needs—that is, socialism.

Socialist ideas were already being spread in an organised way in Australia in the 1880's. The policy of socialisation has also been an element in the thinking of members of the A.L.P. throughout its history.

The foundation of the Communist Party of Australia in 1920 united for the first time those who stood for scientific socialism. The scientific theory of socialist transformation was worked out by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the mid-nineteenth century and has been further developed by the Russian revolutionary leader Lenin and others.

Such men were the outstanding architects of the world-wide Communist movement of today, which developed out of the spontaneous struggles of the workers against the evils of capitalism.

Communist ideas and organisation emerged to serve the people's struggles against the effects of recurring imperialist wars, everlasting insecurity, depressions, slums, crime, poverty and the oppression of classes and nations, all of which are characteristic of capitalism.

The correctness of the Communist Party's analysis of human society and its socialist theory has already been proved on a world scale. A fast increasing number of countries comprise a great international socialist system of states governed by the working people in a planned and co-operative fashion.

The forms of transition to socialist power, as shown by the experience on three con-

tinents, vary according to local conditions and requirements. All cases have confirmed and enriched Marxist-Leninist principles—Communist principles. They have shown that a basic condition for transition to Socialism is reliance on those principles.

The various countries of socialism have already demonstrated rates of planned growth of the economy and living standards, and new concepts of democracy, social justice and creative life for all that are far superior to the best achievements of the capitalist era.

The people and the Communist Parties in the socialist countries, by their devotion to world peace and the example of their great socialist achievements, in peaceful competition with capitalism, make a very important contribution to socialist consciousness among the people of all other countries.

However, it is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism that in each country the path to Socialism must be mapped and trodden by the working class, its party and its allies. Socialist countries are pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

The spread of the socialist system through the world will finally eliminate all danger of war as a means of settling differences. The socialist system creates, for the first time, conditions for the gradual elimination of national antagonism and for the growth of a true brotherhood of all mankind.

Already the pioneer, leading country of Socialism—the Soviet Union—is building the higher stage of socialist society, Communism.

The perspective of full-scale Communist construction in the Soviet Union results from the enormous creative labors of the Soviet peoples over two generations, summarised in the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—notable landmarks in the history of mankind.

The 22nd Congress saw Communist society as "A classless social system with one single form of public ownership of the means of production and full-scale equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the production forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of collective wealth will flow more abundantly and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented.

"Communism is a highly-organised society of free, socially conscious working people, in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labor for the good of society will become the prime vital requireone and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people."

THE FUTURE AUSTRALIA

Socialism will open the way to a great period of transformation of our vast, only partly-developed Australian continent.

Only then, with the land unlocked from the grip of private monopoly, and all production co-ordinated for the common good, will the dreams of early explorers and generations of worker-visionaries, poets and civil engineers become reality.

The application of scientific methods on a big scale will offset adverse climatic effects, create conditions for improving the use of the inland, and make possible the replanning, relocation and development of the industries, cities and towns.

Socialism will mean security, creative opportunity, health, prosperity and happiness for all, in an Australia at peace with all other nations.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The vigorous democracy that has grown in long struggle in Australia will flower in socialist conditions.

The vert act of transforming society will be the higgest framework was taken by the Australian receive.

They will end the political, economic, social and cultural domination by the millionaire families; our people themselves will become the rulers of their own destiny in the fullest sense.

This will create for the first time conditions for the free expression of the people's will. Only on? "freedom" will be lost—the "freedom" of a privileged minority class to own the means of production and to amass wealth at the expense of the majority.

Communist theory sees the interaction of different forces and ideas as the essence of all progress and development.

Monopoly class interests in capitalism impose restrictions on democratic rights and on the possibility of criticism and controversy. In socialism today constructive criticism and controversy are flowering as never before, and playing their fundamental part in ensuring progress.

The initial socialist state apparatus, necessary to consolidate and administer the newborn rule of the working people, becomes

gradually unnecessary as the resistance of the dispossessed minority disappears.

As Socialism develops into its higher, Communist stage, the needs of society are administered through various co-operative forms, for the benefit of all.

The talents and abilities of every individual are recognised, developed and utilised. There is equal opportunity for all.

HOW SOCIALISM CAN BE WON IN AUSTRALIA

Socialism can be achieved only through struggle—the struggle of the working class, hand in hand with other sections of the people seeking social advance.

Throughout Australian history, this struggle has grown and will continue to grow in varied forms until society has been basically transformed.

It is necessary to end monopoly capitalist power over Australian life, and abolish the capitalist system itself. The giant financial and industrial monopolies must be socialised and used for the benefit of all.

These difficult steps will be possible through the strength of the organised working class, firmly united and in alliance with the small farmers, under the leadership of the Marxist party, and with the organised cooperation and support of the majority of the people.

Such basic changes may be carried through peacefully or non-peacefully, depending on the circumstances.

The Communist Party of Australia believes that the strength of the people's forces, engaged in many-sided struggle for their rightful demands against the monopoly power, could make it possible to achieve Socialism by peaceful means, i.e. without civil war.

The Communist Party aims for peaceful transition to socialism, because that would accord with the interests of the working class and people as a whole.

History shows that the ruling class never gives up power voluntarily.

It will be necessary for the people's forces to eliminate the influence of opportunists and compromisers of all kinds from the leadership of their trade unions, professional associations and their political, co-operative and other mass organisations of town and country. It will be necessary to overwhelm the various forms of resistance of the capitalist forces and to head off their attempts to turn as armed violence.

majority representing the people's interests may be secured and may play an important role in the socialist transformation, resting on the strength and vigilant activity of the mass organisations of the people.

This will mean parliament has been transformed from an instrument serving .he class interests of the capitalists into an instrument serving the working people.

The machinery of state will be transformed. Power will be taken from agents of monopoly in the civil service, police, judiciary and armed forces. Reliable representatives of the working people, answerable to the people, will be given responsibilities in the new, democratic state.

To the extent that the old ruling class resorts to violence despite all efforts to forestall it, they will have to be defeated by superior force.

In a revolutionary socialist transformation, the degree of bitterness and forms of class struggle depend not so much on the

desire of the working class as on the forms of resistance by the old rulers.

The united trade union movement and the when mass magnisures in the restrict will play a much present that it is seen than has ever been conceived under capitalism.

Parliaments and municipal and shire councils will be filled by true representatives elected from the people's movement, subject to recall at any time by a majority of their electors.

The legislative and executive machinery of government and the managements of the industries will be closely supervised by the mass organisations of the people, who will be drawn into active participation in the control and administration of every sphere of national life.

The talents of the entire population will be enlisted into the inspiring and rewarding task of socialist construction, remaking Australia into a flourishing country in which there is prosperity, justice and satisfaction for all, and which makes a peaceful and valuable contribution to the well-being of all other nations.