the Comet

POLICY REPORTS FOR LAUNCHING CONFERENCE

The New Left Party Launching Conference will be held on Sat. & Sun. 29 and 30 July in Sydney. Registration begins at 8.30 am at the University of Technology, Markets Campus on the Saturday (or you can register immediately through the Sydney NLP office).

Launching Conference social function

To all those people intending to attend the "social" at the graphics arts club, this is a very important notice.

Due to state liscencing laws, the Graphics Arts Club has dress regulations and are forbidden from allowing children on the premises. The rules are (as stipulated by the club): At all times members and guests must be neat, cleanly and decently dressed...singlets, t-shirts with offensive slogans, torn clothing or thongs will not be permitted at any time". No children (babies included) under the age of eighteen are allowed entry.

To avoid unnecessary hassles we would request you take into acount these restrictions. If you need assistance arranging child care let the Sydney NLP Office know a.s.a.p..

We also have to finalise the number of people attending by Wednesday 26 July, so if you are coming, please make sure the Sydney office knows by this date.

For the $20 (is concession) the night will include a smorgasboard meal, and entertainment by the solidarity choir, the owinole singers and their orchestra and Margaret Roadnight. Come along and Party.

Workshop planning

The Conference Organisers would appreciate it if people could give some thought to which workshop they wish to attend and inform the registration table on the Saturday morning. There is a limit of 25 people per workshop and in order to finalise the rooms in which the workshops will be held they need to know the number of people interested.

Draft 'statement of intent'

I. NEW LEFT PARTY LAUNCHED

This Launching Conference declares that a new party of the Australian Left will be established at a Founding Conference to be held at Easter 1990. In the coming months we will step up our work to build this new party from the grass roots up through promoting and publicising it broadly in progressive movements; through working together around current issues of concern; through democratic discussion of policies; and through a range of social, cultural and political activities.

We call on all those who support a new left party, as part of the broad left and progressive movement, to join with us over the next eight months to develop the party's policies, organisation and activities. The more activists who help in this work, the more relevant and effective the new party will be.

In launching the new party, this conference establishes an interim organisation through which members will plan and carry out an eight-month programme of activities leading up to the Founding Conference. Those joining the process will take part in publicity and public meetings to promote the new party, as well as campaign initiatives and policy development.

The Founding Conference will be the culmination of a process opened up by the publication in March 1989 of the statement, "Time To Act For A New Left Party". This was sponsored initially by 130 left activists and has now been signed by almost one thousand people nation-wide, with many hundreds more expressing support or interest. Responses to the "Time To Act" statement so far, and the experiences of New Left Party groups around Australia have provided a very encouraging basis to proceed with forming the new party.

The "Time To Act" initiative grew out of a wide-spread view that the left urgently needs a new party to help renew its vision and purpose, and as part of building an effective left and progressive alternative in Australian politics. Developments since the statement was published have further underlined the need for such an alternative, and there are important signs that significant sections of people are looking for and willing to support such alternatives.

This conference re-affirms the "Time To Act" statement as the broad political framework for the new party. On this basis, the party's platform, policies and constitution will be developed and democratically discussed in the coming months, leading up to their adoption at the Founding Conference.

II. STEPS TO THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The eight-month period from now to the Founding Conference will be one of building the new party at the grass roots, as well as developing its policies and structures. The interim organisation will also begin to participate in political issues at local, regional, and national levels. A National Co-ordinating Committee (see below) will be responsible for overall co-ordination of the process. The following steps will be undertaken leading up to the Founding Conference:

1. Drafting Documents

The Founding Conference will consider and adopt policy statements on major issues and areas, as well as a party constitution and an overall "programme" or statement of aims outlining the party's basic stances, strategy and methods. The National Co-ordinating Committee is asked to oversee the production and circulation of drafts, and to provide the means for members to contribute and circulate their views on the drafts.

The Co-ordinating Committee should ensure the rapid production and circulation of the finalised policy working papers from this conference for discussion amongst members, and ask for any suggestions for the full draft policies. Anyone wishing to submit views and suggestions to commissions for thse first drafts should do so by September 30, 1989. Policy commissions are asked to provide a first draft of their respective policy by October 30, for circulation and discussion by all members. Following discussion and proposed amendments, commissions are asked to produce a second draft by January 30, for a further round of discussion leading up to the conference.

2. Campaign Initiatives

See section III below. Regional groups are asked to discuss what actions they can take around the proposed campaigns, and, if necessary, to set up special activity groups to carry them out. The national co-ordinating committee is asked to establish any necessary national liaison for the campaigns, and to co-ordinate proposed activities nationally.

3. Establishing Interim Organisation.

See section IV below. All regional groups are asked to take the necessary steps to formalise the organisation as indicated in section IV within six weeks. They are also asked to call a general meeting open to all members as soon as practicable, in order to hear reports from this conference and to discuss regional activities up to the Founding Conference.

4. Publicity and Promotion

The period up to the Founding Conference should be used to further publicise and promote the new party. To assist in this, the NCC is asked to prepare a short promotional leaflet suitable for widespread distribution. All members are asked to distribute this where they can, and to promote the new party in other ways. Where appropriate, regional groups are asked to organise public meetings, as well as special discussions for particular interest groups. Regional and national co-ordinating committees are asked to establish media and publicity groups.

III. CAMPAIGNS

As part of preparing for the establishment of the new party, the interim organisation will start to participate in current political issues and to encourage the formatuion of special interest activist groups among its own members.

In addition to all the broad movements and activities in which NLP membera are engaged in, the new left party organisation will

take a small number of specific national campaign initiatives over the next 8 months. These have been chosen as key "linking" issues which concern many people across a range of movements and opinion, and around which the NLP can realistically take its own initatives as part of broader movements.

IV. INTERIM ORGANISATION

The interim organisation will use the name of the New Left Party until the Founding Conference, when the new party's name will be decided, either by the Conference itself or by a membership plebiscite beforehand (see below). The interim organisation will not need complicated structures or a constitution, since its main aim is simply to provide mechanisms for discussion, decision-making and activities by all those joining the process. However, it will need to operate according to a few rules and principles to ensure that it functions democratically and effectively in carrying out its role of preparing for the Founding Conference. The Conference adopts the following rules and principles:

1. Membership is open to anyone who signs the "Time To Act" statement, and who pays a fee of $5 for unwaged and $20 for waged members. members will also be required to pay an "organisational contribution" (or "resources fee") on a sliding scale according to their incomes, to help fund the process, whose costs will escalate greatly from now on. (Suggested fee to go from $10 for students and beneficiaries, up to $100 for those on $30,000 p.a. and over. Also please note that we will have to reach some agreement about division of funds between national and regional costs, and that the Founding Conference should be self-financing.)

Membership cards will be issued on receipt of a signed form and fee (s). Cards wil entitle members to take part in all decision-making processes. All those who have already returned signed forms will automatically be issued cards when they pay their fees (or if they have already donated at least the relevent amount). Members are also urged to contribute generously with extra pledges or donations to help fund the process.

2. The interim NLP organisation will be an open and democratic organisation controlled by all its members. All members have equal rights to participate in decision-making in their regional groups, including to attend general meetings of members in that region, and to elect or appoint regional co-ordinating committees. Regional general meetings will be the main decision-making forums for members, and the co-ordinating committees will be responsible for organising and administering the process between general meetings, and for liaising with other regional groups nationally.

Basic units of the interim orgainisation should be organised wherever possible, based on locality, work or common interests of members. (E.g. members in manufacturing industries; those active in the women's movement; those interested in environmental issues. In some cases, such activity groups might also double up as regional policy-development groups in their relevent area). These basic groups can be organised either by interested members with the endorsement of the co-ordinating committee, or by the committee itself.

All elected or appointed committees, policy groups and activity groups will be responsible to members in each region through general meetings and/or other mechanisms decided by the members. NLP activities and meetings will be open to non-member supporters by decision of a working group or committee.

3. A National Co-ordinating Committee will be established as soon as possible. Its members will be elected or appointed by existing regional groups or co-ordinating committees on the basis of one NCC(!) member for every fifty members or part thereof in that region. New regional groups may be established with the

agreement of the national co-ordinating committee and can be represented on it if they they have at least twenty five members.

This committee, in regular consultation with regional groups, will be responsible for national liaison and co-ordination of the process up to the Founding Conference, including organisation of the Conference itself. National Policy Commissions, drafting committees and action groups will be responsible to the NCC. The NCC will work in consultation with regional groups and will endeavour whenever possible to reach decisions by consensus. Any serious differences or difficulties should be resolved by referring them to regional groups.

4. The NCC will as soon as practicable consult with regional groups and the existing Policy Commissions to determine whether the commissions can continue operating as at present or whether some changes are needed to ensure they can work effectively. Pending this review, the existing commissions will have the responsibility to begin the work of drafting full policies. However the commissions are finally set up, all regional groups are entitled to nominate at least one member to each Policy Commission, to take part in its work as far as distance and communications allow.

5. Regional and National co-ordinating committees may elect/ appoint spokespeople, convening groups, and working committees, as well as full-or part-time workers. Paid positions should be advertised among all members before they are filled.

V. METHODS OF ELECTING FOUNDING CONFERENCE DELEGATES AND DECIDING PARTY'S NAME

1. Delegates to the Founding Conference will be elected from the regional groups in proportion to their signed up membership by February 28 1990.
(The exact proportion, say one delegate for every ten members, will be decided by the national coordinating committee after consultation with all regional groups.) It will be up to each regional group to decide the procedure for electing or determining its delegates. However, a general principle will apply to all groups that the delegates should represent reasonably accurately the constituencies and trends of opinion which exist in each regional group. This could be ensured either through consensus being reached about the delegates or through some method of election agreed on by the group. However, to safeguard the rights of all members and to ensure reasonably uniform procedures in all groups, each group should report the procedure it intends to adopt to the National Coordinating Committee, which should ensure that the procedure conforms to the above principle.

2. Two options for determining the party's name are being offered for the Launching Conference to decide which one goes into the final statement. Both involve an initial plebiscite of membners to choose the most popular three or four names from, say, ten to twenty put forward. This would probably be held late this year (no later than November). This plebiscite would be preceded by a period of discussion about possible names and a closing date would be announced for submission of suggested names to go on the plebiscite voting paper. This plebiscite could be followed by further discussion about the merits of the chosen names.

OPTION 1 would then involve a further plebiscite of members sometime in early 1990 before the Founding Conference to decide the name from among the three/four most popular names chosen in the first plebiscite. The result of this vote could be announced either prior to or at the conference.

OPTION 2 would involve the Founding Conference itself deciding the name from among the preferred three or four.
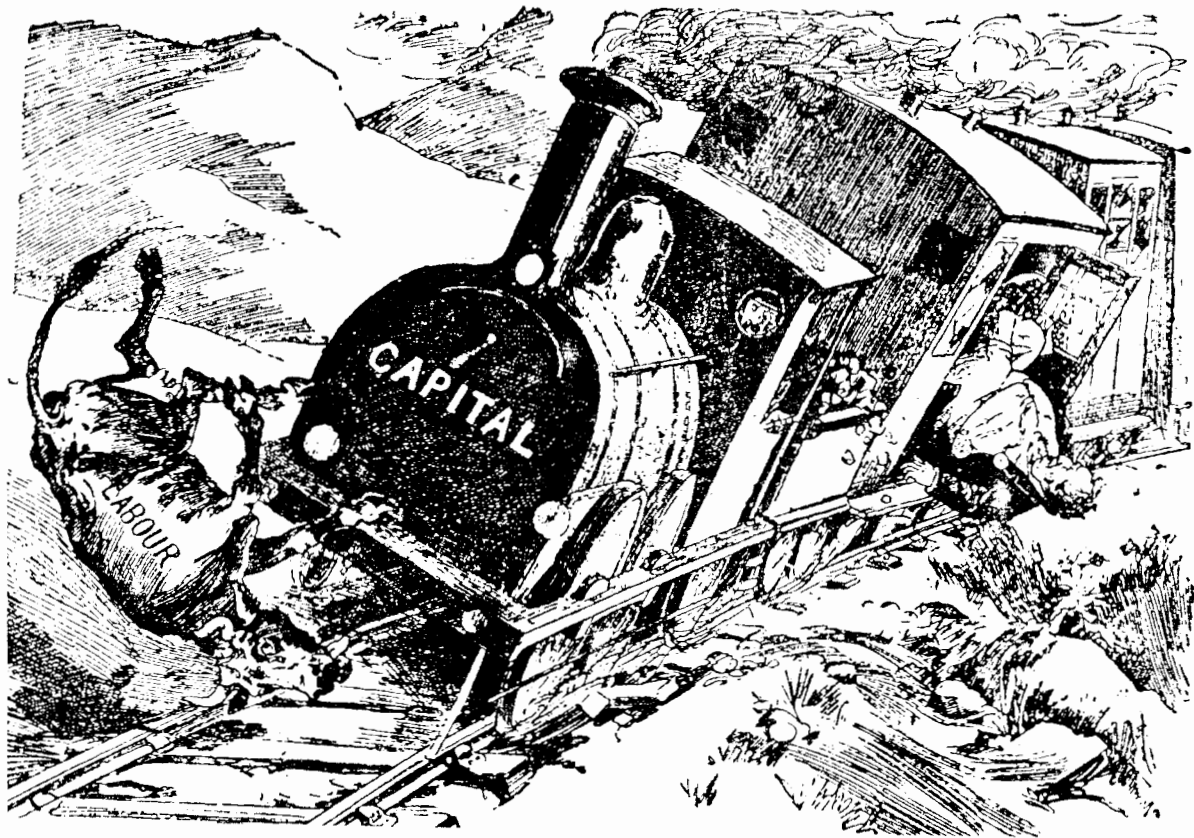
SUGGESTIONS FOR CAMPAIGNS

The following suggestions come from Joyce Stevens (Sydney), following some informal discussions with others. There has also been a general suggestion that we should focus one major campaign around alternative strategies to deal with the current economic problems created by the foreign debt, attempting to link up the major concerns of a number of movements/campaigns (eg. housing, interest rates, the need to develop environmentally sound manufacturing industries).

The following proposals are for national campaigns between the Launching and Founding Conferences. These would not replace other specific or regional priorities but would be issues that the party as a whole would try to engage in.

In some places major regional priorities would also influence the ways in which such national campaigns are conducted. For example if Black deaths in custody was agreed on as a national focus, in NSW the campaign to protect an dextend Land Rights legislation in the face of government attacks, would influence the way Black deaths are taken up.

1. Black deaths in custody - state governments to implement immediately changes proposed by the present Royal Commis-

sion. This to be part of an on-going campaign for Land Rights. (This demand to be backed up by at least one public action in all regions)

2. Child Care - support for X new places in X years. This to become demand to be argued for by the left in industrial negotiations with government and incorporated into industrial policies and claims (pay for child care workers to be associated with this claim).

3. Balance of Payments - propoganda and education campaign to expose the real culprits in the balance of payments scam. This to include analytical pieces, easily accessible leaflet/s, poster/s and use of satire and humour. This campaign would be aimed at countering the attacks at all levels on social services, welfare, the public sector etc. by helping to build a more favourable climate for those resisting these attacks.

4. Toxic Chemicals - expose the effects of use, storage and dumping of toxic chemicals on workers, consumers and the environment. Work for agreement that present stockpiles be disposed of in the most environmentally sound method presently available, to prevent an even worse environmental disaster in the face of looming accidents and leakages.

Aboriginal policy

RECOGNITION

The 1967 Referendum was one of the very few "yes" cases to be approved by the Australian people. This referendum gave recognition to Aboriginies as inhabitants of Australia, as people, to be counted in census figures; allowed them avenues into the social security system; gave them drinking rights and allowed them to voluntarily register on the electoral rolls.

In other words, it was just twenty-two years ago that Aboriginies were accepted into our white Australian society and into our culture, to live within our mores, transplanted from another world and time.

The legal fiction of "terra nullius" was at last laid to rest.

POSITIVE ACTION

The 1972 election of a Federal Labor Government gave rise to the establishment of Aboriginal organisations together with the recognition of those already in existance via their funding body the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Whilst many of the more notorious and paternalistic aspects of its forerunner, the Native Welfare Department, were scrapped, the DAA came into being under the constraints of an European legislative democracy which, by its very nature, necessitated the same constraints being placed on the recipient organisations under its control.

We were, as a nation, attempting to correct, or at least admit to, the injustices done to Aboriginies, but within the confines of a white oriented society. Therein lies the problem.

FUNDAMENTAL FLAWS

Whilst the programmes established, and the recognition given under Whitlam were tremendous steps forward, it apppears the commitment was over-zealous and lacking in thought. To counter the devistation visited on Aboriginal people over the 184 years of colonialisation, a more radical approach was needed - a national commitment to self determination.

However, accepting the adage "money will solve everything", we pulled the finance plug and poured out the money (a pittance compared with other items of national expenditure) and then stopped it again whenever an organisation appeared to stray from our guidelines. A large portion of this budget goes to maintain the DAA bureaucracy which is white dominated; although it is true to say that today there are many Aboriginies working for this bureaucracy. However, very few attain high positions of any real substance.

We further failed to acknowledge that whilst we have had centuries to learn the art of manipulation of rules and regulations and many decades to educate our populous in the skills society needs to prosper, Aboriginal society has had only seventeen years to perfect skills which basically go against their culture - the responsibilities to their extended family and their sharing of whatever they have.

Further, the excellent job done by the majority of Aboriginial organisations, under difficult circumstances with inadequate funding, does not get the public recognition it deserves. This recognition could assist combating the racist attitudes which flow from ignorance of the real problems face by Aboriginal people that no other ethnic group in Australia can experience - they have been up-rooted in their own land. We have nominally given Aboriginal people equality, but not the means to achieve it.

The New Left Party needs to confront this and suggest a radically new approach, however unpopular it may be, and it must be based on self determination for Aboriginal people.

We must accept that to be black 24 hours a day is the only way to know what is needed to restore the dignity and self-worth we have stolen from them. Our policies should come from the Aboriginal people; whether they wish to sponsor our party or not is immaterial. We need to get as many grass roots Aboriginies as possible involved in the process.

IN EMPLOYMENT

Local, state and federal instrumentalities should allocate a larger percentage of its workforce numbers to Aboriginal people and not just in the menial areas but at the decision-making level.

Private enterprise should be obliged, similar to the Affirmative Action legislation, to make a percentage of its workforce available to Aboriginal people.

IN POLITICS

Avenues need to be opened up whereby Aborigines can participate, at the highest levels of decision-making.

Seats should be made available in both Houses, state and federal (local). Or their own parliament. Debate /enlarge - not apartheid

- apartheid only exists where there is exploitation.

CULTURE
Establish Aboriginal Cultural Bodies, in consultation with the whole Aboriginal community, to create the concept within the wider public that Aboriginal people have a rich and diverse culture which they have maintained through adversity.

These bodies should be responsible for the collection and safe-keeping of their artifacts, objects, and sacred sites.

These bodies should be allowed avenues into the wider community, such as educational establishments, to publicise their cultural heritage.

ENVIRONMENT
Utilise the people's affinity with the land to organise through consultation care and concern for the land. Community-based programs to include the environmental issue.

SOCIAL
Encourage the social involvement of Aboriginal communities/groups as active participants to foster confidence and awareness to project the people in a more positive way.

HEALTH
Aboriginal health services should be seen as not duplicating the other health services and be maintained and enlarged to facilitate the needs of Aboriginal people.

HOUSING
Existing facilities to be maintained and reviewed to see that housing programs meet the levels required to service the people.

WAY FORWARD
The 1978 proclamation by the World Health Organisation at Alma-Ata (USSR) underpins the process of re-establishing an oppressed people:-
"Health does not just mean the physical well-being of an individual, but refers to the social, emotional and cultural well-being of the whole community.

For (Aboriginal) People, this is seen in terms of the whole of life views, incorporating the cyclical concept of life - death - life.

Health care services should strive to achieve the state where every individual is able to achieve their full potential as human beings and this brings about the total well-being of their community. This is an evolving definition."

SELF-DETERMINATION
Anything set in place across the diverse needs of the Aboriginal people must incorporate self-determination, whether this be immediate or as a flow-through expectation.

LAND RIGHTS
Tribal Aborigines should be given their traditional lands that they want back as full owners of the same to do with what they will. If this includes uranium mining then so be it.

Enlarge - cattle and pastoralists' prosperity due to Aboriginal labour.

Urban Aboriginal organisations should be given the freehold titles to the properties they lease. The money saved on rentals can then be diverted to the services they are giving.

Land for housing co-operatives amongst the various communities should be made available.

FINANCE
To be able to take their destiny back into their control there needs to be a method of financing outside the parliamentary vote system. Eg. a percentage of the Gross National Product.

POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION
In Tertiary Education
Seats in the areas of law, medicine and the sciences should be made available to Aboriginal students on recognition of the highly competitive nature of gaining entry.

Education - General
Ensure that funding is maintained to Aboriginal schools/colleges and to assist where necessary to see that Aboriginal people advance to higher levels of education.

More Aboriginal studies to be put on the curriculum of all schools to foster an understanding of Aboriginal life.

LEGAL
Aboriginal Legal Services to be maintained under Aboriginal administration. Training programs with Legal Services and the police forces should be established, as well as a percentage level of Aborigines within the force, and avenues of involvement with authority in all law enforcement areas.

Decriminalse drunkenness and non-payment of fines.
Enlarge - deaths in custody.

(W.A. Commission)

Women's policy

PREAMBLE

Any discussion about policy issues for women must be based on the following premises:

That the existance of gender oppression is a given in current social organisation, and that as long as that oppression exists, particular attention is required to combat its expression in all our political organisation, policies and structure;

That there is not a 'hierachy of oppression' - that class, race and gendre oppression, for example, are seen as equally important (rather than class being seen as the overriding or priority form of oppression).

1.SEXUALITY

The aims of the New Left are to:

Make visible the oppression based on sexuality - homophobia (literally 'fear and loathing' of homosexuality), living in a hercrosexist society (ie. one in which the 'natural order of things means women tied to/in relationships with men, and defined by them);

Challenge the social construction of sexuality and the notion that 'normal' equals the form of expressed sexuality as defined by the dominant culture;

Strongly and positively affirm women's choices and sexuality;

Affirm that sexuality is for all - young, old and in between;

(Statement on pornography to be considered further).

2.VIOLENCE

Violence against women in all its forms: media; institutionalised; domestic, including physical, sexual, emotional and psychological; rape and child sexual assault.

3.WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

• control over our own fertility - abortion, contraception etc.
• medicalisation of womens reproductive health - particularly birth.
• women's reproductive health & new technology: IVF, surrogacy, genetic engineering.
• menstruation, menopause

4. WOMEN & THE STATE

• education
• health and health services
• family support/protection
• law
• taxation
• distribution of funding by the state
• reliance on funding from the state

5. WOMEN AS CARERS

• childcare
• paid parental leave
• the ideology of motherhood - challenging this, particularly by specific campaigns (e.g. paid parental leave, childcare, issues around homosexual parents)
• family court
• care of the aged and dependent paople
• "community" care used as an ideology to mask the burden for women
• volunteerism

6. WOMEN & WORK

PAID
• childcare
• equal pay
• paid parental leave
• segmented labour workforce
• occupational health & safety issues
• meaning of paid work - what part has it in women's lives
• women and unions
• sexual harassment
• limitations of equal employment opportunities and affirmative action strategies
• low pay and poor conditions
• undervaluation of women's work
• education and training
• award restructuring

UNPAID
• volunteerism
• community care
• parenting
• domestic labour

7. CULTURE
• language and sexism
• gender role stereotyping
• media and sexism
• sport, recreation and leisure

B. SOME THOUGHTS ON PRIORITY AREAS FOR CAMPAIGNS
• paid parental leave
• child care
• abortion - pro abortion coalitions
    - access to services and funding
    - law
• equal pay

C. GENDER ISSUES: Structure and organisation

These proposals have been developed by the organisation and structure and women's working groups in the New Left Party process in Adelaide.

PREAMBLE

Given the legacy of sexism it is vital that, while the legacy remains, specific measures are taken to ensure the equal participation of women alongside men in any party structure or organisation.

The issue of fair and equal participation of women and of countering sexism shouldn't be the exclusive concern of women, although that has been usual recent practice. It is in men's interests that sexism end, and so separate caucuses of both men and women should consider the questions raised in the proposistions, in working towards final guidelines.

NO SIMULTANEOUS MEETINGS

1. There should not be any simultaneous meetings of a women's group while lunch or other interest groups, e.g. environment, unions etc. are meeting, since women have an interest in all the general groups, and will not be able to participate if a women's meeting is simultaneously scheduled.

WOMEN'S CAUCUSES

2. There should be specific women's groups or caucuses wherever women seek to establish one - in party conferences, meetings or as part of any level of structure.

LEADERSHIP AND REPRESENTATIVE POSITIONS

3. A minimum of 50% of all representative or leadership positions should be held by women except where the constituency is all men.

4. In any structure where there is more than one position; half should be held by women.

5. All leadership positions at whatever level should be of limited tenure.

6. The role of leaders is not to make all decisions, but to implement the collective thinking of the leader's constituency. There needs to be debate within the party about the nature of leadership. Specific details to implement this policy will need to be devised and ratified once the party structure is determined.

MEETING PROCEDURES

7. As a general principle, in any meeting, everyone will have the opportunity to speak and no one can speak twice unless everyone has spoken or specifically indicated that they don't wish to speak. At any time someone who has not spoken will have priority.

8. The chairperson should ensure that the speaking time is fairly shared, with particular attention to gender balance.

9. In any meeting a person should be appointed to assist the Chair in implementing the above.

10. In any meeting or conference, generally the majority of discussion should occur in small groups.

11. Wherever required, childcare should be made available to participate in meetings and events.

Multiculturalism discussion paper

Multiculturalism means more that the co-existence of different cultures in the some society, it means making available resources to provide and promote the retention and creative development of different cultures within the Australian context.

The fact that Australia is not a multicultural society is clear when one looks at the under representation of people of non-english speaking backgrounds in every area of society.

Immigrant peoples in Australia have provided a massive input into economic growth since 1949, and are continuing to provide new labour, and at the same time, transform the very character of Australian society. The large communities from non-english backgrounds are hardly visible in the political, educational, cultural and union structures in Australia, yet they generally have low wages, poor access to health facilities and are at the lower end of the housing market.

While these communities are at various stages of consolidation in Australia, and their families are striving to improve their situation, they are the butt of discrimination, and are often subject to personal abuse on racist, religious, language, or national identity grounds.

As a huge proportion of the working class, their attitude to unionism and their experience of unions, and of left politics more broadly, will be a major factor in the creation of a more democratic, just and economically and environmentally secure Australia.

The New Left Party Group recognises that not all of the concerns of these people are represented in the existing agendas of most ethnic community structures, which generally rule out vital matters of living standards and multiculturalism.

The New Left Party must itself reach out to the many committed people in the migrant communities, those with experience of socialist politics, and those who have been radicalised by their experience as migrants in Australia. This will mean a commitment to multilingual media, and to exploring the best structures to ensure that people of a non-english speaking back-ground have a strong voice, and full participation.

The question of how people of non-english speaking backgrounds will participate in the new left party is essential to both questions of the organisational democracy of the party as well as the mass character of the party.

Despite the fact that we can see how society as a whole has marginalised and alienated people of non-English speaking backgrounds, all parties of the left have simply reflected that marginalisation. Whilst the major parties of the left have made some efforts to involve non-English speaking members, notably by forming ethnic branches, these branches have never had any real power in these organisations.

All too often these branches were simply used as fund raisers and to provide numbers at a meeting/function. In essence they were seen as irrelevant and not esssential to the decision making processes of the orgainisation. A failure to communicate and to overcome alienation has been the core of the problem. Information is power, but information in a form it could be understood was rarely conveyed.

The new party must look at ways in which non-English speaking members and members from non-English speaking backgrounds can become an integral part of the new party. Anything less will mean that the new party will have failed not only in terms of its own attempts at true organisational democracy but it will have also have failed to harness a great potential force for the left in Australia.

IMMIGRATION

A proposed framework for an immigration policy. The essence of immigration law is control. It is control by the nation state over the movement, entry and stay of individuals who are not its citizens. Covertly, it is control over its citizens as well, for underlying immigration law are a whole range of public policies determined by political choices about the sort of society the state wishes to create. It is therefore not surprising that immigration law and policy becomes a high profile and strongly contested area in times of national economic or political crisis.

Immigration control is one means by which the state implements a number of social, political and economic agendas. It assists in controlling population size and the compostion of that population, particularly its age and race profile. It jigsaws into national economic planning at various levels, including manipulating the size and skill structure of the labour force and boosting economic growth through stimulating demand for goods and services. It also impacts on aid, trade and political relations with other nation states.

The interests of Australian capital have recently dominated the migration programme. Intakes are high (now around 100,000 per year), and preference is given to young, highly skilled people and to business migrants. The proportion of places allocated to refugees and lower skilled family reunion migrants have steadily decreased.

Emphasis is on the economic funtion of migration, rather than on its humanitarian function. This approach followed by both Liberal and Labor Governments, is not in Australia's long term interests. it is also contrary to the interests of the trade union movement and to our migrant communities.

The increasing emphasis on importing skilled labour at a time of high domestic unemployment is stark testimony to the failure of successive governments to develop adequate labour market planning and to invest sufficient resources in training and retraining the existing workforce. Three groups are bearing the price of this neglect:
* workers (including migrant workers) who are being made redundant by industry restructuring of technological changes;
* migrant Australians from working class or non-English speaking backgrounds who are prevented from being able to be reunited with their parents, brothers and sisters: and
* the displaced, disposessed and persecuted of the world who are increasingly being denied the right of resettlement.

The new party believes that an immigration programme can be devised and implemented which meets the needs of all these groups and which will also be in Australia's long term economic interests. Such a programme would be based on the following principles:
* an unequivocal rejection of race discriminiation in the selection process; * a commitment to full family reunion rights, in which adult siblings are included in the definition of immediate family and the importance of the cultural significance of the "extended family" should also be recognised;
* an increase in the proportion of places allocated to refugees and special humanitarian cases;
* an acceptance of the absolute right of heterosexual and homosexual Australians to be able to be live in this country with the partner of their choice;
* an end to discrimination against disabled people;
* a fair appeals system which gives rejected applicants the right to have their cases reconsidered by the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, with the right to legal aid;
* a limit to our dependency on skilled migration by implementing comprehensive labour market planning with emphasis on education, training and retraining of the existing workforce;
* tripartite negotiated arrangements to replace the existing programmes to selection of skilled workers;
* eliminiation of the human wastage that results from the non-recognition of overseas qualification by establishing more appropriate selection bodies and by providing bridging courses.
* a quota system should be looked at with equal numbers being reunited from each applicant country.

TheNewParty: a structure proposal

This draft was prepared by the Illawarra group based on submissions received from the Sydney Women's Group contained in the Melbourne Conference papers, from the Socialist Network and from individual party members.

The New Party is committed to participatory democracy, a structure that provides for consensus (in the interest of unity) and a process that allows for national policy to be formulated. At the same time, the particular and necessary involvement of regional and interest groups in this process requires a means of facilitation and co-ordination.

Organisational Structure: Groups, Regions and Commissions

The foundation of the party is the Group which will be both issue specific and attached to a Region. A collection of issue-specific groups across the country comprises a Commission. Thus, Jill Colletti may be a member of the Textile Group attached to the Geelong Region and is a member of the National Textile Industry Commission.

The Group is the key place of political work, education and intervention. At the same time it is necessary to develop breadth of ideas and vision which may not come from small meetings of like-minded people who are engaged in the same areas of work. Their methods of work, frequency of meeting and internal structure should be self-determined.

While the Groups should be based around areas of political work, to facilitate the development of a broad socialist vision and to intervene effectively in the electoral process at local, state and federal level, Region meetings, bringing together the different Groups, should occur at regular intervals, at least three or four times a year. The Region should liaise with the Commissions to establish Groups and should provide a forum for the cross-fertilisation of ideas and assist in highlighting the local issues relevant in these areas.

The Region itself should not become so large that genuine face-to-face interaction among its members becomes impossible. Once a Region approaches about the 100 member mark, it should consider the possibility of assisting the development of a new region. This allows for the development of each member's potential and ability.

The Regions should also seek to obtain and support full-time paid workers. If, however, the suggested numerical ceiling is set at around 100, these will have to be supported by more than one Region.

The structures that exist within each Region and their methods of political work should be determined at the regional level.

Finally, the importance of the Regions lies not only in their co-ordinating of Groups at a Regional level, but also as a place in which the important unstructured aspects of human life, *like having fun*, can happen.

The Commissions are comprised of specific issue Groups on a national basis. Their method of organisation, inter-relation and co-ordination should be determined by the Groups which make up the particular Commissions. Some may choose to have a co-ordinating committee, others may choose to have more regular aggregate meetings, communicate through bulletins, newsletters and so on. The Annual National Conference may be one place in which Commissions may assemble as workshops for that particular period.

National Conference

The National Conference should be the annual meeting of the party that determines policy, and national actions. It should be attended by representatives of Regions, elected by each Region on a pro-rata basis (e.g. one delegate for six members). The responsibility for financing attendance at the conference lies with the party as a whole. However, if financial restrictions dictate, some delegates may have to exercise more than one vote on behalf of their Region. It would be expected that the staff and national committee would also attend the national conference as ordinary voting delegates.

There should be provision for the various Commissions to make submissions for the agenda of the annual conference. While it may be desirable for members of Commissions to represent directly their specific issues at National Conference, giving the Commissions electoral status may have undesirable consequences. It is likely that some party members will belong to more than one Commission, and hence will obtain plural votes. In addition, the concentration of population in large centres would mean that a person elected from a particular Commission would more than likely come from a large Region, and thus, in fact, increase the real size of thatt Region's representation on the National Committee.

National Committee

The Annual Conference itself will, in part, elect the National Committee. Other members of the National Committee will be elected by direct postal plebiscite and also directly from each Region, which may elect one or two delegates directly to the National Committee, depending on the size of the Region. This is to ensure the fairest possible elections with the broadest possible representation.

The National Committee should meet at least four times a year and should be responsible for directing the work of the Secretariat. The Secretariat itself ideally should be geographically dispersed.

National Secretariat

The task of the secretariat should be to co-ordinate the actions and desires of the Regions and Commissions where appropriate. A basic principle should be that full-time paid political organisers should be selected by those to whom they are responsible, thus paid national organisers should be selected nationally, and regional and women's organisers accordingly. While these staff members should be paid a decent living wage they should not be seen as career bureaucrats but, rather, should have set terms of appointment.

We should give particular attention to the location of our offices and staff so as not to disadvantage and/or under-service isolated and disadvantaged regions/groups.

As the centre for much information and co-ordination of party activity, the secretariat will have enormous powers. The secretariat should be set, as its most immediate task, the dissemination of information as information is the major source of power.

It should be directly accountable to the National Committee. The responsibilities and qualifications for the secretariat should be determined by the National Committee. The National Committee should be the body that interviews and selects the applicants. This allows for candidates to be properly assessed according to to their suitability. The alternative means of selection would be through some form of voting either at national conference or by mail. The outcome could be that the successful candidate may be the most popular or well-known rather than the most suitable. There may also arise a need to employ extra staff members between conferences or more quickly than a plebiscite would allow.

Affirmative Action for Women

Since gender is a major arena of political struggle both within and between classes, the organised expression at all levels of women's political interests should be a basic principle of the new socialist party's organisa-

tional structures. This does not replace women's participation in other areas of the party's structure, rather it recognises gender politics as a major area of political work. In elections at all levels within the party, women will be allocated a number of places, reflecting their numerical strength.

Communication

Real democracy can only take place in the new socialist party if it is based on informed communication. This involves communication within all levels and between all levels, individuals, commissions, regions and groups. Regular, accessible internal bulletins and regular aggregate meetings are ways in which decisions within and between bodies can be quickly communicated, and the party should be quick to take advantage of modern technology to circulate information and to assist the decentralisation and democratisation of administration.

Meetings

Face-to-face meetings will probably continue to be the preferred and general form of party decision-making. Party meetings at all levels should be regular, organised and operate consistently to ensure that from the setting of the agenda to the end of the meeting they are productive and participatory.

Elections

Elections should be based on principles of accountability, proper representation and the right of recall of delegates and representatives. The application of these principles will vary according to the overall size of the party and its distribution in different centres. For instance, the election of a regional co-ordinating committee could be by electing delegates by and from the groups or by direct election at meetings of the membership of the whole region or by a combination of both.

The new left party should implement a system of proportional representation. In a "first-past-the-post system" the outcome is decided on the basis of who gets the most votes or crosses on a ballot paper. Other candidates are not elected even though they may have polled only slightly less votes than the successful candidates and may represent a considerable body of opinion within the party. In fact, the person with the most number of votes or crosses on a ballot paper may represent a view which may be a minority one where there are more than two candidates.

In a proportional representation system, candidates are elected on the basis of their representation of a significant proportion of the party membership.

On the other hand, proportional representation requires the formation of electoral tickets, and thus can exacerbate factional differences within the party in a way which exhaustive preferential voting does not.

Grievances

It may be necessary to establish an Arbitration Committee to resolve disputes on policy or operation between sections of the party. This committee could consist of representatives from each of the conflicting parties and someone agreeable to them. This could happen, for example, when a national policy has a direct and disproportionate impact upon a particular Region or Commission.

Structure Monitoring Committee

A standing committee of representatives from each Region as well as from the women's Commission should be established to monitor the development of the party over the next year. It should also collect information on the problems and successes of the evolving structure as a means of realising and countering our mistakes.

Proposed Consultation Timetable:

July 1989 ....Presentation/discussion at Launching Conference

August 1989......Circulate results of conference discussions to all Regions

September 1989...Receive and consider responses from Regions

October 1989.....Redraft of Structure out to all Regions

November 1989....Receive and consider responses from Regions

February 1990....Final draft distributed to all Regions.

(If major issues still unresolved, then hold a National Structure Conference to finalise draft.)

March/April 1990 Adoption at Launching Conference.

(There will be a graph available at the Conference)

(Illawarra Commission)

Democracy and Local Government

These notes are based on several written submissions and on a workshop held in Newcastle on June 2. The notes are very brief and are aimed to highlight issues for discussion and to provoke consideration of some difficult areas. All the notes are based on the presumption that we should contest elections and seek to win parliamentary office, although we acknowledge some people in a new party will question this assumption. The majority of those who expressed an opinion to the commission felt the need to be successful in the electoral process was the real problem facing the new party, not the problem of becoming "parliamentarist".

Some overall considerations

* We have to be "professional" in our approach to campaigning and electioneering. This requires expertise, resources and money as well as candidates with a genuine base in their electorates.

* Electoral programs should be designed to concentrate on a few major, topical issues - not to present our view of the world. Wherever possible we should discuss joint electoral programs with other groups and parties and seek to campaign on the same major issues. The three point platform

of the Nuclear Disarmament Party was seen as an extreme, but successful, example of a focussed electoral platform.

* We should only run on our own as a last resort. It is preferable to stand as part of a team involving other groups and parties. In reality this has proved difficult, but we should continue to try. The very act of negotiation will increase the chances of forming future coalitions and alliances. The nature of most left trade union leaderships was seen as a good working example of left electoral coalitions. Can this be repeated more generally?

* The difficult question of who candidates should be "responsible" to was raised. Are they bound by a party caucus? Are they responsible to their electorate? Should they be "free agents"?

* The need for serious long-term reform of the electoral system is crucial if we are to break the "two party monopoly". To crack 10% of the vote would be a massive achievement, but this would perhaps give us some local government and upper house positions. (Except in Tasmania.) A move to some form of proportionality in lower house elections is the only way we, and other "minor parties", can gain representation. We

should campaign with other parties (Democrats, Greens, NDP, Independents, etc.) to achieve these reforms.

Local Government

* Many see this as our starting point because of past successes, proportional voting systems, and the need to build support from the grassroots. Electoral success in local government is virtually a pre-requisite (for both party and candidate) for success at state or federal level.

* Independents, including some new party supporters, have been elected to local government. We should build on this experience and success. Some of these successful council candidates have also given parliament a close run - such as Don Syme and Jack Mundey in NSW. The new party must continue to encourage these community-based campaigns as the essential building block for longer-term electoral success - as well as the immediate rewards for the community. Some doubts were expressed about the long term future of the "independent" label. Can you be independent and belong to a party? Have conservatives stolen the label in some places? Are alternatives such as 'Active Community Team' preferable?

* Local government candidates should, where possible, be nominated by broadly-based community groups, rather than by a party. They would be answerable to these groups while making no secret of their broader political views.

* The role of local government as the third tier of government needs to be upgraded by a long term campaign to increase their areas of responsibility, their financial base and their standard of representation. The concept of regional government to replace the states should be pursued (after all the Governor General supports it!) but seems a distant hope.

State/Federal

* Upper or lower house? This is a source of continual discussion. There is no easy answer. The upper houses offer the best chance of success with their proportional representation, but require massive, state-wide campaigns. Lower houses allow campaigns to be concentrated in selected electorates, but are near impossible to win with the current "winner takes all" system. The only answer we could come up with was to treat every case on its merits.

* Preferences are also a constant source of discussion. Although the general principle of no votes to the conservatives is clear enough, there was a feeling that we had to be more pragmatic and open-minded in negotiating preference exchanges. The ALP should not automatically get preferences, especially if they aren't willing to negotiate exchanges.

* While it was agreed that it was a 'waste of time' running unknown candidates, it was also acknowledged that there are very few 'known' candidates available. Another argument for coalition tickets?

* Many people are looking to the new party to provide an electoral alternative to the ALP. This is unrealistic in the short term. How can we meet these expectations while keeping our electoral work on a basis which fits with our strength and organisation?

* The immediate prospect of a federal election requires a considered response. Only two options have been proposed so far:

1. That we don't run a specific campaign, but encourage and support progressive candidates wherever they are standing. This view is based largely on the unpreparedness of the new party to organise a successful campaign at this early stage of our development.

2. That we run candidates (or support progressive candidates) in selected lower house seats, mainly in the large metropolitan centres. (See Denis Freney's detailed proposal for NSW.)

* The ability of a new party to gain parliamentary representation within the near future (10 years?) was seen by some of the participants in the workshop to be a crucial indicator of the success or failure of the new party strategy.

Democratic rights

* The new party should produce and campaign for a Bill of Rights. As well as winning general support for this reform it would also present our "democratic credentials" to a wide audience. The Bill of Rights produced by the CPA in the late '70s could provide a basis for discussion.

* Constitutional reform includes questions of a republic, electoral reform,, and legal rights. Although it has proved difficult to make this a mass political issue many specific questions continue to arise (power of the Governor General, gerrymanders) and we must be part of the campaign for long term reform.

* Electoral reform is needed to end rorts such as the Queensland and WA gerrymanders.But we have to build alliances with other minor parties to move towards a more proportionally representative system. Greens, the Democrats, Grey Power, etc., are potential allies.

* There are many permanent and temporary bodies already in existence who are reviewing such issues. We should prepare detailed proposals to appropriate bodies (electoral commissions, constitutional commission, law reform commission, committees of inquiry, etc.) and seek support from other organisations and parties for these submissions.

We hope these brief discussion starters have got you thinking. We have not tried to spell out a policy, but rather looked at those issues which have to be considered if a policy is to be effective. As a general rule we feel we should not produce any policy documents without an accompanying program for implementation and campaigning. Putting it on paper is relatively easy, making it happen has proved the real problem for the left.

(Newcastle Commission.)

Industrial & Economic

Industrial:

(Summary of main points - elaborations available at conference.)

The Industrial Commission has prepared a discussion paper on trade union affairs for the Launching Conference which contains two broad themes: an inward looking 'audit' of what is wrong with the trade union movement, as confirmed to the steadily declining rate of unionisation; and a more outward looking review of the issues like award restructuring which the union movement must grapple with over the next few years.

The first section therefore addresses the question of declining union membership, and in particular examines the weaknesses in the Accord, and the inability of unions to attract women and young people. The definition of union 'relevance' is also taken beyond limited vision of new membership services, to a broader view of the economic, environmental and industrial strategies the movement must develop if it is to prosper.

The discussion paper also considers how award restructuring and union amalgamations might be best used as progressive developments, and the role the New Left Party should play in these processes. Although its exact nature is obviously impossible to determine, the discussion paper opened up the debate on what wages system should follow the current national wage case, bearing in mind the likely economic downturn and its effect on union strength.

Finally, the paper canvasses how the New Left Party might be structured in ways which attract unionists to its ranks. Of course, other interests will wish to influence the party organisation, but some formal or informal industrial structure is required if the New Left Party is to cater for the needs of unionists in ways which other parties do not.

Economic:

Global restructuring & the restructuring of Australian capitalism: a Left response

1. Changes in the world economy:

a) rising instability since the mid-1970s

i) drive for new avenues for corporate profits

ii) rise of 'economic rationalism'/New Right

b) internationalisation of capital

i) global financial markets

ii) internationalisation of production

c) changing economic & political relations

i) shifting balances of economic/political power

ii) competition in global markets

iii) changes in socialist economies.

2. Effects on the Australian economy:

a) balance of payments deterioration

i) financial deregulation

ii) worsening terms of trade

iii) consequences

b) Changing structure of the economy/workforce

i) growth of services & tourism

ii) growth of part-time employment, especially for women

iii) relative decline of manufacturing sector.

c) Response of governments/political parties

i) ALP: 1983-85 Accord/financial deregulation

1985 + 'economic rationalism'/market-led restructuring

ii) Liberal/National Parties.

3. Building a left alternative: current struggles & long-term goals

a) Limits to market-led restructuring.

b) Principles of a left alternative.

c) Key areas

i) industry planning/development policy

ii) social wage/public services

iii) regulation of finance

iv) planned trade/import controls

v) broad-based incomes policy

vi) price control

vii) progressive taxation system

viii) education & training

ix) public ownership

x) industrial democracy

xi) economic planning

xii) resource conservation/environmental sustainability.

(Sydney Commission)

Environment

Introduction

The current recognition of the worlds ecological crises is not one which can be regarded as a passing fad. The ecological crises is very real and is one of humanities greatest threats - and one of our greatest opportunities.

The dramatic restructuring that it will force could result in a society which is both liberating and sustainable. But it could also usher in an authoritarian eco-fascism.

This paper is not intended as a comprehensive draft policy paper, but provides some ideas for direction and discussion.

It has been produced by the work of the Sydney and Adelaide environment groups.

BASIC PRINCIPALS

1. Sustainability. All human activities must be sustainable. This requires a fundamental change in our economic systems and our relationship to nature.

2. Social Equality. All people should be abe to meet their basic material, cultural, and emotional needs. This means the elimination of racism, class, patriarchy and all other structures and beliefs which oppress and divide people.

3. Real Democracy. We are committted to an ongoing democratisation of society until workers control their workplaces, communities control their development and the people control the institutions established to serve them.

4. Fulfilment. We intend to build a world where people are encouraged to develop and express their capacity for creativity and co-operation in their work, leisure and relationships.

A sustainable democracy would also emphasise decentralisation and self-reliance. Political power, economic production and the creation of culture would be devolved to workplaces, communities and homes.

This would maximise people's control over their lives, minimise resource expensive infrastructure and build community.

However, national and international planning and co-ordination would still be necessary to ensure broad equality, facilitate cultural and intellectual exchange and deal with common problems.

- to feed house and clothe people

- to reduce and eliminate pollution

- to replenish and recycle resources

- to maximise local control over and participation in decision making on the environmnet based on shared information

- a centrally planned approach according to agreed principals, (and targets) reached after guaranteed input from local groups

- to take into account the real cost of activities: ecological, economic and human capital

- To research and develop environment-friendly practices and technology

- To maintain an international perspective and strive for balances global and national economic development

- To develop sustainable development and to promote co-operation rather than competition.

- CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

- Have the long-term implications been thought through and alternative options considered ? (is it a sustainable practice ?)

- is it socially useful ?/is it (the most) energy efficient ?

- will the extraction, use and disposal of the resource enhance the environment ?

- does it conserve (and enhance) our natural and constructed heritage ?

- does it have a positive visual/aesthetic impact?/ blend in with the

natural environment?

does it tap people's creative skills?

- is it consistent with indigenous people?

does it cause a minimum of risk and disturbance to flora and fauna?

does it bring financial and political institutions closer into step with the workings of nature?

Environmental Economics

Environmental economics should take into account the following:

Eco-development which takes environmental impact into account and strives for sustainable management.

Equity at local, regional and global levels goes hand in hand with sound development. The concept of security should be broadened to include economic and social welfare. real security will grow out of the firm ground of global economic stability. equity is the best "defence" and frees up billions of dollars of annual expenditure, research and development effort for more productive use.

A *diversity* of power structures maximises participatory decision making, allocation of resources and action by a diversity of means. This is already a tendency in response to over centralised and bureaucratised structures.

The ecological and human (both male *and* female) cost of activities and production need to be integrated into the economic balance sheets.

Ethical investment policies and practices direct economic power towards socially useful goals: progressive employment practices; regeneration of the environment; conscientious consumption and creative, rather than destructive, industries and projects.

New technologies provide possibilities of greater freedom and diversity of work and more consumer control.

The numerous contradictions which arise when concepts of progress, civilisation and quality of life are defined, need to be dealt with through a democratic and dynamic process.

Resource Management
PRODUCTION

All production should be indefinitely sustainable in terms of the environment and jobs.

All production for consumption should be aimed at enhancement of the quality of life globally and alternatives should always be sought to the exploitation of non-renewable resources.

Production should be geared towards the manufacture of goods and technologies which are compatible with the environment.

Research to find the most environmentally appropriate technologies cannot be left to the private sector alone, nor should the public bear the responsibility for their development.

Governments must take responsibility for the development of these technologies with absolute provision for public input and accountability within this process.

POPULATION

We must all develop strategies to keep the global population at a sustainable level in terms of both growth and distribution. In this, there is the need to take into account the concerns of different races, cultures and genders.

In line with this, there is the need to re-assess global consumption, particularly in first world countries with a view to changing people's attitudes about appropriate consumption habits..

MINING.

Mining of all types and methods should not be undertaken in any of the following:

- national parks

- wilderness areas.

- Aboriginal land and cultural sites.

- ecologically fragile zones where large mining operations would disturb or damage flora, fauna or the land.

Uranium mining: the mining of uranium should be stopped, and industry employees re-trained and directed into useful industries.

Index of the major concerns for mining policies:

- Corporate role and responsibility in environmental management.

- Multiple land use management.

- Costs and benefits of proposed land uses.

- Sustainable development and utilisation of natural resources both physical and biological.

- Noise and dust management.

- Water quality management: the need to fund and explore the development of innovative approaches to the re-use of waste water.

- Creative post-mining rehabilitation programs.

ENERGY.

Energy sources must be developed over time to replace destructive energy sources (coal, oil).

It is necessary to use existing energy sources more efficiently to minimise further environmental destruction until such sources are developed.

Research should be directed away from potentially destructive sources of energy such as nuclear energy, into the development of safe and sustainable such as sunlight, with levels of funding to match the urgency.

TIMBER.

Significant research must be undertaken to develop a comprehensive system of protected reserves covering the range of species and landform diversity of the continent.

These should be managed through a much improved National Estate legislation, federally, and a completely protected National Parks and Wilderness areas at a State level.

In order to achieve maximum stability in the timber industry unions relevant conservation groups and industry representatives must be allowed participation on an equal basis.

The Federal government must act to develop a comprehensive forest industries policy which

a) guarantees the provision of jobs in stable and sustainable industries and

b) provides adequate environmental protection during the harvesting of native forests.

The Federal Government must ensure this is accepted by State Governments.

The above policy should be based on the production of sawlogs from a low-impact harvesting system, production of pulpwood from sawmill and sawlog wastes and thinnings, with local processing of eucalypt and pine plantations.

The establishment of eucalypt plantations is essential for the health of the timber industry and Australia's economy. These plantations should be replacing the harvesting of native forests when and where possible.

States must ensure the subsequent reform of the agencies controlling forest resources to ensure a high degree of expertise and competency in the management of available forested areas in the most sustainable and environmentally sound manner.

HUMAN/URBAN ENVIRONMENT PLANNING

Effective public involvement in any planning decision at a Federal/State or Local level.

That no special legislation be used to by-pass the provisions of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act at any time.

Environmental Impact Statement should be produced under strict control within an independent public body.

There should be no bypassing of any established legal methods to ensure public participation.

Financial support should be made available to ensure effective public participation.

State Environmental Planning policies should provide adequate safeguards to protect the environment.

The Local Government Act should be amended to provide for precinct committees of community representatives.

The EPA Act should include a provision that any development that is not in line with the Local Environment Plan or any other planning instrument should require a public enquiry.

TRANSPORT

That land use and transport planning be integrated with a view to incorporating public and private transport systems and that environmental and social costs be part of any financial costing of any transport system.

Freight distribution should maximise the use of rail.

The provision of cycle ways throughout the urban area with a code of behaviour for cyclists and motorists.

Planning procedures should be directed towards proper integration of land transport that includes measures to ensure effective public participation.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

Introduction

The importance of the waste issue and recycling

Waste Issues

a) Chemical & Industrial wastes - storage and methods of disposal - transportation dangers - utilising sewerage lines - pollution of waterways and oceans - dangers to plant and animal life in waterways and oceans - incineration no solution - what solutions are there?

b) Air Borne wastes - gases & fumes - industrial - forms of transport (the car & truck in particular) - dangers of CFC - ozone effects - coal & oil burning - acid rain - unleaded petrol.

c) Sewerage wastes - ineffectiveness of sea pipelines -lack of adequate treatment - other solutions? - recycling technology now available - fertiliser - oil.

d) Nuclear waste - Lucas Heights - use of sewerage system cleaning up nuclear power stations - USA & USSR, etc. - costs radio active wastes - transport.

e) Packaging wastes - overpackaging (fruits, vegetables, meats, etc.) - use of plastics and polyurethane - dangers of plastics - non-biodegradeable - dangers in rivers, oceans, beaches - new technologies availability.

f) Vegetable wastes - utilisation - mulching - soil improvement.

g) Garbage disposal - 90% recyclable - world problem

h) Recycling - glass, aluminium, other metals, cardboard, sewerage, vegetable matter, rags, cars - council collectors?

I) Energy wastage - electricity, gadgets, means increasing coal & oil burning - practising economics - Australia one of the highest energy users per capita in the world - forms of saving energy - insulation, house planning, solar power, wind & water power.

Conclusion - What's to be done?

The environment commission should follow up the July conference by examining these issues in detail & developing plans of action.

- developing public awareness & pressure on authorities.
- develop a plan for school education on the issues.
- obtain information on new world technologies.

CONCLUSION.

The central ecological concept is the inter-connectedness of all things. This is true of society as well as nature Radical change cannot be effected without being aware of both the barriers and opportunities provided by this fact. Foe example, our dependence on cars directly implies how we design our cities, which affects things from the ozone layer to individualism and isolation in modern urban living.

We should be aware, therefore, of how changes we hope to achieve will interact with each other. For example, there is a conflict between jobs and the environment, at least in the short term. The formation of a necessary alternative economic system will also mean a disruption to the existing system which will occur.

The only way to minimise such problems and deal with them is to acknowledge potential conflicts in our objectives and work to overcome them.

Transition.

Some key principles for thinking about action and change.

-Individuals can make a difference. Principles can be practiced in daily life such as recycling. influencing your union.

-Building alternatives: islands of the future in current society-co-operatives, political parties, communal living situations.

Utilise present structures. Establishment of a Bill of Rights, constitutional protection for the environment, reforming educational curricula.

The necessity of a broad approach. The goal of the New Left Party must be to involve and link the broadest range of people and concerns in the struggle for radical change. This involves rejection of sectarianism and a preoccupation with ideological purity. We must be prepared to learn as well as teach.

Education.

Environmental education is an essential part of the process of raising awareness.

Some basic principles to consider:

-Educational changes in industries such as the timber and mining industries with re-training in practical and fulfilling job areas.

-Development of positive links between the environmental groups and unions where both parties have input into the development of new directions and resources.

-Education at all levels of schooling about environmental hazards, dangers and past errors, with positive programs for future directions

-The involvement of people in the direct process of environmental reconstruction and management.

-Utilising the mass media as a potential major agent of environmental re-education.

-Re-educating people about appropriate consumption, and thinking consumption: how much of what I have do I really need?

-Provision of services available to communities for re-cycling waste etc. where people can feel directly involved in environmental reconstruction.

SYDNEY COMMISSION

INDUSTRY INTERVENTION AND ENVIRONMENT

Industry Intervention:

participation in planning, development and operations of industry at local, regional and national levels by unions, their members and the broader community in areas/issues from which they are usually excluded and where the corporate sector and market forces usually dominate.

Environment:

all aspects of natural and human ecosystems with reference to the impact of industrial development.

Community:

associations organised at the community level, including those organised around particular issues such as welfare, public transport, community development, lobby groups for women, the aged, disabled, etc. as well as locality organisations. (note: the redefined community is needed as many people do not have a strong identity with their local community but may be active within a community of interest. The implications of community as defined need elaboration regarding the stability, membership, accountability and broader functions.)

The term intervention also includes government intervention in the popular interest which is essential as a counter to the negative aspects of unfettered market forces.

Government intervention in industry/economic issues including industry planning and development is frequently necessary to give form to union and community intervention,.

ISSUES:

The concerns of this commission focus on the intervention of unions and communities and the links between the labor and environment movements. Issues to be addressed cross over into the subject matter of other commissions, e.g. economic and industry, democracy, social justice and an environmentally sustainable society. As the May 1989 Tasmanian election showed, the practical expression of these linkages creates new opportunities for economic, social and political change.

The common ground between the greens and the labor movement is readily identified:

* workers produce commodities that are harmful to the environment and to other workers as consumers;

* exposure to industrial pollutants, hazardous chemicals and toxic waste at work is common;

* in the medium and long term, job security depends on sustainable production, not merely access to natural resources, and

* industrial development must address issues of resource depletion, obsolescence and waste.

For trade unions and workers the issues find expression at a number of levels:

1. at the workplace on issues of health and safety, safe production systems, etc;

2. concerns at the industry level for long-term job security and employment generation through environmentally sustainable industrial development;

3. involvement at peak levels of the union movement in strategic issues with national and international implications;

4. rights of workers as consumers and citizens;

5. workers as environmental activists in areas not directly related to their workplace/industry concerns.

Community intervention also takes a number of forms:

1. through consumer organisations addressing prices and quality of goods and services (including welfare services, e.g. ACOSS);

2. through community organisations set up to provide community services to improve the quality of life, and

3. through community and resident action on issues of urban and industrial development, including transport systems, health, education and welfare generally.

For both unions and community organisations a central issue is the democratic right to participate in decision-making, directly and indirectly, on issues that affect the quality of life and the living environment; issues that reduce to questions of:

1. WHAT IS PRODUCED?: socially useful production of goods and services serving social needs within environmental constraints;

2. HOW IT IS PRODUCED?: what are the necessary inputs to production, how are work and production systems organised, the unwanted outputs such as waste, harmful by-products and pollutants;

3. WHO DECIDES?: issues of social and democratic accountability, and intervention on matters otherwise left to the corporate sector such as investment policy.

SUSTAINABILITY

When determining the type and degree of intervention in any resource-based industry, from tourism and agriculture through to manufacturing and transport, the guidelines will not be confined to an economic rationale or only to social, political or ideological determinants. The welfare and continued capacity of the environment to cope with industrial pressures must also be considered. Because of the fundamental importance of natural environments to the survival of the human species, those considerations must be given priority.

This can be achieved through the concept of sustainability. Sustainable resource use is characterised by the use of renewable natural resources in quantities and patterns that do not deplete the resources beyond their capacity to regenerate (or be regenerated) and at a rate that will permit continuous use. Resource use planned on this priority basis will not permit incidental waste or degradation of contiguous environments, e.g. river catchments, oceans and the atmosphere. Non-renewable resource would be subject to restricted supply for essential use only and recycling would be the first option for disposal of products at obsolescence. Deposit legislation and the creative application of excise and taxation powers should be employed to encourage sustainable uses and discourage the non-sustainable.

In its simplest expression, sustainable resource use requires a cautious and respectful awareness of the fragility and susceptibility of natural systems and of the necessity to conserve resources for future generations.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

The exploitation of natural resource must also address issues of the rights of indigenous people, particularly Australian Aborigines. Industry intervention strategy will need a developed position on sovereignty and land rights.

THE STATE OF AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY

Now, as 150 years ago, the relations in production are still those of exploiter and exploited. Private profit remains the driving force for production. This relationship and the false values that have grown from it lie at the heart of the ecological crises we face today.

What is produced is decided on the basis of what is profitable to the owners of capital rather than:

* the contribution to quality of life;

* the best possible use of available resources; or

* the impact of a particular industry on others, e.g. clear-felling and industrial pollution may cut off options in agriculture and tourism.

A major constraint on development of production systems designed to meet human needs is the massive power of multinational corporations.

Governments and parliaments, even given the will, are *of themselves*, not strong enough to resist multinationals. However, experience has shown that , given sufficient trade union support (active or passive0, mass movements can lead and support governments in the exercise of legal powers to curtail some of the worst acts of vandalism against the environment planned by capitalist corporations, e.g. the Wesley Vale chemical pulp mill planned for Northern Tasmania.

The growing mass movement around environmental concerns has helped bring critical shifts in public opinion on environmental issues. Combined with the movement for industrial democracy (including worker and union inputs to industry and economic planning), the growth of environmental awareness makes possible real challenges to the power of corporations.

The false dichotomy between jobs and environmental responsibility propagated by capitalist corporations and their minions, has served to divide society. It has provided cover for the devastating effects on employment by capitalist control of technological change.

THE CHALLENGE

The challenge for the New Left party is to promote an agenda for intervention and the means for effective action based on policies, strategies, approaches and values which meet a multiplicity of economic, social,cultural and ecological criteria.

A high priority in this process are industry and employment policies which can operate in a rapidly changing economic, social and political climate, and *do not depend on environmental destruction for their short-term viability.*

In Australian conditions, the existing provisions for tripartite industry planning should be expanded to include statutory rights for appropriate community groups to make an input. This would make it possible to identify and inject into industry/economic planning environmental considerations which (like social considerations) currently do not rate highly with the real planners.

ISSUES AND POLICIES

In terms of a vision for the future which can help guide immediate policies and action, emerging priorities include:

Production systems which

* are diverse, stable and environmentally safe;

* create a level of wealth capable of providing a decent quality of life and ensure equitable distribution of wealth to workers and the community;

* allocate adequate resources to industry and institution-based training and repeated retraining for all who desire it;

* provide the safest and best possible conditions for an educated and skilled workforce in control of work and organisation and planning;

* enable production planning by worker and consumer representatives, producers and communities in an appropriate open and democratic forum;

* produce quality goods and services as opposed to disposable and throw-away commodities;

* are oriented to quality of life and social benefit rather than consumerism and private profit;

* link agriculture to other industries in ways that emphasise soil conservation rather than machinery and chemicals which pollute and destroy the earth;

* depend on and continually develop technologies oriented to human development by encouraging initiatives, innovation and creativity and by ending unwanted toil and drudgery at work.

Industrial development of such character requires:

* increased resources devoted to the creation of a highly educated, diversely skilled populace and industry development policies centred on training and skill development;

* a commitment to education as a life-long process;

* convenient and flexible mass transport systems oriented to minimal environmental damage and maximum energy efficiency;

* multiple energy sources biased to non-polluting and renewable resources, appropriate to the task to be performed (cf Barry Commoner "Poverty of Power");

* quality, affordable housing accessible to all; health and welfare services that guarantee equality, access, community accountability and involvement;

* a large, efficient, democratically controlled public sector oriented to providing human services and involvement in wealth creation through co-operative ventures. (In contrast, much of the public service provides public resources to the private sector.)

Science and Technology: Possibilities and Pitfalls

New developments in science and technology have the potential to transform radically the way commodities are produced. The nature of change can be contradictory: while new processes may release chemicals of unknown toxicity, scientists' capacity to monitor pollutants is improving; while computerisation and automation is decimating jobs, new employment opportunities are created in the manufacture of quality goods in flexible production systems, and in the services to industry and community; while new work and management organisation demand skilled workers actively participating in the total production system, there are real dangers of the evolution of additional sub-classes of elite workers owing no allegiance to the working class as a whole.

Without strategic intervention by unions and communities, the outcomes are likely to be negative and divisive.

The scientific and technological revolution has elements in common with previous periods of rapid technological change, but the impact of the silicon chip and computers in production systems has introduced new variables: the capacity to automate can bring an end to hazardous and boring labour; the microchip revolution has dramatically reduced the demand for energy, and innovation in products and production systems have accelerated depreciation of industrial capital in a way previously only possible in times of war or massive depression.

In a strategic sense the key issue is the priorities for research and development. Without intervention the priorities will be determined by profitability and market opportunities. Overall, two tendencies are emerging: the reduction of the "living labour content" of commodities and a change in the composition of the working class, away from direct production and towards services including research and development and human services directed to improving quality of life.

Th New Left Party needs a developed policy on and approach to science and technology and its relationship to both education and production.

Specific issues include:

* the involvement of workers, unions and community organisations in determining priorities for R & D;

* the role of information technology and issues of control and access;

* the impact of flexible production systems, multi-skilling and new forms of work and management organisation;

* research into the production of goods and services which are socially useful and environmentally benign , including development of substitutes for presently polluting and disposable commodities, the promotion of preventive medicine, healthy diet and lifestyle;

* development of high productivity, *sustainable* agriculture without dependence on artificial fertilisers and pesticides;

* research into recycling, environmental protection, rehabilitation and restoration;

* research into issues related to the long-term sustainability of industry including but not confined to natural resource exploitation.

Worker control without broader community involvement is inadequate and, in the context of the current scientific and technological revolution, can lead to pursuit of sectional and elitist claims. On the other hand, the environment movement alone cannot address the fundamental cause of the issues it confronts.

(Tasmanian Commission)

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Social Justice Commission has proposed a three-part structure for discussion of social justice. The first (together with a report back and a discussion of this structure) would take place in the session from 11 am to 12.30 am on Saturday. The second in the workshops from 3.45 to 5.30 pm on Saturday. This could break up into smaller specific workshops. And the last in the time set aside for discussion of activities/campaigns.

1. **What do we mean by social justice?** There are two papers which are available for discussion. The first is a paper from the Social Justice Commission which looks mainly at how the understanding of social justice should be expanded well beyond the mere distribution of and access to the fruits of production. It stresses the recognition of diversity and political priorities required by a real concern with social justice. It argues that social justice is a central political struggle for the left. The second paper was prepared by the Bathurst group.

2. **The areas to which social justice must be applied.** Five broad areas have been identified. Within these there is a much larger number of specific areas of policy. While these necessarily overlap with many other commission areas,they are raised from the point of view of the application of principles of social justice. We would propose that each should be considered from two points of view. (i) An assessment of existing practices for their social justice implications (as a basis for immediate policy and campaign development) and (ii) considerations of socially just alternatives (as part of platform development). Some notes for discussion have been prepared in a number of these areas.

(i) **Wealth utilisation** - * environmentally sustainable and socially acceptable use of resources/wealth generation*investment policies*maldistribution of surplus wealth (after investment)*taxation...

(ii) **Income distribution** - *distribution through wages/wage justice* comparable worth*social distribution/universalism/selectivism/wage:income support mix/guaranteed minimum income*intra family distribution...

(iii)..**Access to and recognition of socially useful activity** - *paid employment*support and caring*domestic labour*childrearing*cultural activity ...

(iv)...**Social development** - *education/skill development*play*self-determination*opportunities for interaction...

(v)....**Access to quality of life** - *services*health*environment*housing ...

3. **Activity** (for members of a new party, with particular attention to health, welfare and community activists and workers) - We propose that this could be discussed in two parts (a) How can we work as party members in our areas of work/activism? (b) How can we act around social justice issues publicly as a party?

(a)

* support - linking around struggles with the right across different fields of work

* links - help set up links, e.g. between unions and community groups

* inside the party - work on structures of the party which allow us to (i) organise as a social justice group/branch; and (ii) introduce social justice issues into the work of other parts of the party working in other areas.

(b)

* community development - organise with people around their local problems in a way that is aware of exploitation and issues of democracy

* analysis/policy - constantly produce/facilitate the best left analysts of social justice issues

* recruiting in our sector

* a campaign in the party's name - PM's child poverty pledge? Tax? Housing?

WHAT IS SOCIAL JUSTICE?

DefinitionSocial justice is the social responsibility to provide an equal guarantee of the physical, psychological and social well-being of all members of our community.

A political struggle

It is one of the four basic freedoms which motivate our struggle and which are the benchmarks of any future society worth struggling for - freedom form imposed institutionalised authority, freedom from coercion, freedom from want and freedom from exploitation and alienation. Social justice is no vague description of a desirable society. It is one of the fundamental political struggles and central organising principle of any society we work for.

While the desire for these basic freedoms can be understood in many different ways, the left - and particularly the socialist left - has insisted that they can only be realised in a society based on equality and on social responsibility and a deep commitment to community. But more even than this, the distinguishing characteristic of the left is that these general goals are made concrete by analyses of society based on the recognition that the institutions of authority, the regimes of coercion, the practices through which we meet needs, the forms of exploitation and the experience of alienation are all based on, and reproduce, profound structures of subordination and domination. In none of our political struggles and social goals are the principles of equality, social responsibility, community and the elimination of subordination and domination so clear cut as in the struggle for social justice.

Social justice requires that all people have the opportunity for full participation in productive activity, and in social and personal decision making. It entails a responsibility to the future and to the rest of the world within the framework of an environmentally sustainable economy. Crucially, social justice is about recognising difference in human circumstances and overcoming any disadvantage in achieving the above which flows from these, whether they be the barriers of subordination, socially constructed differences or differences inherent in circumstance, physical function, life cycle, ability, or preference. The principle of social justice can be stated as the requirement that no one be disadvantaged because of their circumstances.

This is no small objective. It permeates all areas of social existence and activity. It requires an absolute recognition of the complex communities, circumstances, differences and barriers which determine and constrain needs in any society.

It is sometimes suggested that social justice can be limited to the distribution and access to the fruits of production - or more simplistically, to the elimination of poverty. In fact, social justice (like the other organising values of democracy, autonomy, civil rights, participation and social responsibility and community) is integral to all areas of human activity. It

is crucial to access to productive work just as much as it is to the distribution of income. It is central to an environmentally sustainable society since social responsibility extends to future generations too. It is crucial to ensure that all people can participate in activities which enhance their lives - including enjoying the natural world of which we are a part.

Social justice today

In the last couple of years Labor governments have taken up 'social justice' as a theme. This is an important development (even though we have a right to be cynical about some conversions to this goal). But there is also something contradictory about the way the discussion has gone. Those who developed 'social justice strategies' have done so in part to counteract an obsession with 'economic strategies'. Unfortunately, this can create the impression that social justice is different from economic goals. We reject this false dichotomy. "How," we ask, "can economists or governments say that the economy is 'doing well' unless they can show that it has produced an improvement in people's lives? What's more, unless it produces improvements in lives generally, not just for the rich and powerful, you can't call it an improvement." That is, social justice is the measure of economic wellbeing. The economy and social justice are part of the same concern with how we meet the needs of people.

Traditional left concerns

Yet traditional socialist concerns for justice focussed almost exclusively on justice (or rather lack of it) between those who own the means of production and those who don't - between workers and the bosses or the rich and ordinary working people. The 'needs' in question were (are?) seen to be the needs of the worker and are assumed to be relatively straightforward. This view has been challenged in recent years by the newly organised community welfare sector, which came into existence precisely because this picture is grossly inadequate. 'Needs' are much more varied and complex. There are income needs, social and emotional needs, the need for special measures to facilitate access to general services, and the need for special services.

If a society is to be responsible for meeting these, it must recognise that in all societies people will live in a variety of circumstances and that needs are socially created out of these circumstances. Socialists have always recognised the principle that needs are socially created, but now that well-established left principle must be applied both more broadly and more deeply.

A broader understanding of social justice

Many of the needs social justice must address today are familiar to the left - but many others have yet to find a place in a left consciousness. The two best established would be the age pension and the need for leisure for paid workers (the eight hour day struggle). Somehwere in the middle there is, at best, only a partial understanding of the need for separate provision for children. Of course, some of the benefits we have won have been won by the union movement - child endowment, or Family Allowance as it now is, is an example. However, this is linked partly to notions of male breadwinners, the 'family wage'', and to a growing a acceptance of the middle class notion of increased periods of child dependence. The left, it must be said, has a strong commitment to multiculturalism and the needs of cultural and language autonomy, as well as interpreter services and more specific issues like adjusting services such as meals on wheels to the dietary needs of different ethnic groups. But the labour movement as a whole has a pretty dismal record in these areas. Even among socialists and the left there seems little understanding of the general human need for sub-cultural identity - of the clothes and music of young people or of the too often disparaged 'inner-city trendies'.

If these are the half understood areas, what of the hard ones? It could not be said that traditional socialism or the labour movement have the slightest grip on the leisure needs of unpaid or part-time women workers. It could not be said that there is much understandng of issues of disability, or of sole parents. And, at the far end, while there is some commitment to environmentalism, it is usually couched in terms of planetary destruction at the hands of exploitative capital. There is no real sense - such as Blake

may have had at the beginning of British industrialisation - of the human need for natural environment.

At the end of this long, but very partial, list, two points need to be made. First, any political struggle for social justice (and, in a similar way, any social arrangements which deliver social justice) must take place within, and be controlled by, the variety of communities which have those needs. This is where the 'community sector' comes into its own as a model.

The second point is that social justice has quite a different meaning to that given to it by Labor governments today (one which the left and the labour movement also seem to find perfectly natural). This Labor version is that a just society is one in which no one need live in material poverty because of their circumstances. This is what is called a 'residualist' version of a principle of 'vertical equity'. (Vertical equity is the redistribution from those with greater income or wealth to those with less.) The left does want to resist the residual emphasis on poverty and place greater stress on more equal treatment for ordinary working people too; but it still focusses on distribution between the ruling class and others. A genuine social justice principle would stress what is known as 'horizontal equity'. It could be expressed as the principle that no one should be disadvantaged in any way by their circumstances.

A deeper understanding of social justice and a community-based model

This has huge consequences. It means that women should have the same access to income and services as men - which would mean a fundamental change in the allocation of paid work. The cost of children should be fully recognised so that those with children are not disadvantaged relative to those without. And so on - the examples are legion. Overall, public income distribution and specific services would have to play a dramatically larger role in the distribution of national income - something which is currently done mainly by wages. Even within a capitalist based society - or rather the mixed economy of social democracies - there would be a much greater role for public provision - a distribution of income and services outside existing areas of wage labour. A proper understanding of social justice means moving way beyond traditional concerns with wage justice and some of the forms of exploitation in the workplace, to a community-based approach to horizontal equity. Such a change must have major consequences for the structure of the economy.

A greater emphasis on public distribution is easy for socialists to come to terms with - particularly if it is emphasised that this is not the existing 'welfare state' which has attracted so much criticism from some socialists for both its bureaucracy and its demobilising effect on workers' struggles for fundamental change.

The community welfare model in fact rejects both bureaucratic service delivery and the 'safety net' welfare that provides capital with a flexible and docile workforce. It rejects the first in favour of community-based services and the second in favour of a fundamental reduction in the place of wage labour within the economy and hence is a major challenge to one form of capitalist power. It also has consequences for the way we think about public ownership as socialists Just as public provision must not be bureaucratic, but must be devolved to the communities concerned, a similar point can be made about both the management and approach to the market and consumers needed by publicly-owned enterprises.

A second point is much less clearly understood. It focuses again on what we mean by 'the economy' and hence how far what we have always understood by 'social control of the means of production' will take us towards a socialist economy. Socialist economics, as much as capitalist economics, continues to ignore the tremendous labour performed in the distribution and preparation of goods for consumption, in support and caring, in the infrastructure and servicing which is the hidden part of economic functioning. No useful sense of 'economic' - that is, a view of the economy in which the bottom line is the wellbeing and the living standards of people - could ignore this. But as we all know, that is just what happens left, right and centre.

Any attempts to measure this work clearly show that it is the major part of any economy. Some of it is paid, most of it is not - some is organised voluntary labour, most is invisible within the family - and, of course, it is

overwhelmingly performed by women. All of these points have been made by the women's movement - although the magnitude of the transformation of our economic arrangements required to make these services visible and equitable has not really been grasped by the socialist left. The community-based model of social implementing social justice can help to overcome this.

Over the past decade or two we have seen the beginning of a revolutionary process. This is the transformation of this kind of caring work from unpaid family-based labour into paid community-based work. The community welfare sector is where this is taking place - an industry which was for a decade or so the fastest growing in the economy. It is still very small (3%) of the economy, it is predominantly female, low paid and insecure. But it is the cutting edge of a transformation which must become the hallmark of any real socialist economy.

This also affects our understanding of the ownership of the means of production. First, a socialist transformation of the ownership and control of the means of production must also be a socialisation of domestic and social labour which is 'controlled' - often literally 'owned' - by the family and by the systematic division of paid and unpaid work (something which exists as much in capitalist and post-capitalist societies). Second, the community sector must become the model for social ownership of this huge area of producing social goods. Already it has carved out models of participation, responsiveness, respect for independence which link consumers, workers, the local community and the community at large.

If we are honestly interested in the process of transition to a society of social ownership and responsibility with a genuinely socialist understanding of the economy, if we are interested in real social justice, then the community sector is going to have to weigh heavy in our thoughts.

DISCUSSION NOTES ON AREAS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IMPLEMENTATION

1. Wealth utilisation

AREAS:

environmentally sustainable and socially acceptable use of resources/wealth generation

investment policies

maldistribution of surplus wealth (after investment)

taxation

It is important to recognise that the creation of wealth, investment policies, as well as maldistribution of personal wealth (and between nations) and both the equity of taxation and the amount of revenue needed are all social justice issues. Demographic changes such as ageing population will make revenue a more crucial issue in the near future.

Comments on each area are not available.

Income distribution

AREAS:

distribution through wages/wage justice/comparable worth

social distribution/universalism/selectivism/wage:income support mix/guaranteed minimum income

intra family distribution

SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES;

* The various systems used to distribute income should guarantee each individual both an adequate income and an equitable share in national income relative to other individuals.

* No one should be dependent for their income on another person.

* Adequacy of individual income will vary according to individual circumstances.

* Everyone must have access to both wage and income support, hence access to the workforce must be ensured. However structural barriers systematically disadvantage certain groups - women, Aborigines, young and older people, some migrant groups and people with disabilities. They are blocked both from participation in the workforce and from equal pay.

APPLICATION TO:

1. Wages/wage justice

* Income distribution through wages if grossly unequal. The top 20% earn 45% of income while the bottom 20% earn 4.8% - a ratio of more than 10 to 1. (The ratio between the top and bottom 10% is 15 to 1). The only OECD country to have a more unequal wage distribution than Australia is the US.

* Women, Aborigines and Indo-Chinese and young people are the lowest income earners. Women still earn only two-thirds of male wages

because of industry segmentation and the distribution of part-time work. Industry segmentation will only be broken down with the establishment of comparable worth principles. This should be a part of any award restructuring negotiations.

* The hidden economy, outwork, sweated labour, comprises around 10% of the economy. It is predominantly made up of migrant and women workers who receive almost no wage justice.

* If full employment means anything it must mean full access to properly paid work, including access to training, child care and other support - and that must include measures to ensure that women do not have to work a 'double day' at home and paid employment.

2. Social distribution

* A tightly targetted and selectivist system of income support current in Australia is both inefficient and assumes that a need for support is a temporary condition. Any longer periods of support as inevitably seen as an individual failing. The system is highly coercive and intrusive. It does not recognise that for long periods of people's lives the labour market will be incapable of meeting the full income needs of individuals.

* The present income support system is based on patriarchal assumptions of dependence and the value of domestic and caring work. This applies both to its own payments to married couples and those in de facto relationships, and to its continued insistence that women be dependent on a male 'family wage'. Some recent changes have begun to erode this notion, although it is still firmly entrenched. Others, such as the recent changes to maintenance payments have further entrenched it.

* Universalist payments are to be preferred as they represent a social responsibility to meet the needs arising out of different circumstances as a right of citizenship.

* In general it will be necessary to distribute income through a mix of wage and income support. Some proposals from the social security review have included a greater mix of paid work and income support in certain circumstances. They have particularly done this for the transition into paid employment; and have linked income support to labour market programs and wages policy. Another proposal is to introduce a Guaranteed Minimum Income. Considerable discussion will be needed to choose between these two models.

3. Intra-family distribution

* More than half the population receives its income from sources outside of the labour market. Traditionally this was achieved mainly within the family. Recently, family dependence has declined dramatically. However, it remains true that intra-family dependence is the most exploitative and inequitable form of distribution that exists. Dependent women and children do not receive a fair (or adequate) share of the income earned by male workers, while the male worker's disposable income is dramatically increased by the unpaid domestic labour performed by a dependent spouse or by children.

* How domestic labour is recognised is a vital part of the problem of socially just income distribution. It may be recognised by personal valuation, paid domestic labour, replacement with socially provided services with a redistribution of labour. (This should be considered under socially

useful activity.) Income equity is not the only social justice issue at stake, however. The issue must be considered as a question of how particular experiences will be changed, and from the point of view of providing real choice.

3. Access to and recognition of socially useful activity

AREAS:

paid employment

support and caring

domestic labour

childrearing

cultural activity

No notes are available on these

4. Social Development

AREAS:

education/skill development

play

opportunity for interaction

self-determination

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

* awareness and recognition of differences

* recognition of those differences and the needs that each person must have fulfilled to achieve a state/sense of wholeness, that is, a sense of self which incorporates the idea that the self is not separate from, but connected to a community.

APPLICATION TO:

1. Education and skill development

* Education is not primarily for the purpose of producing skilled people for the marketplace or state, although specific training, retraining or multiskilling are necessary and (if properly targetted at socially useful work) play a valuable role in meeting social objectives and personal needs.

* Rather, education is primarily for the enhancement and development of a person's capabilities, both for their own pleasure and so that they have more to contribute to the social body and its wellbeing.

* The type of skills that people could develop through this style of education would mean that many socially useful activities could be revalued. At the same time, access to skills necessary for employment would be a matter of personal assessment not market objectives.

* The present education system is patriarchal and as such aims at developing masculine characteristics and masculine skills and ways of thinking. It does not value or recognise female skills or ways of thinking. An education system based on social justice must develop a broader and non-gender biased method of education. The same point must also be made of race and ethnicity.

2. Play

* Keeping in mind that play needs to be redefined, it should be seen as an integral part of human development and not seen as a diversion or as merely/only recreational.

* Play is essential for people of all ages and not just the young or the innocent.

* Play creates the foundation for social interaction and thus is the foundation for creating well-balanced human beings.

* How, then does society benefit from people who have these opportunities for interaction?

3. Opportunities for Social Interaction

* If a society had socially useful employment this would create more opportunities for interaction that was beneficial to human beings.

* If structural discrimination was removed/challenged/broken down then women, Aborigines, ethnic groups, physically and intellectually disabled people and youth groups would have equal opportunities to participate in society.

4. Self-determination

* incorporates the idea that each person has individual and unique needs and therefore should be allowed to determine how those needs are to be fulfilled with the recognition that this should not produce any lesser access to self-determination for others.

Further thoughts

How would a society based on principles of social justice deal with or react to people who contravene those principles? What is the place of the concept of crime and the 'criminal' in such a society?

5. Access to Quality of Life

SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES:

* No one should be disadvantaged because of their circumstances.

* The recognition that circumstances and needs vary greatly.

* The acceptance that it is a social responsibility to meet those different needs to produce equal access to quality of life outcomes.

* The recognition that there are (a) institutional barriers to such access, and (b) that there are inadequate structures of social provision to overcome individual or group disadvantage.

* There should be no barriers of access to social provision/services designed to provide improved quality of life.

* Control and determination of the adequacy of provision should lie with the relevant community - participation.

AREAS:

1. Services

* Services encompass generalist welfare services, health services, appropriate housing services and transport services (see also education and play in 4 - social development).

* All services should be free. An while they should involve community participation, must not be based on voluntary (overwhelmingly female) labour.

* The provisions of services such as transport and housing must entail just as much awareness of environmental sustainability as must resource development.

* Services must be flexible, appropriate, accountable to local communities and be provided regardless of a person's age, gender, sexual preference, marital status, race, ethnicity or disability (including psychiatric disability).

* The process of determining what service should be provided should be undertaken by local communities or by communities of users. But to do this such communities must be properly resourced. The structure of relationships between the state and community in the provision of services is a central model for participatory democracy everywhere.

* Participation by actual and potential users in development, management and accountability must be a right. But such participation must not be a condition of access.

2. Environment

* The immediate environment in which we live is essential to our quality of life. Access to control over this environment is a fundamental issue of social justice. Local communities must have control of the quality of their immediate environment (particularly urban environments).

However, this local control must also be responsible for future generations and be responsible for the preservation, for future generations, of past histories.

* The natural environment is also crucial to our quality of life. Recently attention has been focused on the destruction of (on our consequent lack of access to) basic environmental resources such as clean air, an ozone layer, soil erosion. Social justice demands that the entire population, not individual countries, corporations or people, control and preserve these resources. However, there is an equal responsibility that the whole population take full responsibility for the cost to individual or nations of this preservation.

* But the preservation of the natural world is fundamental to our quality of life in another way. Human beings are also natural beings. Each act of destruction of the natural world and of other species further alienates every human being. Access to the natural world is a fundamental human right. Ensuring access for future generations is an absolute responsibility.

3. **Self-determination** (see 4 - social development - above)

4. **Access to all the cultural and productive activities** of the community is also basic to quality of life.

(Sydney Commission)

Need for caution

My feeling about the name at this stage is that, while our program should be socialist - in all its various dimensions - we would be best to avoid that label in the naming of the party. It conjures up too many negative images for many otherwise progressive Australian people; and the recent events in China are obviously a major problem too for any organisation which may be held - rightly or wrongly - to be based on a similar ideology and practice. By contrast, terms like environmental, community and progressive have more widespread appeal. I don't have a clear solution to this problem, but I thought I would set out these concerns on paper. In the absence of any better suggestion it may be wisest to continue operating under the general label New Left Party.

by Frank Stilwell

Some suggestions from Sydney about the name of the Party

New Left Party
New Left Greens
The Advance Party
The Challenge Party
Working Class People's Party
New Socialist Party
The Democratic Alternative
Socialist Unity Party
Green Left Action
Left Party for New Democracy
Workers' Unity Party
Left Party
Progress Party
New Directions Party
Australian People's Party
New Labour Party (from Illawarra)

THE NEW BROOM

Mrs. Queensland: "It is not the one I would like, but it's the best I could get."

Environment Statement

The ecological crisis is one of humanity's greatest threats - and our greatest opportunity.

The dramatic restructuring that it will force could result in a society that is both liberating and sustainable. But it could also usher in an authoritarian eco-fascism.

This paper is a first small step in developing the ideas and alternatives that can help bring about the former.

The New Left Party envisages a society and a world based on the following core principles:

1. Sustainability - All human activities must be sustainable. That requires a fundamental change in our economic systems and our relationship to nature.

2. Social Equality - All people should be able to meet their basic material, cultural and emotional needs. This means the elimination of racism, class, patriarchy and all other structures and beliefs which oppress and divide people.

3. Real Democracy - We are committed to an ongoing democratisation of society until workers control their workplaces, communities control their development and the people control the institutions established to serve them.

4. Fulfillment - We intend to build a world where people are encouraged to develop and express their capacity for creativity and co-operation in their work, leisure and relationships.

A sustainable democracy would also emphasise decentralisation and self-reliance. Political power, economic production and the creation of culture would be developed in workplaces, communities and homes. This would maximise people's control over their lives, minimise resource expensive infrastructure and build community.

However, national and international planning and co-ordination would still be necessary to ensure broad equality, facilitate cultural and intellectual exchange and deal with common problems.

THE SUSTAINABLE ALTERNATIVE

The numerous and interlinked ecological threats which confront the earth can only be solved if there is rapid progress in developing a sustainable culture. This would include the following:

* Effective Wilderness and Nature Conservation
* Aesthetic and sustainable urban environments
* Energy efficient technology and renewable energy sources
* Recycling and minimising wasteful production and consumption
* Sustainable agriculture, fishing and forestry
* A stable, possibly reduced world population
* Genetic diversity
* Natural and biodegradable chemicals and compounds

These changes will be achieved through a variety of measures including education, research, new technology, consumer boycotts and government action. However, measures like these will only be taken if there is well organised popular pressure. We cannot rely on the benevolence or intellegence of government or business.

LINKS BETWEEN ISSUES

The central insight of ecology is the interconnectedness of all things. This is true of society as will as nature and we can't achieve radical change unless we are aware of both the barriers and the opportunities this provides.

For example, our dependence on private cars effects how we design sities, the land available for housing, the greenhouse effect and the individualism and isolation of modern life. Other examples are the relationship between the development of harmful technology and the lack of corporate accountability, and how the exploitation of the third world leads to the destruction of rainforests.

This interconnectedness means that a campaign on any front has the potential to involve the broad range of people and organisations. However it is equally likely that any campaign will produce a broad alliance of opposing vested interests.

DILEMMAS OF CHANGE

The New Left Party must be open enough to admit the tensions between some of its objectives. For example, it will be difficult, at least in the short term, to achieve a sustainable economy and maintain full employment. Some sectors (e.g. public transport) will expand and shorter working week will help, but we cannot pretend that measurs like these will solve all our problems.

The increase in home production that greater self-reliance implies could also increase pressure on women to remain in their traditional roles of cook, cleaner and recycler. There will also be problems in balancing individual freedoms with the need to develop a more communal society and take rapid action on the ecological crisis. The only way to deal with contradictions like these is to work with the people most affected by them, to minimise their impact and develop alternatives.

TRANSITION

This is always the hard part. However there are several key principles on which we can base our thinking and action for change.

1. Individual can make a diference. We encourage individuals to practice their principles in their daily lives, work and political activities.

2. Building alternatives. We must build outposts of the future in our current society. These include co-operatives, political parties, communal living situations and community enterprises.

3. Utilise present structures. There is progressive potential in most existing structures that we can build on. Eg. constitutional protection for the environment, reforming educational curricula etc.

4. A Broad approach. A New Left Party must always involve the broadest possible range of people and organisations in the struggle for change. Building links between unions and environmentalists is a crucial aspect of this, but we must also work with groups that the left has traditionally ignored (eg. churches).

5. The dual nature of change. Our political action must be based on the recognition that any development has both radical and conservative potential. For example, the current wave of interest in recycling could be used to divert tension from the real causes of the environmental crisis, or it could be a starting point for critical questioning of our economic system

Labour Movement Commission

1. If we take the main problems facing the labour movement as seen by the left, (wages, rights, membership, mobilisation, burea-cracy, patriarchy, economism) and compare these with the official view of the movement itself, (relevance, influence, responsibil-ity, social standing) the two do not sit well together.

2. As this arises from different strategic and philosophical as-sumptions about the role of the movement, the left has to observe that it has failed to get its view across; it has been largely contained by the right wing ideology of the Accord as the corporatist leadership has defined it, any interventionist edge has been blunted beyond recognition in the interests of labor in office.

3. Successful as this containment has been, the likely development of the economic situation in the next year will lead to great pressure on Labor governemnts to follow the forces they have unleashed and fostered by deregulation and privatisation. The main target of these forces will be the organised labour movement and the various institutional and legislative arrangemets which have been established to protect the employment rights and working conditions of trade unionists.

4. The response of the federal labor government to the problems confronting the Australian economy arising from the global restruturing of international capital has been to embrace market based solutions. Privatisation and the drive for small government has undermined working class living standards. Deregulation, particularly of the financial sector, has produced low levels of productive investment with no effective planning, co-ordination, or control over the operations of the economy.

5. Increasing reliance on market forces in shaping our economic and social future is producing greater pressure to deregulate and restructure the labour market. Trade unions are being forced to deal with a number of issues including changes to industrial relations systems; wage fixation principles; award restructuring; and trade union amalgamation, which are directly connected to these pressures.

6. In the context of the broader policy elements detailed below the trade union movement must develop policies concerning these issues which have the capacity to overcome some of the main problems facing the labour movement already referred to.

7. The trade union movement is an essential component of the forces dedicated to a democratic and collectivist solution to our economic and social problems. In particular the New Left Party process needs to articulate policies in relation to the two issues of award restructuring and trade union amalgamation which draw on this democratic and collectivist approach and which facilitates the organisational and political renewal of the trade union movement necessary to successfully challenge reactionary forces.

Elements of such policy would include for award restructur-ing:

* restructuring on an award or industry basis as opposed to enterprise or company based;
* maintenace of uniform standards in relation to wages and conditions;
* significant wage increases for lower paid workers;
* creation of career paths in an industry related to training and skill acquistion leading to better paid jobs and greater work satisfac-tion;
* removal of all discriminatory provisions and simplification of awards;

* paid training in working time to be based on national systems of accreditation where skills are transferrable;
* payment for skills acquired;
* broadening workers responsibilty and control over work.

and for trade union amalgamation:

* democratic organisations and structures primarily industry based where ultimate control is vested in rank and file member-ship through open and participatory processes;
* concentration of resources to enable better services to member-ship around a broader range of issues (eg. health and safety, trade union education etc.);
* increased capacity to intervene in a range of economic and social policy issues (eg. health, taxation, education, industry policy, etc.);
* develop allainces with other progressive social forces (eg. environmental movement, community groups) an increased commitment to international trade union solidarity work.

8. The pressures caused by this international restructuring and the drive for privatisation and deregulation will be orchestrated by conservative governments (of whatever title) in the name of Australia's "national interests" and "survival". It is imperative that the Left prepares itself with an alternative policy based on measures which intervene against the direction of the system and which link with a socialist future. Unless this is undertaken, the prospect for most Australians is bleak. The Left should be repre-senting the vast majority against the speculators and finaciers, so that when the debts are called in a real debate can occur which goes to fundamental issues of ownership and control. That could become the basis for a real struggle about the direction for the next century.

9. What sort of policies should be proposed for such a programme? Frank Stilwell's book, The Accord and Beyond, (Pluto, 1987) puts forward a "transitional programme" and the ideas sketched here draw largely from his work. (As Frank is a NLP sponsor he shouldn't mind a little plagiarism). He calls the policies "bridge-heads" to socialism which take aspects of the Accord and turn them into a challenge which is democratic instead of the "top-down" approach which the Accord took. The following are put down as suggested elements:

• **A DEVELOPMENT POLICY** which draws on the indigenous capital base to modernise industry and services, to increase and rationalise public ownership and to put development under demo-cratic control to ensure environmentally desirable development, which maximises equity and affirmative action on the basis of race and gender, and which involves working class communities and workplaces themselves. Development funds drawing on savings and superannuation and backed by government which meet these criteria.

• **INCREASED SOCIAL WAGE SPENDING,** particularly that which provides employment and meets social needs. e.g. in housing, education, transport and social services.

• **REREGULATION OF FINANCE** to win sovereignty over the economy instead of giving it to finance capital and the speculators.

• **PLANNED TRADE** using selective import controls to reduce the bleeding due to adverse trade balance, especially on luxury and undesirable imports such as road freight equipment.

• **BROAD-BASED INCOMES POLICY,** recognising that there

is no future in a wages free-for-all which increases inequity parallel to the strengths and weaknesses of the market but which regulates all incomes including executive and professionals, dividends and interest, wages and salaries and social wage incomes on the basis of increasing equity.

• **PRICE CONTROL,** particularly over monopolies.

• **PROGRESSIVE TAX REFORM**

• **EDUCATION & TRAINING,** to equip the workforce with contemporary skills which are nationally accredited and portable and which develop capacities for industrial democracy and workplace management.

• **SELECTIVE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP**

• **INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**

• **NATIONAL & REGIONAL PLANNING**

10. These ideas are not in themselves a full socialist program, however they are not those of business or the major parties either and they will be bitterly opposed. They look towards a democratic and sustainable socialism and seek to popularise issues through campaigns which educate and involve rank and file activists in workplaces and communities. This is achieved through immediate issues which link to a broader social vision, one which in the context of Australia's current direction and power structure could only be described as "radical."

11. The Left needs such a distinctive and independent vision if it is to draw support in the coming years. The NLP needs to develop such a program so that at its foundation it stands to offer hard-headed proposals for the major issues facing Australia.

Letters

Housing breaks new ground

It was pleasing to see Colin Jones' article on the housing crisis, which stressed the need for the NLP to formulate comprehensive policies in this area.

However, the lead paragraph suggested a need to focus on "public [housing] versus private home ownership". This is just the sort of conventional wisdom we need to challange.

The real question is overall housing equity, regardless of tenure. Support for a vigorous social housing sector is not incompatable with supporting home purchasers. Our focus should be on economic structures which benefit the rich at the expense of the rest of the community. For instance, tax lurks such as the exemption of owner-occupied housing from capital gains tax, and negative gearing, favour wealthy home owners over struggling home purchasers, landlords over tenants, and marginalise public housing all the more.

The potential exists for the NLP to adopt housing policies which move beyond a fixation with interest rates, and attempt to unite a range of housing consumers who have to date seen their interests as separate, or even opposed. If the NLP can do this, we will be breaking new political ground.

Simon Rosenberg
Sydney

New politics not just a new party

Agreeing with you contention that the name of the new party is a matter of importance I read the submission on the matter in the July Comet with great interest and admiration.

I'm inclined to think that the emphasis of our endeavours should be seen plainly as new politics, rather than new party, and that this should be evident in our name. This is achieved, I think, by using "New Left" - so I'd support "New Left Party". There is room for socialist, feminist, anti-racist, green ... concerns to sit comfortably under this name in the unity that our new politics seeks.

Colin Scott.
Melbourne

Learn from Rosa!

While I applaud the aims and aspirations (for the New Left) in the letter from L Blundell. I can see from the outset the same mistakes being made that have haunted the Left since the first 'radical party' was organized. That is that people tend to change the social conditions without giving the same amount of support of the political superstructure. This was the fatal mistake of the German Social Democrats in the post W.W. I era when the left became enamoured of the system - (except for a very few) and became part of that bourgeoise systen instead of (as Rosa Luxemburg advised) keeping the 'goal' of 'revolution hand-in-hand with the laudable aim of social advancement.

If these dual aims are not perceived to be of equal importance the 'left' will once again fail; as Blundell rightly suggested that as the influx of opportunists in the Labor Party has changed its aims and ideals, there could also be an influx of these same opportunists in the New Left.

The New Left Party should produce a 'party' (although I hate the word) platform which should state clearly that not only social justice is on the agenda, but also real political change.

Ms S Miller
Sydney.

Admirable ideas & poetic concepts

A letter in the July Comet by Chris Cathie attempted to evoke ill will against Marian Aveling's contribution (May 1989) which questioned whether Rainbow Alliance had any real content beyond admirable ideas and poetic concepts. When I read Rainbow ideology I truely feel like I am being swept away with a whole lot of meaningless verbiage, platitudes, and holier-than-thou conciousness-mongering.

Chris Cathie's reply to Ms Aveling illustrated the type of moral blackmail ('you must do this or else resemble the Old Left') that often eminates from holier-than-thou postures. Chris Cathie would have more impact by providing the missing link between Rainbow ideology and Australian mass society. Instead we got only and opportunist attempt at attacking the author not the issue. Any "pollie" can quickly drum up quibbles such as those resorted to by Chris Cathie.

There are, I'm sure, quite strong arguments underlying Rainbow ideology but Rainbow Alliance needs to present real argument and not attempt to seduce activists with a litany of abstract nouns, platitudes and utopian speculations.

Christopher Warren.

Political Strategies

This paper is intended to initiate discussion amongst those interested in contributing to the commission on strategies for a New Left Party. It has been prepared following a brief discussion held at a General Meeting of participants in Melbourne on July 2.

1. GENERAL

The Time To Act Statement sets out in general terms a broad approach that a new party should take to achieve its aims. It says, in part;

"the New party would work in broad alliances with all those who agree with these aims [the principles outlined in the Statement] and would support all movements and demands consistent with them....."

"the Party will value all gains and reforms which are in accord with its basic aims. It will develop and act for realistic reform programmes which address immediate needs and significantly redress inequalities of wealth, power and opportunity. The Party will see such reforms as also laying the basis for the more far-reaching changes which the Party would promote..."

"Consitent with its basic aims, the Party's strategy would focus on promoting intervention by workers and other popular forces in all the issues of the day, with the aim of expanding working peoples control over their own lives in the workplace, community and home, and in national political affairs."

This broad approach needs to be expanded upon to provide more detailed proposals about how the Party would seek to achieve its aims.

Strategies for working in specific priority areas - eg. Aboriginal rights, women's rights, the labour movement, the whole range of environmental concerns - will need to be worked out on the basis of specific policies developed around these issues. This paper attempts to set out some general principles for activities, and to generate discussion and debate around some key points.

2. INTERVENTIONISM AND MOVEMENTS

The New Left Party should actively seek to promote intervention by progressive movements and forces in the day-to-day struggles and campaigns that work towards its aims.

The Party should seek to attract to its ranks activists who are involved in progressive movements. The Party should work through these activists to promote its ideas and policies within movements, but at all times should respect the autonomy of those movements. Alliances and coalitions should be formed with other organisations and individuals who are working around particular issues or campaigns.

In the short term it is likely that the new party would more resemble an "umbrella-type" organisation, seeking to co-ordinate and assist the activities of people involved in different areas of work, than a party in the traditional sense.

3. ELECTIONS

The question of the Party's approach to elections will be crucial during its early days, as it attempts to "map out" its political ground and agenda. A federal election will occur some time in 1990. This election looks like being a watershed in Australian politics, with the strong possibility that the ALP has sufficiently alienated enough of its traditional support base to enable a conservative win, with disastrous consequences for the majority of Australians. Added to this is the relatively new dimension of environmental issues having become "main stream" over the last year or so, and the oportunities opened up by this for progressive groups to intervene around these concerns.

Both state and federal elections over the last few years have seen the rise of large numbers of "independent" candidates and movements that have attracted significant degrees of support in different areas. While the main stated aim of the new party is not electoralist, a realistic analysis of the political situation leads one to the conclusion that a new left party must seriously participate in the Australian electoral process at some stage, to be able to intervene at the parliamentary level. Elections will provide an opportunity for the new party to publicise its policies and aims and to clearly state how it is different from existing parties.

Ideally the new party should be able to gradually build a solid base of grass roots support before embarking on this course. However, the next election will occur will before this, and the party will need to quickly determine an approach. The election will provide the new party with an opportunity to at least establish a presence, and there will almost certainly be pressure on the new party to participate in some meaningful way in that election by those people both within and outside the party who will find it difficult to vote for the ALP.

The level at which the new party participates in the next federal election will require tactical decisions to be made at the time, governed by when the election is, at what staage the development of the the party has reached, etc. Options include:

* **the party standing candidates in its own right;**
* **the party entering alliances/coalitions with other progressive forces to support particular candidates;**
* **the party supporting progressive independent candidates in any way possible;**

The new party's approach to state elections should be similar to the above.

4 .THE ALP

The new party needs to quickly determine a strategic approach in its attitude to and relationship with the ALP.

Progressive elements with the ALP should be supported as much as possible in their struggle to reverse the dominant rightward trends with that party. The new party should state explicitly that it sees the progressive forces within the ALP as being an important part of the broad progressive movement, and that their position within the ALP will be strengthened by cohesive progressive forces outside of the ALP.

Certainly in the short term the new party must support the election of ALP governments in state and federal elections, but take a constructive critical approach, using these opportunities to pressure the ALP to adopt progressive policies where appropriate. However, this should not be at the expense of maintaining an independent approach.

If a new party is serious about becoming a major force for radical social change in Australia then its long term vision should include seeing itself as seriously challenging the existing major parties at all levels and in all forums, including parliaments.

5. LOCAL COMMUNITY INVOLVE-MENT

The majority of Australians are alienated, either consciously or unconsciously, from both formal and informal political processes. The key area that has seen people empowered to have some say or control over their day-to-day lives has been at the local community level.

Community interest groups, resident action groups, and a plethora of other specific interest groups around many different issues have enabled people to come together to organise themselves around political, social and cultural aspects of their lives. This has led to, more recently, the advent of local groups of all types participating in local government politics, seeing this level of the political process as an avenue for gaining some control over institutions that have a direct effect on their immediate lives.

It is important that the new party devotes a large part of its resources to intervene in this area of activity. Being involved in issues that ordinary people see as important to them in a community sense provides many opportunities to promote broader perspectives about the fundamental nature of this society, and strategies for achieving greater social justice and equity.

It is at this "tier" of government that the new party is most likely to gain support in the short term in elections, either in its own name or as part of broad coalitions or alliances.

Students gathering force

Students in Sydney interested in the New Party have been meeting regularly over the last couple of months, and attempting to prepare for the Launching Conference.

We would like to meet on the Sunday morning of the Conference from 9-10.30 am with any or all students in the New Left Party process who are interested.

The questions we came up with as possible discussion points are listed:
1/ What value can we as students add to the process of working for social change through the NLP?
2/ Should we organise as students?
3/ Is there enough interest to sustain a student organisation?
4/ Would a higher education commission be a more useful forum for students and others?

If people are interested in coming to this meeting could they please contact the Sydney office of Frege Job on (02) 360 5340 H or (02) 267 7525 W. Leave a message if unavailable.

. . . and on a serious note

Suggested names for the Party (not entirely attributable to the Student Group).

The Party
The Slumber Party (Wake Up Australia)
Big Hawkie's Party (BHP)
Put them Up Against the Wall Party
Death Agony of International Capital Party
True Reds of Today (TROT)
Tremble in Your Boots Capo Dogs Party
Pushing Shit Up Hill Party
Recycled Australian Socialists Trying Again (RASTA)
Really Active Party, Honestly
Great Australian Socialist Party (GASP - Last chance Australia)
Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard Party (RSVP)
Party of Wild Abandon (POWA)

Culture & Art

1. Preamble: Cultural Rights

Cultural rights are an inextricable component of human rights. This principle is theoretically enshrined in such international instruments as *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)* and *The Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (1966)* as well as in the Act establishing the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (1986) in Australia. In all of these, a fundamental, albeit general, relationship is established between the values of culture, broadly defined, and certain inalienable rights, dignities and freedoms. Central to the logic of these declarations is the important recognition that culture has played a key role in the formation of national democratic citizenries. It is important also to recognise that culture has played a similar role in the reproduction of the inequalities and forms of distinction and classification which have historically characterised those citizenries, and as such has frequently been an arena of political conflict.

The aim of a national cultural policy, therefore, should be to address these realities, to give specific substance to the general principles and to augment them, where necessary and appropriate, by particular local and national policy initiatives. Recognising that culture is not peripheral to social and political life but central to the formation of attitudes, tastes, dispositions, lifestyles and what may be generally designated as "political cultures", the issues and areas enumerated below are an attempt to address, albeit in preliminary form, the key components and orientations of a national cultural policy.

It is in the nature of a cultural policy, given the above definitions and ambit, to overlap with other distinct areas of policy-formation. These will include, for example, education, the economy, the environment and the National Estate, human rights and equal opportunities, Aboriginal affairs, multiculturalism, tourism and urban planning, law reform and, not least, the Constitution's framing of the rights and duties of citizens. While not laying claims to central prerogatives in any of these areas. The aim is to establish and underscore significant points of co-ordination between them.

Points for Further Discussion

A number of points for additional attention were raised here, including:

(a) the social consequences of architectural forms;

(b) culture and the law, including ownership of intellectual property, legal rights of cultural workers in their own work;

(c) the links between government economic objectives and culture, e.g. "productive culture", also the place of arts, culture and education in national priorities.

2. Aims and Objectives

The general aims of a national cultural policy should be directed towards the following objectives:

2.1 An enhancement of the quality of life through a democratisation of access to and participation in national and, where appropriate, international cultural resources.

2.2. A positive and realistic assessment of the role that culture - defined broadly as a "way of life" and including public and private institutional forms of provision as well as individual, community, regional and ethnic tastes and preferences in leisure activities and lifestyle orientations - plays in the formation of social and political attitudes and identities. A cultural policy includes, but is much broader than, an arts policy. In the Australian context, such a policy will need to be sensitive to and capable of enhancing the profiles of the activities, traditions and institutions which characterise a multicultural society.

2.3 A balanced approach to both the "production" and "consumption" aspects of culture, recognising the need to break down rigid distinctions between the two by stressing an active, participatory concept of consumption, and noting that culture is overwhelmingly more consumed than it is produced.

The "production" aspect includes equitable access to the educational, material and financial resources needed to play a full role in cultural life. This includes access to basic rights such as literacy and language training as well as access to the more specific resources required in, for example, musical, literary and visual art production. Popularly produced culture could be extended through media and community arts centres.

The "consumption" aspect includes, for example, the right to adequate and effective mechanisms of public response to the print and electronic media in relation to content, social stereotypes (such as those of race and gender) and quality, particularly in advertising. This component of the policy will seek to empower, in appropriate forms, the "consumers" of culture by enshrining the principle that consumption is an active and not passive aspect of lifestyle and self and community definition, and by reducing the distinction between the "production" and "consumption" aspects, for example, through Art in Working Life programs.

2.4 A realistic and effective appraisal of the economics and management of cultural resources including such areas as media ownership and control, pricing policies in leisure venues, the infrastructure of Australian publishing, heritage management, library policy and sporting activities.

Points for Further Discussion

Considerable discussion occurred on the issue of Aboriginal culture and heritage, the main points of which included:

(a) Aboriginal conceptions of culture and heritage are different from, and possibly incompatible with, Anglo-Saxon conceptions.

(b) Aboriginal culture and heritage should be controlled and managed by Aboriginal community, but not isolated from a general policy, for example Aborigines require access to Australian culture, especially in its relationship to the law.

(c) Further discussion and consultation with Aboriginal groups was required, e.g. through FAIRA in Brisbane.

(d) We should acknowledge the existence of two cultural traditions - indigenous and non-indigenous. A crude view of multiculturalism often results in Aboriginal culture (and other concerns) being lumped with recent immigrant cultures. Aboriginal sovereignty is an issue distinct from "multicultural" concerns.

3. Ambit

The ambit of a national cultural policy continues, but is not exhausted by, the following areas of cultural activity:

3.1 **Arts policy:** including the "high arts" of the dominant Anglo-European culture, the traditions of indigenous peoples now defined as art, the folk art traditions of ethnic sub-cultures and community arts. Enhanced access to, participation in and public education in these various activities will be central to the formulation of a cultural policy. This includes appropriate and equitable resource allocation (e.g. remedying government funding biases towards "high arts" rather than popular/community forms) as well as, where necessary, appropriate forms of training in the social meaning and significance of such forms.

Policy prescriptions for the content and political orientation of cultural forms have no role to play in the formulation of an arts policy. Where content offends by virtue of racism, sexism or promotions of anti-human values this is a matter not for an arts policy as such but, rather, for appropriate forms of response from individuals or organisations of consumers or producers of culture either through legal channels or through agencies established to legitimately monitor and pressurise the institutions of cultural production.

Enabling provisions and legislation will need to be established in order to challenge current commercial monopolies in many areas of cultural production oriented to the mass market such as popular music, television and film production. This will not entail a "nationalisation" of the means of cultural production but rather constraints on the market mechanisms which allow such forms to become monopolised or unduly concentrated,

encouragement of appropriate forms of consumer response, and provision of resources and other measures to enable greater participation in cultural production.

Public access to artistic consumption should be enhanced through more equitable pricing policies and consumer subsidies for performance venues, and decentralised provision of venues (though it is noted that there is already a substantial provision of regional centres).

Point for Further Discussion

It was suggested that we also need to look at ways of exposing Australia to other forms from overseas. Possibly a government instrumentality should be established to encourage this, rather than private promoters.

3.2 Heritage Management: including museum and art gallery policy, the maintenance and management of Aboriginal and other material cultures, appropriate preservation of the built and natural environments. As keepers of the "national past" and providers of key definitions of culture, museums and art galleries occupy a central position in the cultural field. A policy in this area would be concerned with the forms of access to them, appropriate public information and education about them, the nature of their organisation and management, and their principles of cultural selection are often narrow and need to be reassessed. The built and natural environments are no less an indicator of national heritage and, in this role, form part of a national cultural policy. This is not, of course, an ambit claim for all aspects of policy formation concerned with urban planning and the environment.

A special emphasis will need to be established, institutionalised and co-ordinated with other appropriate agencies for the maintenance, preservation and, in some cases, recovery of Aboriginal culture in both material and non-material forms. Special policies will need to be formulated which are sensitive to the issues of the recording and historiography of a predominantly oral traditional culture, to sacred sites and to the exploitation of Aboriginal art and artists in a commercial art market.

Some aspects of library policy, especially those relating to copyright libraries, special collections, audio recordings of oral history, and acquisitions will also fall under this heading.

Points for Further Discussion

(a) It was suggested that we should encourage formation of a "Working Class Museum" and other means of preserving social heritage.

(b) Museum collections need to provide more social content and context. Better displays at the Powerhouse Museum inform about social relations, and social uses of items displayed. The Brisbane Museum fails to provide such material. This also ties in to principles of cultural selection.

(c) National heritage policy should address current criteria for preservation/demolition e.g. historic bank and hotel buildings are preserved whilst factories and houses are demolished.

3.3 Media Policy: including policies concerned with ownership, mechanisms for democratic response and access to print and electronic media in both the public and private sectors. While a cultural policy should not assume that it can have the last say in forms of economic ownership which are outside of its ambit and brief, there is, nonetheless, a case for proposing enabling mechanisms and policy proposals which would allow more choice, breadth of viewpoint and diversity in the severely concentrated Australian media. This is an area which might productively overlap with industry policy, initiatives for democracy in the workplace and strategies for the socially responsible direction of investment in this sector of industry. Examples include the possibility of a 1% levy on advertising revenue to provide for seed funding to establish smaller and more diverse forms of media, or to enable access broadcasting. Any initiatives for "strategic unionism" in this area would need to encompass some prerogatives on the part of, for example, journalists and other media professionals.

3.4 Language and Literacy Policy: including policies for equitable access to and training in the dominant national language, for the maintenance of community languages and, as a matter of extreme urgency, for preventing the rapid disappearance of Aboriginal languages. A precondition for this, of course, is adequate access to the basic right of literacy which is still denied to many Australians. The federal government's National Policy on Languages, published in 1987, effectively lays the foundation for a democratic and effective policy but has not been followed up by sufficient sustained and co-ordinated initiatives in the areas of, for example, language maintenance, community languages and Aboriginal languages. It also requires co-ordination between states for language to become truly accessible. Australia has one of the highest rates of adult illiteracy in the OECD.

Access to proficiency in language and languages is access to a fundamental cultural resource and right and should be a key component of any cultural policy. Policy with regard to libraries would fall partly under this heading.

3.5 A Comprehensive Leisure Policy: including access to and participation in sporting and other leisure activities which are not restricted by gender, ethnic or financial status. Leisure has become an increasingly important component of the quality of life in the twentieth century and this has accelerated over recent years. A cultural policy will need to place leisure provision, activities, and resource management firmly on its agenda. This policy will address such issues as equitable access to leisure activities, preservation of accessible leisure facilities against adverse economic pressures, public education in the use and availability of leisure facilities, fair representations of such activities in the media as, for example, women's sports, and the provision of appropriate and adequate public and private facilities such as parks, sporting and fitness centres and other popular leisure venues.

Again, some aspects of library policy, as, for example, special interests and children's collections would fall under this heading.

Points for Further Discussion

(a) The issue of tourist development as a factor affecting popular access to leisure facilities was discussed, as was the control of cultural exchange by tourism promoters.

(b) Following from (a), the environmental consequences of tourism were discussed, including the possibility of limiting access to some areas.

3.6 The Law and Culture: including such areas as copyright law, public lending rights and intellectual property, obscenity law as well as the broader aspects of legislation affecting issues such as media ownership and rights of access and reply. Law and culture are often treated as if they were at remote and incommunicable ends of a spectrum. This has never been the case and with the growth of information and media technologies the relations between law and culture are increasingly interdependent and socially significant. A policy concerned with access, participation and the equitable allocation of cultural resources will need to engage these complex areas in systematic and detailed ways. Although this necessarily impinges on all the above areas of policy formation, the substantive nature of law/culture relations warrants special consideration.

Points for Further Discussion

(a) Legal rights should include the right to free or cheap legal advice; and the right to publish.

(b) Mechanisms should be enshrined legally and institutionally which prevent editorial interference or suppression of publication.

(c) We need to address the issues of libel law, the hypocrisy of current blasphemy and obscenity laws, and ways of discouraging dissemination of racist, sexist, extremely violent and other destructive cultural forms.

(Brisbane Commission)

Peace/International

Australia and the World

1) Overview-introduction

Australia exists in a world undergoing tremendous change in all spheres - social, economic, political and cultural. It is a world which faces major and pressing problems which, if not resolved, threaten the very existence of life on the planet - the danger of nuclear war and of ecological catastrophe.

Despite the enormous development of technology, many millions across the planet live under the shadow of famine and early death. Even in nations which have effectively introduced advanced, new technology into industry, producing great material wealth, large sections of their populations live in poverty and their environment is particularly threatened.

The NLP advocates a new foreign and defence policy for Australia which would end its dependence on foreign alliances, end its participation in the nuclear cycle. Such a policy would allow Australia to play an independent role in seeking complete nuclear disarmament, a massive global reduction in conventional arms and give maximum support to struggles of peoples around the world for democracy, human rights, economic and social justice and national independence.

We live in an increasingly interdependent world. Many of the contradictions, threats and challenges of our time are expressed globally, as well as in nation states and regions.

The problems of nuclear holocaust, ecological catastrophe and unequal trade can only be tackled by concerted international action.

The growth of an interdependent world economy has allowed multinational corporations to wield enormous power over nation states and to manipulate events to suit themselves in their pursuit of maximum profit rather than human benefit.

Their stimulation of the arms race, as well as their plundering of the environment, can only be understood in this context.

The US transnationals have been the main such companies. They have, through the US military and industrial complex been able to induce US governments to spend huge sums of money to maintain high profits, political and strategic domination and to crush movements for independence and socialism.

When this expenditure had not actually led to wars, it has still served big business ends by keeping their profits high through huge military budgets created by threats of war.

The US military and industrial complex has had strategies of using the threats of war to stimulate the arms race and of actually planning for limited nuclear war.

They have also sought to "spend the socialist countries into the ground" by forcing them to keep up with such spending by the capitalist powers in order to defend themselves.

The US leaders were partially successful in this strategy until the socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact recently called a halt to it. These countries are now reducing military budgets and have unilaterally reduced existing weapon stocks and armed forces.

The arms reduction process began with the adoption of the "New Thinking" in USSR foreign policy and has led to arms reduction agreements between the USSR and the USA. Many more such bilateral agreements will be needed if the danger of world war is to be eliminated. Australia will need to play its part in this process because through its current alliance it would be called upon to help police the Asian Pacific region.

An independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free Australian foreign and defence policy would recognise our special responsibility to our region, where, moreover, Australia could hope to have more effect.

Such a foreign and defence policy would also be in the best interests of the Australian people, cutting greatly the expensive outlay on war equipment justified only by integration in alliances. It would allow development of relations with all nations based on commitment to international economic and political relations of mutual respect, universal human values including respect for human rights, equity and settling of disputes non-violently.

2) Foreign Policy

The NLP advocates a foreign policy for Australia which would be independent, non-aligned and nuclear free.

It would be *independent* in that it would be determined not by the interests of the USA or any other power or bloc, but by the interests of the Australian people and world peace and social and economic development throughout the world.

It would be *non-aligned* in that Australia would not be a member of any alliance or have bilateral military or "defence" agreements with any other country. *Non-alignment* does not mean a neutral or passive foreign policy, but will mean taking sides when it comes to supporting peoples fighting for national independence, democracy and human rights. It will mean actively supporting all measures for nuclear disarmament and world peace and for the resolution of conflict by negotiation and peaceful means. It would mean Australia joining the Non-Aligned Movement of Nations, while seeking to play a more active role in the United Nations and other international forums in pursuit of its goals.

It would be *nuclear-free* in that the presence of nuclear weapons would be banned on Australian territory, including on ships or planes visiting Australian ports and airfields, and the immediate end of uranium export. Internationally, Australia would advocate the end of the nuclear industry as soon as feasible, against dumping of nuclear waste and other aspects of the nuclear industry.

An independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free Australian foreign policy would also give priority to initiatives, internationally and nationally, to tackle the growing ecological crisis which knows no borders.

3) Defence Policy

Australian armed forces would not serve outside Australian territory, except in small contingents in United Nations peace-keeping forces. The equipment and training of Australian armed forces should be strictly restricted to that necessary for defence of the island-continent.

Any concepts of "forward defence" or "defence in depth", which in the past have been used to justify Australian participation in the Vietnam war and in Malaysia previously, will be rejected.

Australian armed forces will withdraw from all military and intelligence agreements, multilateral or bilateral, with any other country and will not participate in military exercises with forces of any other nation.

Australia will not develop a "defence industry", except that necessary to build and service the military material Australian armed forces require. Any such defence industry will be publicly-owned and forbidden to export. When necessary, the modest military equipment needed for territorial defence will be purchased from nations which are not members of any military bloc.

Military expenditure will be progressively reduced to one percent of GNP. Current and projected large-scale expenditure on new military equipment will be scaled and reassessed in the light of actual territorial defence needs.

The construction of proposed ANZAC frigates will be replaced by construction only of those patrol boats needed to protect Australian waters. Shipyards currently contracting for the frigates would be maintained and turned to construction of an Australian merchant fleet and other non-military work, where necessary.

Purchase of F-18s and other highly sophisticated aircraft suited for integrated attack operations with the US air force will be ended and only those aircraft suited for coastal defence purchased.

No aircraft carriers will be purchased (as is proposed by Liberal-National coalition) as they are only of any use in operations outside Australian waters and are enormously expensive.

The Operational Deployment Force, the SAS and ASIS and any other commando or covert intelligence grouping aimed at intervention outside Australian shores will be immediately disbanded as contrary to a strict policy of territorial defence.

All foreign military bases will be closed and nuclear-powered or -armed vessels or aircraft banned from Australian territorial waters or airspace. Visits of warships from foreign nations will only be accepted when there are no implications which contradict the principles of an independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free foreign and defence policy.

Members of Australian military forces will be trained in policies of social defence, and such training extended throughout the population. Members of the armed forces will have full trade union and other civil rights and be educated in the principles of an independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free foreign and defence policy and democratic principles, and encouraged to participate in debate of social, economic and other issues in this framework.

4. Nuclear disarmament and peace

Nuclear disarmament and world peace would be major priorities of an independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free foreign and defence policy. Under such a policy, Australia would support all measures for the reduction and final destruction of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Actions outlined above (closure of all foreign military bases, ban on nuclear weapons on Australian territory, quitting of all military and intelligence agreements, ban on uranium export and mining) would represent unilateral actions by Australia on the road to nuclear disarmament.

In addition, such a foreign policy would also seek to broaden the treaty governing the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone to include a ban on nuclear weapons in the region, including on warships and planes, and the banning of any aspect of the nuclear fuel cycle from the region.

Similarly, such a foreign policy would seek to develop nuclear-free zones in other regions - including the Antarctic, Indian Ocean and the northern Pacific. It will support similar initiatives elsewhere.

While welcoming progress made on the road to nuclear disarmament and the easing of tensions in Europe, particular attention is required to the situation in the Pacific, and in the north Pacific especially, where very little progress has been made on the road to nuclear disarmament. The strong resistance of the Bush administration to any measures of disarmament on the seas is of particular concern, as there has been a build-up of nuclear weapons, and a modernisation of them, on warships and submarines.

An independent, non-aligned Australian foreign policy would support the proposals by the Soviet Union towards disarmament and disengagement of nuclear forces in the north Pacific and would take independent initiatives to advance the goal of such disarmament.

Australia, for example, should take the initiative in calling for an Asia-Pacific conference of all nations in the region to develop concrete measures of nuclear disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region and to strength mutual trust among nations.

5. International Solidarity

As outlined above, an independent, non-aligned, nuclear-free foreign and defence policy would act in solidarity with all peoples fighting for national independence; for human rights and democracy against dictatorships; for social and economic development and justice, and against interference by covert or overt military force in their internal affairs.

Such a policy would recognise the right of peoples to resort to armed struggle when denied fundamental democratic, human and social rights, as in the case of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Solidarity with all such struggles, whatever their form, would include diplomatic support in the United Nations and elsewhere, provision of material support such as for the establishment of offices of such movements in Australia, supply of humanitarian aid and diplomatic and other measures against the repressive regimes, including the breaking of all links, for example, with the apartheid regime.

6. Aid, trade and international co-operation

An independent, non-aligned and nuclear-free Australian foreign and defence policy would support the development of a New International Economic Order which would seek to overcome the inequities in international terms of trade, end the current dependence of under-developed countries on the multinational corporations and remove the heavy burden of international debt that they face.

International aid would support projects which directly aid the people and not enrich the elite. Australian international aid would exclude military aid, or any aid which is serves military purposes. All current military aid projects would be ended.

Overseas aid would be raised to one percent of GNP within a period of five years.

Recognising that encouragement of trade is often more desirable than aid schemes, an independent and non-aligned foreign policy would be complemented by removal of trade restrictions on imports from under-developed countries, particularly in our region.

Such a policy would also direct aid to movements and peoples fighting for national independence and democratic, human and social rights.

Under such a foreign policy, the federal government would strictly monitor the activities of Australian multinational corporations overseas. It would ban investment in South Africa and other nations ruled by brutal regimes, such as in Chile. Elsewhere, it would ensure that Australian corporations operating overseas observe fundamental principles of trade union and human rights; pay a living wage to all employees; do not "export" pollution and ecological damage to these nations, and do not engage in corrupt practices.

7. Conclusion

The new left party will develop specific policies on various international issues mentioned in passing or not at all above. These policies will observe the guidelines outlined in this policy statement.

The new left party and relations with other parties and movements overseas

The new left party will seek to develop contact and relations with parties and movements throughout the world which have policies and outlooks which in part or whole are similar to our own.

Such relations will be established on the basis of mutual respect; co-operation and exchange of experiences and views; equality of relations; the independence of each party or movement; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other party or movement, and non-exclusivity of such relations. Each party should be free to state disagreements with or criticisms of the other, but not to interfere organisationally in the internal affairs of the other.

In this framework, the new left party will seek to establish relations with communist, workers', socialist, social-democratic, national liberation, women's, peace and green parties and movements around the world. It will also seek to participate in international movements with which it finds much in common, on the basis of the above fundamental points.

The new left party will seek to mobilise support among the Australian people for those peoples, movements and parties in struggle for national independence, human rights, economic and social justice and for peace and nuclear disarmament, and against ecological catastrophe.

(Sydney Commission)