

# ***Resolutions from the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist - Leninist) 2012***

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# **13th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)**

**The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) was recently brought to a successful conclusion.**

This Congress was held in a period of tremendous struggles by the peoples of the world, especially the people of Greece and other European countries, mobilising against the attacks by global monopoly capital. Our Party stands in solidarity with the workers, peasants and oppressed peoples throughout the world struggling to break free from imperialist exploitation and war.

## **Australia**

Working class resistance and defiance is also finding its voice in Australia's working class movement with more workers and unions refusing to be intimidated and surrender to oppressive, monopoly capital's anti-worker laws.

Congress delegates welcomed the growing united movement of the people opposed to imperialist economic plunder and military control over Australia. Congress especially welcomed the rising

consciousness for unity between the working class and sections of small farmers and small business people united in common struggles in defence of their livelihoods against the attacks by monopoly capital.

## **Leading role of the working class**

Delegates to the Congress re-asserted the leading role of the politically aroused working class as the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle for an independent and socialist Australia. The Congress re-affirmed the strategy of social revolution by stages, with the working class the leading force and the main force in the revolution, giving the struggle for national independence a socialist character.

## **Congress consultation**

This Congress had an expanded national and youth representation of CPA (M-L) delegates from around the country, reflecting progress made since the 12th Congress held three years ago. Extensive pre-Congress consultation included circulation of documents to members, discussion of draft resolutions ahead of the Congress, and the seeking out of views from supporters, including active people who welcome the Party's line and action although they are not members.

The Congress reviewed the work

of the Party over the last three years and the present international and local economic and political conditions and developments. Lively discussion took place on many issues, including the current economic crisis of capitalism and imperialism, sharpening class contradictions and class struggle between global monopoly capital and the people, and strengthening resistance by the working people to the crisis.

Congress adopted resolutions on working class struggles and the bourgeois state, struggles for workers' rights and job security, Australia's economy and imperialism, mining and manufacturing sectors of the economy, US military presence in Australia and the region, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (Free Trade) and US imperialism, climate warming, education and China.

### **Outcomes**

The Congress discussions and consultations helped to sharpen the thinking of leading comrades and the Party members generally. A high level of agreement was reached on most issues. As in any democratic organisation, majority decisions sometimes were made and, where appropriate, calls for further study and investigation of an issue were made.

The Congress resolved to deepen class investigations of Australian society and the economy, the mining, manufacturing and rural sectors, the working class movement, and the people's working and living conditions and struggles.

Discussions focussing on the development of our own ranks included the need for deeper study of the works of significant Marxists including Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Zedong and Ted Hill. It was agreed that theoretical study should be closely linked to practice and the immediate and longer term struggles of the working class and its allies.

### **Mass work and the mass line**

The Congress re-asserted the CPA (M-L)'s long held position that the conditions and struggles of Australia's working class and the people is our main arena and a priority for Australian communists. Mass work and the mass line were reaffirmed as the foundation and principles of CPA (M-L) work in the working class and people's movements and in our approach to strengthening links with our working class communities.

Thirteen resolutions on major items were adopted and will be circulated in a variety of ways for our members and for those who

have an interest in our views on various matters. Some will appear in Vanguard over the next couple of editions and on our website. A special publication will be made available including resolutions and the preambles that introduced them.

The Congress delegates elected a new Central Committee, and the new Central Committee elected its Chair- and Vice-Chairpersons.

The Party thanks all its members and other comrades who helped make this such a focussed and purposeful Congress.

# ***Extracts from the Chairperson's Report to the 13th Congress***

**Since the last Congress the global capitalist crisis has deepened and spread. Imperialism, mainly US, has extended its grip over Australia economically, politically and militarily.**

The monopoly mining and finance capital sections of the imperialist ruling class are in a more dominant and powerful position economically, and exert greater influence and control over Australia. International monopoly capital (imperialism) and the severe capitalist economic crisis are restructuring the Australian economy. De-industrialisation of Australia is accelerated. International finance capital expands its influence over Australia. Imperialist austerity is imposed on the people and public funds are syphoned into the coffers of monopoly capital.

The rate of exploitation of the Australian working class has intensified, yet the overall rate of profit for industrial and finance capital continues to fall. Surplus value produced by workers, especially in the mining industry, soars.

The mining boom in Western Australia and Queensland is masking the realities of the capitalist economic crisis across Australia and the growing difficulties for many working people.

There's no job security for the majority. Hundreds of thousands of jobs have been wiped out in Australia in past three years. Casualisation, contracting, part-time and outsourcing jobs overseas is spreading. Nationally, more than 30,000 public sector jobs have been axed, and many more are in the pipeline. There is a shrinking core of permanent full time workers and an expanding periphery of casual and non-secure work. Big business is demanding cutting out penalty rates.

At the same time, the cost of living for the people is rising. The cost of housing, utilities, transportation, education and healthcare increases, while public and community services are cut back. Spending on social services, the aged and the sick is slashed back.

Small and medium producers and manufacturers struggle to survive. Bankruptcies amongst the working people and small businesses rise. The capitalist economic crisis, imperialist restructuring and competing interests between

different sections of monopoly capital are deepening the political crisis of the bourgeois parliamentary system. Disillusion with the main parliamentary parties, politicians and monopoly media grows.

Contradictions between imperialism (monopoly capital) and the working class and working people are sharpening. Anti-imperialist sentiment amongst the people deepens. (This has not yet developed into an anti-imperialist consciousness as we describe in Marxist terms). It is expressed in the disgust and anger at the rapacious greed of mining monopolies and banks, the appropriation of national wealth by mainly foreign mining monopolies, banks and multi-national corporations sending immense profits off shore; de-industrialisation and wiping out of Australia's value adding, processing and manufacturing industries and jobs by big monopolies (mainly foreign owned) the stranglehold of the Coles Woolworths duopoly on farmers, the people and food production; the takeover of Australian food production and land by foreign corporations and finance capital. It is expressed in the anger against privatisation and offshoring jobs overseas, large foreign investments in all sectors of the Australian economy. Alliances are

being formed between unions and small farmers to protect jobs and the livelihood of rural communities. Calls for national sovereignty are raised more frequently.

The capitalist state seeks to shackle even more the working class's capacity to organise and struggle. Working people's struggle and anger is directed into parliamentarism from where struggle can be easier controlled. At the same time the state makes preparations to step up open attacks on the organised working class and employs greater use of force against the people

There is more desire and determination by workers and some union leaders to struggle and defy the anti-worker oppressive laws. The recent outbreaks of struggle by workers and the defiance of anti-worker laws are bound to increase and spread. Disillusionment, disappointment and anger with the Labor Party grows, as social democracy has less room and capacity to manoeuvre and keep up the illusions in a world-wide capitalist economic crisis. We need to catalogue all the sell-outs and attacks by the ALP who opened wide the door to attacks on the working class. For a long time there's been an absence of a comprehensive and consistent revolutionary working class (anti-

imperialist) position introduced into working class struggles. This has assisted the capitalist ideology of social democracy and dependency on imperialism to disarm the working class. Australia's objective social and economic conditions and the historical origins of the ALP are a fertile ground for the illusions and ideas of social democracy to take roots.

The economic crisis, deeper imperialist plunder, attacks on the working people and erosion of even timid bourgeois democratic rights opens up future struggles.

### **Reviewing the work of the party**

Since the last Congress the party's position on the national independence struggle and socialism is better understood. Party's work in raising class consciousness on national independence, building grass roots workers' and communities coalitions and mass movements, and independent working class struggle, have been advanced in struggles over a number of years, and are more evident in struggles today. Party members are actively involved in working class struggles and movement, against attacks on the working class, people's services, the environment, housing, for national independence and sovereignty, against the US-Australia military alliance and the

growing opposition to multinational economic domination.

There are plans to publish a series of publications on monopoly capital (imperialism) domination of Australia; the economic crisis and attacks on the people; the mining and manufacturing industries, and linking the immediate demands of the people to the anti-imperialist class struggle for independence and socialism.

### **Vanguard**

Vanguard continues to come out every month, regularly and punctually. It is not an easy task by working class comrades who hold normal jobs and are involved in the day to day lives and struggles of the people, political struggles and building the party ideologically, politically and organisationally, both nationally and locally. Generally, we receive positive comments on Vanguard putting forward an anti-imperialist position and a Marxist-Leninist perspective and view on the current conditions and struggles of the working class and the people.

However, there's a need for more Marxist examination of struggle and conditions and systematic and concrete social investigation. Seeking truth from facts. Vanguard needs to sharpen the anti-imperialist and socialist political perspective



that puts forward a working class vision and alternative to the capitalist economic crisis.

### **Website**

Since the last Congress three years ago, the website has been successful in promoting the Party's revolutionary anti-imperialist socialist perspective in Australia. The website provides a point of contact and enquiry for people interested in finding out about the CPA (M-L) and our position.

### **Australian Communist**

The recent revival of the Australian Communist has been received well and has improved the standing of the Party.

One of the problems in bringing out Marxist theoretical journal in our conditions is that unless the theoretical propositions put forward have been tested in practice (specifically in Australian conditions), and grounded in the rigour of scientific investigation, the discussion remains theoretical. It is a reflection of shortcomings and limitations in our practice and theory.

It is only natural that there are different opinions in our approaches to the application of Marxist political economy to Australia's present conditions, the bourgeois state dictatorship and the tactics and

strategies of the mass movement on the revolutionary road to socialism in Australia. These are the laws of dialectical materialism. The present differences are not antagonistic and should be handled in the spirit of above all else building the capacity of people's struggle and mass movement. We do this by Marxist investigation of conditions and connecting the study of Marxism to the immediate and longer term practical tasks in the people's movement.

### **International Solidarity**

Internationally, we have expanded our connections with a number of Marxist-Leninist parties, and need to pay more attention to improving this.

### **Party's work for national independence and socialism**

Since the last Congress the party's non-public work has grown. Activism by public and non-public party members in the struggles of the people has expanded. Party members are actively involved in building and strengthening mass organisations and provide assistance and leadership in the working class struggles, unions, communities and single issue people's struggles. All these struggles flow in the direction of an anti-imperialist and socialist Australia.

The Party has strengthened

connections with previous members and long time supporters. Discussions have been initiated with some comrades with whom political differences in the past could have been handled better, more dialectically. We need to learn from these mistakes. An important aspect of party rectification is to overcome errors of sectarianism, commandism and ultra-leftism in some areas of our work, to strengthen the working class and people's movements. A major part in building the organisation is the ideological and political study (Mao, Marx, Lenin, Ted Hill), with attention to mass work and the mass line as the communists' main style of work. The majority of CPA (M-L) members are engaged in non-public work in their workplaces, communities and mass organisations; in many struggles on workers' rights, unions, environmental groups, housing, education, anti-war movement. The majority work on the immediate concerns and the well being of the people, in the people's mass organisations and movements. Presently, they are mainly issues of immediate reforms and demands by the people.

Mass work at this level (where the majority of the people are at) is the work that all Communists do naturally in their normal course of life. But left at this

level and without skilfully linking the immediate struggles to the monopoly capitalist class dictatorship and the imperialist control of Australia, the working class will continue to drift within the confines of bourgeois social democracy and the dead end of parliamentarism and narrow limitations of trade unionism, without building the confidence and vision of its own enormous capacity to bring about fundamental change and run the society for itself and the people. The most important aspect of these immediate struggles is building on the experience and lessons of working class collective organisation and mobilisation, and exposing the fundamental dictatorship of the monopoly capital's class dictatorship..

### **Working Class Struggle and the State**

The bourgeois state is sharpening its legislative state apparatus and institutions to smash the unions and suppress working class struggle. Party members working in unions and working class struggles have been active in the struggles to resist the attacks and build a strong and independent union movement connected to its allies in the community. Sharper class analysis should be introduced into the struggles of the working class exposing the industrial laws as tools of capitalist state dictatorship.

Even in the struggle against the ABCC we did not consistently link the laws to the role of the capitalist state to suppress working class struggle.

### **Movement for Australian Independence and Sovereignty**

People's sentiment for Australian independence and sovereignty is rising. There is growing concern about control of Australia by foreign multinationals and the big banks (imperialism). It is expressed through the widening opposition to the US driven Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement; the power and control of foreign mining and multinational corporations and banks over Australia's economy; control of foreign owned car industry over motor vehicle production and manufacturing in Australia; Australian governments' subservience to US imperialism and the integration of Australia's foreign policy and defence forces into the US military forces, and the US-Australian alliance; the rapacious greed of mainly multinational owned mining industry. There is wide concern about control of Australian food production by foreign agribusiness corporations and the domination of agriculture by foreign capital; and the wealth from Australian natural resources in mining and agriculture pocketed and sent overseas to multinational corporations. Campaign initiated by

some unions to protect and develop processing minerals and value added industries in Australia, has gathered wide support. Australian government's subservience to US on Wikileaks and Julian Assange has repulsed many people.

More calls are made for Australian independence and sovereignty.

### **Investigation and Study**

Most of our comrades are deeply immersed in the day to day life and struggles of the people. Often this leaves little time and inclination for systematic and disciplined revolutionary study, social investigation and summing up experiences of struggle. The all-pervading pressures of reformism weigh down on struggle. Reformism can also dampen the enthusiasm of activists looking for a fundamental change in the direction of people's movement towards a more revolutionary vision. The people's mass struggles for reforms on workers' rights, the environment, jobs security, democratic rights, and against the austerity measures are rising and more new and young worker activists are looking for ways to break through the burden imperialism imposes on the people and the environment. The situation is changing rapidly, and there is only optimism and confidence in the struggles of the people.

## **China**

For Australian Communists, Australia's working class and our revolutionary struggle is the main arena of work and commitment. Our starting point is Australia's working class and the people. There are contradictions between China's growing investments in Australia and the interests of Australia working class and people. Differences on China are likely to be reflected politically and ideologically within our organisation and will be handled in a non-antagonistic manner and consistent with our position on foreign investments' relations to Australia's working class' struggle for an independent and self-reliant economy controlled by the working class and its allies.

## **Working class leadership**

The Party is committed to assist the Australian working class in its historical task to unite and lead the people in freeing Australia from imperialism (monopoly capitalism) and move towards winning a truly independent, democratic and socialist Australia.

The dedication and working class discipline of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party to the interests of the people serves as an inspiration to all those looking for a fundamental change where the working class takes the power to

run the society for the interests of the people.

# **13th National Congress Resolution on the Working Class Movement and struggles**

## **Preamble**

**The working class is the most resolute, disciplined and organised class in the struggles of the people. When mobilised and infused with the far-sighted, revolutionary class consciousness and struggle it is the only class that has the capacity and power to liberate itself and the people from the exploitation and brutality of international monopoly capital (imperialism).**

The global capitalist crisis of overproduction and the falling rate of profit is driving capital to intensify the exploitation of people and the natural environment, to extract greater surplus value from the labour power of the working class. It is the only class that creates value in the process of production, but this added value (surplus-value) is expropriated by the capitalist class.

Around the world the working class is under unprecedented and relentless attacks by international monopoly capital, which is sinking into severe economic and political

crisis.

The international monopoly finance capital (banks) and the world's biggest mining monopolies (BHP-Billiton, Rio Tinto, Xstrata, Chevron, etc) are the most powerful and influential section of the monopoly capitalist ruling class in Australia. This is the imperialist class of foreign corporations driving the neo-liberal policies that wipe out jobs and job security, attack workers' rights and conditions, and dictate government austerity on the working class and the people and the plunder of the natural environment.

**It is against this class of a tiny handful of foreign monopoly corporations that the working class is compelled to unite all the forces in the anti-imperialist struggle for an independent, democratic and socialist Australia.**

The neo-liberal policies of monopoly capital (imperialism) in Australia over the past 25-30 years have intensified the exploitation of the working class through the more extensive use of the capitalist state's legislative apparatus to sharpen and extend the anti-worker and anti-union laws, crush the unions and suppress working class struggle. The ruling class is preparing for greater intensified attacks on the

working class, jobs, welfare, social services, the natural environment and people's democratic rights.

Both the National/Liberal and ALP governments equally embrace the neo-liberal policies of monopoly capitalism in Australia, the difference being mainly in the tactics they use to implement almost identical policies in attacking the working class. The Liberals use the more open methods to suppress the people (WorkChoices, ABCC), whilst the ALP employs the softer tactics of social-democracy through deception of the people (FairWork, moving the ABCC into FairWork) and the co-option of a small group of the aristocracy of labour lieutenants to control and suppress the working class struggle through parliament and the courts. However, the deepening capitalist economic crisis and the workers' growing desire to struggle are leaving less room for softer tactics and the deception of social-democracy. The bourgeois state of the monopoly capital class is making preparations for greater suppression of struggle, in particular against the working class. Police and the bourgeois state intelligence agencies and powers are strengthened and expanded.

Workers battling the boss constantly come up against the oppressive anti-worker and anti-democratic

laws of the bourgeois class dictatorship. The more workers' rights to struggle and organise are taken from the working class, the more power and freedom to attack the working class is handed to the state forces and big business. Growing numbers of workers long for courageous and far sighted leadership in struggles that will break through and defy the anti-worker and anti-union restrictions on their ability to struggle. In spite of difficult industrial and economic conditions, the working class is resisting the monopoly capital attacks and developing new and creative ways of organising and mobilising.

The magnificent struggles and courageous defiance by the Victorian nurses, the Baiada chicken workers, the shopping centre cleaners and campaigns against the ABCC have inspired and given confidence to other sections of the union movement and the working class. The maritime and construction unions' long and protracted battle with the US multinational Chevron Gorgon project in West Australia to protect local jobs and against importing cheap labour to push down local wages and conditions has won wide support. Unions' pickets and a broad based public campaign have exposed the multinational. BHP-Billiton mining workers' struggle

in Queensland shows that workers will not step back from struggle where there is genuine leadership dedicated to the interests of the working class and the people.

The working class and the union movement are facing big tasks ahead in the long period of capitalist economic crisis. There is an urgent need for the working class to organise for the fight against the relentless and stepped up offensive of monopoly capital in crisis.

There is an urgent task in building a fighting and independent union movement that mobilises the working people, is closely linked to community mass organisations and people's mass movements, and confronts the oppressive laws of the capitalist state. What is needed is a union movement that joins community struggles against the rising cost of living and cuts to social services, education and health; supports Australia's Aboriginal people, and opposes the destruction of the natural environment. Spontaneous actions by individual unions and groups of workers do not have the endurance and strength to sustain the struggle and make advances.

### **Resolution**

The working people in Australia are facing severe, all round attacks arising from the deep economic

crisis of monopoly capitalism. The working class is the only class that has the capacity and the conscious will to organise, unite, mobilise and lead the great majority of the people against the assaults by capital. In the present conditions, US economic and political imperialism holds the dominant power over Australia and is the main target of struggles by the working class and the people.

If the working class is to liberate itself and the people in an anti-imperialist struggle it must become conscious of itself as a revolutionary, leading class and an agent for fundamental change in society. It is the class that will hold state power in a socialist Australia.

Based on our analyses of classes and class contradictions in Australia, the CPA (M-L) is of the view that the principal contradiction in Australia's class struggle is between US economic and political domination and the overwhelming majority of the people, with the working class as the leading class in the anti-imperialist struggle for an independent, democratic and socialist Australia.

The CPA (M-L) affirms that the Marxist revolutionary ideas and methods, integrated into the immediate struggles and concerns of the working class and the

people empower, sustain and point the direction for working class struggles for fundamental change.

### **Immediate Tasks and Demands in the Working Class and people's mass movement**

- Fight for jobs and job security, workers' rights and conditions. Support the rights of migrant workers.
- Organise and strengthen the working class in an independent, united and fighting union movement for its own class.
- Build unity of unions and communities in public campaigns for jobs, public health and education, housing, democratic rights, welfare and pensions, and against privatisation and the austerity measures on the people. Unite and mobilise the union movement in a broad campaign to expose and confront the oppressive anti-worker and anti-union laws. This will strengthen the fighting capacity of workers and unions.
- Build unions-community campaigns to tax the profits of monopoly corporations – especially mining monopolies and banks. Demand the tax on big business profits be used to benefit the people in the creation of jobs, for building manufacturing, processing and agricultural industries, for funds for public health, education, welfare, public transport and the protection of the environment.

- Build practical alliances of workers, unions, farmers, small businesses and manufacturers against the foreign corporations, e.g. the Coles-Woolworths duopoly; broad based united struggle against the Coal Seam Gas, mining and gas monopolies; and for local clean food production. Support campaigns to develop Australian agricultural, manufacturing and value-added industries that provide clean and secure jobs and promote Australia's sovereignty and independence.
- Support practical alliances of unions, local Aboriginal and mining communities.
- Promote union support for the Aboriginal people's struggles for sovereignty, a just treaty and land rights.
- Put forward a working class vision for a people's democratic and sovereign Australia.
- Study – Marxist political economy on surplus value, Capital, Mao's On Contradictions, Lenin's What is to Be Done and Ted Hill. Study should be linked to comrades' areas of work.



# **13th National Congress Resolution on the Australian Economy and Imperialism**

**The Australian economy is dominated by the clash (contradiction) between the people and the core of the capitalist class - US, British and European imperialisms. At the centre of this is the clash between the working class and foreign imperialist interests.**

## **The people under pressure while capital plunders**

We see the clash in the constant pressure on household budgets, on mortgages, food and grocery prices, petrol prices, and growing costs of education and health. Just look at the cost of university education and pharmaceuticals, as examples.

At the same time, mining monopolies make billions upon billions, big banks announce multi-billion returns, and supermarket retail conglomerates drive small retailers out of business while making super-profits from the people's basic needs for food, clothing and household goods.

The working class, with some working small business people,

produce all the wealth realised in Australia. According to the Bureau of Statistics, the gross domestic product of Australia was \$1,341 billion in 2010-11. Even according to an incomplete overstated official measure, just 52.8% of GDP went into wages and salaries and government services to people. That compares with 62% in 1975.

The profit portion of GDP grew from 17% in 1975 to a record 28% plus for the three years of the GFC (ABS Total Factor Income Ratios) – a straight swap from working people to private profit. There's plenty of money around Australia. It's just that it is going to profits, not to the people.

The exploitation of the workers has grown remarkably. With automation and computerised production, the fixed portion of capital (input into production, machinery, materials, energy, and wear and tear) has risen particularly over the last 20 years. The other side of this is that the variable portion of total capital invested in production, fundamentally wages, has fallen.

The rate of profit on each dollar invested drops, as profit made from exploitation of workers becomes less when more money is put into machinery, energy and materials etc. Companies work to make the most profit possible by cutting

workers' share. Workers rightly struggle to keep their share up.

The clash of the titans haunts imperialism. The workers and patriotic people are many. The imperialists and their coterie are few.

The economic malaise, where big foreign monopolies are supported and the people lose out, will be resolved by the working people taking command of the means of production, initially the key industries and resources now in the hands of foreign monopolies and conglomerates. Struggle against imperialism is vital for the working class and the patriotic oppressed in small business. It puts the people first, and takes command of the future of the country. Some steps can be advocated now that reveal the intensity of imperialism's exploitation and set out the possibilities of the alternative.

### **Australia a target for export of capital**

Capitalism in its imperialist stage is marked by the export of capital. Australia is a major target of capital from the US, Britain and Europe. In the era of removal of barriers to the unrestricted flow of capital and commodities into dependent countries, and the opening of formerly government sectors to direct private ownership

in the last 25 years, US and European operating companies and financiers have moved into formerly government sectors. They include areas like electricity and water, mining, rail, air and other transport, some defence industry, education and health services, communications and infrastructure.

These have been some of the most rapidly growing sectors of the economy. Capital has governments working as boards for the capitalist class as a whole, to deliver these plums for plunder. The overwhelming bulk of these plums has been grabbed by European and US capital, with some new Asian capital involved. Corporate brands like Veolia and Optus mark the new phase. Imperialists keep pressing for new advantages against the people. The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) is pursued by imperialism to further open the country to plunder, and the people to exploitation.

### **Mining resource monopolies confront the people**

On top of that, mining and resource monopolies are taking over wide stretches of rural and urban land, along with Aboriginal lands. This builds on coal mining regional dominance in NSW and Queensland. They are led by Rio Tinto and BHP Billiton, with a coterie of Japanese conglomerates

including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, followed by the oil and gas majors including Santos, Chevron, Woodside and others.

Major clashes have broken out over rich agricultural and environmental reserves, as well as urban land, for coal seam gas exploitation, open cut mines in the Hunter Valley and Liverpool plains, prime flood-plain cropping land, and the Pilbara clash over Aboriginal coastal land sought for a huge gas refinery. The dominance of resource monopolies over the people is exposed in the eastern states, through the coal seam gas struggle to “close the gate” against the coal and gas monopolies who are backed by government and the capitalist law. South Australia is being reoriented with the extraordinary Olympic Dam uranium development, and is moving into the overwhelming dominance of the state by resource monopolies, joining WA and the Northern Territory.

This dominance is reflected in the decline of manufacturing, as finance flows into mining ventures. Equipment and wages in manufacturing wallow, while mining booms. Governments provide endless advantages to mining monopolies and foreign car monopolies, while multiple local manufacturers are starved of work and support.

A section of capitalists in Australia, completely reliant on foreign funds to support their enterprises, Gina Rinehart, “Twiggy” Forrest, Clive Palmer and Nathan Tinkler among the highest profile, have become increasingly shrill and seek to impose themselves on public policy. They are quite reactionary, being completely subjugated to foreign finance to sustain their businesses and positions. They make dangerous tinder on which fascist tendencies may be inflamed.

The resources of this country are being torn from the ground for monopoly capitalist plunder, leaving tens and tens of thousands of despoiled mullock heaps in their wake. The people want protection for their communities, and for their lands and environmental treasures, and an end to exploration and mining rights overriding land and community rights.

### **Australian capitalist ride through global economic crisis hits turbulence**

The rapid expansion of resource exploitation, the practice of a quasi-Keynesian government stimulus policy, and maintenance of credit in some sectors, has sustained the capitalist economy in Australia through the global economic crisis. The price has been growing dependence on foreign capitalist

input, now in decline.

International capitalist crisis, followed by government austerity practices aimed at making the people pay, are causing stagnation and rebellion across Europe, Japan, and to a lesser extent, North America. The new wave of austerity is being taken up in Australia with the drive to “balance the budget” beginning a new phase of screwing the people.

The alliance of supermarket conglomerates with their petrol station partners, the banks, finance companies and mining monopolies, are draining the country and exploiting the people. Governments from Canberra to each State capital are attacking wages, jobs, education, health and transport services in an austerity drive, rejecting people’s rights to security of their lands and areas from mining monopoly despoliation. Stagnation threatens.

The turn against austerity in Europe, on top of the Latin American outburst against imperialism, may provide a new wave of rebellion and resistance to imperialism. The “Close The Gate” protests, struggle against government destruction of government jobs and holding down wages, demands for clampdowns on supermarket and petrol monopolies, and condemnation of the banks, all

feed into the broad struggle against imperialism for the people.

## **Resolution**

- The working class and other patriotic people in Australia stand against imperialist plunder of Australia
- The working class demands governments stop destroying jobs and services in new austerity “budget-balancing” exercises to support the bankers’ and mining companies’ economy, and instead make the monopolies pay
- Support rural, urban and Aboriginal people who ‘Close The Gate’ to mining monopolies encroaching on their land, environmental treasures and communities
- Clamp down on retail conglomerates’ market dominance, to relieve the squeeze on retailers, farmers, and local manufacturers of consumer commodities
- Support public transport, and oppose petrol monopolies’ price gouging
- Lift the wages and government services portion of GDP by 5%. Raise wages by 12 % with more for the lower paid. Increase pensions, and implement a disability support scheme
- Lift Government funding to Education, Health and Public Transport by \$30 billion p.a. for a start
- Really make mining and

gas monopolies pay, to provide services for the people and support to manufacturing

- Re-nationalise public transport for systematic, people-centred transport operations
- Reject the TPPA

# ***13th National Congress Resolution on the Manufacturing Industry***

**The manufacturing industry is an enormous, vital and essential component of a fully functioning modern state; it is embedded in every aspect of national identity and operation: economic, political, social & cultural.**

The lack of or even the serious deterioration of a manufacturing base will undermine the national sovereignty of a nation, increase its dependence on foreign monopoly capitalism and almost certainly, over time, guarantee a third world level status.

Economically and industrially, manufacturing capacity is the life blood of any nation; it is central to the economic and political independence of Australia. Manufacturing is the conduit for every endeavour in building the nation, integral to the aspirations of all other sectors: service, construction, agribusiness, transport, medical and healthcare, food production, communications, mining and resources, housing, renewable

energy, shipping, aviation etc. The fact that manufacturing is based on a great diversity of local small and medium owners means it is the least monopolised sector and therefore the least protected. If manufacturing is indeed virtually destroyed, the task of rebuilding it will be a truly Herculean one. For those like us, promoting the goal of an independent Australia, this is of grave concern.

The decline of Australian manufacturing is not an aberration, it is not an accident. Australian manufacturing's accelerating decimation is systematic, targeted and absolutely deliberate. The globalised economy being foisted upon the people of the world by imperialism sets an agenda for plunder on an unprecedented world scale, driven by the escalating rivalry between the US, China, Europe, Japan and Russia. It has ignited a desperate frenzy to seize and control the resources and markets of lesser nations such as Australia.

The long term condition of the traditional non-resource, non-agribusiness national economy of Australia is of minimal interest to world imperialism, which requires a subservient and stable government, highly efficient communications and transport systems (including ports), a minimum level of service

industry capacity and the necessary skilled work force to go with it. And, in the case of the US, a highly trained and readily available military force totally embedded into their own military strategic thinking.

Likewise the national consumer market of Australia (which is shrinking) is a drop in the ocean on the radar of the globalised economy. The consumer market is of vital concern to national capitalism and the present level of decline is affecting even the biggest of the local manufacturers, suppliers and retailers, with subsequent roll-on effects of growing unemployment, business slowdowns and closures.

A great fuss is made of the effect of the very high Australian dollar, but the decimation of Australian manufacturing predates this recent development by decades. Both Liberal and Labor governments have slavishly delivered up local manufacturing to be mauled by free trade agreements, deregulation, the wholesale removal of tariffs and protections. The so called 'Level Playing Field' is endlessly promoted along with the exhortation for industry to embrace new technology and to be more innovative!

Two Australian manufacturers of steel walkway products, Weldlock

and Web Forge, with workforces in several States, produce standard lengths of walkway which sell for \$630. The same product landed from China sells for \$117! They're still waiting to hear just exactly how they can 'innovate' around this problem. It's a sure bet that both of these companies will cease to be manufacturers and become importers and distributors.

Like a B grade movie the sorry plot rolls on to its inevitable ending. The Gillard government trumpets its concern for the ailing automotive industry which has always been high profile (and completely foreign owned), although in truth only a shadow of its former glory. Gillard feigns concern for the plight of manufacturing, but completely ignores the myriad smaller concerns that are the actual backbone of the manufacturing industry. Small business is the single biggest employer in the country and manufacturing in all its guises is a central component of it. The Federal Minister for Manufacturing is not even in the inner caucus of cabinet! The Defence Department hands the contract for the new generation of army trucks to a German manufacturer over the locally developed and tested product. It's hard to imagine any other developed nation allowing such a thing to occur. Unions are fighting to force the government

to insist that the foreign owned mining companies source their manufactures in Australia, which should be a given.

Whenever Australians are surveyed regarding the plight of manufacturing they universally declare their support for the protection of Australian industry. This view remains embedded in the Australian psyche despite the headlong rush to consume cheap imported manufactures.

Australia is blessed with abundant natural resources, mostly and increasingly in foreign hands, and despite government exhortations to embrace 'clever' technologies, the government offers no leadership, no encouragement, no incentive, and no plans to get value-adding industries into the big picture. Yet every day value-added manufactures are flooding into the country, everything from nuts and bolts to processed pork.

## **RESOLUTION**

That the CPA (M-L) recognises that the decimation of Australian manufacturing: -

- Is the direct and deliberate result of foreign imperialist domination of the country
- Is a national calamity that has the potential, if left unchecked to undermine the country's position as a developed country, increase our

dependency and decrease national sovereignty

- Requires our comrades to engage effectively and where ever practicable with all elements involved with Australian manufacturing, (workers, employers, unions and communities) in highlighting and exposing the true extent of the consequences of the onslaught on Australian manufacturing
- Requires our comrades to encourage debate and awareness of free trade agreements, tariffs and industry protection in the broader community.



# **13th National Congress Resolution on Australia's Mining Industry**

## **Preamble:**

**The mining industry is not being managed in the interests of the Australian people. Capitalism encourages the maximum extraction in the shortest possible time of non-renewable natural resources such as minerals, rare earths, oil and gas because the core motivation is capital accumulation and realisation of profits at the highest possible rate.**

Capitalism prevents planned and sustainable mining. One consequence of the boom in mining is the lopsided development of the economy, pushing up the value of the Australian dollar and sabotaging the international market for Australian manufactured products. This has accelerated, leading to the decline of the manufacturing industry in Australia.

Mining provides opportunities for a handful of multinational and local capitalists to take massive super profits into private pockets, depriving the government and the community of funds for schools, health, community services,

national infrastructure, and re-building an environmentally sustainable manufacturing industry.

Mining as a capitalist endeavour also conflicts with the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities for preservation of culturally significant sites, and threatens agricultural and pastoral communities. Extraction of coal seam gas is in the hands of big monopolies and conflicts with farming communities and their use of land.

Much is made of the high wages on offer in the mining sector. The other side of this is the conditions under which miners in remote regions work: continuous 12-hour shifts for extended periods, fly in - fly out arrangements that disrupt family life at home and prevent community solidarity at the work camp, and growing automation of all processes. High levels of anxiety and depression are common amongst fly in - fly out workers. Mining monopolies return little to local mining communities. Importation of overseas workers is used to suppress local wages and conditions and to break down the solidarity and unity of the working class.

The big miners, both foreign and local, are such rabid plunderers

of our natural resources that a corresponding extreme of aggressive political reaction is naturally embedded in their outlook. The complete reliance of mining capital on bank capital is the basis for their reactionary position. Bank capital has no connection with or loyalty to place or people.

Because of the political, economic and environmental importance of responding to unrestricted capitalist mining, some comrades will be tasked with assisting in the development of a scientific Marxist understanding of mining. Some areas for study and reflection are:

1. Marx's theory of ground rent and its application to mining
2. The Australian context: the imposition of capitalism on pre-feudal ATSI systems of communal custodianship of land
3. Land rights and mining
4. Mining and other sectors of the economy
5. Mining and the environment
6. Foreign ownership and control of mining
7. The big back-down: from the RSPT to the MRRT
8. A Marxist formulation of demands on the mining monopolies
9. States' rights and royalties: why the Australian Constitution is flawed
10. Independence and socialism for a rational basis for managing

mining

### **Resolution:**

The CPA (M-L) will work for the nationalisation of mining, and for the planned and sustainable extraction of natural resources used for accumulating funds to provide for the economic and social well-being of the Australian people.

The super-profits of the major mining corporations must be taxed to the hilt! They must be used to benefit the people and build sustainable national minerals processing, manufacturing and agricultural industries.

The CPA (M-L) reaffirms its opposition to the mining and sale of uranium.

The CPA (M-L) reaffirms its support for Aboriginal land rights.

# **13th National Congress Resolution on Education**

**Australian Education – Put students first!**

**The public sector has become a particular Australian focus in the worldwide imperialist offensive against the people. The desire to destroy any vestiges of working class organisation, to exercise ideological control over what and how young people learn and to exploit new areas for profit, come together in public education. Education becomes a commodity to be bought and sold in the market place.**

Universities have funds cut, research is privatised to suit multinational corporations, tenure is systematically attacked, courses and work hours are cut, class sizes are increased, student services are slashed and fees increased. Courses encouraging critical thinking are replaced by those that make money. Staff and student representatives on boards are removed. Private universities grow in size and influence.

The same occurs in TAFEs, with years of funding cuts, and huge increases in casualisation. The latest Federal Government catch cry, “contestability of funding”,

creates a massive ramp-up of publicly-funded privatisation. Giant corporations like Coles and Woolworths offer courses vastly inferior to those once run by TAFE. Shonky operators offer ipads or iphones to potential students and sign off on courses without delivering them. These companies pocket the profit, while working class kids are deskilled.

Likewise, decades of anti-public school propaganda and a massive funding shift created a tiered school system, with elitist private schools at the top and public schools at the bottom. Under the secret tutelage of self-styled education expert Rupert Murdoch, who covets the online provision of education worth \$55 billion in the US alone, Gillard ramps this up through nationwide high-stakes testing. This has seen league tables published on the MySchool website and in newspapers, leading to a rush by the most economically and intellectually advantaged students from the “lowest performing” schools to “better” schools, including within the state system, a narrowing of the curriculum and widespread teaching to the test, and even cheating.

Meanwhile, the break-up of the state system into “empowered” local schools spreads from overseas and from Kennett’s Victorian

experiment to other States, despite overwhelming evidence that this leads to worse educational outcomes. Scrutiny of teachers shifts towards the oppressive inspectorial systems of the past. The aims? To further commodify and charge for education, while financially supporting the future managers and exploiters, to enforce principals' roles as economic managers not educational leaders and force them to accept individual blame for government funding cuts which they impose at the school level, to destroy permanency, to divide and rule our youth on economic, ethnic and religious lines and, critically, to disempower education workers and their unions.

This roll-back of education into nineteenth century organisational conditions is lauded as moving us into the twenty-first century, with a constant hymn that individual "teacher quality" is the key cause of student success and failure.

The multinationals alternately use Federal and State governments, Labor and Coalition. As an illustration, the NSW Coalition Government shifted the TAFE system, already carved up into corporatised individual institutes by Labor, to Gillard's FairWork Australia, to hamstring joint TAFE-school industrial action.

## **Resolution**

The CPA (M-L) supports education workers in resisting the neo-liberal push to further privatise education. We support their vision for a public education system funded to meet the holistic needs of students to develop as united, empowered and ethical citizens of Australia and the world. Instead of importing failed ideas from the imperialist heartland where education systems are performing badly and failing working class and minority children, the Government raise teachers' wages and reduce the teaching load to provide time for collaborative practices such as peer classroom observation, lesson preparation teams, and school-based research groups. These are the features of those systems that perform well internationally in cultures as diverse as Shanghai and Finland.

Public education workers are the key to achieving this goal, and must build a united front with parents, students, the public sector and the wider community. Action must be based on systematic study of all aspects of education. The first priority must be to maintain the ability to organise and fight. Holding back and even reversing the twin juggernauts of devolution and "choice" is critical. To do

this they must place the needs of their students front and centre in the minds of the public, and take full strategic advantage of their presence in every community across the country. In an increasingly national fight, they must overcome petty regional or state jealousies, build tactics that support victories even if in only one State or locality rather than action that tags behind those States where ruling class strength is greatest.

More importantly, anti-imperialist consciousness must be raised, so that the mass of teachers learn and not only understand what is happening, but why and for whom, and begin to spread this analysis wider still.

Immediate demands  
Put students first!  
Say no to fees!  
Implement the Gonski  
recommendations immediately!  
No carve up of public systems!  
Support TAFE, resist privatisation!  
Roll back high-stakes testing!  
Education for life, not for profit!  
Prosperity, not austerity!

# ***13th National Congress Resolution on Mass Work and the Mass Line***

**Mass work and the mass line are the principal tenets of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)'s practical and ideological work.**

It is the basis on which the CPA (M-L) works to assist in organising, uniting and mobilising the working class and all its allies exploited and subjugated by imperialism and capitalism. Mass work is central to all social investigation and class analysis of objective Australian conditions by the CPA (M-L), in its key task of charting the revolutionary road to an independent, democratic and socialist Australia.

Mass work is the foundation of CPA (M-L) work because it upholds the communist principles of respect and concern for the people, and the powerful will for change of the aroused and united people. Mass work is rooted in the material (real) world where truth is found and the practice of struggle is tested and strengthened. Communists learn from the masses who are the source of deep knowledge of the real world.

The CPA (M-L) has an unshakeable confidence in the collective wisdom and power of the working people and relies absolutely on mass struggles and mass organisations of the people. Mass work and the mass line compel communists to identify with the people as one, listening and learning from the people, accepting guidance and wisdom from the people. In turn the communists work with the people, offering guidance in struggles and exposing the nature of the bourgeois state dictatorship, different class relations and their contradictions, the economic, political and social conditions of life and society and always seeking out the primary contradiction in struggle. As Mao Zedong put it, "From the masses to the masses."

Mass work and genuine integration with the people, especially the working class, is an antidote to the isolation and sectarianism of "left blocs", intellectual elitism, impatience, arrogance, wishful thinking, subjectivism and individualism. Deep connections in the working class ground communists and activists in the real world of class struggle and all its complexities.

If communists and activists want to dedicate themselves to the struggles of the working class and genuinely strive to lift the

conditions of working people they must be with the people at all times. They must be involved in the lives and struggles of the people to understand the concrete conditions, the consciousness and thinking of the people at different times and different places and be able to differentiate between the primary and secondary contradictions in class struggle. Without this intimate knowledge born of practice and investigation, communists cannot know or understand the objective conditions and will either trail behind the people or rush too far ahead, ending in isolation and irrelevance.

Communist mass work is dynamic Marxism-Leninism that informs, organises, unites and mobilises the working class and its allies. It builds collective leadership of the masses and releases the initiative and capacity of the people in struggle. Importantly, communist mass work assists and empowers the working class and its allies to organise themselves, to bring forward their own leaders and instil confidence in the collective power of the masses.

There is no place for passive observation of conditions from the sidelines and laying low waiting for the “conditions to change” or “mature”. Class struggle is always present and in all things, taking

different forms and characteristics in different circumstances and conditions. Mass work compels communists and activists to take account of different conditions of struggle and act accordingly.

Immediate demands formulated by the CPA (M-L) are drawn from the concrete conditions and concerns of the people who know the real world. Mass work enables the communist party to develop correct tactics and strategies according to the permanently changing conditions in the anti-imperialist class struggle for an independent, democratic and socialist Australia.

### **Mass work, mass line and leadership**

Mass work and the mass line insist on the promotion and development of many working class leaders from the ranks of the people in mass struggle. Genuine communist leadership promotes and nurtures real leaders from people’s own struggle. Communists seek to both learn from the masses and provide ideological and political guidance to the people in struggle, as distinct from attempting to ‘capture’ leadership positions within mass organisations as a means of ‘self-promotion’ and control. This has nothing to do with the mass line and correct mass work and simply acts to hold back and stifle the growth and expansion

of people's movements and people's struggles. The CPA (M-L) asserts that the people's mass organisations and movements can only be strengthened and broadened through the encouragement of many people's leaders in struggle, as is consistent with good mass work.

### **Mass work, mass organisations and the united front**

Mass work is essential for building a united front against imperialism and capitalism. CPA (M-L) members work in mass organisations with the people, respecting differing views, seeking to unite and organise all people struggling against the effects of imperialist domination. Patiently and appropriately, Communists point to imperialism and capitalism as the primary cause for the problems and hardships of the people and the environment.

The CPA (M-L) firmly opposes the taking over and manipulating of mass organisations and mass campaigns by groups who try to impose their views. This style of work weakens (and sometimes even destroys) the people's mass organisations and struggles. Rather, the CPA (M-L) seeks to simultaneously learn from and provide guidance and leadership to the working class and all other patriotic people to strengthen the mass campaigns and mass organs of

the people in accordance with the mass line.

### **Resolution**

The 13th Congress of the CPA (M-L) re-affirms mass work and the mass line as its main principle in serving the anti-imperialist struggles of the people, and the foundation of Communist work in the people's mass movement for an independent and socialist Australia. The Congress urges all comrades to study the works of Mao Zedong, (in particular *On Contradiction*, *On Practice* and *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership*) and Ted Hill on the question of mass work and the mass line and to propagate this style of work amongst friends and activists. To quote Mao, we must "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership - such is the basic method of leadership." (*Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership*)



# ***13th National Congress Resolution on the US-Australia military alliance, US bases and Troops in Australia and Asia-Pacific***

**Since the 1788 British invasion and occupation of Aboriginal lands, Australia has been used as a military outpost and base, first by British colonialism and now by US imperialism, in the Asia-Pacific region.**

After World War 2, British colonialism was replaced by US imperialism in Australia as the dominant economic, political and military power over the people. Australia's military forces and government policies have always been subservient to British colonialism and US imperialism.

Today, Australia's military forces and foreign policies are integrated into the US imperialist policies and military machine. Australia continues as an economic and military base for US imperialism.

Since WW2 Australia has been a host to more than 10 major US military bases and has opened many local air force and naval bases

facilities to the US military. Its Pine Gap base directs drone strikes in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, while other bases carry out widespread electronic surveillance of ordinary citizens.

In November 2011 US President Barak Obama and Australia's Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced an escalation and expansion of joint US and Australian military activities in Australia and the Asia-Pacific region.

## **Australia as a launching pad**

The expansion and closer integration of Australia into the US military includes permanent stationing, disguised under the banner of troop rotations, of more than 2500 US troops in Darwin, expanding and upgrading existing naval ports and air force facilities and building new military facilities to accommodate the increasing use by the US military across the country, including nuclear warships. Cocos Island is likely to be another new US military base.

This together with an almost complete integration of the Australian government's foreign policies into the US war machine will make the whole country a US military base and a launching pad for US wars of aggression in the region.

The Australian government's role as sycophantic US deputy-sheriff is critical to America's continuing economic and military domination in the Asia-Pacific and in its preparations for imperialist wars. This has serious implications for Australia's sovereignty and independence and for the peace and welfare of all peoples in the region.

### **Imperialist economic crisis gravely increases the risk of war**

Behind the US military escalation in Asia-Pacific is America's own economic decline, the global economic crisis and a deep fear of the economic growth of China that is beginning to challenge US economic and political hegemony and dominance throughout the region, including Australia.

US monopoly capital has immense economic investments, control of markets and political power in the region that it uses to exploit and oppress the people of Asia-Pacific. US controls many important trade shipping lanes and has many military bases and troops stationed throughout the region to protect its present and future economic investments, control of resources and markets.

### **Imperialism means wars for the redivision of the world**

The US military arms and trains the local puppet governments' armed

forces to suppress resistance by the people to imperialist domination. They have unleashed war on the people of the Philippines.

Territorial disputes are flaring up between China, the Philippines and Vietnam over the vast unexplored undersea gas and oil fields in the South China Sea. The US is manipulating the Philippines puppet government to provoke and increase the tensions in the region. Similarly, the US is directing Australia's acquiescent governments to stoke the fires of imperialist wars in the region.

### **Resolution**

The social and economic cost of subservience to US imperialism is enormous. Australia's military spending is twelfth in the world on a per capita basis. Meanwhile public schools, hospitals and transport are starved of funds.

The new US imperialist military expansion and provocations in the Asia Pacific are a threat to peace and the national sovereignty of countries and people in the region. US imperialism is the main instigator of imperialist wars for control of resources, markets and for its monopoly capital investments across the globe.

Australia's military integration into the US imperialist war machine

assists the US to wage predatory wars against people and nations. In the past, Australia has swapped imperial masters as one dominant power declines. An independent Australia and the interests of the Australian people are not compatible with future domination by any hegemonic power.

Australian people want peace and independence and to build friendship and solidarity with the people of the Asia-Pacific. They do not want to swap one imperialist master for another.

- Oppose and expose US and foreign military and intelligence bases in Australian or the Asia-Pacific region
- No US and foreign troops on Australian soil
- Oppose Australia's role as US deputy sheriff in the Asia Pacific Region
- End Australia's integration into the imperialist US war machine
- Promote an independent Australian foreign policy that builds peace and respects independence and sovereignty of countries and people in the Asia-Pacific
- Support peaceful resolution of territorial disputes
- Build active connections with the broad united front movement to kick out all foreign military bases and troops from Australia and across the Asia-

Pacific

- Expose and oppose foreign corporate war industries in Australia
- Oppose the integration of Australia into the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. The US military build-up in the Asia Pacific region goes hand-in-hand with the vigorous push for the TPPA by US imperialism
- Investigate Australia's military policies, US military activities in Australia and Asia-Pacific, US-Australia military alliance and Australia's role as an agent for US imperialism in New Guinea, East Timor, and other Pacific nations
- Immediately withdraw Australian troops, advisors and military privateers from Afghanistan and Iraq
- Independence for Australia against foreign domination
- Fund peace, not war

# **13th National Congress Resolution on the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement**

**The proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement is all about an unequal partnership between countries in the Asia-Pacific region and the dominant power, the United States. It is all about facilitating the penetration of powerful US corporations into markets across the region. They seek to do this by sweeping aside local laws and protections that benefit the people, claiming that these are a restriction on “free trade” and should not apply to their investments and activities.**

The TPPA will be used to overturn Australia’s domestic laws on foreign investment, quarantine, medical and educational standards, environmental protection, intellectual property rights, food labelling, agriculture and food production, cigarette advertising, Australian content on TV, and many other matters that benefit the people. Also in their sights are workplace laws, such as the already limited rights of workers and unions to take collective action over wages, working conditions and safety. Local art and culture

will be swamped with imported US commercial culture, while the costs of downloading film, video and music will increase greatly.

US global banks, pharmaceutical monopolies, agribusinesses and multinational corporations want the TPPA to be a sharp instrument for expansion of US imperialist economic and political interests. At a time when US imperialism is using the TPPA to strengthen its grip on the Australian economy, it is moving to preserve its domination of the region by basing troops in Australia and expanding its military profile.

Australia has a weak and subservient government that trails along behind every US policy position and initiative. The Gillard government has already virtually committed to signing the TPPA when negotiations are completed in August this year.

## **Resolution**

Fair Trade between countries must be based on mutual benefit and mutual respect, not imperialist domination.

The CPA (M-L) supports all struggles of the people to expose and reject the TPPA, as it betrays the interests of the Australian people and the interests of the people in the Asia-Pacific region.

# **13th National Congress Resolution on Environment and Climate Change**

**The principle contradiction in Australian society is between US imperialism and the Australian people. This gives rise to struggles in all spheres of life, including the environmental sphere.**

**Multinational corporations are driven to maximize profits at all costs, including the cost to the environment.**

In the early stages of the 21st Century, the damage to the environment as a result of multinational plunder has reached potentially catastrophic proportions, with 90% of the world's climate scientists agreeing that human induced climate change and global warming is approaching the point of no return.

The majority of Australian people want an environmentally sustainable economy for current and future generations. It is the struggles and collective voice of the people that has forced the Australian government and more far-sighted sections of the imperialist rulers to introduce a price on carbon, and make concessions from time to time to grass-roots community

groups struggling to live in an environmentally sustainable way. However the solutions promoted by governments and big business are restricted to the 'god' of the 'free market'.

The Australian people are in myriad of community, industry and workplace struggles refusing to accept that the 'free market' is the death certificate for their children's and grandchildren's environmental future. The people know that without a sustainable environment, there is no economy, there is no human life. The people are on the march in their struggle for sustainability and a transition to a renewable energy economy, and will discard governments that fail them on effective action on climate change.

## **Resolution**

We support the many and rising struggles of the Australian people for environmental sustainability led by the indigenous people's struggle against the destruction of their lands by rapacious mining multinationals. We support the building of united struggle by workers, community groups, small business and farmers for environmental sustainability, and join with them to make the multinationals and big financial institutions pay for the transition to a renewable energy economy. We recognize that the united

struggle of the people can make short term advances to reduce pollution and protect the environment. However, it is only by winning an independent Australia under the leadership of the working class that the people can ensure an environmentally sustainable country.

# **13th National Congress Resolution on Media and Technology**

**The role of the media in shaping public opinion is well known by business, the corporate elite and the politicians that utilise it to service their interests. In the last thirty years or more, legislation originally designed to protect the broadest range of views expressed in the media has slowly been eroded.**

In April 2007 these laws were further eroded, when new rules governing cross-media ownership were passed into law. The major aspects of the new rules are a relaxation of restrictions on cross-media ownership. This means that corporations such as News Corp can now extend their influence from print media, to Free-To-Air Television, Radio and online content.

Such influence over the print media is already a staggering percentage of the market share. News Corp has, depending on the capital city, a share ranging from 68% of the market share on weekdays and closer to 78% over weekends. The recent developments in the U.K have only confirmed what the people already knew; that News

Corp, lead by Rupert Murdoch, is an unethical organisation that needs to be broken up and its interests be handed back to the people.

With the advent of technology and the coming of the internet age, imperialism and the local capitalists have had to grapple with ways to control the free communication and expression of the people. However, as always, corporations have demonstrated their ability to adapt and use a variety of means to control this technology. Control of knowledge and information and the implementation of various overt and covert forms of censorship abound. This has included the following:

- Legislation - a recent example is the Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act (CISP) currently being debated in the U.S.
- Using social media to distribute misinformation
- Redesigning social media websites to make it more difficult to be used by progressive individuals and groups. Youtube is a recent example
- Developing technology to help track individuals. Google over the last 5 years has spent a significant amount of time developing methodologies to correlate information
- Persecution of those who are seen to be subverting the imperialist and capitalist cause, e.g., Wikileaks and Julian Assange

our program and policies.

Unfortunately, Australian politicians have shown their subservience to multi-national corporations. This was clearly demonstrated when the Government allowed a multi-national company such as Google to come into the sovereign territory of Australia to collate information on Australian citizens. Google was allowed to operate “street view” in this country and it has now been disclosed that not only was Google taking photographs, but also collecting personal information from people’s Wi-Fi connections as the Google car drove past private homes.

As the crisis of capitalism intensifies and inter-imperialist rivalry becomes more acute, imperialism will become more aggressive in striking those it deems a threat to its interest. We need to be ready and prepared for those times. Not only should we be using new technology, but also traditional means to distribute our message. By working in this way, we will build our connections with the people and thereby develop our mass base.

All forms of expression have been targeted, including even more traditional forms of public expression such as billboards, graffiti and placing notices in public areas. Governments are now documenting this sort of expression so that when individuals or organisations are identified, they can be prosecuted.

The need is for the CPA (M-L) to respond and to grapple with ways to put forward our program, but at the same time, protection of our supporters and members has never been more important. Wherever possible, we must ensure that we use our own means and resources, including our members, to distribute



# **13th National Congress Resolution on China**

**We are still in a process of developing our understanding of changes that have taken place in China over the past three decades.**

During the first three decades after Liberation (1949), a fairly solid socialist base was put into place and the politically advanced sections of the working class and peasantry directed the affairs of state through the Communist Party.

The “reform and opening” initiated by Deng Xiaoping returned domestic and foreign capitalism to experimental zones, spread that to various municipalities and provinces, and eventually put the national economy on the path of markets and privatisation – in other words, the socialist road began to be challenged by the capitalist road.

So long as the Communist Party retains its current powers and functions and professes some form of socialism, it is likely that there will be contested areas of ideology, culture and the economy. However, it is the majority view of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) that the restorationists in China have the

upper hand and that the most likely future for China is one of further embedding capitalist practices at the expense of the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants.

Whether we take Lenin’s definition of imperialism (his famous five features), or Mao’s definition of a superpower (a power that engages in interference, subversion, bullying and control), China cannot now be labelled as “imperialist”. However, the trend is clearly in the direction of China engaging in the imperialist, globalised economy and Australia is in the front line of those countries experiencing a surge in Chinese capital export, including its direct investment in agriculture and mining.

## **Resolution**

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) takes seriously its responsibilities to the Australian working class and the international proletariat. It is an independent Party that acknowledges its previous strong affinity with the Communist Party of China during the era of Mao Zedong. It continues to seek friendly, mutually beneficial relationships with all peoples, including the great Chinese people. It supports the continued promotion of friendship and understanding between the peoples of Australia and China.

Developments, particularly since 1990, including the emergence and consolidation of private capitalist accumulation from exploitation of workers and peasants, and the export of capital, mean that previous certainties about socialism in China have been challenged and are now obsolete.

proletarian internationalism.

The CPA (M-L) encourages China to develop along the socialist road. At the present time, our view is that forces working for the further entrenchment of capitalism in China have the upper hand in the Communist Party of China.

The CPA (M-L) notes the significant growth of Chinese investment in the Australian economy, and will always put the interests of the Australian working class at the front and centre of our activities and demands.

The CPA (M-L) notes the growing rivalry between China and US imperialism, and takes seriously the threat of instability and conflict in our region. US imperialism is the main source of new wars and new conflicts and has the political loyalty of most of the Australian bourgeoisie. As their rivalry grows, both China and the US will attempt to influence events in Australia. The CPA (M-L) will base its response to international affairs on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and

# **13th National Congress Resolution on Study**

The Party needs to implement a more disciplined approach to the study of Marxism-Leninism in the current conditions of Australia. This should involve all Party members and Associate members, and should entail additional requirements for comrades in the leading bodies.

Such study is critical, not only to lift the level of theoretical understanding, but most importantly, to provide comrades with the tools to apply Marxism to the situations and struggles in which they are involved. It is essential to develop the capacity of our comrades to raise political consciousness among their mass connections and to give timely guidance and leadership in their areas of struggle and responsibility.

## **Resolution**

a) Congress requests the CC to develop and implement a Basic Study Program across all sections of the Party, based on selected texts from Marx, Engels, Mao and Ted Hill, the Party Program, the Congress Statement, and articles from Marxism Today and Australian Communist. This should involve private reading and study, together with discussion groups organised by

the State Committees.

b) Study should be targeted to mass work and the responsibilities of Party members, with regular summing up of collective and individual political activity, and where appropriate, criticism – self-criticism – remoulding.

c) At the level of CC and SC, additional study should focus on designated investigation tasks, building revolutionary leadership and organisation, and combating liberalism, reformism and sectarianism.

d) There must be tangible results coming from the Study Program, such as investigation projects, the production of internal reports, articles for publication, Party leaflets, and short and medium term campaigns and initiatives that assist Party building.

# ***Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)***

***(Adopted by the 13th National Congress in 2012)***

**1** The Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) aims to examine Australian and world reality from the standpoint of Marxism.

Marxist philosophy holds that the material world – matter – is primary. Ideas – consciousness – are the reflection of this objective reality.

Marxism is a guide to action, based on practice. It recognises all things in nature and society as constantly coming into being and passing away.

The Communist Party arises from the struggles of the Australian people. It aims to embody the highest ideals and hopes of the working class.

**2** From this basic standpoint the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) views Australia as a capitalist society characterised by production for profit. Profit is derived from

unpaid labour time.

Workers' labour power is purchased on the market by the owners of capital. Put to work in Australia, on average in half the working week it produces value sufficient to cover wages to maintain workers and their families. The value produced in the remainder of the working week constitutes surplus value, the source of profit.

The goods and services produced by workers' socialised labour are privately appropriated by capitalists. They will continue to be produced so long as they can be sold for profit on the market. The system of capitalist production leads inevitably to the alternating cycle of boom and bust and periodical crisis under capitalism.

**3** It is inevitable that sooner or later these social conditions will impel people to organise to end the conflict between the socialised labour process and the private ownership of the decisive means of production, the big factories, mines and corporate farms, by the establishment

of socialism. With socialism, production is planned and rational, and takes place for peoples' use.

To prevent the tiny minority of previous exploiters destroying the newly-established socialist system, the working class and its allies, who together can call upon the support of the majority of the people, will set up a new political state apparatus. Over time, this state withers away as society becomes self-managing.

In the socialist era, the material and moral conditions are laid to proceed to the higher epoch of classless communist society in which the full potential of all human beings is realised and the needs of all can be met.

**4** We live in the era of imperialism, that stage of capitalism when monopolies and finance capital (i.e. bank and industrial capital merged) dominate; when the export of capital as against the export of commodities assumes pronounced importance; when the world has been divided among big banks, financial institutions and multinational corporations; and when there are no longer any new territories to be seized without imperialist conflict.

The extraordinary advance of technology over the recent period does not alter fundamental social laws. On the contrary, it illustrates and sharpens those fundamental laws.

**5** The present stage in the struggle to end capitalism in Australia is the battle to win Australian independence from the foreign imperialist interests and their local allies, which constitute the core of Australian capitalism. Though Australia has achieved an important measure of independence, US imperialism holds decisive political, economic, diplomatic, military and cultural influence. The US has taken over from Britain as the dominant imperialism in Australia. The key sectors of Australia's economy are owned or controlled by giant foreign multinationals and a few big local monopolies which are bound up with them through joint ventures, foreign borrowings, and trade.

**6** The great cause which unites the Australian people is the struggle for Australian independence. The nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few foreign monopolies. As a result millions of ordinary Australians suffer intensified exploitation, growing

debt and insecurity, increased repression and discrimination, bankruptcy. Australia's natural wealth and heritage are looted for monopoly profit. The resulting struggles against foreign imperialist domination at the heart of Australian capitalism are objectively struggles for Australian independence, although the participants in many cases may not make this connection.

**7** The working class is the leading class in this struggle. While imperialism takes a heavy toll on the lives of the majority of Australians, workers, farmers, small and medium local business people, the self-employed, professionals, shopkeepers, black and white, irrespective of ethnic origin, the centre of its attack is aimed at the working class from whose labour it derives maximum profit. Large-scale production forces the Australian working class to be the most disciplined cohesive and politically-conscious class. With the working class as the core, people's sentiment for anti-imperialist independence will be transformed into a mighty people's movement building up to eventually launch revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination.

**8** To maintain and protect foreign imperialist domination of Australia, a powerful state machine has emerged. It consists of the bureaucracy, police, courts, gaols, armed forces, intelligence agencies. It seems to stand independently over Australian society but in fact it exists to enforce imperialist domination. Parliamentary democracy with its limited formal democratic rights operates within this context.

While such rights have positive aspects, imperialist domination, capitalism and the state machine's repressive, violent character are still the central feature of the capitalist state. Australia's ruling class uses the mass media, education system, culture, etc., to push a whole system of ideas which disguises imperialist domination and monopoly exploitation and presents them as inevitable. Capitalism's "natural" tendency is towards erosion of democratic rights and more open repression, particularly in periods of deep economic or social difficulties for the imperialists. There is always the danger that Australia's imperialist overlords will discard the democratic façade and rule through systematic, open, ruthless violence – fascism.

**9** Imperialism gives rise to constant international instability and wars of aggression. The root cause of instability and war is imperialist expansionism and rivalry of and between the United States of America and the European Union and to a lesser extent, Russia. This expansionism and rivalry overshadows world events, carries with it the danger of world war and greatly influences the situation within Australia. Nor has US imperialism given up its dreams of destroying the People's Republic of China or once again attacking the Republic of Cuba or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other progressive countries. People in the underdeveloped countries and former colonies continue to struggle against the cruel debts imposed by unfair trade pacts, and the political interference, economic blackmail, and military threats of the imperialist powers. Ordinary people everywhere demand the right to live in peace. They are actively fighting to force their governments to abandon all aggressive policies and action. They want an end to all nuclear weapons, chemical and other means of mass destruction starting with the US, holders of the largest stock of weapons. The Australian people want an end to US military bases and involvement in imperialist wars.

**10** The struggle for anti-imperialist independence embraces all people's action to improve their lives. The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) supports all demands which arise out of people's struggle against imperialism.

In the course of that struggle people will conclude that parliament and the main political parties operate to administer the system on imperialism's behalf.

As an alternative to foreign imperialist domination, the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) supports demands to nationalise the key industries and financial institutions, to vigorously tax the large multinationals and the super-rich, and to expropriate and redistribute foreign-owned corporate farms.

With the establishment of people's democratic institutions at national and regional level, and people's ownership of press, radio, TV and electronic media, the mass of Australian working people can be informed and consulted as they participate in the building of a new life. With this energy it will be really possible to wipe out poverty, provide high-quality health, education and social services for all the Australian people, and repair the damage done to the natural

environment.

An essential task is to support a just Treaty with the indigenous people who were violently dispossessed by British imperialism, to end their dispossession, oppression and exploitation.

**11** The foreign imperialists will fight all moves towards real Australian independence. In the face of likely ruthless and violent suppression by the capitalist state machine which serves foreign imperialism, and with the necessity of defending people's democracy against aggression, interference and subversion, the people must be prepared for all means of struggle. Their hopes for a better life demand that they take power into their own hands.

**12** The Party must be able to function under any circumstances and be able to maintain its work through rapid changes of conditions. In particular, full attention must be paid to the hostile activities of the state machine.

**13** The strategic policy of the Communist Party of Australia

(Marxist-Leninist) is revolution by stages. The Party organises to assist the current stage of winning Australian independence and, through that, laying the foundations for Australian socialism and moving towards communism.

**14** The Communist Party arises from the struggles of the Australian people. It aims to embody the highest ideals and hopes of the working class. It endeavours, from the scientific standpoint of Marxism, to examine Australian and world reality and participate in changing Australian society in accordance with the process of development which Marxism shows is actually going on. It strives for the most intimate possible knowledge of Australia, its history and its present situation.

The Party acts with complete confidence in the Australian people. Its organisation is among the people. It strives to work in accordance with the degree of understanding of the people at a given time and with the objective of step-by-step raising that understanding towards an understanding of the overall social process.

The Party seeks to inspire the working class to lead the way



in building a massive people's movement against US imperialist domination, involving all progressive Australian forces, winning over the middle forces, and isolating the handful of reactionary enemies of the people.

**15** Members of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) accept a lifetime commitment to the welfare of the working class and the great cause of Communism.





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