POLICY REPORTS FOR LAUNCHING CONFERENCE

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

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Launching Conference social function

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

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

To avoid unnecessary hitches we would request you take into account these restrictions. If you need assistance arranging child care let the Sydney NLP Office know asap.

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

For the $20 (as concession) the night will include a starchboard meal, and entertainment by the soloist choir, the owihole singers and their orchestra and Margaret Roodnight. Come along and Party.

Workshop planning

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

POLICY COMMISSION LIST

SYDNEY
Community/Social Justice
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Jennifer Sawyer (02) 267 2995 W
Environment
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PERTH
Aboriginal Commission
Clarris Isaacs (09) 342 7491 H
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Interventionist Industry Policy with Special Reference to the Environment Commission
Ian Patterson (03) 23 9023 H
All Correspondence to "The Relevant Commission"
The New Left Party Group PO Box 273 North Hobart Tas. 7005.

ADELAIDE
Woman's Commission
Jenny Allen-Beyen (08) 47 3300 H
Environment Commission
John Pistar (08) 231 5593 W

REGIONAL CONTACTS:
PERTH - PO Box 1277, East Victoria Park, WA 6101; Ph: Marborac Vic (09) 335 1928; Karl or Cyrielle (09) 361 6521
ADELAIDE - PO Box 353, Hindmarsh, SA 5007; Ph: Barbara (08) 43 6228
HOBART - PO Box 273, North Hobart, Tas. 7002; Ph: Jan (02) 236012
MELBOURNE - PO Box 236, Collins St Vic 3000; Ph: (03) 354 2172, Mike (03) 357 5329
LA TROBE VALLEY - c/- PO Box 836, Morwell, Vic 3840; Ph: Peter or Ross (051) 691 655
NSW ILLAWARRA - PO Box 1905, Wollongong, NSW 2500; Ph: Mike (042) 672 111 or Beverley (042) 284 997
SYDNEY - GPO Box 1214, Sydney, NSW 2000; Ph: Frank (02) 660 2559, Joyce (02) 514 1748 or Andrea (02) 344 0566
NSW BATHURST - PO Box 560, Bathurst, NSW 2795; Ph: Jane (06) 31 9964
NSW HUNTER - PO Box 255, Merrickyn, NSW 2291; Ph: Greg (049) 61 1105
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Draft 'statement of intent'

Explanatory Note:
As previously agreed it is proposed that the final plenary session of the NLP Launching Conference should adopt a "statement of intent" which would announce the intention to establish a new party and outline the basic steps towards next year's Founding Conference. This draft was discussed at a recent meeting on July 8, which agreed on the basic points to be covered in the draft.

Regional groups are asked to discuss their views about the draft if possible; any comment before the Conference would help in preparing a revised version for discussion at the Conference. Please forward any comments/suggestions to the Sydney NLP Office, either in writing or by phone.

I. NEW LEFT PARTY LAUNCHED

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. STEPS TO THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

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

1. Drafting Documents

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

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

2. Campaign Initiatives

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

3. Establishing Interim Organisation

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

4. Publicity and Promotion

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

III. CAMPAIGNS

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

In addition to all the broad movements and activities in which NLP members are engaged in, the new left party organisation will
take a small number of specific national campaign initiatives over the next 8 months. These have been chosen as key "linking" issues which concern many people across a range of movements and opinion, and around which the NLP can realistically take its own initiatives as part of broader movements.

IV. INTERIM ORGANISATION

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

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

Membership cards will be issued on receipt of a signed form and fee (£1). Cards will entitle members to take part in all decision-making processes. All those who have already returned signed forms will automatically be issued cards when they pay their fees (or if they have already donated at least the relevant amount). Members are also urged to contribute generously with extra pledges or donations to help fund the process.

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

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

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

3. A National Co-ordinating Committee will be established as soon as possible. Its members will be elected or appointed by existing regional groups or co-ordinating committees on the basis of one NCC member for every fifty members or part thereof in that region. New regional groups may be established with the agreement of the national co-ordinating committee and can be represented on it if they have at least twenty-five members.

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

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

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

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

1. Delegates to the Founding Conference will be elected from the regional groups in proportion to their signed up membership by February 28 1990.

(Where a party's name is used, say one delegate for every ten members, will be decided by the national coordinating committee after consultation with all regional groups.) It will be up to each regional group to decide the procedure for electing or determining its delegates. However, a general principle will apply to all groups that the delegates should represent reasonably accurately the constituencies and trends of opinion which exist in each regional group. This could be ensured either through consensus being reached about the delegates or through some method of election agreed on by the group. However, to safeguard the rights of all members and to ensure reasonably uniform procedures in all groups, each group should report the procedure it intends to adopt to the National Coordinating Committee which should ensure that the procedure conforms to the above principle.

2. Two options for determining the party's name are being offered for the Launching Conference to decide which one goes into the final state. Both involve an initial plebiscite of members to choose the most popular three or four names from, say ten to twenty put forward. This would probably be held late this year (See later than November). This plebiscite would be preceded by a period of discussion about possible names and a closing date would be announced for submission of suggested names to go on the plebiscite voting paper. This plebiscite could be followed by further discussion about the merits of the chosen names.

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

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

The Comms, page 4
SUGGESTIONS FOR CAMPAIGNS

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

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

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

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

2. Child Care - support for X new places in X years. This is a call to be backed up by at least one public action in all regions.

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

4. Toxic Chemicals - expose the effects of use, storage and dumping of toxic chemicals on workers, consumers and the environment. Work for agreement that present stockpiles be disposed of in the most environmentally sound method presently available, to prevent an even worse environmental disaster in the face of looming accidents and leakages.
These are the first drafts prepared by the policy and other commissions that were established earlier this year, and will be discussed and revised in the lead-up to the Founding Conference in 1990.

Anyone interested in contributing to the development of the commissions' work should contact the relevant commission (see page two) - the regions are listed at the end of each draft.

Aboriginal policy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WAY FORWARD
The 1978 proclamation by the World Health Organisation at Alma-Ata (USSR) underpins the process of re-establishing an oppressed people:

“Health does not just mean the physical well-being of an individual, but refers to the social, emotional and cultural well-being of the whole community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eg. a percentage of the Gross National Product.

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

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

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

LEGAL
Aboriginal Legal Services to be maintained under Aboriginal administration.

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

Discriminate drunkenness and non-payment of fines.

Enlarge - deaths in custody.

(W.A. Commission)
**PREAMBLE**

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

That the existence of gender oppression is a given in our current social organisation, and that it must be discussed in all our political organisation, politics and structure;

That there is no 'hierarchy of oppression' - that class, race and gender oppression, for example, are seen as equally important (rather than class being seen as the overriding or priority form of oppression).

1. SEXUALITY

The aims of the New Left are to:

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

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

Strongly and positively affirm women's choices and sexuality;

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

(Statements on pornography to be considered further).

2. VIOLENCE

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

3. WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

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

4. WOMEN & THE STATE

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

5. WOMEN AS CARERS

- child care
- paid parental leave
- the ideology of motherhood - challenging this, particularly by specific campaigns (e.g. paid parental leave, childcare, issues around homosexual parents)
- family court

- care of the aged and dependent people
- language - 'care' used as an ideology to mask the burden for women
- voluteerism.

6. WOMEN & WORK

PAID

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

UNPAID

- voluntaryism
- community care
- parenting
- domestic labour

7. CULTURE

- pornography
- media and sexism
- sport, recreation and leisure

B. SOME THOUGHTS ON PRIORITY AREAS FOR CAMPAIGNS

- paid parental leave
- childcare
- abortion - pro-abortion coalitions
- access to services and funding
- equal pay

C. GENDER ISSUES: Structure and organisation

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

PREAMBLE

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

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

The Comet, page 8
Multiculturalism means more than the co-existence of different cultures in the same society. It means making available resources to provide and promote the retention and creative development of different cultures within the Australian context.

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

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

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

The collective thinking of the leader’s constituency, there needs to be debate within the party about the nature of leadership. Specific details to implement this policy will need to be devised and ratified once the party structure is determined.

MEETING PROCEDURES

7. As a general principle, in any meeting, everyone will have the opportunity to speak and no one can speak twice unless everyone has spoken or specifically indicated that they do not wish to speak. At any time someone who has not spoken will have priority.
8. The chairperson should ensure that the speaking time is fairly shared, with particular attention to gender balance.
9. In any meeting a person should be appointed to assist the Chair in implementing the above.
10. In any meeting or conference, generally the majority of discussion should occur in small groups.
11. Whenever required, all members should be made available to participate in meetings and events.

Multiculturalism discussion paper

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

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

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

The question of how people of non-English speaking backgrounds will participate in the new left party is essential to both questions of the organisational democracy of the party as well as the mass character of the party.
Despite the fact that we can see how society as a whole has sustained and facilitated the use of non-English speaking background, adults, all parts of the left have simply reflected that migration.

While the major parties of the left have made some efforts to involve non-English speaking members, notably by forming ethnic branches, these branches have not had any real power in these organisations.

All too often these branches were simply used as fund raisers and to provide numbers a meaning function. In essence they were seen as tick-box and not essential to the decision making processes of the organisation. A failure to communicate and to overcome alienation has been the core of the problem. Information is power, but information is also knowledge that could be understood was rarely conveyed.

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

IMMIGRATION

A proposed framework for an immigration policy. The essence of immigration law is control. It is controlled by the nation's stereotypes, the treatment, entry and treatment of individuals abroad as they come to us. Consequently, it is central to our citizens as well. For underlying immigration laws are a whole range of public policies shaped by political choices about what sort of society the state wishes to create. It is therefore not surprising that immigration law and policy become a high profile and strongly contested area in terms of national economic or political crisis.

Immigration control is one means by which the state implements a number of social, political, and economic agendas. It proceeds in controlling population size and the composition of the population, particularly in age and race profile. It allows those national economic planning at various levels, including manipulation of the size and skill structure of the labour force and housing combining growth through stimulating demand for goods and services. It also supports on aid, trade and political relations with other nation states.

The interests of Australian capital have recently dominated the immigration programme. Workers are high (now around 500,000 per year), and preferences given to young, highly skilled people and to business migrants. The proportion of places allocated to refugees and lower skilled family reunion migrants have steadily decreased.

Immigration is on the economic function of migration, equal on its humanitarian function. This approach is followed by both Liberal and Labor Governments. In the Australia's 'long term interests' it is clearly contrary to the interests of the trade union movement and to our migrant communities.

The increasing emphasis on improving skilled labour at a time of high unemployment is stark testimony to the failure of the government to develop a coherent strategy about labour markets planning and to invest sufficient resources in training and retaining the existing workforce. These groups are bearing the brunt of this neglect.

They are particularly vulnerable to industry restructuring and technological change. 

* Program adjustments in working class non-English speaking background workers are presented from being able to be reunited with their parents, brothers and sisters.

* The displacement, depopulation and reacceleration of the world who are increasingly being denied the right of settlement.

The new party believes that an immigration programme can be devised and implemented which meets the needs of all these groups and which will also be in Australia's long term economic interests. Such a programme would be based on the following principles:

- An unequivocal rejection of race discrimination in the selection process.
- A commitment to full family reunion rights, in which adult siblings are included in the definition of imitated family and the importance of the cultural significance of the extended family should also be recognised.
- An increase in the proportion of places allocated to refugees and special humanitarian cases.
- An acceptance of the absolute rights of humanitarian and non-ethnic Australians to be able to live in this country with the benefit of their choice.

- An end to discrimination against disabled people.

* A fair appeals system which gives maximum emphasis to the rights of those in the country who have been reconsidered by the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, win the right to legal aid.

- A less frequent dependence on skilled migration by implementing a comprehensive labour market planning with emphasis on education, training and retaining the existing workforce.

- A funding to establish arrangements to replace the existing programme in selection of skilled workers.

- Elimination of the human wastage that results from the unacceptance of overseas qualifications by despairing more appropriate selection criteria and by providing bridging courses.

- A quota system should be based at with equal numerical basis restored from each applicant country.
This draft was prepared by the Warramunga group based on submissions received from the Sydney Women’s Group contained in the Melbourne Conference papers, from the Socialist Network and from individual party members.

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

Organisational Structure: Groups, Regions and Commissions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Conference

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

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

National Committee

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

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

National Secretariat

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

We should give particular attention to the location of our offices and staff so as not to disadvantage and under service isolated and disavantaged regions.

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

It should be directly accountable to the National Committee. The responsibilities and qualifications for the secretariat should be determined by the National Committee. The National Committee should be the body that interviews and selects the applicants. This allows for candidates to be properly assessed according to their suitability. The alternative means of selection would be through some form of voting either at national conference or by mail. The outcome could be that the successful candidate may be the most popular or well known rather than the most suitable.

There may also arise a need to employ extra staff members between conferences or more quickly than a plebiscite would allow.

Affirmative Action for Women

Since gender is a major arena of political struggle both within and between classes, the organised expression at all levels of women’s political interests should be a basic principle of the new socialist party’s organisation.
in proportion to thejumlah of votes cast by the electorate. These votes are then counted and the candidates with the most votes win the seats. The process is repeated until all the seats are filled. This system is known as "proportional representation" and is in line with the goal of representation of all communities and interests.

In summary, the proposed consultation model aims to provide a fair and inclusive decision-making process. The model takes into account the concerns of all stakeholders, including the minority parties, and ensures that their voices are heard. It also provides for the establishment of a new committee to oversee the implementation of the consultation model, ensuring that it is carried out in a transparent and accountable manner.

Democracy and Local Government

These notes are based on several written submissions and a workshop held in Lower East on June 2. The notes are very brief and aim to highlight issues for discussion and to provoke consideration of some difficult areas. All the notes are based on the presumption that the government should consider elections and votes with parliamentary offices, although we acknowledge that people in a new party will question this assumption. The majority of these were expressed as opinions to the commissioners for the next elections.

Some overall considerations

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

- Electoral programs should be designed to concentrate on a few key, topical issues rather than trying to appeal to every group and party. We should aim to concentrate on the core issues of the three-point platform of the Nationalist Reformist Party, which was not an "extended" but a "structured" party. It is preferable to stand as a team involving other groups and parties. In reality, this has proved difficult, but we should continue to try. The 'activist' nature of parties and alliances is the nature of the "correct" union leadership that was seen as a good example of effective leadership. Can it be replicated on a general basis?

- The question of why candidates should be "professional" is one that we need to explore. Are they bound by a party caucus? Are they responsible to their electorate? Should they be "free agents"?

- The need for serious long-term reforms of the electoral system is crucial. If we are to break the two-party system, "free elections" can be non-partisan. A new form of proportional representation is necessary in order to elect a viable government that is representative of the will of the people.
should campaign with other parties (Democrats, Greens, NDP, Independents, etc.) to achieve these reforms.

**Local Government**

- Many see this as our starting point because of past successes, proportional systems, and the need to build support from the grassroots. Electoral success in local government is virtually guaranteed for both parties and candidates for success at state or federal level. Some of these successful council candidates have also given parliament a close-run result. As such, New South Wales must be noted as a key area for the new party. The new party must encourage and maintain its community-based campaigns as the essential building blocks for longer-term electoral success. As well as the immediate reward for the community. Some doubt were expressed about the long-term future of the "independent" label. Can you be inde-

- pendent and be a party? Here, conservatives station the label in name only. Are alternatives such as "Active Community Team" preferable?

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

- The role of local government as the third tier of governance is crucial to the delivery of services at a local level. It is not clear how the new party will address this issue. Local government must be an active and visible part of the new party's campaign strategy.

**State/Federal**

- The new party should run candidates for all seats in the state and federal parliaments.

- Local government candidates should be nominated by community groups, rather than by party. They would be answerable to these groups while making no access of their broader political views.

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**Industry & Economic**

**Industrial:**

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

The Industrial Commission has prepared a discussion paper on trade union affairs for the Launching Conference which contains two basic themes: an attack on "tuc-tuc" via the trade union movement, and more outward looking, seeking the issues like award restructuring which the new government must grapple with over the next few years. The first section therefore addresses the question of declining union membership, and in particular examines the weaknesses in the Accord, and the possibility of unions to attract women and young people. The definition of a "relevance" is also adopted as the key issue for discussion on the role of unions in the workplace, to a broader view of the economic, environmental and industrial strategies the movement must develop if it is to prosper.

**Democraclan rights**

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**Newcastle Commission**

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Economic:
Global restructuring & the restructuring of Australian capitalism: a left response

1. Changes in the world economy:
   a) rising inequality since the mid-1970s
   b) drive for new avenues for corporate profits
   c) rise of "economic rationalism"/New Right
   d) internationalisation of capital
   e) liberalisation of production
   f) changing economic & political relations
   g) shifting balances of economic/political power
   h) competition in global markets
   i) changes in socialist economies.

2. Effects on the Australian economy:
   a) balance of payments deterioration
   b) financial deregulation
   c) worsening terms of trade
   d) consequencies
   e) commuting of the economy/workforce
   f) growth of services & secondary goods
   g) growth of part-time employment, especially for women
   h) relative decline of manufacturing sector.
   i) AIP: 1983-85 Accord/financial deregulation
   j) "economic rationalism"/market-led restructuring
   k) Liberal/National Parties.

3. Building a left alternative: current struggles & long-term goals
   a) Limits to market-led restructuring.
   b) Principles of a left alternative.
   c) Key areas
   d) industry planning/development policy
   e) social wage/public services
   f) regulation of finance
   g) planned trade/export controls
   h) broad-based income policy
   i) price controls
   j) progressive taxation system
   k) education & training
   l) public ownership
   m) industrial democracy
   n) economic planning
   o) resource conservation/environmental sustainability.

(Sydney Commission)

Environment

Introduction
The current recognition of the world's ecological crises is not one which can be regarded as a passing fad. The ecological crises is very real and is one of humanity's greatest threats and one of our greatest opportunities.

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

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

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

BASIC PRINCIPALS
1. Sustainability. All human activities must be sustainable. This requires a fundamental change in our economic systems and our relationship to nature.
2. Social Equity. All people should be able to meet their basic material, cultural, and emotional needs. This means the elimination of racism, class, patriarchy and all other structures and beliefs which oppress and divide people.
3. Real Democracy. We are committed to an ongoing democratisation of society until workers control their workplaces, communities control their development and the people control the institutions established to serve them.
4. Possibilism. We intend to build a world where people are encouraged to develop and express their capacity for creativity and co-operation in their work, leisure and relationships.

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

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

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

- to feed house and cloth people
- to reduce and eliminate pollution
- to replenish and recycle resources
- to maximise local control over and participation in decision making on the environment based on shared information
- a centrally planned approach according to agreed principles (and targets) reached after gap-assessed input from local groups
- to take into account the real needs of activities: ecological, economic, and human capital
- to research and develop environment-friendly practices and technology
- to maintain an international perspective and strive for balance global and national economic development
- to develop sustainable development and to promote co-operation rather than competition.

CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

- Have the long-term implications been thought through and alternative options considered? (is it a sustainable practice?)
- Is it socially useful? Is it the most energy efficient? Will the extraction, use and disposal of resources enhance the environment?
- Does it conserve (and enhance) our natural and constructed heritage?
- Does it have a positive visible/authentic impact? Blend in with the

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natural environment?
- does it tap people's creative skills?
- is it consistent with indigenous people?
- does it cause a minimum of risk and disturbance to flora and fauna?
- does it bring financial and political institutions closer into step with the
dworkings of nature?

Environmental Economics

Environmental economics should take into account the following:
- Eco-development which takes environmental impact into account and
stives for sustainable management.

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

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

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

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

New technologies provide possibilities of greater freedom and diver-
ity of work and more consumer control.
The numerous contradictions which arise when concepts of progress,
civilisation and quality of life are defined, need to be dealt with through a
democratic and dynamic process.

Resource Management

PRODUCTION

All production should be indefinitely sustainable in terms of the en-
vironment and jobs.

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

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

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

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

POPULATION

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

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

MINING

Mining of all types and methods should not be undertaken in any of the
following:
- national parks
- wilderness areas
- Aboriginal land and cultural sites.

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

Unethical mining: the mining of uranium should be stopped, and in-
dustry employees re-trained and directed into useful industries.

Index of themajor concerns for mining policies:
- Corporat role and responsibility in environmental management.
- Multi-level use management.
- Costs and benefits of proposed land uses.
- Sustainable development and utilisation of natural resources both
physical and biological.
- Noise and dust management.
- Water quality management: the need to fund and explore the develop-
ment of innovative approaches to the re-use of waste water.

Creative post-mining rehabilitation programs.

ENERGY

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

It is necessary to use existing energy sources more efficiently to mini-
mise further environmental destruction until such successes are developed.

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

TIMBER

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

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

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

The Federal government must act to develop a comprehensive forest
industries policy which
a) guarantees the provision of jobs in stable and sustainable industries
b) provides adequate environmental protection during the harvesting of
native forests.

The Federal Government must ensure this is accepted by State Govern-
ments.

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

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

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

HUMAN/URBAN ENVIRONMENT

PLANNING

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

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

Environmental Impact Statement should be produced under strict con-
trol within an independent public body.
WASTE MANAGEMENT

Introduction

The importance of the waste issue and recycling

Waste Issues

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

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

c) Sewage wastes - ineffectiveness of sea pipelines - lack of adequate treatment - other solutions? - recycling technology no available - fertilizer - oil.

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

e) Radiation - over packaging (fruits, vegetables, meats, etc.) - use of plastics and polyurethane - dangers of plastics - non-biodegradable - dangers in rivers, oceans, beaches - new technologies availability.

f) Vegetable wastes - utilization - enriching - soil improvement.

g) Garbage disposal - 90% recyclable - world problem.

h) Recycling - glass, aluminium, other metals, cardboard, sewerage, vegetable matter, paper, etc. - council collectors.

i) Energy wastage - electricity, gadgets, means increasing cost & oil burning - practising economies - Australia use of thriest energy per capita in the world - items of saving energy - insulation, house planning, solar power, wind & water power.

Conclusion - What's to be done?

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

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

CONCLUSION.

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

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

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

Transition.

Some key principles for thinking about action and change.

- Individuals can make a difference. Principles can be practiced in daily life such as recycling, influencing your union.
- Building alternative worlds is one of the future in current society-co-operative, political parties, community living situations.
- Utilise present structures. Establishment of a Bill of Rights, constitutional protection for the environment, reforming educational curricula.
- The necessity of a broad approach. The goal of the New Left Party must be to involve and link the broadest range of people and concerns in the struggle for radical change. This involves rejection of socialism and a re-approach to ecological purity. We must be prepared to learn as well as teach.

Education.

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

Some basic principles to consider:

- Educational changes in institutions such as the timber and mining industries with re-training in practical and fulfilling job areas.
- Development of positive links between the environmental groups and unions where both parties have input into the development of new directions and resources.
- Education at all levels of schooling about environmental hazards, dangers and pessim, with positive programs for future directions.
- The involvement of people in the direct process of environmental reconstruction and management.
- Utilising the mass media as a potential major agent of environmental re-education.
- Re-educating people about appropriate consumption, and thinking consumption - how much of what I have done is really needed?
- Provision of services available to communities for re-cycling waste etc. where people cannot directly involved in environmental re-constructio.
Industry Intervention:

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

Environment:

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

Community:

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

The term intervention also includes government intervention in the popular interest which is essential as a counter to the negative aspects of unfettered market forces. Government intervention in industry/ economic issues including industry planning and development is frequently necessary to give form to union and community intervention.

 ISSUES:

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

The concern is then that the ground and the labor movement is readily identified:

• workers produce commodities that are harmful to the environment and to others as consumers;
• exposure to industrial pollutants, hazardous chemicals and toxic waste are work is common;
• in the medium and long term, job security depends on sustainable production, not merely access to natural resources, and
• industrial development must address issues of resource depletion, obsolescence and waste.

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

1. at the workplace on issues of health and safety, safe production systems, etc;
2. concerns at the industry level for long term job security and employment generation through environmentally sustainable industrial development;
3. involvement at peak levels of the union movement in strategic issues with national and international implications;
4. rights of workers as consumers and citizens;
5. workers as environmental activists in areas not directly related to their workplace/industry concerns.

Community intervention also takes a number of forms:

1. through consumer organisations addressing prices and quality of goods and services (including welfare services, eg. ACCESS);
2. through community organisations set up to provide community services to improve the quality of life, and
3. through community and resident action on issues of urban and industrial development, including transport systems, health, education and welfare generally.

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

1. WHAT IS PRODUCED? socially useful production of goods and services serving social needs within environmental constraints;
2. HOW IT IS PRODUCED? what are the necessary inputs to produce, how are work and production systems organised, the unwanted outputs such as waste, harmful by-products and pollutants;
3. WHO DECIDES? issues of social and democratic accountability, and intervention on matters otherwise left to the corporate sector such as investment policy.

SUSTAINABILITY

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

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

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

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE’S RIGHTS

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

Now, at 150 years ago, the relationship in production are still those of exploit and exploited. Profitable relationships are the driving force for production. This relationship and the false values that have grown from it lie at the heart of the ecological crises we face today. What is produced is decided on the basis of what is profitable to the capital, rather than:

- the contribution to quality of life;
- the best possible use of available resources;
- the impact of particular industry on society, e.g. clear-felling and induced pollution may not be in the best interests of agriculture and tourism.

A major constraint on development of productive systems designed to meet human needs is the massive power of multinational corporations. Governments and parliaments, even given the will, are often unable to resist multinationals. However, experience shows that, given sufficient public support (active or passive), mass movements can lead and support governments in the exercise of legal powers to curtail the worst acts of vandalism against the environment plagued by capitalist corporations, e.g. the Wesley Vale chemical pulp mill planned for Northern Tasmania.

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

The falsity of worries about jobs and environmental responsibility propagated by capitalist corporations and their minions, has served to divide society. It is provided cover for the devastating effects on employment by capital on control of technological change.

THE CHALLENGE

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

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

In Australian conditions, the raising provisions for pretaxative industry planning should be expanded to include statutory rights for representative community groups to make an input. This would make it possible to identify and inject into industry economic planning environmental considerations which (like social considerations) cannot be ignored high with the real plans.

 ISSUES AND POLICIES

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

Production systems which:
- are diverse, stable and environmentally safe;
- create a level of wealth capable of providing a decent quality of life and ensure equitable distribution of wealth to workers and the community;
- allocate adequate resources to industry and institution-based training and republic recruiting for all who desire it;
- provide the safest and best possible conditions for educated and skilled workforce in control of work and organisation and planning;
- enable production planning by worker and consumer representatives, producers and communities in appropriate open and democratic forums;
- produce quality goods and services as opposed to disposable and throw-away commodities;
- are oriented to quality of life and social benefit rather than consumerism and private profit;
- link agriculture to other industries in ways that emphasise soil content rather than machinery and chemicals which pollute and destroy the earth;
- depend on and continually develop technologies oriented to human development by encouraging initiatives, innovation and creativity and by ending smashed all and drudgery at work.

Industrial development of such character requires:
- increased resources devoted to the creation of a highly educated, diversified and industry in development policies centred on training and skill development;
- a commitment to education as a life-long process;
- conversion towards flexible mass transport systems oriented to optimal environmental standards and maximum energy efficiency;
- multiple energy sources biased to non-polluting and renewable resources, appropriate to tasks to be performed (cf Barry Commoner "Powers of Power");
- quality, affordable housing accessible to all; health and welfare services that guarantee equality, access, community accountability and involvement;
- large, efficient, democratically controlled public sector oriented to providing human services and involvement in wealth creation through cooperative enterprises. (In contrast much of the public service provides public resources to the private sector.)

Science and Technology: Possibilities and Pitfalls

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

With strategic intervention by unions and communities, the outcomes are likely to be negative and divisive.

The scientific and technological revolution has created a context in common with previous periods of rapid technological change. But the impact of the silicon chip and computers on industry systems has introduced new variables - the capacity to automate into being an end danger and being work, the microchip revolution has dramatically reduced the demand for energy, and innovation in production and production systems have accelerated - accelerated destruction of industrial capital in a way previously only possible in times of war or massive depression.

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

In New Left Party needs a developed policy on approaches in science and technology and its relationship to both education and production. Specific issues include:

- the involvement of workers, unions and community organisations in determining priorities for R & D;
- the role of information technology and means of control and access;
- the impact of flexible production systems, multi-skilling and new forms of work and management organisation.

The Comet, page 18
SOCIAL JUSTICE

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

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

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

(i) Health and welfare. * environmentally sustainable and socially acceptable use of resources; * social services; * distribution of wealth; * social distribution of values; * social distribution of wealth; * social distribution of values; * social distribution of wealth.

(ii) Economic distribution. * distribution through wages; * wage justice; * comparable work; * comparable wealth; * comparable distribution; * socio-economic justice; * socio-economic justice; * socio-economic justice.

(iii) Access to and recognition of socially useful activity. * paid employment; * unpaid employment; * support and sustenance; * education; * development; * opportunities; * integration; * integration.

(iv) Access to quality of life. * services; * health; * environment; * society; * community; * society; * community; * society; * community.

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

(a) * support - linking around struggles with the right across different fields of work.

(b) links - sign up links, e.g. between unions and community groups

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

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

(e) * analyse/policy - consistently produce/facilitate the best left analysis of social justice issues

(f) * recruiting in our sector

(g) * a campaign in the party's name. - Protect child poverty pledge? Tax? Housing?

WHAT IS SOCIAL JUSTICE?

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

A political struggle

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

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

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

This is to small objective. It permeates all areas of social existence and activity. It requires an absolute recognition of the complex communities, circumstances, differences and barriers which determine and constrain needs in any society. It is sometimes suggested that social justice can be limited to the distribution and access to the fruits of production - or more simplistically, to the elimination of poverty. In fact, social justice (like the other organizing values of democracy, autonomy, civil rights, participation and social responsibility and community) is integral to all areas of human activity.
Social justice today

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

Traditional left concerns

For traditional socialist concerns with justice focused almost exclusively on justice (or rather lack of it) between those who own the means of production and those who don't: better workers and the bourgeoisie or the rich and ordinary working people. The "needs" in question were (are?) seem to be the needs of the worker and we assumed to be relatively straightforward. This view has been challenged in recent years by the newly organized community welfare sector, which came into existence precisely because this plague is gradually intractable. "Needs" are much more varied and complex. There are income needs, social and emotional needs, the need for special services to facilitate access to general services, and the need for special services.

If a society is to be responsible for meeting these, it must recognize that in all societies people live in a variety of circumstances and that needs are socially conditioned or, in other circumstances. Socialists have always recognized the principle that needs are socially created, but that new, well-established left principles must be applied more broadly and more deeply.

A broader understanding of social justice

Many of the needs social justice must address today are familiar to the left, but many others have yet to find a place in a left consciousness. The two broadest established would be the provision and the need for lower for workers (the eight-hour day struggle). Somewhere in the middle of the here is, at best, only a partial understanding of the need for separate provision for children. Of course, some people who have worked have been won by the union movement - child endowment or Family Allowance as it now is, as in example, this is linked partly to notions of male breadwinner, the "family wage," and to a growing concern of the middle class notion of increased periods of child dependency. The left, it must be said, has a strong consciousness of cultural diversity and needs the cultural and language diversity as well as the other services and more specific issues like adjusting services such as meals on wheels to the dietary needs of different ethnic groups, that the labor movement as a whole has a positive effect on the community. Even among socialists and the left there seems little understanding of the general human need for sub-cultural identity - of the clothes and music of young people of the too often disparaged "inner-city" trends.

If these are the underdeveloped areas, what of the head ones? It could not be said that traditional socialists or the labor movement have the highest grip on the leisure needs of cultural or particular interest groups. One could not be said that there is much understanding of the issue of disability, or of sole parents. And, at the end, while there is some commitment to environmentalism, it is usually couched in terms of planetary destruction at the hands of exploitative capital. There is no real sense - such as Blake may have had at the beginning of British industrialization - of the human-made natural environment.

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

This has huge consequences. It means that women should have the same access to leisure and services as men, which would demand a fundamental change in the allocation of paid work. The cost of children should be fully recognized so that those with children are not disadvantaged relative to those without. And so on - these examples are legion. Overall, public income distribution and specific services would have to play a dramatic, larger role in the distribution of national income - something which is currently done mainly by wages. Even within a capitalist base society - or rather the mixed economy of social democracy - there would be a much greater role for public provision - a distribution of income and services, could be directed at least to eat, wear, wage labor. A proper understanding of social justice means moving away from traditional concerns with wage justice and some of the forms of exploitation in the workplace, as a community-based approach to economic equity. Such a change would have major consequences for the structure of the economy.

A greater emphasis on public distribution is easy for socialists to come to terms with in particular if it is emphasized that this is not the existing "welfare state" which has extracted so much criticism from some socialists for both its bureaucracy and its demobilizing effect on workers' struggles for fundamental change.

The community welfare model is precisely those bureaucratic services delivery and the "safety net" welfare that provides capital with a flexible and diverse "policy" that is more important than any other form of economic discipline and the second in favor of a fundamental reduction in the place of wage labor while the economy and being a major obstacle to one form of capitalist power. It also has consequences for the way we think about public ownership, as socialists just as public provision must not be bureaucratic, but must be devoted to the community concerned, a similar point can be made about both the management and approach to the market and consumers instead by publicly-owned enterprises.

A second point is much less clearly understood. It focuses again on what we mean by "the economy" and hence how far what we have always understood by "social control of the means of production" will take us towards a socialist economy. Socialist-economists, such as the economists, continue to ignore the tremendous labor performed in the distribution and reproduction of goods for consumption, in support and caring, in the infrastructure and services which is the hidden part of economic functioning. "Useful" sense of "economics" is that is a view of the economy in which the bottom line is the well-being and living standards of people - could ignore this. But as we all know, this is just what happens left, right and central.

Any attempts to measure this work clearly show that it is in the major part of any economy. Some of it is paid work, but it is not the organized voluntary labor most is invisible within the family - and, of course, it is
This also affects our understanding of the ownership of the means of production. First, a socialist transformation of the ownership and control of the means of production must also be a socialization of domestic and social labour which is 'controlled' - often subjectively 'owned' - by the family and by the systematic division of paid and unpaid work (something which exists as much in capitalist and post-capitalist societies). Second, thus not only because of the huge area of producing social goods. Already it has carved out models of participation, responsiveness, respect for independence which link co-workers, workers, the local community and the individual large.

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

DISCUSSION NOTES ON AREAS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IMPLEMENTATION

1. Wealth utilisation

AREAS
- environmentally sustainable and socially acceptable use of resources
- wealth generation
- investment policies
- misallocation of surplus wealth (after investment)
- tax policy

It is important to recognise that the creation of wealth, investment policies, as well as misallocation of personal wealth and between nations and the amount of revenue needed are all social justice issues. Demographic changes such as ageing popula-

tion will make revenue a more crucial issue in the near future.

Comments on each area are not available.

Income distribution

AREAS:
- distribution through wages-wage justice/comparable worth
- social distribution/universalism/selectivism-wage income support
- mix/guaranteed minimum income
- intra family distribution

SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES;
- The various systems used to distribute income should guarantee each individual both an adequate income and an equitable share and national in-

come relative to other individuals.
- No one should be dependent for their income on another person.
- Adequacy of individual income will vary according to individual cir-

cumstances.
- Everyone must have access to both wage and income support, brace access to the workforce must be ensured. However structural barriers sys-

tematically disadvantage certain groups - women, Aboriginals, young and older people, some migrant groups and people with disabilities. They are blocked both from participation in the workforce and from equal pay.

APPLICATION TO:

1. Wages-wage justice
- Income distribution through wages if greatly unequal. The top 20% earn 45% of income while the bottom 20% earn 4.5% - a ratio of more than 10 to 1. The ratio between the top and bottom 10% is 15 to 1.

The only OECD country to have a more unequal wage distribution than Australia is the U.S.

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

2. Social distribution
- A tightly targeted and selective system of income support current in Australia is both inefficient and assures that a need for support is a temporary fact of life. A wage earnings period of support is inappropriate. The concept of a family wage is too detached to an individual falling. The system is highly coercive and intrusive. It does not recognise that for long periods of people's lives the labour market will be incapable of meeting the full income needs of individuals.
- The present income support system is based on patriarchal assump-
tions of dependence and the value of domestic and caring work. This sp-

plugs both to their own payment on marital couples and those in the female relationships, and in its continued insistence that women be dependent on a male 'family wage'. Some recent changes have begun to end this no-
tion although it is still family entrenched. Others, such as the recent chan-
ses to maintenance payments have further entrenched it.
- Universalist payments are to be preferred as they represent a social responsibility to meet the needs arising out of different circumstances as a right of citizenship.
- In general it will be necessary to distribute income through a mix of wages and income support. Some proposals from the social security review have included a greater mix of paid work and income support in certain circumstances. They have particularly done this for the transition into paid employment. Other models include the basket income support programme and wages policy. Avoidable proposal is to introduce a Guaranteed Min-
imum Income. Considerable discussion will be needed to choose between these two models.

3. Intra-family distribution
- More than half the population receives its income from sources ex-
	

to the labour market. Traditionally this was achieved mainly within the family. Recently, family dependence has declined dramatically. However, it is quite clear that intra-family dependence is the most exploita-
tive and unacceptable form of distribution that exists. Dependent women and children do not receive a fair (or adequate) share of the income earned by male workers, while the male worker's disposable income is distritu-

ally increased by the unpaid domestic labour performed by a dependent spouse or by children.
- How domestic labour is recognised is a vital part of the problem of social justice in income distribution. It may be recognised by personal valuation, paid domestic labour, replacement with socially provided services with a redistribution of labour. This should be considered under social justice.

The Comet, page 21
3. Opportunities for Social Interaction

- If a no-judgmentally socialized environment would create more opportunities for interaction that was beneficial to human beings.
- If structural discrimination was removed, challenged, broken down and the women, Aboriginals, ethnic groups, physically and intellectually disabled people and youth groups would have equal opportunities to participate in society.

4. Self-determination

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

Further thoughts

How would a society based on principles of social justice deal with or treat people who contravene these principles? What is the place of the concept of crime and the "criminal" in such a society?

5. Access to Quality of Life

SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES:

- No one should be disadvantaged because of their circumstances.
- The recognition that circumstances and merits vary greatly.
- The acceptance that it is a social responsibility to meet those different needs to produce equal access to quality of life outcomes.
- The recognition that there are insufficient barriers to such access, and that there are inadequate structures of social provision to overcome individual or group disadvantage.
- There should be no barrier of access to social services designed to provide improved quality of life.
- Covered and determination of the adequacy of provision should lie with the relevant community participation.

AREAS:

1. Services

- Services encompass general social welfare services, health services, appropriate housing services and transport services (see also education and play in | social development|).
- All services should be free, even though they should involve community participation, must be based on voluntary (unwillingly female) labour.
- The provision of services such as transport and housing must entail an awareness of environmental sustainability as the resource development.
- Services must be flexible, appropriate, accountable to local communities and be provided regardless of a person’s age, gender, sexual preference, marital status, race, ethnicity or disability (including psychiatric disability).
- The process of determining what service should be provided should be undertaken by local communities or by communities of users. But to do this such communities must be properly resourced. The structure of relationships between the state and community in the provision of services is a central model for participatory democracy everywhere.
- Participation by actual and potential users in development, management and accountability must be a right. But such participation must not be a condition of access.

2. Environment

- The immediate environment in which we live is essential to our quality of life. Access to clean water or this environment is a fundamental issues of social justice. Local communities must have control of the quality of their immediate environment (particularly when environments).

The Cowes, page 22
Need for caution

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

by Frank Sulwell

Some suggestions from Sydney about the name of the Party

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

THE NEW BROOM

Mrs. (Queensland): “It is not the one I would like, but it’s the best I could get.”

The Comet, page 23
Environment Statement

The ecological crisis is one of humanity’s greatest threats and our greatest opportunity. The dramatic restructuring that it will force could result in a society that is both liberating and sustainable. But it could also usher in an authoritarian eco-fascism. This paper is a first small step in developing the ideas and alternatives that can help bring about the former.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SUSTAINABLE ALTERNATIVE

The numerous and interlinked ecological threats which confront the earth cannot be solved if there is rapid progress in developing a sustainable culture. This would include the following:

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

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

LINKS BETWEEN ISSUES

The central insight of ecology is the interconnectedness of all things and their interdependence. To achieve radical change unless we are aware of both the barriers and the opportunities this provides.

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

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

DILEMMAS OF CHANGE

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

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

TRANSITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Comet, page 24
Labour Movement Commission

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elements of such policy would include for award restructuring:
- restructuring on an award or industry basis as opposed to enterprise or company based;
- maintenance of uniform standards in relation to wages and conditions;
- significant wage increases for lower paid workers;
- creation of career paths in an industry related to training and skill acquisition leading to better paid jobs and greater work satisfaction;
- removal of all discriminatory provisions and simplification of awards;
- paid training in working time to be based on national systems of accreditation where skills are transferrable;
- payment for skills acquired;
- broadening workers' responsibility and control over work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- BROAD-BASED INCOMES POLICY, recognising that there

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Learn from Rosa!  

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

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

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

Ms S Miller  
Sydney

Admirable ideas & poetic concepts  

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. GENERAL

The Time To Act Statement sets out in general terms a broad approach as to how a new party should seek to achieve its aims. It says, in part:

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

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

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

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

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

2. INTERVENTIONISM AND MOVEMENTS

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

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

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

3. ELECTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. THE ALP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Students gathering force

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

We would like to meet on the Sunday morning of the Conference from 9-10:30 am with anyone or all students in the New Left Party process who are interested.

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

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

... and on a serious note

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

The Party
The Slumber Party (Wake Up Australia)
Big Hawke's Party (BHP)
Put 'Em Up Against the Wall Party
Death Agony of international Capital Party
True Reds of Today (TROD)
Trouble in Your Boots Capo Dogs Party
Pushing Shit Up Hall Party
Recycled Aboriginal Socialists Trying Again (RASTA)
Really Active Party, Honestly
Great Australian Socialist Party (GASP - Last chance Australia)
Revolutionary Socialist Vanguard Party (REVVP)
Party of Wild Abandon (POWA)
1. Preamble: Cultural Rights

Cultural rights are an inextricable component of human rights. This principle is theoretically enshrined in such international instruments as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and The Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (1956) as well as in the Act establishing the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (1980) in Australia. In all of these, a fundamental, albeit general, relationship is established between the values of culture, broadly defined, and certain inalienable rights, dignities and freedoms. Central to the logic of these declarations is the important recognition that culture has played a key role in the formation of national democratic citizens. It is important also to recognize that culture has played a similar role in the reproduction of the interaction and forms of distinction and classification which have historically characterized these citizens, and as such has frequently been at the heart of political conflict.

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

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

Points for Further Discussion

A number of points for further attention were raised, including:
(a) the social consequences of architectural forms;
(b) the arts and the law, including ownership of intellectual property, legal rights of cultural workers in their own work;
(c) the links between government economic objectives and culture, e.g., "productive culture", also the place of arts, culture and education in national priorities.

2. Aims and Objectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Points for Further Discussion

Considerable discussion occurred on the issue of Aboriginal culture and heritage, the main points of which included:
(a) Aboriginal conceptions of culture, arts and heritage are different from, and possibly incommensurate with, Anglo-Saxon concepts.
(b) Aboriginal culture and heritage should be controlled and managed by Aboriginal communities, not isolated from a general policy, for example, Aboriginals require access to Australian culture, especially in its relationship to the law.
(c) Further discussion and consultation with Aboriginal groups was required, e.g., through FAIR in Brisbane.
(d) We should acknowledge the existence of two cultural traditions - indigenous and non-indigenous. A crude view of multiculturalism often results in Aboriginal cultures (and other cultures) being lumped with the non-immigrant cultures. Aboriginal sovereignty is an issue distinct from "multiculturalism" concerns.

3. Ambit

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

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

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

Enabling provisions and legislation will need to be established in order to challenge current commercial monopolies in many areas of cultural production oriented to the mass market such as popular music, television and film production. This will entail "a nationalization of" the means of cultural production but rather co-ordinates on the market mechanisms which allow such forms to become monopolized or widely consumed.
encouragement of appropriate forms of consumer response, and provision of resources and other measures to enable greater participation in cultural production.

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

Point for Further Discussion

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

3.2 Heritage Management: including museum and art gallery policy, the maintenance and management of Aboriginal and other material cultures, appropriate preservation of the built and natural environments. As keepers of the "national past" and providers of key definitions of culture, museums and art galleries occupy a central position in the cultural field. A policy in this area would be concerned with the forms of access to them, appropriate public information and education about them, the nature of their organisation and management, and their principles of cultural selection are often narrow and need to be reassessed. The built and natural environments and, as an indicator of a nation's heritage, and, in this role, form part of a national cultural policy. This is not, of course, an ambit claim for all aspects of policy formation concerned with urban planning and the environment.

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

Some aspects of library policy, especially those relating to copyright libraries, are too important to subordinations of oral history, and acquisitions will also fall under this heading.

Points for Further Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

Access to proficiency in language and languages is access to a fun- ship and rights of access and rights. Law and culture are often treated as any cultural policy. Policy with regard to libraries would fall partly under this heading.

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

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

Points for Further Discussion

(a) The issue of tourist development as a factor affecting popular ac- cess to leisure facilities was discussed, as was the control of cultural ex- change by tourism promoters.

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

3.6 The Law and Culture: including such areas as copyright law, public lending rights and intellectual property, obscenity law as well as the broader aspects of legislation affecting issues such as media owner- ship, power to publish such representations of such activities in the media as, for ex- ample, women's sports, and the provision of appropriate and adequate public and private facilities such as parks, sporting and fitness centres and other popular leisure venues.

(Brisbane Commission)
Peace/International

Australia and the World

1) Overview-Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

The growth of an interdependent world economy has allowed multinational corporations to wield enormous power over nations and to manipulate events to suit themselves in their pursuit of maximum profit rather than human benefit. Their simultaneous dehumanising roles, as well as their plundering of the environment, can only be understood in this context.

The US has encouraged these trends by allowing the US military and industrial complex to use its strength in the pursuit of profit, and has used this strength to dominate and to crush movements for independence and socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2) Foreign Policy

The NLP advocates a foreign policy for Australia which would be independent, non-aligned and nuclear-free. It would be independent in that it would be determined not by the interests of the USA or any other power or bloc, but by the interests of the Australian people and world peace and social and economic development throughout the world.

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

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

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

3) Defence Policy

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

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

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

Australia would not develop a "defence industry", except that necessary to build and service the military material Australian armed forces require. Any such defence industry will be publicly-owned and forbidden to export.

When necessary, the modern military equipment needed for territorial defence will be purchased from nations which are not members of any military bloc.

Military ambitions will be progressively reduced to one percent of GNP. Defence expenditure will be reduced to one percent of national income.
The construction of proposed ANZAC frigates will be replaced by con-
struction only of those patrol boats needed to protect Australian waters.
Shipyards currently contracting for the frigates would be maintained and
funds used to construction of an Australian merchant fleet and other non-
military work, where necessary.

Purchase of F-18s and other highly sophisticated aircraft suited for in-
tegrated peace keeping and conflict (air) combat would be ended and only those aircraft suited for coastal defence purchased.

No aircraft carriers will be purchased (as is proposed by Liberal-Na-
tional coalition) because of the high and very expensive cost.

The Operational Deployment Force, the SAS and ASIS and any other comm-
mands or groups specifically designed to conduct intervention outside
Australian shores will be immediately disbanded as contrary to a strict
policy of territorial defence.

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

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

4. Nuclear disarmament and peace

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

In addition, such a foreign policy would seek to broaden the treaty
governing the South Pacific’s Nuclear-Free Zone to include ban on nuclear
weapons in the region, including on warships and planes, and the banning of
nuclear waste from being dumped in the region.

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

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

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

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

5. International Solidarity

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

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

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

6. Aid, trade and international co-operation

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

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

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

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

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

Under such a foreign policy, the federal government would strictly
monitor and prevent all activities of American corporations in Australia.

It would ban investment in South America and other nations tainted by bruta-
l regimes, such as in Chile. Elsewhere, it would ensure that Australian
companies operating overseas observe fundamental principles of trade,
union and human rights; pay a living wage to all employees; do not "ex-
port" pollution and ecological damage to these nations, and do not engage
in corrupt practices.

7. Conclusion

The new left party will develop specific policies on various internation-
al issues mentioned in passing or not at all above. These policies will ob-
serve the guidelines outlined in this policy statement.

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

The new left party will seek to develop contact and relations with par-
ties and movements throughout the world which have policies and out-
looks which is part or whole are similar to our own.

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

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

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

(Sydney Commission)

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