



**The struggle for national
independence — uniting the
Australian people**

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INTRODUCTION

There is a better way!

Foreign monopoly ownership in Australia strengthens

Since the election to office of the Hawke Labor Government in 1983, the domination of Australia by overseas imperialisms has strengthened dramatically.

Both directly and indirectly, in the economic, political and social fields, Japanese and American imperialisms particularly, increase their influence, acquire property, develop industries and establish banking houses. They buy politicians, bureaucrats and military men. They spread their respective brands of imperialist culture.

The moves have caused great concern amongst wide sections of the Australian people.

They have given greater impetus to stirrings for an independent Australia.

Much could be said and written about our immediate problems. After all a new protest flares up almost every day in one place or another.

Is there some connecting link in it all?

Are we forever going to be tinkering with this or that problem, seem to solve it only to find a new difficulty appear on a new front?

Undoubtedly great numbers of people conclude every day "there must be a better way of going about things than this."

There is a better way!

Looking beneath the surface reveals the real causes of difficulties, and the real enemies, and enables us to work out lasting solutions to the problems we face in Australia today.

Everyone needs to eat. We must be clothed according to the standards of present conditions. We need at least a roof over our heads.

(There are a few who have something much grander than this. Mansions hit the headlines when they sold for upwards of \$20 million. Some live in such huge houses that burglars can rip-off hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of goods from one part of the house quite unheard by the family in another part. For the

majority though, the "roof over the head" is a much more modest affair. For some it doesn't exist.)

To find the money for the bare essentials we must have a job, we must work in one way or another.

By far the biggest number of people do so by selling their labour power to the owners of big factories, mines, farms, etc. These are the industrial workers of the nation. In the early days of capitalism most workers would have eked out a living in fairly small factories. But time marches on. Today the dominant factories are run by large corporations, sometimes employing thousands of workers. These large corporations become more and more dominated by foreign imperialists. Estimates claim that over half of our major economy is in foreign hands!

The workers are paid wages (just sufficient to buy minimum food, clothing and shelter and support a family) by the big monopolies.

Having sold his or her capacity to labour to these big corporations the worker is put to work for say 40 hours. In about 20 hours of work he/she has produced sufficient goods to cover their pay. (see note below *)

Does work cease after that 20 hours?

The question is just plain ridiculous. Everyone knows the worker works out the rest of the week. This work time is unpaid. The commodities produced in this unpaid labour time provide the source of profit for the employer.

So here are the two main classes in society — the working class and the capitalist class.

The precise share of the commodities produced which goes to worker or capitalist is not fixed for all time. Generally speaking wages fluctuate above or below the amount necessary for the minimum standards described previously.

Even though many workers these days possess cars, washing machines and other labour-saving devices (nearly all on credit, of course), their actual share of the overall value they create has fallen by 25 per cent during the last five years or so. In the first three months of 1988 alone manufacturing industry profits soared in

(Note) * Wages and salaries of all employees in Australian manufacturing establishments 1983-84 were \$17 billion and the value added in all Australian manufacturing establishments 1983-1984 \$31,549,000,000 (Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics)



Meatworkers in NSW marching in defence of jobs recently.

Australia by 45 per cent. Industry's share of value created increased as the workers' share decreased.

Always the worker is forced to wage an unceasing struggle against the boss who is determined to wrest greater and greater profits from the workers' labour.

Attention has been drawn to the two main classes in Australia. There are of course others.

There are those who provide the services, deliver the goods, keep the records, work in the banks. They do not produce any commodities or surplus value but most certainly work for a living.

There are the small shopkeepers. Although seemingly independent, most are in hock to the banks and often clear as little as the lowest-paid worker. In some instances a whole family must slave away for a huge number of hours each week to produce one living wage.

There are also great difficulties in the countryside. Big pastoral companies — many foreign-owned or using substantial foreign capital — are taking over from the individual primary producers. Big monopoly corporations invest in meat industries, grain growing etc. They run a capitalised business for big profits. They stand in contrast to the individual farmer, who's often mortgaged to the hilt, and suffers as the banks use high interest rates to foreclose on family properties. Devastated and destroyed, many have no other alternative than to walk away from a lifetime's work. In addition

a great number rely upon part-time labouring work for most of their income.

So there are two main classes in our society. There is a minority class of big monopolists. The other main class comprises industrial workers together with clerks, shop assistants, teachers, rural workers etc. This class is joined by professional workers, working farmers, and small business people to constitute a big majority of people. Their interests clash with the interests of the minority of rich monopolists.

The clash is often said to occur because workers stick up for their rights — because “unions create trouble”. The facts say different.

Commodities are produced just so long as goods can be sold at a profit. A number of monopolies compete for the market. Frantic production occurs. But the market is finite. Furthermore, the general tendency of capitalism to depress wages even below the minimum amount needed for existence reduces the market. More goods are produced than can be purchased. Over-production takes place. Factories are closed. Workers are sacked. Most sections of the population suffer hardship.

It is the profit motive which mainly determines what the monopolies do. It is the profit motive which creates upheaval and chaos.

The struggle between the workers on the one hand to lift their wage level and the capitalists on the other for a maximum profit is a constant feature of capitalist society.

These are some of the main economic outlines of the system under which we live. It is not the end of the matter.

Parliament protects monopoly interests

In order to protect this private monopoly ownership of the means of production — the big factories, mines, farms, etc. — the monopolists have established a state machine. This exists to suppress the majority in the interests of the ruling minority.

Suppression occurs in a number of ways. It can be indirect or open. Indirectly it operates through spreading ideas of illusory freedom, through misinformation, through media manipulation to distort public opinion. It sets out to deceive the people that this system is the best of all possible systems.

If indirect means of suppression fail, direct suppression is used. On permanent stand-by are the police force, the law courts, jails, and in the background, the armed forces. These coercive weapons exist quite independent of parliament although people are encouraged to believe that parliament is all-decisive.

In capitalist democracy, parliament is the institution through which it is said the people exert the will of the majority.

A parliamentary democracy does allow certain important freedoms. These freedoms such as a nominal right to organise, to strike, to vote in elections, to oppose bad policies, should be exercised to the fullest.

But at the end of the day, the “freedoms” are hollow.

In Australia a mere handful of millionaire interests, Murdoch, Bond, Skase, all of them tied firmly into foreign imperialism, have a monopoly over the media. Can one imagine any of them setting out to win support for strikers on starvation wages, or the homeless who want houses? The idea is absurd, yet these people control everything we see or hear. There is no way proper decisions can be made and proper advantage taken of the so-called freedoms unless information free of the class bias of the monopolies is made available.

As to parliament itself — the reality is that parliament is one of the institutions of capitalism. Marx put it years ago that the real essence of the matter was “to decide once every few years which member of the ruling class was to misrepresent the people in parliament”. Limited democratic freedoms are permitted but parliament’s laws are essentially capitalist laws with the aim of preserving the system of capitalism. It is an instrument of the monopolists’ rule.

Two main political parties dominate the Australian scene — the Labor Party and the coalition of Liberals/Nationals. There may be slight differences between them. Each may be subject to pressure from different ruling groups. But both stand for the “permanence” of the capitalist system. Both are tied up with foreign imperialisms. The leaking recently of foreign affairs documents highlighted outright U.S. domination of some Australian policies. Such action is completely incompatible with the idea of an independent Australia.

We can strive to get every inch of mileage from the “freedom” of the capitalist democracies. But limited and illusory that freedom is indeed, when any perceived threat to the continuance of the



Northern Territory police try to guard the N.T. Minister for Labour and Administrative Services from angry public servants demonstrating in support of working conditions.

system is in the final analysis stamped out by force. This happened in the fascism of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, in Pinochet's Chile and many Third World countries today and could certainly happen here if the ruling class felt really threatened.

Seeing the problem — only half the solution

These are some of the general features of capitalism. But seeing what's wrong is only half the story. How to change it is even more important.

The idea of changing the system fundamentally is not new. Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. They not only scientifically examined and documented the features of capitalism. They set out with confidence and clarity some broad outlines of a new system of socialism with which to replace capitalism. Certainly no precise blueprint for building socialism could be advanced. Much practice needs to accumulate before this can be done.

But the work of Marx and Engels did away with utopian speculation and wishing and put the matter on a scientific basis.

These opening sentences of *The Communist Manifesto* illustrate the point:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

"In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all these classes, again subordinate gradations.

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however,

this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

It was under the inspiration of this *Manifesto* that in 1917 under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party, the Russian people calling for "Peace, Bread and Land" broke away from the oppression of the landlords and capitalists, established their Soviets (councils) and set out to build a society expressing the interests of the majority, in place of the minority.

Those who produce the goods would now own the factories and control the state.

That action brought response from workers throughout the world.

Under its influence in Australia in 1921, for example, the objective of socialism was inserted in the Labor Party platform.

Also the Communist Party of Australia was formed in 1920.

Throughout the subsequent years, the idea of socialism has won greater support. The misery and suffering of the capitalist world through the depression years of 1929-30s highlighted the bankruptcy of the old system.

Within capitalism every nine or ten years, whilst millions of people starved, goods piled up and food rotted because they could not be sold at a profit. By contrast the socialist Soviet Union improved the lot of the Russian people and was not touched by the world's unemployment.

The conflicts and contradictions inherent in the capitalist system burst out with fresh horror in the war of 1939-45.

As a result, still more questioned the features of the capitalist system and broke away from capitalism.

Then China in 1949 stood up, threw out the imperialist powers which were sucking the people's life blood and set out to build the new society of socialism.

No one would pretend that the road to socialism will be free of mistakes and set backs. Nonetheless the basic propositions of Marx and Engels are as correct today as they were 140 years ago.

Only socialism can supply the complete answer to the problems of the Australian people. Sooner or later, socialism, expressing the will of the majority, will do away with the basic contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the collective socialised method of producing the commodities in those

factories, mines and farms.

Foreign imperialism a major obstacle to a better life

But even within capitalism much can be done to improve matters. The foreign imperialists who today are the major owners of Australia's main resources and big factories are the major obstacle to improving people's lives and need to be thrown right out of this country.

These Japanese, U.S. and British imperialists — together with a few local corporations which are enmeshed with them — must be got rid of and Australia's present partial independence must be replaced by complete sovereignty and independence.

The struggle for sovereignty and national independence has run like a thread through all political experience since the British imperialists stole this land from the black people.

Ever since that day in 1788, the black people, in one form or another, have never ceased to struggle against the murder, rape and dispossession they suffered at the hands of British imperialism's representatives.

It was inevitable that these early struggles, irrespective of the valour with which they were waged, would suffer defeat. Coming as they did from a background of ancient communal society, and confronted by superior technology and weapons of expanding imperialism, the Aboriginal people were no match for the productivity of a more historically advanced social system.

Nevertheless their unquenchable spirit has never dimmed.

Today under different conditions, as part of widespread opposition to imperialism even in spite of temporary set backs, the Aboriginal people form part of what can only be an ever-growing front of many Australians determined to break away from foreign imperialism and achieve national independence. The Aboriginal people **will** achieve land rights and full sovereignty.

Australia has developed both economically and politically in the 200 years since Britain first occupied the land. Australia became a supplier of food and wool to Britain and in return received manufactured goods. Since then different imperialist powers have sought to exploit and profit from this country.

All imperialist actions have brought forth struggle. The heavy taxation imposed by Britain in 1854 finally resulted in armed insurrection on the Ballarat gold fields. There were the struggles

of the shearers against the big pastoralists at Barcaldine and elsewhere in the 1890s. The steel industry was developed in 1915 by BHP and British capital. Workers in this huge industrial complex have struggled unceasingly against their exploitation. There was the successful anti-conscription struggle of the First World War.

People's actions of opposition have been many and varied.

In essence they have all been struggles for national sovereignty and independence. Throughout it all, development and change continued.



The redcoats of British imperialism, who shot down the miners of Eureka, are missing.

The colonial autocracy cannot be seen.

We now have representative government and a large measure of freedom from the British Crown.

The development of Australian productive forces, industry and agriculture, together with the struggles of the people who were an integral part of these developments, ensured that many political changes accompanied the growth of Australian capitalism.

But today our rich resources are even more firmly in the hands of the multinationals. Our partial independence has been eroded even further.

This whole period of growth was characterised by large-scale investment of capital by overseas financiers. Initially the occupying power Britain provided the capital both for primary production and then the beginnings of industry. Britain was at the height of its influence. But this strength and influence declined on a world scale. Bit by bit, colonial dependencies broke away from the orbit of the British Crown.

U.S. imperialism grew in power as Britain declined.

After the Second World War, U.S. imperialism extended its influence and domination. But it too is now declining on a world scale. Its defeat in Vietnam was a body blow from which it may never really recover. The U.S. has been described even by ruling class commentators as a "joint venture run by the central banks of other Western nations".

The new power of Japanese imperialism has appeared.

Changes in world imperialist strengths are reflected inside Australia.

British investment is no longer dominant.

Following on Australia's turning to U.S. imperialism for protection during World War Two, U.S. capital flowed into Australian industry in the post-war years.

In the process of these moves for example B.H.P., the steel giant which had developed in conjunction with British imperialism, took into partnership the gigantic U.S. multinational Esso.

Giant overseas vehicle building industries became important factors in the Australian economy.

U.S. capital took over coal mines. Commodities from that country were imported into Australia.

Australian primary products were produced for overseas processing. Many intricate connections and dependence upon overseas multinational corporations took place.

The whole of this time the Australian political establishment was more and more integrated with the dominant economic imperialisms. This domination finally culminated in the use of the office of Governor General, a colonial relic of British imperialism, by U.S. imperialism to bring about the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government. This government had expressed a move towards a more independent foreign policy and had been mildly favourably disposed towards the Soviet Union.

But the process has not been a one-sided affair. As each of the invasive imperialisms strengthened investment and domination of Australia, people's struggle developed and strengthened. As a result of struggle the original weak separate colonies were united into a federation. British legislative and political hold over Australia has been weakened in many ways.

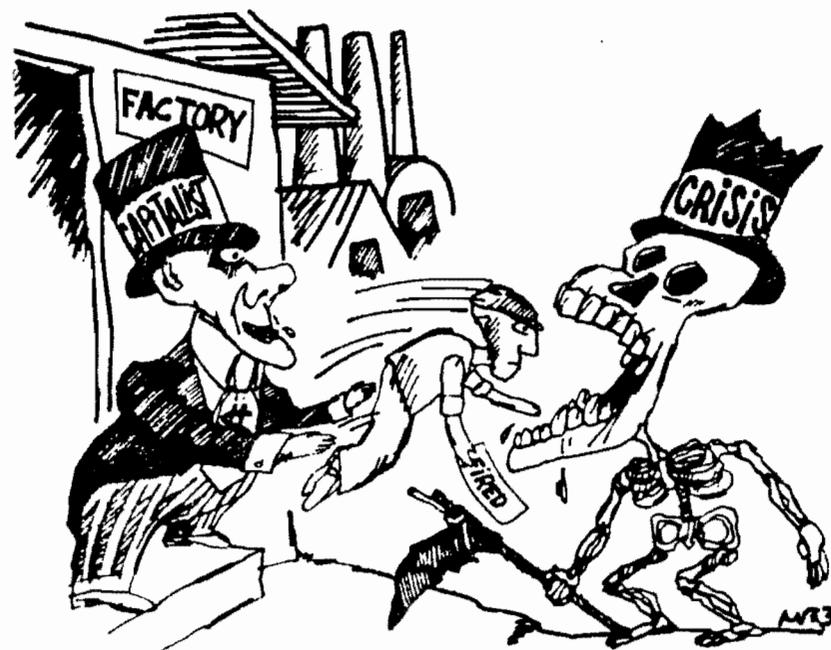
From the original single activity of the black people, to the miners of Eureka and others, then in later years to seamen and coal miners in action against the giant Utah (later taken over by the multinational General Electric), to the wharfies against the foreign ship owners, to the magnificent struggle of Victorian car workers against the giant foreign car builder Ford, to the students and workers demonstrating against the war in Vietnam, to the opposition against war bases in Australia, and so on and so on, literally hundreds of thousands have voiced disapproval of acts of imperialist aggression in Australia.

It is a rare multinational venture indeed which has not experienced vigorous protest from the Australian people.

Just as the changing patterns of investment and overseas domination in Australia have reflected the changes in relative world positions of the imperialist powers, so have they reflected the contention and struggle between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, great changes have taken place in the world.

As referred to earlier, during the years of shattering capitalist crisis in the late 20s and early 30s, the developing socialist economy in the Soviet Union stood out in stark contrast. Within capitalism, there was horrific unemployment. Production ceased. Precious foodstuffs were even being destroyed. Within the Soviet Union there



HOW THE CAPITALISTS SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS

was growing harmony between the productive forces and the relations of production. Heavy industry was being built, unemployment was being overcome, important advances were being made in living standards.

So great were the achievements that the people and armies of the Soviet Union proved to be the only force capable of turning back the tide of Hitler fascism in World War II. Socialism indeed was proving to be triumphant.

Since the 1950s that harmony between the productive forces and production relations has been disrupted. We recognise that the precise features of the road to socialism cannot be determined other than by the people of each individual country. However, the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, M. Gorbachev, has indicated very great problems dog the Soviet economy. The recent Communist Party conference accepted an urgent need for radical change.

The aspect of Soviet policy about which we would comment is the effect on the overall world situation of Soviet external policy

since the 1960s. To take one example (others could be mentioned) the invasion of Afghanistan in our view is entirely incompatible with socialist principle.

There is no doubt that the expansionism practised by the Soviet Union together with U.S. aggression and the contention and struggle between the two superpowers (U.S. and U.S.S.R.) have been significant features of the latter years.

The actions of the Soviet Union in discouraging struggle by the people within countries dependent upon imperialism, at the same time as moving troops into spots perceived to be dangerous to its own interests, created much confusion in people's movements seeking independence and socialism.

It was a situation bound to give the U.S. new hope and to encourage greater confrontational activity between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The whole position was highly fraught with danger. It resulted in immense outlay on weapons of war and the building of a nuclear arsenal.

In the long run it is creating great economic and political difficulties for both superpowers.

Together with splendid people's activity for world peace, the difficulties are forcing some re-appraisal. Some agreements to eliminate some areas of nuclear danger are emerging. The matter is further affected by the emergence of other power centres in the world as imperialism continues its uneven development.

In the competition for centres of power the Soviet Union also paid attention to penetration of Austria.

There was investment in shipping lines. Commercial ties were developed in the meat export business. Strenuous efforts were made to build commercial trade links for both primary and manufacturing production.

In very recent days, high-powered delegations to Australia from the Soviet Union are investigating fishing agreements and areas for joint ventures with Australian capital.

But in any analysis of imperialism in Australia particular attention must be paid to the position of Japan.

Over the last few years Japan has moved into a centre position on the world stage.

Japan's economy has reached record heights. Japanese output is more than one tenth of the entire world. Foreign exchange reserves now exceed \$500 billion.

As we move towards the year 2000, Japan advances steadily down the road of re-armament. All these factors create conditions of great instability.

The U.S., from being the largest creditor nation, has become the largest debtor nation.

In 1982 the assets held by the U.S. in the rest of the world exceeded the assets held by foreign investors in the U.S. by \$US137 billion.

In 1987 foreign investment in the U.S. was \$US402 billion more than U.S. investment in the rest of the world. Moreover the amount grows by \$US140 billion each year.

The countries of Western Europe struggle for unity among themselves in order to remain major players in the game. It is impossible to satisfactorily resolve their differences. Britain argues for one line. West Germany argues for another. So it goes on.

The superpowers are forced to consider different strategies. The Soviet Union seeks to push the U.S. back into the western hemisphere. U.S. emissaries rush hither and thither over the globe to offset any diminishing of their influence.

Japan, the world's creditor, turns to large-scale investments and manufacture in other countries of Asia, seeking cheaper labour and higher profits in markets currently dominated by the United States. Japan seeks to play a major role in the Pacific area, an area of great significance for Australia. The picture of imperialism in 1988 has different power centres to imperialism in 1918. But the same basic contradictions exist with the resulting threat to world stability.

Underlying all the surface changes of imperialism lies monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism grew out of free competition with the concentration of production and capital. Bank capital merged with industrial capital to form finance capital. This stage of capitalism — imperialism — contains within itself the ingredients for the use of violence either in the attempt to grab the resources and wealth of its rivals, or the forcible subjection of peoples striving for independence and freedom. There is the ever-present danger of war.

The players may change, some to take up major roles, others to retire to minor roles.

In this small pamphlet we strive to show that whilst Australia has developed as a capitalist nation, it has never freed itself from overseas domination. It is only partially independent. The task of

winning independence even within the framework of the present capitalist system is still in front of it.

In the following pages we look at some of today's trends. We also raise some proposals for uniting different sections of the people. In struggle many unco-ordinated activities come together in a conscious flow for national sovereignty and independence.

In Australia wherever any group of people take up the struggle against the many and varied problems of existence, because our economic and political lifelines are dominated by overseas interests, they objectively take up the banner of national independence. To struggle for improvements in our lives is to struggle against foreign imperialism.

During these 200 years since British occupation of Australia, on the one hand imperialism has played a big part in the development of the productive forces and the growth of Australian capitalism. On the other hand it has also brought into being the forces capable of bringing about its own destruction.

Sooner or later workers, black people, environmentalists, people who struggle for peace will, in the course of their activity, identify this common enemy and even within capitalism take steps to rid themselves of foreign domination, win sovereignty and national independence. The Australian people cannot proceed down the road of winning a socialist Australia, until they have first won national independence.

CHAPTER 1

“Restructuring” another assault on Australian sovereignty

(This section is largely taken from an article printed in The Australian Communist July/August 1988)

Labor Prime Minister Hawke — not once, but at least a dozen times — told Australians in his keynote address to the 1988 Hobart Labor Conference of his “vision for Australia”.

Whose glasses was he looking through at the time?

Did the glasses belong to the Australians who created the country's wealth? Had they come from those who built the houses and skyscrapers, fashioned the clothes or planted the paddocks?

Or were they the designer label models of the jetsetter corporate millionaires who raked in the profits from the sale of these commodities?

There is a fundamental difference between the two. It is impossible to look through two completely conflicting pairs of glasses at the same time. One belongs to a group which owns nothing but its labour power. It sells that labour power to the second group.

This latter group pays the wages, puts the labour power to work in factories which it owns, with raw material it supplies, and sells the commodities so produced for its own private gain.

How can it possibly be argued that the interests of the two groups are the same? If the worker struggles for higher wages, then this means the boss' profits will be less. It is a tug of war that never ends.

Hawke's so-called “vision” cannot embrace both. In reality it boils down to nothing more than an up-dated version of the wages “accord” of 1983.

It is now a matter of history as to what happened to most Australians as a result of that accord.

To put it in a nutshell, the rich became richer, average real incomes dropped dramatically and the poor became poorer.

The outlook Hawke has for the next years is more of the same thing. It is demanded of workers that they continue to tighten their belts in the interests of “restructuring Australia”.

Restructure Australia from what, to what and for whom?

If it was being suggested that the "restructuring" would fundamentally alter this set up in which the majority slave away in order to keep the minority in unheard-of luxury, there might be quite a point.

But it was clear, not only from the words of this Hobart Labor Conference, but from the actions of the Labor leaders Hawke and Keating over the last years, they have not got this in mind at all.

These moves to "restructure" the economy are bound up with



the question of Australian independence.

The major owners of Australian resources are the big corporations which either wholly or in large part identify with foreign imperialism.

The orders to "restructure" the economy have come from these big business interests. The orders therefore originate from foreign imperialism.

Opposing such schemes for "restructuring" is not only essential for the protection of Australian living standards. It goes to the heart of the fight for national independence and against foreign imperialism.

The Labor leaders, big business, as well as the leaders of the ACTU, have said time and again that their idea of "restructuring" is all concerned with cutting down on the overseas debt.

In fact "restructuring" is much more than this. Its objective overall is striving for higher profits with the inevitable result of impoverishing ordinary people. "Overseas debt" is used by the government to sell "restructuring" on behalf of the rich to ordinary Australians.

The real plan is to modernise industry, cut down on the numbers of workers and lower wages, attack the work conditions of those remaining in a job. It is intended to intensify workers' exploitation in a lower price structure and make Australian exports more attractive to overseas markets in order to increase monopoly profits for Australian and overseas investors, not simply to reduce the overseas debt.

Secondly, the monopolies figure if demand for consumer goods at home could be cut down — if workers in particular spent less on food, clothing and shelter, in other words, real living standards were reduced — the level of imports would drop, as would the consumption of local products making more products available for export.

So the bottom line for "restructuring" is that both directly and indirectly, the cost comes out of workers' pockets and goes into the bosses' pockets.

Any reduction in overseas debt boastfully claimed by Treasurer Keating to have taken place, is by virtue of lowering the living standards of ordinary Australians and comes from the exorbitant taxes grabbed from these same people. Sometimes Hawke and Keating are forced to admit lowering Australia's overseas debt can only occur if workers go on accepting real wage cuts. In the

meantime monopoly corporations take no action to reduce the amount of their overseas borrowings which have sent the debt soaring.

What is also overlooked is that any slight improvement in the balance of trade figures can only be of a temporary nature. All the talk of "restructuring" becomes much less impressive when it is recalled that other capitalist countries are on the same track. They are without exception, striving to increase exports, decrease imports. How can they all possibly succeed if the total market remains the same? So they try to find the way of out-manoeuvring particularly the Japanese imperialists, who have moved into almost complete domination of the major markets.

The U.S., according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), must do a great deal along the same lines. Household savings, according to that body, must rise sufficiently to provide enough American cash in place of foreign money for government and company borrowing. There must be less bought by ordinary Americans so that goods are available for export and people's savings can be diverted into loan money to be used in the big corporations' pursuit of higher profit.

Competition for markets is the essence of "restructuring"

Under all the fancy talk of "restructuring" (a minor aspect of which in Australia may be the development of tourist industries, private universities like Bond's Queensland venture, etc.) the reality is that all the capitalist countries are striving and competing for overseas markets. If one succeeds, another must fail. It is nothing new. It has been going on since the turn of the century. Now one imperialist power surges ahead, only to be overtaken by another within a few short years. It operates according to the law of the uneven development of capitalism. The pendulum swings from Britain, to Germany, to the United States. And now Japanese production sets its sights on gobbling up every available market.

Japanese production is enormous. Japan is the leading world creditor. It declares record profit for record production. Until very recently it has discouraged domestic sales in order to penetrate foreign markets. As well, Japanese corporations invest in and produce overseas. Last year, their investment in the U.S. doubled, topping \$10 billion.

The law of uneven development of capitalism applies just as



Cement workers in Geelong (Vic.) fighting against "dumping" of subsidised imported cement onto the Australian market.

thoroughly today as it did 50-60 years ago. From being the leading creditor nation, the U.S. has become a huge debtor nation.

Australia's problems arise, not from a "slackness" in introducing technological change, but because the capitalist system produces commodities far in excess of what the purchasing power of the majority of people can buy. Wages paid are basically sufficient only to keep a worker's family in food, clothing and shelter and produce a new generation of workers.

Production will continue whilst the goods can be sold for suitable profits. But sooner or later there must arise a glut of goods. Unless a market can be found, economic crisis occurs. Production ceases. Workers are thrown out of a job.

This is the problem that constantly bedevils the capitalist countries. Everyone is producing. Everyone is trying to sell.

They search endlessly for solutions. Each wants to dispose of its own surplus and the devil take the others. They form different economic groupings, bi-lateral and multi-lateral. Some barter surplus goods between them, others try to keep goods out. Still

agricultural produce and minerals pile up. U.S. grain marketing cartels have enabled American farmers to capture one market after another. Australia pins its hopes for disposing of its agricultural surplus on crippling U.S. drought. Australia and the U.S. battle over the lucrative Japanese meat market.

The capitalist countries veer between free trade and protectionism depending on how they wish to encourage or discourage domestic commodity manufacture.

Trappings might differ but capitalism remains the same

In a fundamental sense, although some of the outward trappings may look different to the picture at the beginning of this century, the *real* nature of things in the capitalist countries remains as it has always been.

It is said Marxism is outdated. But *The Communist Manifesto* gives a good working description of today's happenings:-

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production, and with them, the whole relations of society.

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere"

A spot-on comment to describe the multinationals of the 1980s.

Without abandoning its national base, Japan rushes not only to export to the U.S. but acquires big U.S. companies: Bridgestone tyres (Japanese owned) bought out its rival Firestone, Sony bought up CBS records for \$2 billion; Britain's Marks & Spencer took over U.S. clothier Brooks Brothers. The Dutch, Shell and Philips, took over Unilever of the U.S. U.S. takeovers of big overseas corporations are almost stale news items.

Even Australian corporations have tried to join the act.

Elliott, Bond, Adler, Murdoch, are just a few sitting on key holdings in large British companies. New Zealand buys into Australia. Australia buys into New Zealand!

Leaving aside for one minute an examination of overseas penetration into Australia, *The Communist Manifesto* spoke of the constant revolutionising of the instruments of production and its

effect upon production relations and the whole of society.

"Restructuring" can only be understood from this standpoint.

Take the vehicle building industry in Australia as one prime example. The Button Car Plan — so named after its architect Labor Senator Button — was a seven year plan for rationalisation of the industry. It was to achieve necessary restructuring with minimum levels of disruption.

Under the plan, Holden and Toyota have announced a joint venture, Nissan and Ford are investigating co-operation, Mitsubishi remains alone. The use of robotics has increased production. Plants have been closed. Thousands of jobs have been lost. The union membership in Victoria fell from 45,000 to 32,000. More job losses are threatened.

Local car prices sent cars to the point of unaffordable luxuries because would-be buyers' overall standards of living had declined.

Along with the mergers, tariffs were cut to get the market going again. Down from 57.5 per cent to 45 per cent with the objective of 35 per cent by 1992, for fully imported vehicles.

This is scarcely developing a fine competitive Australian car industry.

As *The Communist Manifesto* predicted, it certainly revolutionised the instruments of production and had a catastrophic



A Ford plant in Melbourne — thousands of jobs have been lost in the vehicle industry.

effect upon workers' lives. Workers lost their jobs by the thousand, less money is available for consumer goods, thereby contributing to the glut of motor cars on the market.

But prices have not come down. Car stocks are still high. Importers and dealers get wiped out.

Moreover the expectation now is that the Japanese will finish up winners in the long run.

By 1992 when the motor industry's de-regulation will be completed, Toyota, Nissan and Mitsubishi will be using their local manufacturing bases and dealer networks to handle greatly increased imports.

The net result of this restructuring looks like seeing serious further inroads into Australian industry with loss of jobs and general lowering of living standards. The biggest contributors to restructuring were the car workers. The biggest winners will be Japan.

Another blow will have been dealt to Australian independence as Japan further tightens its grip on an area of Australian life.

Australian independence

Which brings us back to the matter of foreign penetration of Australia.

Foreign penetration goes on in many forms. Walk down any of the main streets in Australian capital cities and be struck by the changes which have taken place.

Not only are the buildings that mainly house the insurance and banking institutions huge and luxurious. Previously British or U.S. banks predominated, now the names include Japanese and others. Still other names reflect partnerships between U.S. and big Australian monopoly, finance capital interests. It is behind these facades of finance that the truth of and movements within capitalism are told. It is not found in the mumbo-jumbo talk of parliamentary politicians.

In the financial institutions on these streets, poverty does not rear its head. Here all is unbridled opulence and wealth. Here is the nerve centre of the capitalist system.

The examination of these streets reveals what is really happening in Australia.

Here are the institutions which process the big business deals. Through them, billions of dollars come into Australia. Billions of

dollars go out of Australia. All in the holy name of profit.

They do not merely provide the mechanism for moving money around. They represent the great multinational corporations worldwide. The finance and industrial capitalists represented here are the decision-makers. Here, in addition to loans to Australian corporations from foreign banks, big U.S. and Japanese corporations and others have launched tremendous developments within Australia. They buy up properties. They extend into industries. They acquire agricultural production. This is the capitalism which is administered in the political parliamentary arena by the Hawke Labor Government.

Foreign capital pulls the strings

Once it used to be said that the historical role of the Labor Party in Australia was to build national capitalism.

Now it can be said in truth that the Labor leaders, Hawke and Keating, are presiding over the greater and greater penetration of Australian interests by foreign imperialisms - particularly Japanese and U.S. imperialisms. In the year of capitalism celebrating its bicentenary, the whittling away of Australian independence goes on apace.

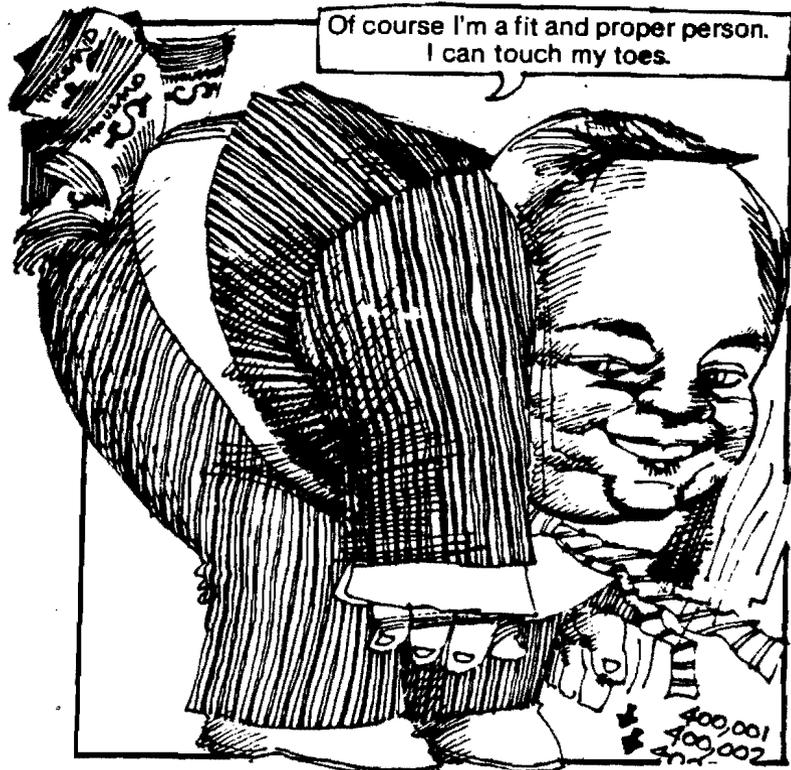
Down has gone the welcoming carpet and in has come direct investment of billions of dollars from overseas corporations.

Mergers with big Australian companies and penetrations into important Australian resources have taken place.

The overseas debt, which is given as the reason for attacking ordinary people's living standards, is the size it is mainly due to private overseas borrowing.

It is to the overseas financial moguls that the Bonds, Abeles, Adlers go for the funds for their take-overs and their entries into foreign fields such as Chile. Even if they use Australian institutions, the money comes from overseas in the long run. The Australian trading banks upped their overseas borrowings from a few million in 1982/3 to over \$6 billion in 1985/6. Those are the funds they direct into corporate takeovers of other Australian companies. It is to pay back these sorts of debts that Australian workers are asked to sacrifice!

Some of these most powerful figures in the big league of business have been hailed by Hawke as his mates. It is clear whose glasses he borrowed for his "visionary" Labor Conference speech.



A comment on Mr Bond's licence case at the Broadcasting Tribunal.

The real decision makers are the big corporations who increasingly are either foreign imperialist or rely on foreign imperialism. Bond may try to look independent and Australian. But when his growth depends on foreign bankers, in the final analysis they will call the tune. Reams can be written about humble beginnings and individual traits which went to make up "phenomenal" achievements. Take away foreign capital and Bond will join others like him on the reserve benches, out of the big league players. Just look at Holmes a Court.

Bond and his ilk, with their way smoothed by Hawke and Keating, slice off more and more of this country's independence as they turn to the foreign bankers. This economic system compels them to do so.

If the profit motive is the determining factor, then striving for more and more profit is the order of the day. The stronger

imperialisms which are foreign will dominate any home-grown varieties. The home-grown throw in their lot with the foreign.

It is an inescapable law of capitalism.

It is equally an inescapable law of capitalism that just as the big corporations will actually hand over Australian independence to foreign imperialisms, the ordinary people will increasingly fight tooth and nail to defend and extend that independence.

The big millionaires give loyalty to one master — the search for greater and greater profit. They follow a policy of national betrayal.

The ruling class never ceases to strive for a greater share of the wealth produced by the workers. In turn, the workers fight against ruling class attacks. Objectively, whether fully understood or not, opposing big business, which is betraying Australian national interests, is a blow for Australian independence, for the real Australian nation. The banner thrown away by the millionaires will be picked up by the majority of ordinary people.

For some time, Australian workers and others accepted the call to sacrifice their interests. They believed it was for the common good.

Their belief that the Labor Party in parliament meant their interests would be protected led to initial confusion, when Hawke and Keating promised all would share the burden to make Australia prosperous. Any small sacrifice made in the beginning would soon be made up, promised these two parliamentary leaders.

The workers were also led up the garden path by ACTU leaders Crean and Kelty.

These two were an essential part of the whole scheme of the big monopolies to re-organise and maximise profits. They also called upon a few reserves in the trade union leadership who disgrace the honourable name of Communism.

Their part of the plot was to "deliver" the workers. They would see real wages were slashed. They would prevent the working class fighting against job losses or attacks on unions.

Many times have Hawke and Keating recognised the contribution of Crean and Kelty to the plot.

Under the agreement with big business, not only would the economy be "restructured". The unions are also going to be "transformed". Instead of some hundreds, workers would be presented with about 20 "super-unions", led presumably by people acceptable to Crean, Kelty, Hawke and Keating. (There is nothing

fundamentally wrong with union amalgamations. But it must be in the interests of the workers, initiated by them in the process of struggle for a greater share of the value they create.) All these things the workers were expected to passively accept.

However, life asserts itself. The airy-fairy promises are replaced by cold hard facts. As jobs were lost, some industries threatened with complete closure, as real hardship began to stalk the land, workers in their thousands are waking up to the fact they had been conned.

It is becoming patently clear. The rich have become richer, the poor, poorer.

Workers have begun to fight back. They are showing the ACTU leaders in no uncertain terms how they view their antics.

As yet they are not fully conscious of all the skulduggery and the significance for all ordinary Australians of the "restructuring" which is strengthening foreign imperialism. But their actions will set them face to face with their real enemies, the multinational corporations, foreign and domestic.

They will sum up their experience. They will draw the proper conclusions.

Parliament will expose itself as people fight

Along the way, they will see parliament and the parliamentary parties for what they are worth.

Parliament does not exist to mediate between the existing classes. The interests of the monopolies and the workers in capitalist society are irreconcilable. In Australia, parliament is there to camouflage the rule of foreign imperialism. That's been amply borne out over the last few years.

Fundamentally, the scripts of parliamentary leaders are written by the multinationals. Occasionally one set of actors is exchanged for another.

There is no advantage for the people in simply swapping one set of actors for another.

In fact at the present time, there is a big disadvantage. The really big obstacle which holds back people's struggle is the mistaken illusion that the Labor Party will represent their interests in government office. How can they shed this illusion if the Labor Party is thrown out of office and the Liberals or coalition put in its place?

What is required for the experience of the majority to be

completed is for Labor to remain in office. At the same time the people outside parliament must struggle as they have never done before against the Labor government's attacks upon them in the interests of big business.

The long range interests of the people will be served when the role and policy of the Labor leaders are understood.

In the long run the vast majority of people must conclude that they alone hold the key to the matter. Putting faith in the institution of parliament is a thoroughly barren exercise. In struggle they must develop alternative people's institutions.

If the millionaires' version of "restructuring" is rejected, what is to be put in its place?

If the Hawke, Keating, Crean restructuring is actually tying Australia more firmly into foreign domination, how can it be broken?

Is there any alternative to Keating's forecast of a few years ago of Australia as a banana republic?

Crean and Kelty's schemes wearing a bit thin

Crean and Kelty on imperialism's instructions said that without "restructuring", Australia cannot advance, in fact will be reduced to the level of a third-world country!

What unmitigated rubbish!

They think people have short memories.

They forget they assured the people first that the Accord and then the two-tier wage system were going to be the best thing for the workers since sliced bread.

Five years later and 25 per cent worse off in real wages, they try another tack. Today's magic word is "restructure".

How about if they forgot about the bosses' interests and thought up something to benefit the workers?

If people believed that pigs might fly it could be suggested the ACTU leaders might consider standing up to imperialism which has got Australia into this sorry mess.

There's no point even giving it a second thought.

These ACTU leaders are part and parcel of capitalism. They'd prefer to run a mile than be confronted by workers.

Ordinary people will have to take matters into their own hands

It is a start to say "enough is enough". Demand of the



The ACTU leaders' schemes are wearing thin — workers rally **outside** Perth Concert Hall earlier this year demanding wage rises.

monopolies and the Labor Party leaders that they apply technology in such a way that workers are not the sufferers. Nationalisation of the coal mines, steel works and the oil companies for example would open up great possibilities for improvement still within the present capitalist system.

Even if BHP owners had to be bought out, if hundreds of millions of dollars at present paid in profits to huge corporate shareholders and ultimately to foreign banks were saved, think of the effect this would have throughout the whole of the economy.

Instead of lowering workers' wages in the striving for competitive commodity prices, some millionaires' profits could be done away with instead.

It is not only feasible and proper; it would strike a real blow for Australian national independence. Nationalisation would develop a strong national industrial base. Foreign multinationals dominate most of Australia's basic industries. Nationalising them would be a good illustration that private ownership is unnecessary for the production of essential goods and that overseas capital is not needed for Australian development.

A great people's movement of struggle similarly could demand the vehicle industry should be nationalised. In contrast to the present restructuring, which has delivered a body blow to vehicle building workers, nationalisation would buy out overseas exploiters, would open the way to another independent Australian industry, to reducing car costs and promoting car sales. It could even contribute towards developing a suitable, efficient transport system.

Car workers and car unions, if they put their minds to the problem, could be certain to come up with a viable plan.

All the present talk of restructuring is based on the premise that Australia is part and parcel of the world capitalist economy. Even more than this, because Australia occupies such a lowly position in that economy, it is bound to succumb, to be tied into stronger foreign imperialisms. There is no way that Australia can capture significant shares of overseas markets except by taking more and more foreign imperialists on board. The multinationals intend that more and more Japanese and American monopolies will invest here. Moreover being tied to foreign imperialism involves the Australian people in their dangerous military manoeuvres. The only logical way for a trade war to end is in war! As part of its war plans the U.S. arrogantly uses Australian soil for overseas bases. Australia is forced to submit.

All those who fiercely reject such a subservient position can unite to advance an alternative programme of action and struggle. This programme would enable the national debt to be reduced but above all it would improve people's lives. It would challenge every sacred cow of so-called development — preserve not destroy our unique ecosystem. It would demand that the rich not the poor pay the price for future development. Tax the millionaires to the hilt with no taxes for the poor. Nationalise the coal, steel, vehicle industries and the banks. Remove U.S. bases. Grant the Aboriginal people land rights and sovereignty. These actions would represent the first stage in a struggle to rescue the Australian people from the clutches of imperialism, lessening its stranglehold on the nation's economic, political and cultural life. They would strengthen Australia's independence. They would not completely solve all problems. The production relations described earlier would still remain together with exploitation. But the way would be clear to carry on the struggle to the next stage — that of winning a society in which those who produce the goods would also own the factories and all means of production as well as controlling the apparatus of the state.

CHAPTER 2

Mass action beyond parliament vital to resisting attacks

(This article is reprinted from The Australian Communist September/October 1988)

Many activists fume and are frustrated about what is happening in Australia today.

Some have worked unceasingly in trade unions or Labor Party branches to improve the way ordinary people live. Others have struggled to protect the environment. Some go on strike. Some take part in demonstrations.

Generally speaking these people feel fed up and conned but not sure where to go next.

Within their ranks there are different levels of understanding as to the cause of the problem. This differing understanding makes it more difficult to find a proper solution.

There's little doubt though, that relying upon the majority of the people, a solution to present problems can be found.

Coupled with this reliance on the people there needs to be clarity in the minds of the most politically experienced about how to go about things.

A very sober estimate of people's moods and the relationships between classes is required.

Correct theory is developed in close connection with practical activity. We have to accept reality free from wishful thinking.

In Australia, which is a bourgeois democracy, this calls for careful consideration of how people see parliament. Parliament is presented as the institution for looking after law and order.

Opinion about it varies a great deal. A minority already conclude that it does not impartially "govern" and that a completely different method of government is needed. They have learnt that far from being impartial parliament is a class institution. It expresses the will of the multinationals operating in the interests of the rich against the poor. As things are now in Australia, this becomes the interests of foreign imperialist powers against the big majority.

Others are dissatisfied with the actions of the big imperialists but do not see direct connection between parliamentary politicians'



actions and these big business corporations. They do not see that the economic laws of capitalism under which the system operates dictate which laws are enacted by parliament.

So there are many variations of dissatisfaction. Some views can be summarised as follows:

- Get rid of the Labor Party and put the Liberals back.
- Change the leaders of the Labor Party, particularly Hawke and Keating, and Labor policy can be implemented.
- Bring sufficient pressure to bear and the demands of the people will be carried out.

Against such ideas the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) offers some different propositions.

It is not possible to bring relief by manoeuvring within the present parliamentary framework, replacing Labor with Liberals, then Liberals with Labor. That has been the system followed ever since Federation and no fundamental change for the better has

occurred.

The long-range interests of the Australian people are best served by developing an understanding that not only particular parliamentary parties, but the whole apparatus of parliament, serve the monopoly class which owns the means of production in this country.

How best to go about winning an understanding of this reality is the question. Realisation does not come in a sudden big leap, it is a step by step process.

Many look to the classic writers of Marxism for answers to this intricate situation. Certainly some general propositions can be found in the writings of Lenin and Marx. But a concrete examination of Australian conditions with long-range perspectives in mind is the only way to move towards satisfactory answers.

Labor government — a government for imperialism

For as long as the Australian people have the illusion that the Labor Party will bring about fundamental change for the better, no real progress can take place in the country. Such a belief actually discourages mass action.

The Labor Party has occupied the government benches many times since Federal parliament was first elected. At no time has a Labor government threatened the capitalist system. So in spite of what many may believe, the Labor Party in practice is a party of capitalism. Under the pressures of foreign imperialism in Australia, Labor governments have allowed more and more attacks upon living standards in this country.

Where then do people turn?

Should the Liberals be returned to office? No, this also is no solution. The record bears out that when the Liberals return to office they attack the ordinary people even more viciously, building on the preparations left them by their Labor predecessors.

The most politically advanced and experienced people have already concluded that both parties are parties of capitalism and the parliament is a capitalist institution.

But this group of people consists of a minority of those opposed to imperialism.

The problem we face is how to win similar understanding from the majority who have yet to come to this conclusion.

It may seem a contradiction but the Communist Party of

Australia (Marxist-Leninist) says that it is necessary to return Labor to office so that the process of understanding Labor's role can be extended to more and more people.

Many immediately ask "how can we propose such a thing when the Labor government has presided over a period when the rich have become richer and the rest of the people poorer? How can we support this Labor government?"

It is not a matter of **supporting** the Labor government. In fact we are amongst its strongest and most consistent critics.

But as yet, in spite of many complaints and cynicism, the majority of ordinary Australians have not fully understood just what the Hawke/Keating combination in parliament is up to. They have not yet concluded that they are completely enmeshed in all the skullduggery of imperialism. (While Keating bemoans the possibility of Australia becoming a banana republic, he continues with the very actions to achieve that end. For example he deregulated banking).

So the most advanced people need much patience. There is no real choice but to stick with that Labor government until, based on experience, the majority of people develop a level of understanding more in keeping with the advanced position referred to.

It is often irksome to have to wait. But unless it is done the advanced will be isolated from the majority and the process will be far more prolonged.

Whilst we wait do we do nothing? On the contrary, the process of understanding involves action. Action should be stepped up on every front. More and more people should be drawn into struggle so that greater and greater numbers will find out for themselves the real role of the Labor leaders.

This is a completely different proposition to saying we support the Labor government.

How could we support Labor leaders who whilst protesting their concern for the people of Australia, actually put into place proposals of the H.R. Nicholls Society, a most reactionary body of the extreme right wing in this country of which former Treasury boss, John Stone, is President?

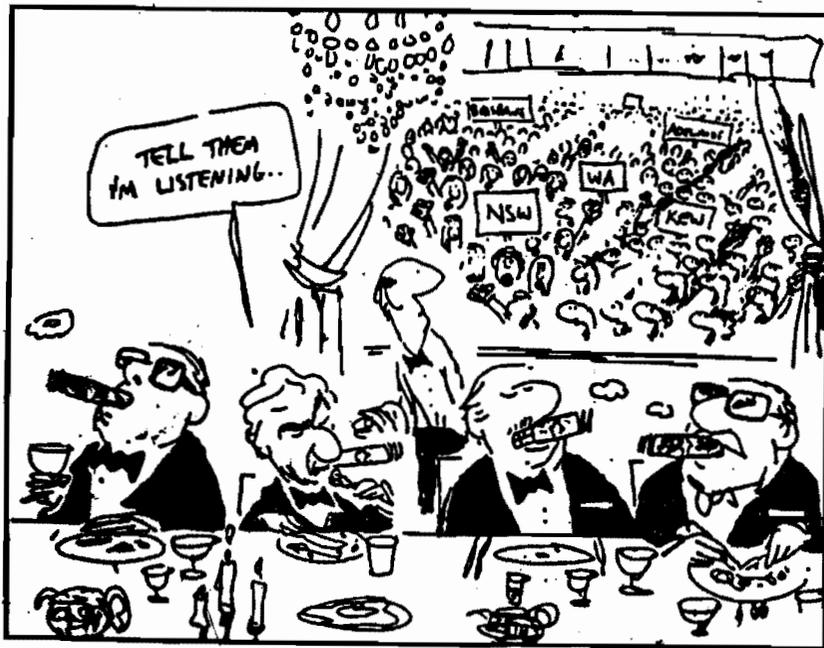
About 18 months ago, Centre 2000, as they call themselves, listed 35 demands for what they termed "sensible government".

Together with others, Labor leaders were loud in the condemnation.

What has been the outcome?

Today already in place or being phased in for future use are nine of Centre 2000's 35 proposals. They include:

1. reduction of total public sector outlays from 45 per cent of Gross National Product by 2 per cent per year for the next decade to reach pre-Whitlam levels
2. balanced budgets at Federal and State levels
3. reduced company tax and marginal rates of personal tax to maximum 35 per cent — working towards 25 per cent
4. abolition of tariffs and quotas
5. deregulation of communications, aviation, transport, hospitals and tourist industry
6. selling off public utilities and contracting out service where possible
7. approval for negative gearing
8. husbands/fathers to provide for single mothers and children
9. re-introduction of tertiary fees and encouragement of loan schemes



It is easy to see why the Liberals are in such a dilemma about policy. Imperialism's needs are already being met by the policies of Labor's leaders, or are in the process of being gradually eased in. They have spelt hardship for thousands of Australian people. They have presided over a lift in company profits to a level higher than at any time since the 1960s.

How then can a proposition of returning Labor to office be supported?

Labor in office — a sorry record

The Labor Party in office has a sorry record. In 1914 Labor Party leader Fisher pledged "to our last man, and our last shilling" support for the imperialist war of 1914-18. The Hughes Labor government tried to introduce conscription which split the Labor Party at that time.

In the 1930s depression years, the Scullin Labor government was responsible for the Premiers' Plan which reduced wages and pensions 10 per cent across the board. The Labor Party was split again.

In 1940s, first Curtin and then Chifley turned Australia towards U.S. imperialism for protection from the Japanese militarists. They sowed the seeds for the later domination of Australia by U.S. millionaire monopolies.

In 1949 Chifley used troops to brutally suppress a coal miners' strike.

In 1974 the Whitlam/Hayden Labor government cut wages, increased taxation and commenced cut-backs to education, health, welfare and other community services. This paved the way for further attacks by the Fraser and Hawke governments.

These record some of the low points of Labor government actions. Certainly these various governments took a number of progressive actions also. Particularly in the era of Whitlam various schemes for health and social services which benefit the people were put in place.

But by and large it must be said that never at any stage did Labor governments seriously challenge the right of capitalism to exist and exploit the majority of the people.

Whenever Labor's actions seriously discredited it with the people, the ruling class did not hesitate to retire them to the parliamentary opposition benches. In Whitlam's dismissal, the

ruling class took more drastic action than the usual manipulation of both "public opinion" and parliamentary elections.

In opposition, the credibility of the Labor leaders is re-built. They claim that attacks on the people would never have occurred under Labor and promise the world on their return to office.

In other words whether in office or out, the history of the Labor Party has been to keep alive faith in the system and confidence in its permanence.

If the see-saw of office between the Labor Party and the Liberals as government and opposition has never to date challenged the status quo of the present system, other tactics are necessary.

If the Labor Party in opposition has allowed illusions in that party to be re-built, then refusing to allow it the luxury of the opposition benches may step up the process of understanding the true character of this party. Acting on behalf of imperialism while in office makes it a bit difficult to insist that your first concern is for ordinary people.

The reality that both main parties are completely tied in with the multinational corporations must be understood for the full weight of people's action to challenge the source of real power — the imperialists, particularly the foreign imperialists, in this country.

Independent candidates to expose parliament not reinforce illusions

Some say the answer lies in the promotion of many independent candidates to parliament.

There are recent examples in Australia where splendid campaigns of struggle around urgent issues, such as the environment and nuclear disarmament, have resulted in the election of parliamentary candidates.

It is important to notice that the election of such people to parliament was the end result of the activity of **many thousands** in struggle outside of parliament.

If candidates are elected to parliament, not with the aim of making that body more effective, but in order in parliament to further the actual struggle outside of parliament around issues concerning people, it can assist that actual struggle forward.

Concerning any proposal for standing alternate candidates, it is worthwhile to look at the experiences from Tasmania and Western Australia.

In both these States where independent candidates were elected



Nuclear disarmament Senator Valentine is gaoled in Alice Springs in August 1988 for protesting at the U.S. military base at Pine Gap last year.

to parliament, the starting point was many, many people in struggle around issues of importance for the well-being of the majority. In some ways this action highlights the irrelevance of parliament. It places emphasis on the people as the determining element for achieving change. There is a difference between such a mass decision to utilise parliament and one which may be reached where the main concern is getting around the present impasse in the parliamentary institution. The objective should be not to make parliament more effective but to show it for what it is — the instrument of the big corporations.

If struggle is correctly developed around those things which concern people at the moment, the real likelihood is that alternative candidates would be promoted whose primary concern is the well-being of the people and who are prepared to oppose the domination of the foreign and local imperialists.

Even so, when this activity still lacks majority support it would be necessary to use Australia's voting system to place Labor Party candidates second on the ballot paper to guard against such votes assisting Liberal candidates. Again this is not to say Labor will be any better than the Liberals. It would stem from the same tactics outlined earlier — the need for sufficient time to elapse in which the real position of the Labor Party can be understood by the overwhelming majority.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is often asked whether it would stand candidates for parliament. We have no fundamental objection to parliamentary candidates even though we designate that institution as serving the ruling imperialists.

We do believe that everything depends on the time and the circumstances. Communist candidates standing in a period when low votes could be expected may not advance people's struggle. Similarly communist candidates would not stand when such action may increase illusions about parliament.

Generally speaking, communist candidates would promote the perspective of developing new institutions of power which rely on the people and reflect a shift from the dominance of foreign imperialism to institutions reflecting and assisting Australian national independence.

For the moment the reality is either a government of Labor or one of the Liberal/Nationals.

Both serve capitalism. For the reasons previously outlined the Labor Party should be retained. Some further matters strengthen

this argument.

Labor/Liberal see-saw

One only needs to experience the Greiner government recently elected in New South Wales.

Almost immediately, this Liberal government introduced three measures which attacked democratic rights.

They closed two government enterprises, attempted to introduce vicious anti-union laws, cut back on services to the people and launched wholesale attacks on education.

It was interesting to note that the outcry from many thousands against these measures now had the support of Labor Party and trade union leaders who had previously tried to put a stopper on struggle. (Even Federal Labor Ministers from a government well versed in anti-people policies attempted to be heroes of the anti-Greiner cause.)

Our conclusions have been borne out. The Labor Party in opposition sets out to re-build its credibility with the people. It hopes that memory of its misdeeds will fade into the background.

The process of the majority of the people coming to understand the exploitation under which capitalism works and to see how the Labor Party serves that system, involves many twists and turns. People's views must be carefully listened to. There must be patience and understanding of the complicated road which is involved in lifting consciousness. Above all else there must be constant struggle for experience to accumulate. As understanding develops new tactics may need to be considered.

Struggle outside parliament — the vital ingredient

To turn to another aspect of the problem. What of the thousands of sincere splendid people who work for and put their trust still in the Labor Party? Often they hope that a change of heart in the leaders will return "their" party to the reform policy they earnestly desire. They cannot conceive of any way forward except through the Labor Party in government.

To these people too it should be said that people's struggle outside parliament is the vital ingredient if they are to succeed. Every effort needs to be made to involve them in united action.

The stumbling block to eradicating poverty, to protecting the

environment, to caring for the sick, is the stranglehold imperialism has on Australian life.

The idea of nationalising some of the key resources which the overseas corporations are fast grabbing would have great attraction to these Labor Party activists as well as non-Labor Party workers.

For the present, return the Labor Party to office.

At the same time focus the undoubted energies of all progressive people into building a strong movement of struggle in which people will come to recognise the real role of the Labor leaders in supporting imperialism.

This is the way in which illusions about both the Labor Party and the whole institution of parliament are destroyed.

This is the way in which the majority of people will rely upon their own power and create their own institutions for protection of their interests from the attacks of the multinational corporations.

CHAPTER 3

People in action against imperialism heralds Australia's future

The newspaper *Vanguard* commented in July 1988 that "beside the stagnant cesspool of the parliamentary political sellouts and the scabby sellouts of the ACTU leaders, there is no question that the people taking action in their own hands heralds the future for ordinary Australians".

As well as the squalid sellouts of politicians and union "heavies", we might also mention the pathetic and petty diversions of the capitalist media and indeed the sordid and compulsive accumulation of wealth by the capitalist class itself.

In contrast the myriad struggles of the Australian people come through like a blast of fresh air.

When we say that people taking action in their own hands heralds the future for ordinary Australians, we mean exactly that. In struggle, not only is people's overall political consciousness raised through their own experience, but some of the actual "seeds" of alternative institutions under the control of the people come into being in embryonic form.

This aspect is reinforced whenever, as is increasingly happening, the people in struggle go **beyond** merely opposing this or campaigning against that and come up with viable and positive alternative directions, proposals and courses of action.

At this point it is worth making a brief review of some of the many areas in which people are in action around Australia. The list is obviously incomplete, and refers in the main to the winter months of 1988.

The specific details may well be out of date to a greater or lesser extent by the time the reader takes up this booklet. But the main importance of these details lies in illustrating the general processes at work, which increasingly are objectively leading in the direction of Australian independence from overseas-owned big business interests.

The most important class in Australia today is the working class, those who have nothing to sell but their labour power, which is used by the bosses in their factories, mines and offices to create surplus value, the source of capitalist profit.

These workers, day in day out, tackle the big corporations and the imperialists. They have taken up the struggle against lowering their standards of living, against lengthening their working hours and in spite of the constant efforts by ACTU leaders Crean and Kelty to abandon them and leave them to the mercy of ruling class attacks, they have survived and learnt exceedingly valuable lessons. No adequate examination of the Australian people's opposition to imperialism can be made without recognising the opposition of Australian workers to the multinationals' plan to grab maximum profits. Whether at the Dollar Sweets confectionery factory in Victoria or the Mudginberri abattoirs in the Northern Territory or the electricity network in South East Queensland, workers have resisted attacks to rob them of hard-won conditions.

Millionaire developers calling upon foreign capital demanded the deregistration of the Builders' Labourers' Federation which unceasingly battled for its members' wages and conditions.

There have been many ups and downs in the recent history of working class struggle in Australia, but the grit and determination shown in the fight against each of these attacks and the enthusiasm with which workers in most States stopped work in the lead-up to the most recent national wage case, inspires many other sections to take up the battle for their rights.

The battle for adequate food, clothing and shelter is joined by a whole series of struggles over such immediate and vital questions as peace, democratic rights and preservation of the environment.

Objectively all these struggles are interconnected. The fundamental theme is one of the great bulk of the Australian people against a handful of foreign and local monopolists and their stooges. Increasingly the participants in these different struggles are becoming aware of this interconnectedness, thereby setting the scene for a great leap in the effectiveness of struggle overall.

In fact a major part of the work of those who are already aware of the links, the relationship, of various "partial" campaigns to the great cause of Australian independence, is appropriately to assist this process of coming together, in line with people's own experience.

In recent times all sorts of Australians, with the obvious exception of the bloated carrion crows of multinational business, have been involved in independent mass action.

"Independent" is a key word here — independent from elected

misrepresentatives whose only concept of democracy is "vote for me" every three years, independent of non-elected high officials, independent of trade union bureaucracy.

This independence from vested interests not only has important implications for the central question of independence for Australia, but as said before, contains the seeds of what genuine people's democracy could be like **within** a truly independent Australia.

Peace an issue for all

Peace continues to be a central issue for literally hundreds of thousands of Australians. Nationally, the winter of '88 has seen developing campaigns against the growing number of visits to Australia by nuclear-armed warships as well as an unprecedented simultaneous protest against U.S. military bases at North West Cape and Pine Gap as well as at U.S.-linked military installations in Canberra, Melbourne and Jervis Bay (NSW). In this way the link between peace — or rather the lack of it — and America's military domination of Australia has been graphically highlighted.

Of course many people as yet see the question of peace as simply meaning nuclear disarmament. Again, this underlines the



Sydney, 1983.

need for the more politically active and "advanced" to be involved with the people at every level, learning as well as seeking to advance understanding step by step in line with reality and people's own positions.

It is not merely the advanced activists who will bring about fundamental change, it is the Australian people.

Environmental protection challenges foreign monopolies

The pressing need to defend and preserve the environment, both urban and rural, draws growing numbers into a huge variety of different campaigns.

People are part of nature, not outside it. In the quest for maximum profits, big business has both ruthlessly exploited nature and fostered the ideology that it is perfectly "natural" to do so. As a result forests are decimated, waters fouled, the air we breathe tainted with noxious filth and the very fabric of the land eroded away and blown to the four winds.

From far north Queensland to south west Tasmania, forestry activists have been campaigning against the wanton destruction of Australia's few remaining virgin forests by Japanese woodchip monopolies such as Daishowa. Increasingly they have come up against government intransigence and outright attacks by the companies which profit from dead forests. And more of them are drawing the conclusion that those intransigent governments are acting merely as agents for these vested destructive financial interests.

Far from being intimidated by the chorus of hate from the profiteers, the conservation forces are growing. International support for saving the forests has come from world-ranked scientists and eminent individuals such as violinist Yehudi Menuhin, who made an impassioned plea for Tasmania's rainforests during a recent concert tour. This reflects the tremendous breadth of the conservation struggle, a breadth that is essential for victory.

The destroyers have made crude attempts to use timber workers and others to support their cause with the threat of job losses. Leaders of timber workers' unions who have supported this approach have been rejected by timber workers. The need for unity between workers and conservationists is vital. Achieving it will require an open-minded willingness to listen and learn as well as an attitude of coming to grips with the issue in an all-sided way.

Such attitudes are a necessary part of involvement in all people's struggle.

Urban environmental issues are playing a more important role in environment struggle as a whole. As most Australians live in cities, questions involving the quality of city life — lack of open space, air pollution, transport chaos — have the capacity to integrate a variety of different issues and unite a wide range of people.

Urban environmental struggles during the 1988 winter include the successful campaign against the Bond mega-development on the margins of a Perth park and the prevention of an environmentally destructive marina for the wealthy on the shores of Melbourne's Port Phillip Bay at Williamstown. A similar campaign against the "development" of Port Melbourne on behalf of the rich has united local working class residents, traders and many others.

South Brisbane residents have launched a battle against the non-stop racket from the new domestic airport (deliberately sited away from the posh part of town) while noise pollution is also a major concern for those fighting the proposal for a "Very Fast Train" (VFT) between Sydney and Melbourne. The VFT is being sponsored by the Australian multinationals TNT, Elders IXL and BHP and the giant Japanese construction company Kumagai Gumi on the condition that State and Federal governments do the dirty work — acquiring land and watering down environmental regulations, so the monopolies can maximise their profits.

The current major anti-freeway battle in Brisbane, which has already won a number of significant concessions, is a good example of how people's infinite creativity and initiative is released in the course of struggle in general. Quite simply, Brisbane freeway activists have got organised: some have taken on the task of researching the Main Roads Department's plans, others are involved in doorknocking to canvass the views of the locals, still others are active in providing information, lobbying politicians, organising demonstrations.

Defend and extend democratic rights

Democratic rights, to the extent that they exist in a society where real democracy only exists for the owners of the means of production, are an important asset to be used to the full. But they are continually under attack, continually being eroded and in recent

times the rate of erosion has speeded up.

Inevitably people from all walks of life fight back against this.

Darwin wharfies provided a leading example in the fight against the recent fascist-like extension to Northern Territory police powers, which amounted to introducing detention without trial. The wharfies announced a policy of total opposition and non-cooperation, particularly in regard to how the law may affect their own members.

Political frame-ups are nothing new in Australia, but a recent one came unstuck as former Immigration Minister Al Grassby was found not guilty in a "conspiracy" trial early this winter. Grassby's real "crime" was being a prominent person with progressive views (much the same as the late Judge Murphy) and a strong supporter of Australia's migrant community. It became clear during the trial that this support was mutual — and there can be little doubt that the backing for Grassby from many sections of the migrant community helped show the "conspiracy" to be a nonsense.

The number of women in prison has risen 450 per cent in less than ten years. Most are there for social service "fraud", thefts and similar "economic crimes" — a reflection of the increasingly severe economic difficulties facing the Australian people, particularly women struggling to raise families on their own. Hundreds of angry women "ringed" the women's prison in Melbourne this winter in solidarity with their sisters inside, and in protest against the travesty of justice which allows the real criminals and exploiters to rule the roost.

Despite the massive nation-wide rejection of the original ID card proposal, the bosses have not given up their dream of numbering all Australians and pressure to slip in an ID card by stealth is mounting. As a result, people's vigilance continues and opposition to the so-called "upgraded tax file number" is growing.

Transport workers in Western Australia have come out strongly against plans to include photos on WA drivers' licences. They should be licences to drive, not de facto ID cards which can be demanded by banks, governments or anybody else, the truckies say.

As more victims get hauled before the dictatorial National Crimes Authority only to be exonerated in a court of law, public outrage grows. People's opposition is forcing the Authority to pull its horns in.

Australians have also never been slow to protest violations of democratic rights in other parts of the world. Students and other



Outside the site of Expo in Brisbane, April 1988.

friends of Latin American freedom joined forces in Adelaide to condemn BHP's links with the fascist Chilean junta. Protests have also taken place against Bond's huge investments in Chile.

Australian companies will have more than \$2000 million invested in that unhappy country by 1989 — the greatest single amount from any one country. This speaks volumes for the sort of investment climate “our” monopolists prefer — and which they are working hard to try and achieve in Australia.

Aboriginal Australians

200 years after being dispossessed of their country, Aboriginal Australians continue to set a magnificent example of sustained and militant struggle against their oppressors.

The major battle at present is over black deaths in custody: the so-called “riots” which have taken place so far are but a mere rustling in the grass compared to the depth and breadth of struggle which will be unleashed should the obscene toll of black lives in the white bosses’ prisons continue to mount as it has throughout the ’80s.

The enemy of the Aboriginal people and white Australians is the same and both groups are becoming more aware of this.

Traditional Aboriginal land holders who travelled to London to challenge CRA’s uranium mining operations in the north west of Western Australia met with considerable support from CRA’s “ordinary” small shareholders. Of course the decisive corporate shareholders, the finance/industrial capitalists, take a different view.

South Australian building unions banned construction work on the summit of Mt Barker, sacred to the Ngarrindjeri people, in another example of the growing trend of black/white solidarity. Indeed the tendency for different groups in struggle to support one another is growing in a whole range of areas.

Small businesspeople battle foreign monopolies

Farmers have not ceased their struggle against rising costs and falling returns and the increasing monopolisation of agriculture. Like the truckies, whose tremendous national blockades seized the imagination of all right-thinking Australians, the farmers are fighting to maintain their independent, self-employed existence. Like the truckies they are gradually being forced into the working class. Particularly in areas of agriculture where monopolisation has been greatest, such as poultry farming, farmers are well aware of who their real enemy is — the big monopolies, often foreign-owned,

and the rapacious banks.

Fishermen, too have been in action against giant American petfood interests virtually “vacuuming” Port Phillip Bay (Victoria) for pilchards. Until recently most pilchards were used for human consumption. Now the entire stock is under threat.

People are in action — it’s like a blast of fresh air

Housing is another area of mounting struggle. Public tenants in Victoria are outraged at the government’s plan to deduct rent payments from their bank accounts, and are fighting back. They have also accused the State Labor government of forcing the children of low income earners to contribute to rent, by using the Family Allowance Supplement in assessing income.

In addition to the above general “themes” there have been other outstanding recent highlights of people’s struggle.

Unionists, students, teachers, pensioners have demonstrated and organised themselves in their tens of thousands in action against the NSW Liberal government’s anti-people moves in education, welfare and industrial relations — which, it must not be forgotten, were built on foundations laid by the preceding Labor government.

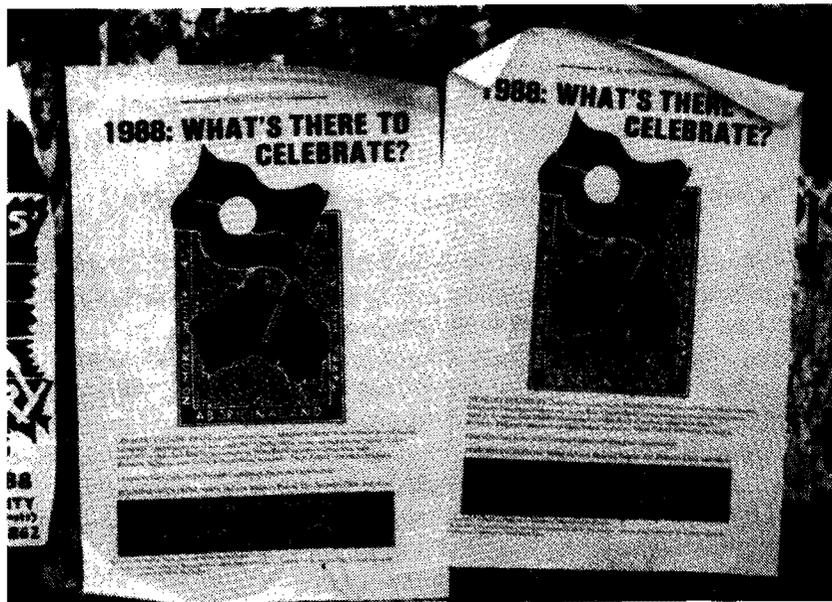
The actions of the secondary students, their parents and teachers have been especially inspiring.

Inevitably the ALP seeks to cash in on this vast upsurge of people’s anger. To the extent that the people learn from their own experience in struggle and maintain their own organisations and initiative, the current protests have the potential to go beyond being merely a re-election platform for the Labor Party.

Tertiary students around Australia have been involved in a magnificent struggle over fees and graduate taxes. Support has come from all over the country: entire Labor Party branches have rejected the government’s stand.

That students have identified the real winners in the graduate tax debate was demonstrated by their occupation of that temple of big business, the Stock Exchange, in both Adelaide and Melbourne.

Asbestos victims have won some compensation victories in the courts — victories which surely would not have happened without a broadly based people’s campaign outside the courts. Much remains to be done, particularly for Aboriginal asbestos miners, the most exploited of all.



South Australian health workers and their supporters are in action over the downgrading of health care services in SA country towns.

Victorian cement workers are fighting cement "dumping" by the Japanese on the Australian market. Cement workers, students and others gave Prime Minister Hawke a hot reception when he turned up in the Victorian regional city of Geelong, centre of the cement industry.

Vietnam veterans are continuing their battle for recognition and proper compensation for Agent Orange injuries.

TV workers have launched a campaign for greater Australian content — a direct challenge to the foreign interests which dominate our airwaves.

In both Queensland and Tasmania, whole new sections of people have been mobilised by concern about the growing Japanese takeover of business and real estate in Australia. Demands included a ban on foreign real estate ownership and a Register of the National Estate to see who owns what already.

In summing up, the first thing to note is that wherever and whenever there is a move against the people's perceived interests, there is resistance.

Secondly, that resistance is increasingly taking a more organised and less spontaneous form. The process of coming together and getting organised itself both reflects and assists the growth of people's overall political understanding and consciousness. It is a process all politically advanced activists must be aware of and must work appropriately to foster.

Thirdly, objectively and increasingly subjectively, people's struggles across the whole field of activity are aimed at big, particularly foreign-owned business. It can hardly be otherwise when foreign imperialist domination is at the root of the vast majority of the ills besetting the Australian nation. The scope for raising the great Eureka banner of Australian independence has never been greater. At the same time "independence consciousness" cannot be imposed but must be won, by shared involvement in the day to day struggles of the people.

Fourthly, the challenge of people's struggle forces those concerned to look beyond simply getting rid of this or that immediate problem, towards putting forward a coherent and positive alternative. People's intervention in one area after another formerly the province of officials, bureaucrats, politicians and "experts" raises the truly revolutionary idea that perhaps the Australian people can control their own affairs and the affairs of the nation.

While this trend has a long way to go, it must be nurtured. It represents the future.

Fifthly, people's organisation itself tends to proceed from a lower to a higher level, from single issue groups to joint campaigns and umbrella organisations. People's organisations are learning from one another, probably to a greater extent than ever. Again, this process cannot be artificially "hot-housed", as broadening the involvement in mass struggle, not narrowing the options, is the key. But the process of "coming together" represents a greater opportunity for consolidation and further development.

Finally, activists must remember that no matter how hard they work, or how important an individual struggle may be, it is the Australian people **in their millions** who will finally win independence and through that, socialism.

As the motivation behind foreign imperialism's domination of Australia is the grab for maximum profits, it follows that the core of opposition to imperialist powers is centred in the workers. They produce the surplus value on which profit is based. Their

conditions of work make them the most disciplined, best organised section of the people. They constitute the main force for Australian national independence. They will attract allies from all other sections of the people suffering from imperialism's attacks. Together in struggle, putting aside areas of disagreement, this majority of Australians will fight for the magnificent goal of Australian independence from foreign imperialism.



The profit grab — at your expense

APPENDIX I

The table below shows the profits of Australia's biggest companies. To know the details of them is important because they are the simplest measure of the exploitation of the working people. The higher the profits go the less wages are paid, the higher the wages the less profits are made. Profits come from the labour power of the working people. Nowhere else. That's why there are always attacks on wages — to get them lower. Where they are known to us, we have also included the amount of interest paid on the company's borrowings. This amount is also extracted from the surplus value produced by the workers. (These calculations are in column 7). For example, the amount of surplus value realised by Bond Corp is \$824.7 million i.e. profit of \$354.7 million plus interest of \$470 million.

Rank	Company	Year	Profit (\$mil)	Percent rise	Interest (\$mil)	Interest & Profit (\$mil)	Tax (\$mil)	Percent tax
1	BHP	87/88	939.9	14.6	659	1598.9		
3	Westpac	exp	631	54.3				
4	Coles/Myer	87/88	328.307	50	166.78	495.087	242.22	42
5	Nat.Austl.	exp	552	68.3				
6	Bank CRA	87/88	437.7	301.5	105.311	543.011	239.9	35.4
7	Western Mining	87/88	242.2	485	24.7	266.9	1.9	0.78
9	ANZ	exp	483	25.5				
10	News	87/88	464.46	28.6	579.43	1043.89		
12	Boral	87/88	208.58	17	66.897	275.477	163.748	44
13	Pacific Dunlop	87/88	185.86	32.4	69.283		115.384	
14	MIM	87/88	97	335				
17	TNT	87/88	206.5	35.4			87.3	29.7

Rank	Company	Year	Profit (\$mil)	Percent rise	Interest (\$mil)	Interest & Profit (\$mil)	Tax (\$mil)	Percent tax
19	North BH	87/88	101.94	45	51.67	152.61	109.094	
20	Lend Lease	87/88	117.8	37				
21	ICI	1.88-6.88	78					
23	Brambles	87/88	126.1	33				
25	Placer Pacific	1.88-6.88	17.07	-14				
27	Ampol	1.88-6.88	180.8	494				
29	Adelaide Steamship	87/88	180.924	7.5	71.434	252.358	0.642	0
35	Bond Corp	87/88	354.7	255	470	824.7	3.96	1.1
37	Woodside Petroleum	1.88-6.88	97.97	253				
40	David Jones	87/88	137.879	-37.8	113.12	250.999	113.12	
43	James Hardie	87/88	70.44	16.3				
44	ANI	87/88	74.836	11.5	12.442	87.278	36.76	
48	Woolworths	86-87	7.8					
49	Peko	87/88	5.1	11				
50	Arnotts	87/88	37.884	10.4	3.707	41.591	37.277	
52	Tooth & Co	87/88	59.79	5.8	36.98	96.77	24.28	28.8
64	Petersville Sleigh	87/88	43.4	7.9				
66	Ampol Explor.	87/88	20.68	78	2.679	23.359	9.101	30.6
67	Tube-makers	87/88	40.85	25.1				
79	Kern Corp	87/88	53.328	99.1	17.121	70.449	1.083	2
81	Nation. Consol.	87/88	52.9	6.05				
84	George Weston Foods	1/88-6/88	17.236	32.8	1.46		11.324	

Rank	Company	Year	Profit (\$mil)	Percent rise	Interest (\$mil)	Interest & Profit (\$mil)	Tax (\$mil)	Percent tax
93	A.W.A.	87/88	7.98		9.103	17.083	7.855	
95	OPSM	87/88	18.478	0.9	5.325	23.803	16.35	
98	Westfield Hold	87/88	22.084	-31.8	108.179	130.263	.467	2.1
100	QBE Insur.	87/88	29.57	41.4				
108	Pancontinental Mining	87/88	29.7	31			0.0	
110	Pan Aust. Mln.Ltd	87/88	33.2					
112	Burnings	87/88	17.691	32	1.674	19.365	16.653	
114	Quatro Ltd	87/88	40.608	286	11.62	52.228	17.054	
118	OVS Inv.	87/88	28.21	2074.3				
123	C-C Bottlers	87/88	11.091	14.3	4.828	15.919	10.169	
124	Girvan Corp	87/88	44.153	59,666	27.162	71.315	26.993	
128	F.H.Faulding	87/88	10.1	37.7				
135	D.J.'s Properties	87/88	15.659	-2.05	4.557	20.216	5.262	
147	Barrack Mines	87/88	15.8	24				

Ranked according to Stock Exchange Capitalisation - 2 September 1988

APPENDIX II

REAL WAGES 1982-1988 — HOW THE WORKERS LOST

National wage increases and CPI rises compared

PERIOD COVERED	WAGE INCREASE	CPI RISE	DATE OF EFFECT
Quarters of Yr	per cent	per cent	
1982 — Jun, Sep & Dec	—	9.1	—
1983 — Mar & Jun	4.3	4.3	Oct 1983
1983 — Sep & Dec	4.1	4.1	Apr 1984
1984 — Mar & Jun	—	2.3	—
1984 — Sep & Dec	2.6	2.7	Apr 1985
1985 — Mar & Jun	3.8	3.8	Nov 1985
1985 — Sep & Dec	2.3	4.3	Jul 1986
1986 — Mar, Jun & Sep	2.5 av. (\$10) 1.5 av. (\$6) (4.0 av.)	6.7	Mar 1987 Feb 1988 (various — only 50 per cent of workers)
1986 — Dec	—	2.9	—
1987 — Mar	—	2.0	—
1987 — Jun	—	1.5	—
1987 — Sep & Dec	—	3.4	—
1988 — whole year	3.0 2.1 (\$10 av.)	7.0 (est.)	from Sep 1988 1989
TOTAL INCREASE (compounded)	30.0	69.0	

1. The June, September and December 1982 CPI was not paid owing to the Fraser wage freeze. The March and June 1984 CPI was not paid because of the Medicare fiddle. The September and December 1985 CPI was "discounted for balance of payment reasons". The December 1986 and all of 1987 CPIs were not paid. The 1988 expected CPI is not fully paid despite assurances from the government "that real wages would be maintained in 1988". Even the 3.0/2.1 (\$10) is not guaranteed to any worker.

2. The 4 per cent second-tier increase of 1986 is not included in the total wage increase because it was only paid as a trade-off for working conditions. Further, only about half the workers have received the increase.

3. It was one of the promises of the accord that there would be "catch up" for the Fraser wage freeze of 1982 (9.1 CPI rise for nil wage rise). The ACTU and government did not act on the promise.

4. It should be borne in mind that the Consumer Price Index is an inadequate measure of actual price rises as they affect the workers.

What the table above and the graph opposite tell us is this:

- from early 1982 to the end of 1988 wages will go up 30 per cent
- consumer price index will go up 69.0 per cent
- the damage to the Australian working people's living standards is enormous!

From Vanguard, 17.8.88.

APPENDIX III

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) figures for 1985-86 published recently expose the imperialists' interest in key sectors of the Australian economy. These turn out to be areas in which government leaders have earmarked government enterprises for privatisation.

The government-owned privatisation targets include Australian Airlines, Australian National (Shipping) Line, grain storage and transportation, Commonwealth Bank, Naval and State dockyards, Telecom and Australia Post, government properties and the servicing of government businesses. All these fall into economic sectors targetted over the last five years by foreign investors.

An examination of the 24 industry categories shows that six of them stand out as the focus of particular interest from overseas investors. The table shows the levels of foreign investment in the various industries and the changes over the five-year period to June 30, 1986. The figures speak for themselves but the privatisation targets noted above expose the service government leaders are trying to perform for imperialism and the disaster for the independence of this country, its people and economy which they are pursuing.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN AUSTRALIA BY INDUSTRY CATEGORY

Industry Category	Level		Increase 1981-86 \$million	rate
	1981	1986		
Transport & Storage	1412	5286		x 4.5
Finance, Property & Business Services	7468	36302		x 5
Public Administration & Defence Industries	5090	19930		x 4
Other industries (Communication, com- munity services, recreat- ion, personal and other services)	411	2055		x 4
Basic Metal Products	2800	9845		x 3.5
Electricity, Gas and Water	847	8350		x 10
TOTAL of Six selected	18028	81767	63,740	x 4.5
All other industry categories	29315	56831	27516	x 1.9

From Vanguard, 9.12.87.

APPENDIX IV

Levels of U.S., Japanese & British investment in Australia

Country of investor	June 30, 1981 (\$mil)	June 30, 1986 (\$mil)	Increase (\$mil)	Increase rate
U.S.A.	13,084	31,256	18,172	x2.39
Japan	4,098	20,840	16,742	x5.09
U.K.	14,580	28,609	14,029	x1.96

From *Vanguard*, 9.12.87

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