Program of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation

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# Preamble

*The contemporary crisis of world capitalism, born from a declining rate of profit and intensifying competition between imperialists, can only signify one thing: the Twilight of the Gods of the bourgeois-capitalist world order is nigh. Today, it is not a question of the periodic economic crises which were once a part of the capitalist mode of production; it is the crisis of capitalism itself; we are witnessing convulsive spasms of the whole of the social organism, formidable outbursts of class antagonisms unseen in a generation, general misery for the vast masses of proletarians, the intensification of atomisation, social collapse, and technological domination: all this is a fateful warning to bourgeois society. It appears more and more clearly to the vast masses of workers that the ever-growing antagonism between exploiters and exploited, the contradiction between capital and labour, cannot be reconciled. Capitalism, in experiencing its prolonged demise, has committed itself wholly to the altars of imperialist war and ecocidal extraction, to the modern Moloch of techno-capital, the foul demiurge of race, nation, and Empire. It has created a chaos whose unbearable prolongation places the proletariat upon that historic crossroads: socialism or barbarism, communism or death, the program of labour or the program of capital.*

*The program of capital, which in reality is a program of vampires, is to consolidate the final and inevitable form of capitalist rule: corporatist oligarchy. All the powers of human labour, all the gifts of so-called civilisation, all the resources and life upon the earth pour into the hands of an ever-dwindling number of capitalists, furnishing their agents and cronies with vast wealth and privileges. They seek to break the organisation of the working class, stripping from it all protections won by decades of class struggle. In doing so, they hope to restore profit rates through the consolidation of a corporate dictatorship, the welding of capital and the state. They render the paper-thin veneer of democracy more and more ragged, until finally it is stripped away by the swing of the policeman’s club and the hiss of the tear gas grenades. The consolidation of the corporatist oligarchy, the dictatorship of capital in its final and most grotesque form, is an attempt to drive the working class forever into bondage, reduced down to little more than corporate wage-slaves. This is the program of the vampiric serpent of imperialist capitalism in its final stage, all in the name of their eternal sovereign - the logic of accumulation itself. All the defenders of the old world have now fallen in behind this Party of Order and its program. From craven reformists to esoteric fascists, this Coalition of Capital has made its program known: slavery, toil, hunger, boredom, war, ecocide, death.*

*The only alternative to the program of capital is the program of labour. The proletariat, disparate and disintegrated as it may be, is the only force that provides some hope for the emancipation of humanity. Only when it takes mastery of its destiny, seizing the powers that it has at its disposal, can it use its true weapon - organisation - to overthrow the world of the exploiters, the world of the time-clock and security camera, the world of capital. The Communist Party, the Party of Freedom, is the sharpest blade at hand for the revolutionary proletariat. The program of labour, the program of the Party of Freedom, is the emancipation of humanity - its only desire is to break the world of the bourgeois and to institute its own republic, the republic of labour, the republic of the working class, the cooperative commonwealth, communism. Then and only then can the riddle of history be solved, and humanity emancipated from boredom, anxiety, toil, and want.*

*The immense crisis in world-capitalism and the historic struggles of the proletariat has made immediate the promise of communism: the real abolition of social classes, the state, wages, money, and markets, and the realisation of the living principle of free association through a common plan; a society based upon solidarity and non-domination, where each contributes according to their ability and receives according to their need. Only the revolutionary proletariat will carry this promise out.*

*This program, the program of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation, is merely one attempt to express the program of labour. It is a proposed program for a future Communist Party, the now illusive Party of Freedom, a party that can unite the vanguard of the class into a decisive weapon for the emancipation of humanity. This program serves as an oath, and a guide for our unity - it is against the realisation of this program that we mark all progress and assess all victories. For only the program of labour can emancipate humanity.*

***Victory to the Class! Revolution in Our Lifetime! Forward to Communism!***

# Our Epoch

The present epoch is characterised chiefly by the revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. The central contradiction of our age is between a decaying capitalism and an overdue communism - between the objective conditions for revolution, and the subjective conditions.

In the past century, the capitalist world system has moved into an epoch of terminal decline. With the bringing of the entirety of the world and its peoples into intercourse with capitalist relations, the epoch of capitalist development came to an end; the logic of the world system now trends towards permanent, spiralling social crises.

At the same time, the historic task of the proletariat has yet to be realised. Despite the valiant efforts of previous generations of revolutionaries, the two great revolutionary waves of the 20th Century - 1917-1936 and 1949-1980 - both ended in defeat, conciliation, and recuperation into the logic of capital. This has laid the basis for the defining crisis of our present epoch: the contradiction between objectively advanced revolutionary conditions, and subjectively backwards organisations of class power.

## The Capitalist World System

The capitalist mode of production now dominates the entire face of the earth. In its constant drive for accumulation, it has demolished or internalised all alternative modes of social organisation - the village commune of the peasants, the feudal relation of master and serf, the shackles of chattel slavery, the planner-courts of the tributary civilisations - all of these social forms have been either torn apart, or directly integrated into the relations of capitalist market economies.

In the capitalist mode of production, the form of appearance of social wealth is the accumulation of commodities. Generalised commodity production, including the generalisation of the sale of labour-power, heralds the emergence of a monetary economy, the generalisation of the market, and with it, the rationalising logics of the Law of Value. Driving this social behemoth forward is the process of accumulation: by which value self-valorisies, and money transforms into more money through the purchase and sale of commodities. In such a society, the fundamental precondition of production is the capacity for the realisation of profits - a dynamic force which increasingly places fetters upon social production. In this system, a vast class of wage workers, sellers of the labour-power commodity, take on a primary social role. They are exploited by the drive to minimise labour-time, and the differential between the use and exchange value of their labour-power: bound to service by the lash of economic coercion. This class, the proletariat, is defined by their dependence upon the wage-fund, and constitutes capitalism’s gravediggers - the product of the capitalist system, their historical task is to bury this system forever.

This system is by its nature global. In the contemporary period, which is characterised by the domination of immense financial (fused industrial-banking capital) monopolies, capital has constructed an international order of globalised production, enmeshing all the nations of the world, and their various ruling classes, into a network of production and exchange.

At the core of this system, there exists the heart of world-imperialism, exploiting labour-power from the semi-periphery and periphery, and exporting vast amounts of capital in the form of foreign investments protected by military force (imperialism). In these countries, a stagnant, mature form of capitalism predominates, with vast masses of workers used as precarious service labourers and consumption sinks for cheap commodities.

In the periphery, multitudes of workers and semi-proletarian slum-dwellers and peasants toil away to feed the vast beast of world-capitalism. Workers in these nations are the most exploited on earth, often working in mineral extraction and agriculture, and preyed upon by vampiric local elites, slumlords and sweatshop owners, warlords, and reactionary militias.

Between these two poles sit the semi-periphery, the great workshops of the world central to the production of the majority of the world's manufactured goods. Trapped in a never ending process of industrialisation and stagnation, the semi-periphery is riven by intense class struggle and social antagonism, as well as national bourgeoisies hoping to fulfil imperialist ambitions of their own.

In the present epoch, the capitalist world system has entered a period of crisis. A general decline in the global rate of profit has preceded a generalised crisis in accumulation - profitable ventures are all but exhausted, and capital has retreated into the realm of financial speculation, where easy profits can be realised through speculative bubbles and asset trading. This crisis in capital accumulation is compounded by further crises: the breakdown of traditional political arrangements, the intensifying conflict between imperialist powers and the decline of American power, and the ecological crises produced by industrial capitalism. The form of management of these crises is increasingly revealed to be the corporate state - the total fusion of capital and the state.

The decline of American hegemonic power, and the emergence of rifts in the NATO bloc as well as significant challenges to NATO-bloc hegemony by Russia and China, poses a profound crisis for world capitalism. The re-emergence of great power conflict threatens a fragile global economy based on long supply chains and just-in-time production, causing capitalist states to invest further in military equipment and defence systems. Such a proliferation signals a road to war between imperialists - a great bloodletting of the working class and subjects peoples in the name of profits. The proliferation of nuclear arms both draws out such a crisis and makes its resolution even more terrifying.

The ecological crisis has also reached world-historic proportions. Capitalist production, having thrown the metabolism of human society out of balance with the metabolism of earth’s complex ecological systems, has now plunged humanity into a civilizational, and perhaps existential, crisis. Climate change, ocean acidification, biodiversity loss, desertification, the proliferation of air, land, and water pollution, the degradation of agricultural lands - all of these crises are harbingers of a global crisis. The response of capitalist states, having long passed the point where action could avert the crisis, is to crush dissent, prop up fossil capital, and to prepare to struggle for a diminishing pool of resources.

All these crises are simply symptomatic of the profound malaise in capitalist society itself. Such a crisis cannot be overcome through reform, nor can it be seriously ameliorated. Only the overthrow of capitalist society itself can allow humanity to escape the existential crises of the 21st Century.

## Capitalism in Australia

Australian capitalism developed as a direct outgrowth of the British Empire and its policies of colonialism in the late 18th Century. As in North America, the British colonists engaged in a ruthless campaign of genocide against Australia’s indigenous peoples, dispossessing them of their lands and destroying hundreds of distinct cultural and linguistic groups. From this genocidal campaign, and the use of occupied indigenous lands for agriculture and mining, Australian capitalism developed free of the fetters of pre-capitalist modes of production.

The relatively stable development of Australian capitalism, and the relatively small size of the industrial working class in Australia meant that the labour movement developed relatively late, and when it did, it was marked from the outset by the inclusion of petit-bourgeois independent workers and the dominance of craft unionism. The petit-bourgeois composition of the labour movement, and the inability of the petit-bourgeois democratic struggles to metastasize into a genuine democratic revolutionary movement, meant that the primary tasks of developing the Australian nation-state at the turn of the 20th Century was left largely in the hands of a labour movement dominated by petit-bourgeois reformers and national-protectionists. The chronic shortage of labour that has marked Australian capitalism from the beginning also produced a labour movement that was dependent upon immigration control to maintain relatively high wages through the late 19th and early 20th Century.

All of these developments led to the emergence of Laborism, and the creation of the Australian Labor Party on the basis of class collaboration, nationalism, white supremacy, and protectionism. This history has given the Australian labour movement, and the Labor Party-ACTU bureaucracy a fundamentally corporatist character, distinguishing it from the social democratic and labourist traditions of European trade unionism.

With the emergence of the modern Australian state, Australia has been able to bring itself into the capitalist-imperialist core and position itself as a regional enforcer for first British and then American imperialism. In the course of this development, Australian capitalism has transitioned towards a more open migration policy, the restructuring of capitalist production during the period of globalisation, and the class compromise that was the Prices and Incomes Accord and the subsequent defeat of the trade union movement.

In the 21st Century, Australian capitalism exists as a member of the imperialist core and a member of the US-NATO imperialist bloc. Australian capitalists profit from imperialist exploitation in South-East Asia and Oceania, and the Australian state actively supports the US military as a junior partner in the region. However, it now seems that Australian capitalism is shifting into a period of crisis. The systematic decomposition of Australia’s manufacturing base has left Australian capital dependent upon a series of economic bubbles, namely in minerals and housing. In addition, the decline of American hegemony has placed Australia in direct geopolitical competition with China in South-East Asia, while at the same time being a major Chinese trade partner.

## The Impasse of the Communist Movement

The failure of the first two great waves of communist revolution have led to a historic impasse in the development of the communist movement. In the advanced capitalist countries, the revolutionary forces of the proletariat have everywhere decomposed, collapsed into little more subcultural layers of youth and ageing cadres in decaying sects. The mass parties of the communist movement, parties that could legitimately and authentically describe themselves as the vanguard of the class, the real fusion of Marxism and the workers movement, have declined along with Marxism as an intellectual tendency and the workers movement as a real force in society.

The decomposition of the proletariat as a political subject is the chief problem faced by communists. The proletariat has largely disintegrated, and working class subjectivity has been greatly diminished. The traditional defensive organisations of the class, the trade unions, are moribund, conservative, opportunist, and shrinking rapidly. Class consciousness is in a period of historic lows, allowing for the proliferation of liberal and reactionary misapprehensions about the present moment. There today exists no proletariat in the sense of political subjectivity. The class-in-itself is not yet a class-for-itself.

In the place of the communist parties of yesteryear, the revolutionary left is caught in rearguard actions, defending the remnants of a dead social-democratic politics. Where the working class does manage to organise some kind of voice in political life, it is on the basis of opportunistic and compromised political campaigns and alliances with petit-bourgeois liberals. On the basis of such a moribund movement, no real advancement is possible.

The vital task of the communist in the contemporary period is the formation of a Communist Party, a genuine party of the proletariat, and the preparation of a long-term strategy for the seizure of power.

# The Communist Party

## The Nature and Structure of the Communist Party

The primary task of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation in the current period is the reconstitution of a fighting Communist Party in Australia and Oceania. In order to address such a serious task, it is necessary for the RCO to put forward its own vision of the Communist Party, its role and structure.

### The Role of the Communist Party

The role of the communist party is a question of immediate concern. At its core, the communist party is understood to be a political instrument, a tool by which the organisation and activity of the revolutionary proletariat can be channelled into coordinated political action to smash the bourgeois state and take power.

The party does not “lead” the class in the way that a conductor leads an orchestrator. Rather, it exists within a constant dialectic with the various layers of the class - its task is not to provide commands, but to sublate the experience and activity of the class into advancing its goal of self-abolition. The party expresses its leadership through its heroic and active role in the struggle - it strives to be the most advanced, the most militant, the most educated, the most experienced, the most strategic of all the sectors of the proletariat. It leads by example, and wins respect by the clarity of its politics and the discipline of its cadres.

In this sense, the Communist Party must establish itself as a party-movement, an organisation that serves as the political nerve-centre of a vast constellation of both affiliated and unaffiliated magazines, social organisations, community groups, and defence committees. With the respect that it has built amongst the working class for the strength of its convictions and its respect for proletarian self-activity, it can provide political leadership as the most militant and advanced layer in the struggle.

### Party of the Vanguard

The vanguard of the proletariat refers to the most advanced of the advanced - those workers directly engaged in militant class struggle with the capitalist state, that are already coming to awareness of their historical task. This layer can be seen as the militant of the advanced layer - at present, in Australia this layer is that which is active in the class struggle and possesses progressive trade union consciousness.

Notably, the vanguard is a shifting force, a role that can be played by different groups at different times. The Communist Party is the unification of this vanguard with communist political and organisational thought through a process of interpellation and agitation - the Communist Party is by its nature the organisation of the proletarian vanguard.

### Programmatic Unity, Revolutionary Unity

Of immediate concern to revolutionaries is the political basis for the formation of the Communist Party. The Revolutionary Communist Organisation calls for the formation of a Communist Party on the basis of Programmatic Unity, as opposed to Theoretical Unity. By this we mean that acceptance of the program as the fighting document upon which the Communist Party rests must be the basis of the organisation, not a series of theoretical or philosophical precepts. Unity around the program is necessary as it allows for a clear, disciplined political basis, while allowing great degrees of difference over philosophical and theoretical issues within the Marxist tradition. Notably, acceptance does not equate to agreement - any cadre is free to disagree with some element of the program and seek to change it, but they must be willing to accept it and fight for it in the interim.

That said, we must insist that a programmatic unity also be a revolutionary unity. The fighting program of the Communist Party must necessarily be a revolutionary program - it must be a program of communist revolution, of the proletarian dictatorship, the commune, and of the revolutionary agency of the proletariat. How best do we divide between revolutionaries, and those who would abandon the revolutionary program?

The Revolutionary Communist Organisation insists upon constitutional disloyalty as the basis for its political unity. This means that all members of the Communist Party share a rejection of the legitimacy of the bourgeois state, bourgeois law, bourgeois “democracy”, and the bourgeois constitution. We will never make an alliance with or seek to govern such an apparatus.

### A Cadre Party

A Communist Party does not resemble a bourgeois political party, in which an alienated professional layer governs the party, calling on a passive membership for political action. Instead, it is a cadre party. All members of the Communist Party are cadres, educated worker-militants operating under the party’s aegis. This does not mean that every member is a full-time revolutionary militant paid by the party, but that every member is active, conscious, and working in concert with other party members.

The recruitment, training, disciplining, and hardening of cadres is one of the key tasks of the Communist Party, one of the pillars of its activity. It is a continuous activity, constantly driving to tighten up its ranks, and educate its members.

### A Combat Party

The Communist Party does not conceal its aims, nor does it hide its means. In the long term, no compromise is possible with the bourgeois state and the class it represents. The Communist Party is borne of the acknowledgement of class warfare as an undeniable and irrepressible force in capitalist society, and the party sees its task as carrying this warfare to its conclusion. As such, the Communist Party is a combat party - a party that prepares for and engages in militant actions against capital and the state. Our aim is to intensify the class struggle, not to moderate or mitigate it.

Communist Party cadres can and should be drilled in self-defence, organised to take on the police, strikebreakers, and fascist paramilitaries. Even in times of relative social peace, the Communist Party is a party of war - it is a party of class warfare and class struggle. It strategises and organises accordingly.

### A Proletarian Party

The Communist Party must from the outset seek to fight for and maintain a proletarian character. Its ranks must be drawn from the fighting proletariat, from the class dependent upon the wage fund, and it must seek to reflect the proletariat broadly, and in particular its advanced layers, in its composition and ranks.

In the current epoch, the proletariat is in a state of radical decomposition and fragmentation. Its various layers - from unionised manual workers, to workers in the service sector, to agricultural labourers, to precarious student-workers - possess differing cultural and social experiences, and share little in terms of a working class identity. The Communist Party should not fetishise an image of the proletariat, seeking to tail a semi-mythical industrial worker’s politics, but should instead work to realise the growing unity of the real proletariat in its ranks, through constant application of class struggle politics.

## Questions in Party Organisation

### Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline

The fundamental organisational principle of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation, and the organisation that we fight for in the future Communist Party, is democratic centralism. In short, we insist upon a democratic organisation, with thorough participation and freedom of criticism at every level, where democratic content is upheld in all decision-making processes, and where leaderships are accountable and recallable. We are opposed to political bureaucracies, to unaccountable and ossified leadership cliques. Democracy is at its core a process - freedom of criticism and publication, principled and consistent application of organisational rules, the ability for minorities to become majorities.

However, our organisation is also centralist. We vest the Congress, the general democratic body which represents all party organs and members, with absolute authority over all party affairs. Decisions that are made should be carried out thoroughly. Leaderships should be forced to follow the line of the organisation, and representatives should always speak and act in accordance with the party line, not in accordance with their own thoughts or disposition.

All members are subject to the discipline of the organisation as a whole. This discipline is not a military discipline, nor the discipline of a conductor, but a collective discipline - imposed upon ourselves and each other by the enormity of our task and the strength of our convictions. All members of the organisation are bound to carry out its collective decisions, to respect its members, and uphold its rules.

Organisationally, Democratic Centralism takes on the following character: the part is subordinate to the whole, lower committees to higher, all committees to the Central Committee, and the Central Committee to the General Congress. Within the spheres of their work, party bodies are autonomous. This structure reflects the democratic and centralist nature of the organisation.

### Criticism and Self-Criticism

Democracy cannot persist without criticism. All members of the organisation, and all relevant organisational organs, should have the right to criticise the organisation’s leadership in private and in meetings, in the socialist press, and in other spaces of debate.

In addition, a revolutionary organisation should cultivate a healthy culture of self-criticism. We should tell no lies, admit mistakes and errors, and refuse to claim easy victories. Ultimately, revolutionary principle, political clarity, and organisational coherence take precedence over political opportunism.

### On Theory and Education

As stated previously, the Communist Party should not make agreement around theoretical principles, or agreement with a certain tendency within Marxism, a prerequisite for membership. However, this does not mean that theory does not take central place in the development and education of cadres, and in guiding organisational tasks and strategy.

Theory is simply too important to be constrained by political necessity. All cadres must be free to explore ideas openly, to read widely and without prejudice, and to freely argue and criticise without threat of reprimand.

As part of their ongoing training, all cadres must be given a robust theoretical education in the fundamental concepts of Marxist theory and in the content of the Communist Party program. They should also be exposed to a variety of texts from within the revolutionary, critical tradition of Marxism, allowing for a wide engagement with political concepts and traditions.

Education is thus a core task of the organisation, be it of cadres through classes, schools, and study groups, or of fellow travellers and the broader class, through public lectures, talks, and propaganda actions.

### On the Party’s Publications

It is essential for the communist movement to publish its views and perspectives in a manner that reaches a broad swathe of the working class. As such, party publications are essential. These publications serve as a scaffold around which the organisation is built - they communicate ideas over the vast territory of the country, bring together different groups and tendencies, and argue for a wide variety of perspectives within the socialist tradition.

It is important that the Party does not seek to censor or limit the publication of party organs beyond the necessary limits imposed by building a healthy organisational culture and maintaining programmatic unity. Party members should be free to expound on their views in the socialist press, and the right of reply should be guaranteed. In addition, the party’s various organs should have the freedom to publish their own publications, aimed at aiding in the specific tasks they are undertaking. This may include strike bulletins, women’s papers, high school student magazines, or newsletters aimed at soldiers.

### On Clandestine Organising

The nature of the struggle against the bourgeois state will necessitate periods of clandestine and covert activity. Communists should resist repression at every turn, frustrating attempts by the state to drive us out of public life. We should proudly take a public position, and engage in open, democratic struggles where we can reach the broadest sections of our class.

However, even the most open and legal class struggle conducted by the Communist Party requires support from clandestine sections of the organisation. Providing movement security, gathering intelligence, certain forms of propaganda - all of these activities may well be illegal, or at least semi-legal.

Communists do not shy away from clandestine work. We must construct both openly and covertly, the apparatus of organisational defence that can carry our movement through periods of repression, and the coming insurrectionary struggles with capital and its state.

## The Pre-Party Formation

In Australia there exists no party that can rightfully be called the Communist Party. The revolutionary left, where it does exist, is wholly marginal, confined to a handful of confessional sects and decaying left-unity projects. Alternatively, many communists find themselves in the ranks of liberal and social democratic political parties, or amidst the NGO sector or the trade union bureaucracy. There exists no singular centre, no force that can meaningfully demonstrate its link to the vanguard of the class, that can serve to reorganise the communist movement into a fighting force.

The preconditions for the re-emergence of the Communist Party are essentially two-fold: the emergence of a new wave of class struggle and the proliferation of Marxist politics through circles of worker-intellectuals. It is the task of communists in the immediate term to agitate for the advancement of the class struggle, to organise intellectual and educational activities, to distribute revolutionary propaganda and agitate for revolutionary slogans. This necessitates a network of communists which can eventually coalesce into a pre-party formation.

A pre-party formation is an organisation of communists that seeks to prepare for the establishment of a Communist Party. It is, in a sense, a nucleus, one of several that will form into the Party proper. The pre-party formation must necessarily model itself around the notion communist party, but it cannot by nature assert itself to be the vanguard of the class. It must instead work with other groupings of communists and worker-militants to advance the class struggle, to regroup and organise communist forces, and to agitate for communist politics, in accordance with the goal of facilitating the re-emergence of a Communist Party.

## The Need for a Communist International

The Revolutionary Communist Organisation recognises that the proletarian struggle is immediately and intrinsically an international struggle. The capitalist world system has created a global proletariat, which possesses no country and no national loyalties. As such, it is necessary for the communist movement to organise itself on an international basis. The need for a Communist International is clear.

This International must learn from the experiences of the previous four, both in their successes and their ultimate failures. It must be a genuine international party, organising across borders, with an international program and international capacities, while respecting the need for a nuanced strategy sensitive to local conditions. It cannot be dominated by a single member party, but be a true forum of the entire global communist movement.

While the creation of a new Communist International is not a viable task at the present moment, international regroupment and solidarity now can lay the basis for its emergence. With the coming wave of revolutionary struggles, it is necessary for communist parties everywhere to fight for the recomposition of the world communist movement on a new basis.

# Revolutionary Principles, Strategy and Tactics

## Strategic Overview

It is not enough to simply aspire to transform the world. Communism is a real movement, a politics, a strategy, for the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and class society as a whole. As such, communists must work tirelessly to develop and articulate a revolutionary strategy.

The strategic platform of the communists is based upon the following planks:

* **Class Independence**: The proletariat must organise for itself as a class, under its own interests, and cannot tie itself to any faction of the ruling class. It rejects outright the possibility of alliance with progressive, liberal, or anti-fascist elements of the bourgeois, or with sinking its proletarian forces into a broad, undefined, populist movement.
* **Hurried Patience:** There is no shortcut to workers power. Neither putschist immediatism nor electoral opportunism produce the necessary organisation and hegemony of communist ideas within the proletariat to effect a seizure of power and transition to socialism. Our strategy must be one of hurried patience - hard work and necessity drive us patiently forward along a lengthy march.
* **Systemic Opposition:** The communists are utterly opposed to the capitalist system, and entirely opposed to collaboration with or management of this system. We form the systemic opposition, opposed not only to certain elements of the capitalist system, but opposed to its entirety.
* **The Proletariat as Protagonist**: The proletariat, and the proletariat alone, is the subject of the communist revolution. Only the protagonism and activity of millions of workers and the organisations of class power they form can transform society on a fundamental level. Organisations, including the Communist Party, are weapons of the proletariat, tools for the clarification of its ideas and the organisation of its power.
* **Organise the Proletariat, Disorganise the State**: All activities organised by the communists, and all actions and demands put forward by the communist organisations, must seek to increase the organisation, sophistication, and activity of proletarian power and to disorganise the state and the class forces it represents.
* **Unify the Advanced, Win over the Middling, Isolate the Backwards**: Our broad strategic vision is to firstly win over and organise the most advanced layers of workers into a fighting proletarian movement. Then, on that basis, win over the various middling layers of workers, while isolating the most backwards and reactionary layers.
* **Generalised Proletarian Insurgency**: The advance of the proletarian movement must take, in the most broad sense, the form of a generalised assault on the institutions of capital. This assault must utilise all means of attack, and agitate in all possible fields of struggle, in order to organise the proletariat, discipline its organisations, and prepare its forces for the seizure of power.
* **Dual Power**: The preparation of the road to power is facilitated by the creation of institutions of workers organisation and power that can effectively displace the state apparatus and the institutions of capital. This process is necessarily unstable, and can only succeed if it serves the basis for an insurrection.

## Classes in the Revolutionary Struggle

The working class is the only consistently revolutionary section of advanced capitalist society. Without owning any of the means of production, it has nothing to lose but its chains. Of course without the weapon of revolutionary theory and organisation, it is riven with sectionalism and exists merely as a slave class, capable of being economically militant, even insurrectionary, but not hegemonic. What makes it a hegemonic class is unity around the communist programme.

The working class constitutes a large majority of the population in Australia – as well as in Europe, the US, Britain, Japan and other advanced capitalist powers. The working class consists of all those dependent upon the wage fund: not only the employed, but the non-employed – pensioners, those on sickness and unemployment benefit, carers looking after young children or aged relatives, students being trained for the labour market, etc.

Traditional distinctions between manual and non-manual work are more and more irrelevant because of social development. Hence besides manual industrial workers the working class also includes workers in the health service, transport, the civil service and local government, as well as non-manual workers in industry, finance and distribution, such as technicians, clerical and sales staff.

If the working class does not elevate itself from being a slave class, it finds its common actions paralysed or limited by opposing competitive interests, which divide every section against every other section.

The proletariat of the advanced capitalist societies, while constituting an organic whole for the purposes of the achievement of its historical task, is nonetheless divided by sectoralism. Today, there exists roughly five sectors within the Australian working class, each predisposed to its own forms of class struggle and its own limitations on class consciousness.

Amongst workers in heavy industry, mining, and construction, high levels of trade union consciousness and high union density produce a high degree of militancy. However, these sectors are also prone to protectionist, nationalist, and producerist misapprehensions.

Workers in the retail and hospitality sector are amongst the most conscious of their class position, as they tend to be younger, and amongst the most alienated layers of workers. However, they are disorganised, politically inexperienced, and prone to nihilism and subcultural escapism.

Intellectual and technical workers play a vital role in the advanced capitalist countries. However, they are perhaps the most complicit in the domination of the working class most broadly, and as such tend towards disdain towards manual workers and class solidarity.

Workers in agriculture and manual labour hire are amongst the most exploited workers in the entire advanced capitalist economy, facing brutal, back breaking conditions. However, they are divided from the broader class by linguistic, cultural, and citizenship barriers intentionally cultivated by capital.

Workers in the social reproductive industries, such as teachers, nurses, and childcare workers, are vital to both the contemporary dynamics shaping the labour market, and in the emancipation of humanity. While a trade union consciousness predominates amongst these workers, the nature of their labour tends to make militant class struggle difficult.

It is the task of communists to overcome these sectoral divisions, and to work to unify the entire proletariat as a political subject.

The development of sectoral interests amongst the working class has been further accelerated by active efforts on the part of bourgeois society in the capitalist core and semi-periphery to elevate loyal and conservative layers of the workers movement into positions of relative privilege in relation to the rest of the class. The formation of this “aristocracy of labour” has been facilitated by narrow craft unionism, the expansion of property ownership, the tying of labour unions to the financial markets via pension fund speculation, the promotion of racial, national, and gender caste structures within the working class, and other policies designed to divide and rule the proletariat and encourage the formation of reformist, nationalist, racist, and other misapprehensions.

The capitalist class – those who live by exploiting labour power and who serve the self-expansion of capital – are very small in number. But history, wealth, positions of corporate power, and connections with the state make it the dominant class in capitalist society.

There are, however, deep internal contradictions. Not only is capitalist pitted against capitalist in the market, but finance capital exploits industrial capital and big capital exploits medium and small capital.

What does this mean for small and medium capitalists?

On the one hand, medium and small capitalists suffer due to their disadvantageous position in the market and lack of an intimate relationship with the state. On the other hand, they benefit from big capital’s global reach and ability to pacify the working class. All capitalists are united in needing the working class to remain wage slaves in perpetuity. So, as well as contradictions, there are common interests. Contradictions are secondary.

This is mirrored politically. Medium and small capitalists are united behind the monopolies and great financial corporations. They have no real independent voice. Ideologically narrow-minded, the small capitalists try to influence society through institutions which are in the main entirely subordinate to big capital.

The task of communists is to break the working class from the influence of all sections of the bourgeoisie. There can be no strategic alliance with the medium and small capitalists. Individuals from the bourgeoisie can come over to the side of the working class, but never any section of it. However, the working class can and should take advantage of the contradictions within the bourgeoisie. Some capitalists may support giving into demands of the working class, though this damages other capitalists. Concessions open up fissures in the ranks of our enemy and help to neutralise sections of it.

The middle classes, which include the professional class, middle management, the self-employed petty producers, middling bureaucrats and trade union officials, inevitably waver between the two main classes in society. To the extent that it has its own political programme, it is based on reactionary and utopian calls for a return to small, family production and national independence, or to a kind of reforming liberalism and self-satisfied managerialism.

As capitalism relentlessly revolutionises the circumstances of production, elements within the middle classes find their old, privileged positions being dissolved. Such a process gives rise to explosive shifts and political intervention can speed the process of proletarianisation. Economic crises plunge the middle classes into turmoil and into political action.

Workers ought to seek, as opportunities present themselves, alliances with the various organisations and manifestations of these intermediate strata. Indeed the working class must represent the middle class against capital in so far as this does not contradict its own interests.

The trend of proletarianisation - that is the constant reduction of the middling layers to another layer in the broader proletariat, produces specific forms of subjectivity. Sections of the middling layers (such as cultural and intellectual workers) that are being proletarianised are often prone to emphasising the social and/or democratic necessity of their profession, arguing that their special status is vital to maintaining a "healthy society". Politically, this is an attempt to arrest the proletarianisation of the professions by appealing to the importance of elevated social layers distinct from the broader working class. It is necessary for communists to break with these romantic delusions and assert the centrality of proletarian unity and solidarity against sectionalism and stratification.

The middle classes can under no circumstances be regarded as a consistent ally of the working class. That said, success in prising it away from capital deprives our main enemy of a major social prop and adds to the momentum of revolution.

The intelligentsia consists of that layer of a given class which participates in intellectual and artistic production. The intelligentsia of any class plays a decisive role in articulating that class' historical interests, and as such proletarian intellectuals can play a most revolutionary part. Today, the proletarian intelligentsia is larger and more broadly integrated than in previous decades

Students are perhaps the clearest expression of this dynamic, as they often play the role of the detonator of the revolutionary situation, pursuing militant activity by which an otherwise stable situation is rendered volatile. Today, students are themselves heavily stratified between proletarian, middling, and bourgeois layers.

In the period of advanced capitalism, a tendency has emerged to produce vast masses of under- and unemployed workers, often permanently so. The historical phenomenon of the reserve army of labour, a necessary aspect of the capitalist labour market, is expanded into a vast surplus population, often concentrated into urban slums and rural hinterlands. This mass is today playing a decisive role in politics, and can often be the instigators of revolutionary situations. An alliance between surplus proletarians and industrial workers is necessary if a revolution is to be successful in the contemporary epoch.

Certain social layers, having been excluded from the daily regulation and organisation of capital accumulation and the wage relation, form a social layer known as the lumpenproletariat. This layer constitutes those indefinitely dislodged from the wage relation and the broader wage fund, eking out a living at the margins of capitalist society. They constitute a layer shaken loose by the constant revolutionization of capitalist productive relations, or otherwise driven into total social decay policies of the state, and as such have much to gain in the struggle against the capitalist social order. This layer, being unable to win a revolutionary struggle on its own terms, is a potential ally for the proletariat, as the peasantry is in the global periphery. However, it is also possible for the lumpenised social layers to fall victim to reactionary intrigues, often of a chauvinist character.

Today there exists no class in Australian society that may be identified with the historical peasantry. However, this class is still a prominent one in the organisation of world-capitalism, and as such is worth noting. The peasantry refers to that class of subsistence labourers, be they farmers, woods-folk, or fishing-folk, that are not fully integrated into the capitalist system of property and exchange relations. Historically this class has played a decisive yet contradictory role - neither being clearly revolutionary nor clearly counter-revolutionary.

In the epoch of world-crisis, where the bourgeoisie no longer plays a decisive or revolutionary role, it is up to the proletariat to win over the peasantry, and in concrete terms win them to a program of the redistribution of land on the basis of social ownership. Only the revolutionary alliance between workers and peasants in the colonised world can today guarantee victory.

## Workers Power

### Proletarian Organisation

With the development of capitalist society, so too has the proletariat developed different forms of class organisation. From the earliest secret societies, luddite armies, heretical cults, and craft unions, through to the industrial unions, workers councils, mass assemblies and communes of the modern epoch, the proletariat has always relied upon organisation as the source of its collective strength. This poses a problem in the face of the decomposition of the traditional organs of workers' power. It is imperative for communists to support any form of organisation that advances the cause and organisation of the proletariat, and to be present in the sites of struggle that emerge from the inevitable clash of class upon class.

### Trade Unions and Shop Committees

In the development of proletarian organisation, the workers union is the most immediate form. This body, the product of the development of the class struggle, is essentially a collective organisation for negotiating the sale of labour power, in particular its price and the condition under which it is sold. As such, while unions are crucial for the organisation of workers and the emergence of trade union consciousness (that is, the consciousness of workers as workers in the struggle with their bosses), they are not in and of themselves opposed to the rule of capital - in fact, they exist to mediate between workers and capitalists.

The contradictory role of the trade unions necessarily leads to the emergence of a layer of bureaucrats that embody this contradiction. The union bureaucracy is structurally tied to the conciliatory role of the unions, they benefit from close relationships with employers and a legal-judicial approach to union struggles. Ultimately, this bureaucracy tends to play a conservative role, and will necessarily be swept aside by revolutionary upsurges in the proletariat.

In terms of tactical orientation, the communists are oriented towards winning the masses of workers to a revolutionary program and class struggle. This necessarily entails involvement in union organising, with communists taking up membership of unions. At times this may involve taking up a rank and file strategy, where the party seeks to organise rank and file workers networks within established unions. At other times, it may be necessary to organise separate Red Unions with a class struggle orientation. Notably, the communists should not confuse the unions, either as an organisation or as a membership, for the class itself.

As the struggle develops, communists support the formation of workplace committees, as an immediate organisational tool in the development of the class struggle. These organisations allow for a more flexible and militant form of class struggle on the workplace basis.

In regards to the organisation and strategic orientation of the unions, the communists fight for the following:

* For the scrapping of the class collaborationist accords of the ACTU bureaucracy and the Australian state. End the corporatist program of the Australian unions that welds the workers' economic organisations to the hip of the capitalist state.
* Support for industrial unionism against the petty divisions and limitations of the craft unions. Union officials are to be paid the wages of an average member and must be placed under the democratic discipline of membership.
* The political independence of the unions must be guaranteed against interference from the capitalists and the state. Union representatives must have the unlimited freedom to enter workplaces to review payroll, ensure worker safety and politically organise. Freedom of association at work. For the reintroduction of closed shops. The elimination of NDAs and freedom of speech for workers. For the formation of shop committees in every workplace.
* For the elimination of the arbitration system. For the direct negotiation of wages between labour and capital through class struggle on a sectoral basis. For the elimination of all limitations on the right to strike.
* For a class struggle strategy in the unions - transformation of the unions into schools of communism. The capitalists must be directly confronted by the workers' organisations utilising any means necessary to defend the interests of the working class. Unions must seek to organise internationally given the international nature of capital. For international bargaining on wages and conditions.

### Unemployed Workers Organising

The unemployed exist within capitalism as a reserve army of labour, being drawn into the labour force during periods of economic expansion and creating a downwards pressure on wages. It is imperative for communists to organise the unemployed as members of the proletariat. As such, communists support the formation of unemployed workers organisations and circles, in order to support workers struggles and to agitate against punitive and cruel welfare policies.

### Workers Councils

In any decisive clash of class against class, new forms of organisation which are higher, more general, more flexible than trade unions emerge. In Russia they have been called Soviets, in Germany Räte, in English, Councils of Action. These bodies emerge as a necessary stage of development to coordinate mass strike action and other generalised insurgencies against the capitalist state.

Embracing and coordinating all who are in struggle, such organisations have the potential to become institutions in the future workers’ state. Communists encourage any such development.

## Strategy in the Social Movements

Today, there is a proliferation of campaigns and movements around a variety of progressive issues that are pertinent to the general historical orientation of the class. Communists should orient towards these movements, and seek to support their development in a radical direction. This means active involvement in the organisation of such movements, through the formation of class-oriented fronts in the movements. In addition, it means raising radical slogans and strategies for these movements, and winning their ranks to communist ideas.

## Tenant Power

In contemporary Australia, the intensification of the capitalist crisis has led to the formation of a political subjectivity oriented around housing - the tenant emerges as an important political subject, one that overlaps quite considerably with the proletariat. As such, communists support the organising of tenants against the landlord-bourgeois.

### Tenants Unions and Neighbourhood Committees

The primary form of organisation in the tenants struggle is the Tenants Union. In these struggles, communists take an approach similar to the approach we take to the trade unions - though it is notable that these unions are newer and less bureaucratised than the trade union movement.

In the tenants struggle, the communists urge a program of direct confrontation with the landlord-bourgeois, the opposition to all evictions and other attempts to deprive workers of housing, and for the raising of militant slogans - those of expropriation and socialisation of housing, and the abolition of rents.

## Workers Inquiry and the Relationship Between the Party and the Class

In the contemporary period of class decomposition, the task of workers inquiry is a central one to the development of a new proletarian subjectivity. This means that communists should attempt to inquire into the conditions of workers in the present moment, the contradictions of contemporary class relations, and the ways in which the work of communists can effectively fuse with the class more broadly.

In the context of the Communist Party, communists should work ceaselessly to engage with the class broadly, and to synthesise the concerns and conditions of the masses into the party program and propaganda. This may take many forms, but at its core, it means that communist militants should be constantly seeking to understand the conditions of the class, work with local militants and workers in struggle, and to understand both in broad and specific terms, the composition and conditions of the proletariat.

## Breaking Ideological Hegemony

Ideology is a field of ideas, cultural institutions, beliefs, theories, traditions, artforms, and other cultural products that produces a distorted, inverted view of the real conditions of life. This inversion is the product of capitalist alienation and the mystification of the capitalist mode of production - where real relationships between people become reified as relations between things. Ideology is a product of the capitalist world system, and reinforces it - it constructs an imaginary where all the real violence and exploitation of capital is rendered illusory or justified. In the contemporary epoch, this ideological field has been intensified, with all the various real relations and processes of society reduced down to a series of signs, or spectacles.

The struggle against the ideological hegemony of capital is part of the communist struggle. As such, the communist movement must place much effort into propaganda efforts, as well as the construction of alternative cultural and intellectual institutions and milieus that can effectively challenge the dominance of capitalist ideas.

## Elections and Parliamentary Struggle

In much of the capitalist world, the power of the ruling class is obscured by formal democratic institutions. These institutions provide a semblance of legitimacy to the rule of the bourgeois class, and allow for disputes amongst different sectors of capital and the middle classes to be adjudicated through the mechanism of the parliament. Despite formal democracy, these societies cannot be understood as being democratic in a substantive sense - at every turn, the proletariat is excluded from meaningful participation in political life, and wholly excluded from any power in the realm of capitalist production and distribution. These formal bourgeois institutions are essentially a sham, a facade that hides the real power of the repressive state.

While communists note the role that elections play in the manufacturing of consent for bourgeois institutions, we do not necessarily hold to a position of abstention. It is possible that intervening into the electoral process as communists may help advance the struggles of the workers, test the popularity of communist ideas, and win a mandate for the implementation of a revolutionary program. Such work must be done under explicitly communist slogans and banners, and with the revolutionary program at the front and centre. The Communist Party rejects all coalitions with bourgeois parties, and does not seek to manage the bourgeois state - any electoral victory must be taken as a vindication of the revolutionary program and a mandate for the immediate seizure of power by the proletariat.

## The Women’s Question

The oppression of women, and their economic, social, and political marginalisation (a social arrangement commonly known as patriarchy) is intimately linked with the capitalist mode of production. The reproduction of the labour force, both daily and across generations, requires a certain amount of socially necessary labour in the sphere of social reproduction and domestic work. This work is done overwhelmingly by women, and it is not directly remunerated by the state or capital. This condition of domestic servility produces women as a subject within capitalist society, reduced to carers, cooks, cleaners, sexual objects - objects of male power and domination, objects at the disposal of capital.

Even when women do enter the workforce, they do so on the basis of a profound inequality - funnelled into lower paid sectors that reflect their social role in the home, women find themselves shackled with a second shift - working in the market and in the home, often doing similar jobs. Unlike liberal feminists, communists understand that only breaking the power of the market and of the familial unit can bring forth the emancipation of women. We are fervently opposed to all class collaborationist and separatist tendencies in the women’s movement - as only though genuine unity of the class on the basis of a struggle against women’s oppression can bring about women’s liberation.

The emancipation of women, and thus revolutionary feminism, is a core plank in the communist program. It is necessary, as there cannot be any revolutionary struggle without the active participation of working class women, and indeed the revolution will not be complete until the Women’s Question is sufficiently resolved. As such, communists support the involvement and leadership of women in all proletarian struggles, and support the emergence of organisations and movements that focus specifically on women’s issues - in both cases, we advocate for communist, proletarian politics to take the helm.

## The Question of Gay, Transgender, and Queer Oppression

The oppression of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer people is a product of capitalist-patriarchy. While the policing of sexuality (especially the sexuality of women) has always been an obsession of patriarchal societies, the emergence of capitalist society produced a systemic logic of population growth and control. This led to unprecedented policing of the human body and gender and sexual nonconformity - policing that would target those we today understand as gay and transgender.

The emancipation of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer people is intimately tied to the liberation of women and the proletarian revolution. Only the overthrow of capitalist social relations can allow for the full expression of human sexuality, and only the crushing of patriarchal society can allow queer people to be truly free.

In the immediate term, communists are fervent advocates of the queer liberation struggle, and resist both separatist and assimilationist tendencies within the movement. We advocate for a proletarian queer movement organised on the basis of class struggle, the overthrow of bourgeois gender norms and sexual repression, and the smashing of the repressive apparatus of the state.

## The Struggles of Students and Youth

Young workers face the sharpest forms of capitalist exploitation. Used as cheap labour, unprotected by union membership, discipline and surveilled by the police and the school system, and denied a meaningful future, young people often face the most brutal and desperate conditions of any workers. In addition, they are herded into high schools where they are continuously humiliated and surveilled as part of the industrial reproduction of labour power for the capitalist market, and citizens for the capitalist state. In the universities, young people are caught in a decaying, moribund institution that provides little more than pieces of paper, churning out degrees on an industrial scale for the simple accumulation of semi-skilled workers. This drives people both towards political radicalisation, and despair and nihilism.

The education system, be it high schools, TAFEs, or universities, is a vital site of social struggle. At every turn, communists must organise and ready the youth for an epochal conflict with the capitalist system. It is most likely, at least in the initial stages, the youth will fill out the ranks of the Communist Party in great numbers, providing a militant and committed vanguard of the broader class movement.

Amongst students, the necessary task is to organise against the capitalist university and school as such, not simply for reforms, or a return to some imagined academic idyll. The school is, at its core, an institution of capitalist power and control. It must be smashed.

## Nationalism

With the emergence of capitalist society, the nation-state has become the primary unit of international organisation in the capitalist world. The ideological expression of this development is nationalism, the politics of the nation-state system. Nationalism seeks to organise and preserve the nation, and advance the interests of one’s own nation in the nation state system (inevitably against the interests of other nations).

Communists are utterly opposed to the nation-state system, and to the division of the world's people into national groupings. As such, we are fundamentally opposed to nationalism. Concretely, we are opposed to Australian nationalism and patriotism in all its forms, as it necessarily takes on a reactionary character.

## The National Question

In the struggles against imperialism and colonialism, the oppressed masses often come to embrace national liberation as an immediate task for the revolutionary movement. Confronted with racist, colonial oppression, workers and peasants will necessarily throw themselves into the liberation struggle. The Revolutionary Communist Organisation stands in solidarity with oppressed peoples in their fight for national liberation. This does not equate to support for nationalism - nationalists may be temporary allies of communists in the national liberation struggle, but ultimately the goals of communist revolution and the emancipation of the proletariat and the development of a bourgeois nation-state are opposed to each other. Even the formation of an independent nation-state is not enough to secure the liberation of the oppressed - for they will still be ruled by the capitalist world system and its logics.

In the modern epoch, the national bourgeois and petit-bourgeois have been largely integrated into global capitalist relations of production. In the face of this change, communists recognise that the liberation of oppressed people can only be won by fusing the content of the national liberation struggle and other democratic struggles, with the content of the communist program, in a revolutionary coalition between the proletariat and the semi-proletarian masses of slum-dwellers and poor peasants.

The communist movement must support, with words and deeds, progressive and socialist revolutionary struggles against national oppression and for national liberation - and support the formation of multi-ethnic and plurinational states with full linguistic, political, and cultural rights for all groups, as well as securing independent republics where necessary. Concretely, it is a matter of vital necessity that communists support the national liberation struggle of the indigenous peoples of so-called Australia for linguistic, political, cultural, and land rights.

## Indigenous Liberation and Socialism

The dispossession of Australia’s First Nations peoples was the foundational act of colonial violence upon which the Australian capitalist mode of production was erected - a foundational violence that included the expropriation of traditional lands, the uprooting of modes of production and political forms, the banning and suppression of languages and cultures, the enslavement of indigenous people, and the kidnapping of indigenous children. This foundational violence has marked the social formation of capitalism in Australia as being essentially settler-colonial in nature - constructing a settler society in which capitalist social relations have been instigated by and expanded by a caste of settlers brought from the metropole. While the initial period of colonialism has ended, the colonial process is still ongoing, as the indigenous masses struggle for existence within and against the imperialist Australian state.

In contemporary Australia, indigenous people suffer under the burden of national and racial oppression. Indigenous people are often marginalised even when compared to other groups of workers, are overwhelmingly proletarianised or lumpenised, and subject to overwhelming criminalisation and state oppression. This oppression has produced a broad movement for the advancement of indigenous people, a movement which contains liberal and conservative wings, as well as a militant left-nationalist wing.

Communists recognise the oppression of indigenous peoples on this continent as indispensable to the functioning of capitalism as a whole. As such, there is no road to national liberation for indigenous people that does not include the overthrow of the settler-colonial Australian state and the capitalist mode of production itself. As such, communists advocate for revolutionary activity in the indigenous national liberation struggle, and for absolute solidarity with indigenous struggles amongst both settler and migrant workers. Not a single inch can be given to settler chauvinism.

In regards to the communist program, the communists seek to struggle for indigenous governance over indigenous cultural and linguistic institutions as well as indigenous communities, for systematic reparations in the form of meaningful increases in living standards, and meaningful land rights and land reform. This also means recognising the essential role that indigenous people play in the struggle for a sustainable climate and ecological system. Importantly, none of these tasks can be completed unless the colonial outpost known as Australia is overthrown, and a workers republic is brought to power with a program of indigenous liberation and socialism.

## Anti-Racism and Migrant Workers

Australian capitalism has always depended upon the regulation of flows of labour from overseas, opening and closing the path to migrants based on the needs of capital and the need to maintain social peace at home. This has necessarily produced a political culture that is steeped in racial animus, deployed constantly against various migrant groups. This same racial animus is used to motivate and justify Australian participation in imperialist campaigns abroad, and the repression of certain sections of the working class at home.

Communists are wholly opposed to racism, and are opposed to all attempts to divide the working class based on colour, culture, religion, or language. Only by breaking the power of racial ideology and racist social structures can the class be genuinely unified in its struggle against capital.

In addition, communists are totally opposed to all controls on migration and border crossings, are opposed to the internment of migrants and refugees, and the mistreatment and exploitation of migrant workers. Just as capital is allowed to flow freely across borders, so too should labour be able to seek the best price for its sale. Communists are fervent advocates of the struggle against racist border policies, and for the organisation of migrant workers into the labour movement.

The struggle against racism has three fronts, all of which must be taken up by communist militants. The first is the direct confrontation with racist forces in the streets. The second is the broad mobilisation of the class to confront racist policies and institutions such as the police, border force, and racist employers and landlords. The third is the broad mobilisation of all workers in the general struggle for communism, so as to provide a basis for a genuine politics of solidarity across racial divisions.

## War and Militarism

War has always been an outlet for capitalism’s contradictions. Through the disposal of surplus capital and surplus population on the field of battle, through the destruction of one’s competitors, and through the suppression of subject peoples, war plays a decisive role in the historical and contemporary organisation of world capitalism. This predisposes the capitalist states to militarism, to the organisation of professional armies and their armament with ever-more gruesome tools of war.

Communists must oppose at all turns attempts to draw the working class into wars of imperialist aggression. Not one dollar, not one man, not one drop of blood should be offered up to the war machine. All means must be taken, including force, to obstruct the operation of the capitalist military and avoid the slaughter of the working class.

Communists should oppose the general proliferation of nuclear arms, and ideally wish to see these weapons, as well as all weapons of mass death and genocide, eliminated. However, in a world of imperialist powers, it is the largest arsenals that must be drawn down first.

In the conflict between imperialists, and when the question of Australia’s own military ambitions are concerned, the communists take a position of revolutionary defeatism. We can desire nothing more than the mutual ruin of the capitalist powers, and in particular the defeat of our own bourgeoisie. In this spirit, the communist seeks to take defeatist actions to sabotage the war effort, disrupt military recruitment, and agitate against the war.

This is not to say that communists are pacifists. Communists are not opposed to war in the abstract - indeed, we support revolutionary wars, wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the exploited against the exploiter. In fact, the communist slogan is to turn the war between imperialists into the war between classes - to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

## The Police and the Army

Communists are opposed in every instance to the police, prison-guards and intelligence services. As the primary repressive tool of the state, they are deployed regularly to arrest workers and revolutionaries, spy on and harass organisers, and otherwise terrorise the working class. Communists oppose police unions, and call for them to be expelled from all union federations.

The military serves the role of maintaining imperialism abroad, and as such communists are opposed to the existence of the modern standing army and its weapons of war. However, it is imperative for communists to seek to agitate amongst rank-and-file soldiers, and support their defection and mutinying, especially in the context of imperialist wars.

In order to win support amongst rank-and-file soldiers, communists should agitate and propagandise to soldiers on an anti-imperialist basis. The Communist Party should seek to build support amongst current and former soldiers, and establish networks within the military. This task cannot be done at the expense of compromising principled opposition to imperialism and militarism.

## Anti-Imperialism

In the epoch of domination of the core imperialist states of the periphery and semi-periphery, it is imperative for workers in the core to put forward a staunch politics of anti-imperialism. This means agitating for the unity of workers across borders, and exposing the exploitation and oppression of workers in the global periphery. In addition, communists should utilise their full power to support proletarian and communist struggles and revolutions in other countries, including providing direct material aid to those struggles.

## The United Front Tactic

The Revolutionary Communist Organisation adheres to the principle of “one class, one party” - that is the perspective that ultimately the entirety of the proletariat must come under the political hegemony of the communist party and its revolutionary program and democratic structures. However, it is inevitable that in the development of the class struggle, communists will find themselves in a position as a minority political tendency, engaging with other clusters and organisations of revolutionaries, militant workers, and bourgeois liberal and social democratic reformers. In order to advance the politics and organisation of the proletariat and lay the basis for the struggle for power, it is necessary to organise coalitions with non-communist forces in the workers movement.

The United Front is a call for street action from the working class as a whole, regardless of their political or party affiliation. This means working with workers who have a necessarily social-democratic or even liberal orientation - indeed, the participation of such workers is essential for the organisation of the United Front. Such a united front must be based on the freedom of criticism of the member organisations, as well maintaining the political independence of the communists - we can march separately, under our own banners and slogans, but strike together. The united front cannot be extended to include any alliance with the liberal or progressive bourgeoisie, who are themselves the left-wing of capital. Such alliances rob the working class of its independence, and cannot be achieved without the communists abandoning their political principles.

In addition to the United Front, communists may utilise several other forms of coalition tactics:

* The Combative Tendency - a coalition of forces opposed to collaborationist and bureaucratic leadership in workers organisations, and seek to organise for militant class struggle.
* The Grouping of Tendency - an organisation that seeks to intervene into existing social struggles on the basis of clear points of unity and political orientation, but may not be explicitly Marxist.
* The Revolutionary Front - a coalition of all forces willing to make a decisive break with the bourgeois state in a period of social revolution.
* The Workers Alliance - an alliance between different sectors of workers, or between workers and other social strata such as professionals or students.

## Fascism and Anti-Fascism

The same crises in capitalist society that produce the growth of the real communist movement amongst the proletariat, also produces increasingly reactionary strains of organisation to emerge amongst the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie. The middle and lower bourgeois, fearing their eradication at the hands of an increasingly tight market, seeks to restore profit rates through vicious counter-revolutionary measures, the eradication of labour rights, the driving of subject peoples into near or actual slavery, and the restoration of social reproduction through the elimination of the rights of women and queer people. This political tendency, the revolutionary conservative movement to overturn bourgeois democracy and institute a reactionary dictatorship, is best understood as fascism - a form of the management of capitalist decay through terror.

In the face of such counter-revolutionary forces, which are ultimately aimed at the communists and the proletarian movement, it is necessary for the class as a whole to organise a resistance. This calls for the mobilisation of all workers, regardless of party or union affiliation into a united front in the streets to combat the reactionaries in the streets and in the government.

In the struggle against fascism, the communist movement must deploy all its weapons, including the strike weapon. Anti-fascist organising can necessitate a variety of tactics, including the formation of fighting squads for direct confrontation with reactionary gangs, mass demonstrations and street marches against fascism, and even urban guerrilla operations.

## The General-Social Strike

The most powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat is its capacity to withdraw its labour, and in the course of the revolutionary struggle, the strike is a potent weapon. Used effectively by small groups of workers it can bring a capitalist firm to the table. Used en masse, and it can bring an entire nation to its knees. General strikes should be called for when a substantial section of the class is ready to participate, and seek to utilise flying pickets and agitational propaganda to draw out as much of the class as possible. As Councils of Actions are formed, they should seek to declare general strikes in order to resist state repression, as well as to demonstrate the power of the class. In this period, general strikes may not take on an insurrectionary character, but can still be used to weaken and undermine the capitalist state.

General strikes do not need to be confined to the sphere of the wage labourer. General strikes necessarily take on a social character, drawing all members of the oppressed and exploited into activity, taking part in radical actions around questions of health and education, social reproduction, and participating in the seizure and occupation of infrastructure.

## Self-Defence and Fighting Organisations

In the course of the emergence of proletarian power, the movement will necessarily come under attack by reactionaries and the state. Such developments are inevitable, and cannot be avoided. As such, in the course of the struggle, the communists must be willing to form defensive organisations and fighting organisations. These may take the form of simple picket-defences, stewards committees or party guards at first, transforming as the struggle develops into militias and red fighters groups. The Communist Party should work constantly to drill and train its fighting sections, and work to develop and tighten its military policy. These fighting groups, which are utilised for firstly defensive and later offensive actions, are the nucleus around a future Red Army are formed.

## The Revolutionary Situation

It is unthinkable that a majority of people in any society, even the majority of workers, will be won to revolutionary action before the development of a revolutionary situation. Such a situation is characterised by the following broad conditions:

* A broad crisis in the development of capitalist society,
* The emergence of new proletarian forms of organisation and subjectivity,
* The inability of the ruling class to restore order and metabolise social contradictions,
* The fragmentation of political order and ideological power of the ruling class.

With the emergence of such conditions, revolutionaries must be willing to work with all their energy to win the support of the majority of proletarians for a break with the old order, and the establishment of a new society - that is, to win support for the social revolution.

## The Seizure of Power and Insurrection

The communists are under no illusions. The bourgeois state and the forces it represents will never voluntarily relinquish its power, neither will it allow it to be voted away. In the final instance, the revolutionary proletariat must seize power by way of an insurrection - an uprising in which the full force of the proletariat is turned on the power of the state, and the state institutions are smashed. This insurrectionary break with the old order can only be achieved if the majority of proletarians have been won to a program of revolutionary action.

## The Social Revolution

The only means by which capitalist society may be overthrown and communist society achieved is by way of the social revolution. The social revolution is the mobilisation of the broad masses of workers and oppressed people to smash the institutions of capitalist society and its state, and establish in their place the new communist relations of production and organisation.

The social revolution differs from the political revolution in that while the political revolution targets only a single clique or government, the social revolution targets the entire social order. The social revolution may include the culmination of one or several political revolutions, but it cannot be reduced to them - the social revolution is a process by which the old world is destroyed and a new world is born.

# The Character of the Revolution and the Proletarian Dictatorship

## The Nature of the Proletarian Dictatorship

The modern state, in its various forms and arrangements, is nothing more than a committee that manages the common affairs of the bourgeoisie - the dictatorship of capital. All states within the capitalist world system must manage capital accumulation- if they did not, they would face capital flight, economic recession, and a revolt of the bourgeois. The state is wholly organised for the dominance of capital as a social relation over social life. This organisation is characterised by several state apparatuses, oriented towards repressive activity (Repressive State Apparatus), ideological reproduction (Ideological State Apparatus), social reproduction (Reproductive State Apparatus), and the management of capital accumulation (Managerial State Apparatus).

The rule of capital does not simply rest in the powers of the capitalist state. It rests in the economic power of the bourgeois class - in the thousands upon thousands of firms they own, in the press they control, in the social power their collective wealth commands. It also rests in a myriad of institutions, from churches to schools, that maintain the ideological state apparatus of capitalist society.

In order to break the power of the bourgeoisie, break the power of capital itself, and forever crush their class-dictatorship, it is necessary for the proletariat to create a class-dictatorship of its own. By this it is meant that the proletariat as a whole must take on the entirety of political power within society, and rule directly against the exploiter class. Just as the dictatorship of capital reflects the nature of capitalist society and the bourgeois class: a minoritarian state with a strict division between economic and political life; the dictatorship of the proletariat will reflect the class nature of the proletariat: a democratic majority class in every country, whose power is premised on the unity of economic and political power and the solidarity between members of the class. And while the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie seeks to preserve class relations on behalf of an exploiter class, the dictatorship of the proletariat seeks to emancipate humanity from exploitation itself - to abolish class society.

While the dictatorship of the proletariat may possess some similarities to a state, it is not a nation-state in the sense of the modern bourgeois state. It recognises no sovereignty bar that of the emancipated proletariat, it does not operate in a world of nation-states, but in a world divided between exploited and exploiter. Its task is to carry out a global civil war between capitalists and workers, and to this end it takes on the form of an anti-state, a destituent power that liquidates class society and brings forth a new world. The proletarian dictatorship is at once wholly dictatorial and wholly democratic. Dictatorial, for it recognises no legitimacy bar the proletariat, and no limits except those which it imposes upon itself. Democratic, for it is based on the broad participation and organisation of the vast masses of the working class, and allows full freedom of debate and organisation within its ranks.

The power of the dictatorship of the proletariat rests fundamentally on the organised and armed proletariat. There is no division between the proletarian republic, the proletarian dictatorship, and the proletariat itself - for the power of the proletariat is its organisation, is its solidarity, and its capacity for the merger of political and economic spheres. This power of the class, the organised, politicised, armed social reproduction of the proletariat is best understood as the Commune.

## Immediate Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship

The proletarian dictatorship must move immediately to eliminate the power of the bourgeois class, to liquidate capitalist property relations, and break the dominance of the capitalist law of value over society. This can only be achieved through a total assault upon the legitimacy of the bourgeois and its bastions of social power. The Communists fight for the following measures to be enacted as quickly as possible, so as to ensure the utter destruction of capitalist society.

In regards to the organisation of the workers republic and the governance of political life, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* The immediate dissolution of the standing defence forces, security services and the police force. For the universal arming of the working class and the disarming of reactionaries. The formation of a universal militia for the general protection and safeguarding of the revolution, and a people’s army in order to defend the socialist republic from threats. Both forces are to be drawn from the ranks of the working class through universal service, with elected offices and full democratic rights for its members.
* The dissolution of all capitalist parliaments, undemocratic executive and legislative bodies, senates, and presidencies. All power must be placed in the hands of democratically elected congresses of workers representatives drawn from the mass organisations of the working class on the basis of universal suffrage. The lowering of the voting age to 15. All delegates should be subject to recall and paid no more than a school teacher. These councils should be working bodies, taking on both executive and legislative functions on the central and the local level.
* The formation of a workers republic, with powers being vested in a single legislative-executive assembly drawn from the whole of the proletariat and its organisations. The ability to form political parties and advocate for platforms will not be abridged, as long as such parties respect the legitimacy of the proletarian order and abide by its rules. The assurance of democratic processes to allow changes in perspective and political composition to be reflected in political life, and the right for minorities to be represented in the legislative-executive assembly.
* The dissolution of the powers of the monarchy, as well as all titles and offices of rank. The disestablishment of public religion and the expropriation of all church property not immediately in use for regular religious practice.
* The creation of a republican Socialist Commonwealth in the South Pacific, as a step in the creation of a global revolutionary commune.
* The seizure of the capitalist press and cultural apparatus, and the placing of these institutions into the hands of the proletarian republic, workers mass organisations, and local councils. The freedom of all workers and socialist press and publication will not be abridged.
* The elimination of the present court system that perpetuates capitalist property relations and systematic social inequalities, and its replacement with a body of civil law and revolutionary tribunals drawn from amongst the masses, for the purposes of mediating disputes and providing restorative justice. Decriminalisation of non-violent offences, for the progressive closure of all prisons and the release of non-violent offenders from custody. For a focus on rehabilitation and restoration of justice, not carceral punishment, with exceptions made only under the extraordinary circumstances of civil war under democratic mandate.
* The abolition of all laws that limit the rights of workers to strike and organise, that limit the right to protest, and that surveil and curtail political participation of the working class and its allies. The exposure of all state secrets and secret treaties. For the ruthless suppression of reactionary and fascist organisations.

In regards to the organisation of production and distribution of social goods, and in regards to the organisation of social labour, the Communist seek to implement the following:

* For cancellation of state and other public debts. For the cancellation of all household and student debts.
* For the increase of all wages to above that of a living wage, pegged to inflation. For equal pay for equal work, and the equalisation of wages across industries. For the reduction of the working week as much as possible, with no loss of income, and the sharing of socially necessary labour between all able adults. For the radical expansion of free time, as well as sick leave and parental leave. The elimination of casualised and precarious labour. The employment of children by private capitalists to be banned. Convict labour to be banned.
* For the implementation of a steep income tax, as well as a wealth tax as a tool of expropriation and inflation control. For the abolition of all consumer and vice taxes.
* The setting of price controls on vital goods, the persecution of hoarders and profiteers, and expropriation of goods from firms that seek to inflate prices. For rationing of essential goods where necessary.
* The immediate expropriation of all housing from the landlord-capitalist class. The abolition of property in land. For universal provision of housing on the basis of need through a common plan. For resident control over housing through block committees.
* The seizure of empty buildings, such as corporate offices and hotels, for social use, including for retrofitting as housing.
* The breakup of the oil-auto-steel complex, the progressive elimination of urban automobile use and the breaking of the automobile domination over the transportation system. The expansion of rail, bus, bicycle, and pedestrian transit.
* For the progressive decommodification of social life through the direct provision of food, housing, clothing, and other necessities. For the rapid implementation of a labour-token system to replace money and to serve as the basis for labour-time planning. For the collectivisation of consumption.
* Mass retraining and reorganisation of labour to meet social needs. The establishment of democratic labour armies for agriculture, ecological restoration, education, etc. The expansion of labour army and militia participation to students and youth. The establishment of mass youth and children's organisations for communist political work.
* The elimination of bloated state and corporate bureaucracies, the elimination of police, military, security, and carceral industrial complexes, the non-government organisation and charity sector, as well as the real estate, insurance, and financial sectors. The expropriation of corporate fleets of vehicles for social use. The socialisation of corporate IT infrastructure.
* For the socialisation of production. For the immediate expropriation of all utilities and infrastructure, as well as the financial, energy, agricultural, mining, and logistics sectors and the reorganisation of production toward human need rather than profit. For the progressive seizure of all large-scale firms by the proletarian republic. For the seizure by workers of all industries where the capitalists seek to evacuate their capital. For worker’s control over production at the shop and industry level. For the establishment of a common plan for industry with worker and community participation. For the elimination of socially unnecessary forms of labour, and the reorganisation of economic units according to a common plan.
* The establishment of a democratically elected planning commission to oversee a generalised planning organisation employing scientific, cybernetic, and social methodologies. For general congresses of workers representatives to consult on the drafting of long term plans. The centralisation of all necessary functions, with the decentralisation of all possible social functions being handed to local councils and committees.
* Full democracy in the workplace. Workplace committees to be tasked with carrying out the socialisation of useful industry. For self-management of workers in every workplace, the subordination of all technical and administrative workers to democratic oversight. The reduction of working hours as much as materially possible and the radical expansion of free time.
* The automation of drudgery, the utilisation of technology to reduce necessary labour. The elimination of overproduction, planned obsolescence, and imperial consumer culture.
* For the expropriation of the employing petit-bourgeois and the integration of their firms into the common plan. For the promotion of producers cooperatives for the voluntary collectivisation of petty-producers. For the long term abolition of all capitalist firms, with workers cooperatives being nurtured under an explicit understanding that they are a necessarily intermediate stage.
* For the elimination of the division between intellectual and manual labour. For the integration of all forms of work in order to maximise human flourishing within a common plan.
* The institution of the free association of producers. The abolition of generalised commodity production, the wage system, and money. The cooperative organisation of industrial production and consumption within the framework of a democratically directed social plan. For the creation of a communist internet and the development of cybernetic planning, allowing for the elimination of the division between economic units. The progressive transcendence of market operations via the maturation of social planning in the global economy. The guiding principle of such a social-economic plan shall be ‘from each according to their ability, to each according to their need’.

In regards to the organisation of education, and the rights of youth and students, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* Universal, free primary, secondary, and tertiary education. The socialisation of private and religious schools, childcare centres, and universities, and their integration into a single Education Service.
* The integration of education with production, research, physical health, mental and social healthcare. The establishment of an unapologetically communist and universal social education. The fusion of education and social organisation through the utilisation of the school-creche institution as a headquarters of communist politics. The mobilisation of youth and students for revolutionary activity.
* Full democratic and political rights for youth, the ability to live freely and pursue one's own goals free from religious or familial control. Expansion of youth spaces and comprehensive support for teenagers who wish to be emancipated from their family.
* For the provision of a scientific and social education from childhood through to adulthood that breaks capitalist ideological hegemony and produces critical and emancipated social subjects. The abolition of sex segregation, stringent uniform policies, and repressive and arbitrary discipline of students. The democratisation of the schools and universities, as well as the education service and curricula, through student and teacher councils. The integration of education with community and social life. The recognition of student’s labour as a form of socially necessary labour with all that this entails, including pay, maximum work hours, the ability to organise for better conditions, self-management of learning conditions, etc.

In regards to the provision of healthcare, and of welfare and other forms of social care, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* For a universal basic income set at the cost of living. For the establishment of a full provisioned disability and elderly support service to directly provide for medical and accessibility needs. For the elimination of superannuation. For the provision of wages for housework, paid by the state. For the provision of wages for all secondary and tertiary students, paid by the state.
* Universal, socialised healthcare that covers mental health, trans health, dental, and preventative treatments. The democratisation of healthcare institutions and the expansion of patient rights. The abolition of asylums and other repressive medical institutions.
* The democratisation of healthcare institutions, and their placement under the control of worker-community councils. The establishment of a democratic plan for public health. The application of the most advanced and scientific techniques, therapies, and programs to support public physical, mental, and social health.
* Decriminalisation of all drugs, the treatment of drugs as medical rather than carceral concern, to be governed by the principle of harm reduction, and free and accessible treatment for addiction.

In regards to the question of ecology, and on the agrarian question, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* End capitalist overproduction that destroys the land, pollutes the ocean, and poisons the air. Immediate transition from fossil fuel energy production towards sustainable energy sources for a negative carbon economy.
* The organisation of production and habitation around principles of ecological sustainability, the elimination of ecologically wasteful consumer activities and the factory farm-industrial meat production sector, and the progressive winding down of ecologically destructive and socially unnecessary industries (including the deconstruction of superfluous and ecocidal infrastructure such as highways and pipelines) in order to assure social and ecological sustainability and a high quality of life for all.
* For a progressive transition to sustainable agriculture from industrial agriculture and toxic factory farming. For the organisation of expropriated land into socialised farms under the control of farm workers, local communities, and indigenous groups. For the systematic application of advanced technology and agro-ecological science to collectivised agriculture, as well as a crash plan to reduce depletion of lands and soil, and dependence on fuel.
* Active interventions to re-stabilize imperilled ecosystems and create new ecologies in regions that are currently barren as a result of ecological destruction.
* For the ecological planning of the entire economy so that human society can be reintegrated into the ecological system. For the closing of the metabolic rift, so that all outputs are inputs into production or entirely metabolised by the biosphere.

In regards to the socialisation of domestic and social reproductive labour, the women’s question, and in regards to the question of the emancipation of queer people, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* Universal access to free, safe abortion, free access to contraception and reproductive healthcare, and universal, compulsory, comprehensive sex education for the youth.
* Decriminalisation of sex work, and the elimination of laws that negatively effect the political and economic rights of sex workers. For the unionisation of all proletarian sex workers into industrial unions, and for militant struggle against their exploitation and repression. Sex workers should be afforded the same rights as any other worker, including workplace health and safety, and the capacity to refuse work without penalty. For the provision of feminist services for those wishing to exit the sex industry.
* Withdrawal of the state from all matters of romance. The abolition of the legal status of marriage. Equality for all relationships between consenting adults. Elimination of the privileged status of the “natural family” and its replacement with family status on the basis of consensual self-declaration.
* For the elimination of all bureaucratic and legal harassment of sexual and gender non-conforming individuals. For the banning of all forms of conversion therapy and the persecution of its practitioners.
* The establishment of collectivised kitchens, laundromats, and creche and childcare facilities to begin the process of socialising domestic and reproductive labour. For the establishment of expanded domestic units. For the elimination of the gendered division of labour.
* The establishment of anti-dyadic creches, and the integration of these creches with the education system. The expansion of campus living and youth accommodation. The promotion of an active, critical, revolutionary and social childhood. The training of specialised education, childcare, and paediatric cadres to run creches.

In regards to the National Question, the rights of indigenous people, and the rights of migrants, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* A treaty with First Nations as the basis for the expansion of land and linguistic rights. For the formation of elected, accountable bodies for the representation of indigenous people in all political matters. For Indigenous Control over Indigenous Affairs, for special consideration in economic planning for indigenous communities in order to close the gap in living standards. For the teaching of indigenous language and culture in all educational institutions.
* For the repatriation of indigenous lands through a form of genuine, non-alienable stewardship, and indigenous consultation on all agricultural reforms and other extractive industries.
* The extension of full democratic rights to all permanent residents, the end of exploitation and degradation of migrant workers, and the elimination of the special category of citizenship. For the closure of all refugee detention centres and for an expansion in the refugee programme, with community processing. For the progressive elimination of borders and national divisions.

In regards to matters of science and culture, and in matters of the creation of a real human environment, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* Universal access to the arts and culture, for the promotion of art and culture through democratic artists organisations and cooperatives. For the expansion of resources dedicated to the arts, as well as the expansion and promotion of arts education and schools in a variety of styles and traditions. For the mobilisation of artists and culture workers for revolutionary ends.
* For expansion of support for scientific education and research, the creation of socialised scientific schools and academies, and elimination of burdensome pressures and precarity for scientific and technical workers.
* For the reorganisation and beautification of urban spaces, the provision of free, universal public transit, the elimination of slums and unsafe housing, suburban alienation and misery, and rural decay. For the beautification of cities, and the radical expansion of public spaces for leisure and social life. For expansion of free galleries, parks, sports facilities, gymnasiums, libraries, cinemas, theatres, and music venues. For the elimination of hostile architecture, loitering laws, and other limits on public gatherings. For the integration of production, housing, leisure, education, and agriculture within communities. For the removal of the automobile as the primary form of transportation in society.

On the International Question, and the question of the revolutionary struggle across the world, the Communists seek to implement the following:

* The immediate withdrawal from all security and extradition treaties with capitalist powers, and the expulsion of all military and intelligence personnel of said powers.
* The establishment of a new organisational infrastructure for world communist revolution where one does not exist. The organisation of international organs of class struggle. Utter opposition to the "Rules Based International Order" of capitalist-imperialism.
* The provision of full, active support to revolutionary movements around the world, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. For the formation of international detachments to aid in the overthrow of capitalist and colonial states.
* Implementation of a global technology transfer to ensure universal standards of income and living conditions. The reversal of "brain drain" trends through transfer of technical workers and opening universities to students from overexploited regions. Global planning for ecological sustainability and agricultural production.
* For the unification of all liberated territories under the control of a proletarian dictatorship on a federal basis, with the common coordination of military, political, and economic matters. The unification of liberated territories into a common economic plan, with the aim of overcoming division between core and periphery, and the common prosperity, flourishing, and leisure of all. For the elimination of borders between liberated territories.

## The Transition to Communism

The immediate measures of the proletarian dictatorship constitute a profound assault on the capitalist mode of production, breaking the most pervasive forms of bourgeois rule and crushing wholly the resistance of the capitalist class. However, it is not in itself the total task of the communist revolution. The new society remains stamped with the marks of the old, mirroring it in many cultural and social forms, as well as the persistence of the logics of bourgeois right. This cannot be done away with by simple fiat - a period of transition is necessary through which the self-organised proletariat abolishes itself as a class, and constitutes a new, true subjectivity. During this period of transition, the initial measures taken in the early days of the revolution will be taken to their conclusion - the full elimination of private property, the total planning and socialisation of production, the full elimination of money and other forms of economic regulation, and the dissolution of the contradiction between intellectual and manual labour, between town and country, between man and woman, between work and leisure.

The end of the dominance of the capitalist mode of production is necessarily limited when it has occurred in only part of the world. The achievement of communism in a single country is impossible, though major developments in social forms are possible prior to the victory of the world revolution, especially on the continental scale. While the immediate extension of proletarian power will have laid immediately the basis for the lower-stage of communism, it may take some time for the new form of social life to come fully to fruition. However, with the victory of the proletariat on the world scale, and with the sweeping of class society fully into the dustbin of history, the basis has been laid for the emergence of a wholly new society: communism.

## Communist Society

The historical task of the proletarian movement is the abolition of class society and the achievement of a communist mode of production. For us then, communism is twofold: it is firstly the real movement of the proletariat, that seeks to abolish the present conditions of class society and capital accumulation, and secondly a program that emerges from this real movement, a program that seeks to construct a totally different form of society - one based on solidarity and non-domination.

This new mode of life, the horizon that we call communism, emerging from the decaying morass of capitalist society, brings forth the following transformations:

* In place of private ownership and consumption of social production, communism abolishes private property, and fully socialises production and consumption under common management.
* In place of exchange, money and the wage system, communism does away with the market system, and the commodification and exploitation of labour, under the principle “from each according to their ability, to each according to their need”.
* In place of the anarchy of market society, and capitalist monopoly, and the dominance of profit over society, communism brings all of production and consumption under the management of a common plan, where the free development of each part of society is the precondition for the free development of all and the maintenance of a healthy biosphere and ecology.
* In place of the state, and the apparatus of social repression, communism organises the entire human community in the position of managing their social life, where the governance of people gives way to the management of things.
* In place of social oppression, of the exploitation and degradation of women, of racial and colonial chauvinism and prejudices, of nationalism, of homophobia and transphobia, communism seeks to abolish all social oppression, all chauvinisms and bigotries, and all forms of social domination.

These transformations demonstrate the character of communist society. The exact details of such a transformation cannot be revealed ahead of time, as such a process is inevitably fraught and contingent. Communism then serves as a compass-point - a new world to which we set our course. It is the real, concrete unfolding of the struggles of the proletariat today, and as such, constitutes a real historical movement.

*The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*

***Workers of the World, Unite.***

# An Epilogue: For Communism

*Our orientation, in the most fundamental sense, is towards communism. We are communists because we know communism to be an immanent and imminent possibility within capitalism. It arises from the intersection of the struggles within capitalist society, the potentials of the huge productive and creative capacities capitalism organises, and the tendencies to crisis which capitalism contains. Of these three aspects (perhaps different sides or expressions of the same contradiction) it is struggle which is the most important for us, the most important point of orientation.*

*Struggles, overt and covert, macro and micro, crack through the totality of capitalist society. These struggles run the gamut from ‘economic’ to ‘identity’ and beyond. In the normal run of things they are contained: ignored, repressed, and recuperated and so on. But in certain moments, most often unexpected by all, different struggles break their bonds and coagulate with each other challenging the current arrange of things and opening the possibility of communism*

*This means: communism, a radically different social order, exists in potentia within the currently existing society. This means: the creators of communism are not self-identified revolutionaries, let alone activists, but the untold everyday people who are compelled by the issues of their lives to seek a radically different way of organising human society.*

*Communism then arises from this society to answer questions this society poses but cannot answer; to realise possibilities it contains but can’t realise.*

*We think there are at least three related aspects of the creation communism: the destruction of the state and related repressive practices and the creation and proliferation of new non-representative and popular ways of governing ourselves, making the means of production common and organising work, and the distribution of goods in convivial ways to ensure the flourishing of all. The sad history of the all previous attempts to escape capitalism have not been successful but show that a) there is no blueprint for how to do this b) that these aspects sometimes compliment and sometimes contradict each other, and c) that delaying any of these aspects into the future tends to undermine what is actual radical in revolutionary movements.*

*This means those committed to communism can really only have an impact by being attentive to the communist potentials of the present by trying to draw out and amplify them as we encounter them, to intensify them in the present to their maximum viable possibility.*

*This sets us challenging temporal issues. The paths to communism, there are plural, must involve both great days and long quiet experiments. Their success is how much that can realise the three aspects in a way that increases our collective power. The slogans of the Situationists yelled ‘Hurry Comrades, the Old World is Behind You!’ making us aware that delaying the reinventing of the totality of life and society tends to destroy the revolution itself. Yet the Zapatisatas emphasise the need to walk slowly – both because we have a long way to go and also because the slowest set the pace. This is because all of us who will transform this world are also of this world, we are part of what we are trying to reinvent. Revolutionary attempts that go too fast that lose the active participation of the multiple are doomed.*

*The only way to solve the problems of communism is communism. It is the emphasis on making common now the process of decision making about the inescapable challenges that confront our emancipation as a way of overcoming those challenges. The revolution, communism, poses immense challenges, difficulties and dangers. However, if we are really able to transform people's lives for the better, then we will win.*

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# Appendix A - The Points of Unity and Platform of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation

## Preamble

Capitalist society has brought human civilization to the brink of disaster. There can be no peace as long as our lives are determined by the bloody rule of capital. Capitalism sees billions dwell in poverty and misery, all the while supporting an ecocidal extraction of resources that threatens all life on earth. The vast proletariat - the striving working class that includes factory workers and baristas and farm labourers - can only be free if we organise as a class. As one we can smash the capitalist state, seize control of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and achieve a communist society.

Only in a society based on the abolition of private property, where production and consumption is organised according to a common need, can the challenges facing human civilisation be confronted and overcome. Only in a society where each contributes according to their ability, and where each receives what they need, can millennia of poverty, and exploitation be overcome. Only in a society where patriarchy, colonialism, imperialism, and racism have been overthrown can we truly move into our collective future as free people. A free people who live and love without the repressive apparatuses of borders, nations, and states. This society, the aim of our organisation and movement, is communism.

Communism is not an abstract aim to which we aspire. It is the real movement, emerging out of the struggles of the working class, to abolish the present state of things. In every battle with the capitalist class, in the real solidarity growing between workers, the fight for our future has already started to emerge. To play our part in fighting for this future, the Revolutionary Communist Organisation has formed. Our purpose is to advance communist theory and practice, to link up and organise with the diverse and diffuse masses, and to prepare ourselves for the coming struggle with capitalism. The following document is the distillation of our Program, which serves as the basis for our unity and the centre of our organisation.

## Points of Unity

These points lay out the principles of our organisation, and provide a clear basis for political unity.

1. **We are communists.** The capitalist mode of production has brought humanity to the brink of catastrophe. Only the communist movement - the real movement to abolish the present conditions of life and secure a society without the state, markets, classes or money - can save humanity from the tyranny, hunger, poverty, despair, boredom and anxiety of capitalist existence.
2. **We are committed to revolution in our lifetime.** Only revolutionary class struggle can overthrow the capitalist mode of production. All attempts to reform this system, to alter its innate logics or subvert its own structures, simply end in the reproduction of the system itself. In order to make a revolution it is necessary to smash the entire apparatus of the capitalist state and replace it with new forms of collective life based on the power of the working class. For us, the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism is neither “just around the corner”, nor a hypothetical to be delayed eternally to some future date. We must begin working now to actualise the overthrow of capitalist society and prepare for the seizure of power in the coming decades.
3. **We are committed to an ecological society.** Industrial capitalist civilisation has brought the biosphere into a profound metabolic crisis. We recognise that the ecological struggle must be on the forefront of a revolutionary agenda. Indeed, it is only through fundamentally reorienting our relationship with the earth - and abolishing the profit motive - that we may live in a humane future at all.
4. **We are internationalists.** There is no national capitalism. There is only a singular world market, composed of many capitalist firms (and cartels of firms) and national, sub-national and supra-national institutions, all driven to maintain the dominant mode of production and govern it in their interest. Even as they predate upon each other, and even as nationalist antagonism re-emerges in new and vicious forms, the international character of the system persists. As the capitalist system is global by nature, it follows that any response to it must be the same. We are opposed to militarism and war, to imperialism and empire, to border controls, and capitalist extraction and exploitation. It is necessary for workers to stand together across borders and organise an international movement of the exploited.
5. **We are against sexual and gender oppression.** Despite rapid changes in the dominant modes of production and social reproduction, the patriarchal form of life persists. Its symptoms - the degradation and exploitation of women and the prevalence of homophobia and transphobia - persist with it. This is despite the integration of a minority of women and queer people into the liberal-democratic political project. Indeed, this integration is simply another innovation on the patriarchal form - one that maintains the fundamental structure of patriarchal oppression. We recognise that only a total revolution in the dominant mode of social life - and a revolution in social reproduction - can end the oppression of women and queer people.
6. **We are against racial and colonial oppression.** In the course of its development, capitalism has created a system of racial hierarchies. The nation-state system, with its attendant border guards and detention centres, serves to divide and weaken the working class, allowing for the regulation of the labour market to the benefit of capital. It is to this purpose that racial oppression is turned, serving to mantain servile working conditions of undocumented workers and recent immigrants. This same racial system is used to justify wars of imperial domination and extraction, and the repression of political dissidents and the expansion of the security state. In Australia and other settler-colonies, this system of race, border and citizenship is built upon another racial order, that of the colonial dispossession of indigenous people. This dispossession, both historically and contemporarily, lays the foundation of capitalism’s existence as a world system.
7. **We are an organisation of Marxists.** Standing within the tradition of communist thought that began with Marx and Engels, we uphold a commitment to the Philosophy of Praxis, not as a dogma or vulgar method, but as a living discipline, a vital red thread that runs from pre-Marxist thinkers through countless schools of revolutionary theory and practice. Our Marxism is revolutionary and critical, neither abandoning our past nor fetishising it.
8. **We are fighting for a party for revolution, the Party of Freedom, the Communist Party.** We remain committed to the notion of a democratic centralist revolutionary party, guided by a shared programmatic basis and made up of revolutionary cadres capable of theoretical debate and inquiry, and of political action. However it is evident that no party of this kind currently exists, nor is one on the verge of emerging. Only in the encounter between the proletariat’s revolutionary, emergent institutions of class struggle and an authentic revolutionary communist politics, program and analysis can generate such an organisation. We seek to aid in preparing the ground-work for that encounter. In light of this, we are building a Marxist pre-party fighting organisation to win workers and youth to communist politics, and to train cadres for the coming Communist Party.

## 10-Point Platform

The aim of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation is the abolition of class society and the achievement of a communist mode of production. Our communism is twofold: it is firstly the real movement of the proletariat, that seeks to abolish the present conditions of class society and capital accumulation, and secondly a program that emerges from this real movement, a program that seeks to construct a totally different form of society - one based on solidarity and non-domination.

This new mode of life, the horizon that we call communism, emerging from the decaying morass of capitalist society, brings forth the following transformations:

* In place of private ownership and consumption of social production, communism abolishes private property, and fully socialises production and consumption under common management.
* In place of exchange, money and the wage system, communism does away with the market system, and the commodification and exploitation of labour, under the principle “from each according to their ability, to each according to their need”.
* In place of the anarchy of market society, and capitalist monopoly, and the dominance of profit over society, communism brings all of production and consumption under the management of a common plan, where the free development of each part of society is the precondition for the free development of all and the maintenance of a healthy biosphere and ecology.
* In place of the state, and the apparatus of social repression, communism organises the entire human community in the position of managing their social life, where the governance of people gives way to the management of things.
* In place of social oppression, of the exploitation and degradation of women, of racial and colonial chauvinism and prejudices, of nationalism, of homophobia and transphobia, communism seeks to abolish all social oppression, all chauvinisms and bigotries, and all forms of social domination.

The Revolutionary Communist Organisation recognises that such a revolutionary transformation of our mode of living cannot be accomplished without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist society through the mass action of the working class and the oppressed. Such a revolutionary struggle must utilise all means to achieve its aims, and cannot be allowed to settle for compromises with the old order. A total break with capitalist society is necessary to achieve the transformation we need.

As such, the Revolutionary Communist Organisation proposes the following immediate, revolutionary measures as a first assault upon the power of capital and capitalist society in general:

1. **For a Workers Republic.** For the formation of a socialist workers republic, on the basis of universal, popular democracy, supported by a people’s militia recruited on the basis of universal service. The dissolution of all capitalist governments, security forces, and standing armies. The creation of expanded domestic units, neighbourhood and workplace councils, and industrial and city/regional councils and communes. For a treaty with first nations people that enshrines linguistic and land rights.
2. **For Workers Power.** The establishment of universal high standards for wages and conditions, with wages being pegged to inflation. The elimination of poverty wages and squalid working conditions. The democratic self-management of all workplaces by the workers themselves. The universal reduction of working hours and a dramatic expansion in free time and leisure activities.
3. **For a Life Worth Living.** The cancellation of all state debts, and a jubilee on all debts held by households, including student debts and mortgages. For a universal basic income. The placing of price controls on essential goods. For the progressive decommodification of vital goods and services.
4. **For the Socialisation of Social Reproduction**. The provision of free, collectivised childcare, laundromats, and kitchens. The payment of wages for all forms of domestic labour, as well as extensive support for parents. The universal provision of contraception and sex education, and the provision of free, safe, and accessible abortions.
5. **For Universal, Social Education.** Free, universal education in a single education service. The placing of all educational institutions under democratic teacher and student management. The promotion of a scientific and social education for all.
6. **For Universal Health and Social Care.** The creation of a fully free, universal healthcare system that covers mental health, dental care, aged care, disability care, and gender affirmation care, with the rapid expansion of the existing health infrastructure through a socialised plan for health.
7. **For Universal Housing.** The expropriation of all housing from the landlord class. The elimination of the market in housing, the elimination of rents, and the planned distribution of living quarters. For tenant management over all housing projects and estates.
8. **For the Socialisation of All Industry.** The socialisation of industry and its incorporation into a common plan. The elimination of wasteful and socially unnecessary forms of labour, and the sharing up of work in order to reduce the working week. The reorganisation of production on the basis of social need. The elimination of money and its replacement with labour tokens and direct provision.
9. **For an Ecological Society.** The radical reorganisation of production and distribution to bring it into accordance with the needs of preserving a healthy ecology. For the implementation of ecological balance planning.
10. **For the World Revolution.** Down with imperialism, colonialism, and militarism! For the internationalisation of the revolutionary struggle. For a socialist federation in Oceania and South-East Asia as the basis of a World Revolutionary Commune!

*The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*

***Workers of the World, Unite.***

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# Appendix B - Organisational Rules of the RCO

The following document constitutes the organisational rules of the RCO, and are the basis for its political structures and discipline.

## Name and Symbol

1. The name of the organisation is the “Revolutionary Communist Organisation”.
2. The official symbol of the organisation is a red banner waving and red star, with the initials “RCO” emblazoned upon it.

## Aim

1. The aim of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation is the formation of a communist party for the purposes of proletarian revolution, the establishment of a workers republic, and the triumph of communism.

## Membership

1. A member of the RCO is any individual who accepts the Program of the RCO, regularly participates in organisational activities, engages in the consistent study of revolutionary theory, and regularly pays dues.
2. All members are required to fulfil all tasks assigned to them by the organisation, to fight for the organisation’s unity in action and use the organisation’s material resources in a responsible manner. RCO members also have a right and a duty to study Marxism and develop the organisation’s political positions, as well as participating in its democratic life. RCO members are protected and bound by all disciplinary measures and Codes of Conduct established by the organisation.
3. A cadre member is a member of the RCO who has undertaken a period of applicant membership and has been accepted as a full member of the RCO by a relevant party organ.
4. Applicants for membership must first go through a period of applicant membership and political education in a cell before being accepted as a cadre member. The process for being accepted as a cadre member is as follows:
   1. The applicant is interviewed by a relevant cadre and a member of a higher committee to assess their political and personal suitability for revolutionary work.
   2. The applicant is then assigned to a relevant cell, and is to perform political tasks as well as complete political and organisational training, as well as being familiarised with the RCO program and structure. In addition, they will be assigned to at least one comrade who will act as a mentor for them for the duration of their applicant membership.
   3. At the end of a period of no less than three months and no greater than six months, the applicant member will be interviewed again by at least two members of a higher committee, and be assessed on their political understanding and organisational work. They will then pass on a recommendation to the relevant cell.
   4. An applicant member can then be granted the status of cadre member with full rights and responsibilities by a simple majority vote in their cell.
5. Applicant members of the RCO have the right to attend and speak at meetings, though their votes are not counted, and they do not have the right to be elected or participate in clandestine activities. Applicant members can be denied full membership by a simple vote in their cell, but the Central Committee must be notified.
6. Special dispensation and leaves of absence for members of any type can be granted for party activities by the Secretary of a relevant organisational body.
7. Individuals who fall into the following categories are barred from membership in the RCO:
   1. current and former employees or informants of security and police forces,
   2. associates and members of fascist and reactionary organisations,
   3. members of the landlord-capitalist class,
   4. or any who earn a living through the direct exploitation of the proletariat.
8. The RCO takes no formal position on spiritual or religious matters, and as such, members are welcome to hold whichever religious beliefs (or non-beliefs) they deem appropriate, as long as it does not violate programmatic unity or organisational discipline. However, the RCO is a communist organisation, not a religious one, and reserves the capacity to engage in secularist and anti-clerical propaganda and agitation in accordance with its program, as well as agitation against reactionary religious doctrine and organisations.

## Organisation of Political Life

1. The organisational principles of the RCO are based on the principle of Democratic Centralism: the part is subordinate to the whole, lower committees to higher, all committees to the Central Committee, and the Central Committee to the General Congress. All decision making processes must be consultative and democratic in nature, while activity should be taken collectively. Democratic Centralism also seeks to eradicate the privileges of leadership, political bureaucracies, and allows tendencies to openly publish their views. This means allowing for the possibility that minorities in the organisation may become majorities.
2. The RCO is premised upon Programmatic Unity. Unity within the RCO is based upon the concrete acceptance of the RCO Program as a means of struggling against the capitalist system and replacing it with communism. All organisation members and organs must accept the program as the basis for our politics, and represent the politics of the program as the politics of the organisation as a whole.
3. Except where the rules state otherwise, in all organisation bodies decisions are taken by the majority of members participating in the meeting through a simple vote. A meeting is quorate if half the cadre members of that body are present. It is the right and the duty of RCO members to participate in the meetings of the bodies of which they are a member and to openly state their views on all matters concerning the organisation. In between meetings the tasks assigned by the relevant leadership committee or elected chair must be fulfilled.
4. Members have the right to submit their views to higher committees up to the Central Committee for discussion and to the central publication for publication. While acting fully in accordance with the principle of unity in action, members can oppose decisions taken by higher committees.
5. The RCO is a multi-tendency organisation. Members have the right to form tendencies on the basis of common political, philosophical, strategic, or tactical perspectives in order to influence the organisation, structure, direction, strategy, and leadership of the RCO. Tendencies, once formed, must be formally announced to the entire organisation. Tendencies have the right to publish their perspectives in the party press and in their own publications. While tendencies have the right to campaign for changes to the party program, a tendency’s platform must reflect the spirit of the RCO’s programmatic unity.
6. The RCO as a whole, as well as local cells; area, city, industrial, or regional committees; leagues; caucuses; and tendencies have the right to publish their views in publications of their own creation, with editors to be subject to democratic accountability.

## Structure of the Organisation

1. Organisational bodies are established on the basis of task, locality or workplace. Within their sphere of responsibility they are autonomous.

### Cells

1. The basic organisational unit of the RCO is the cell. Cells may be based in a given locality (such as a suburb or town), a workplace or group of workplaces, or an institution such as a school or university. The minimum number of members required for a cell to form is 3. Cells should meet at least fortnightly and conduct regular agitational and theoretical work.
2. Cells have the right to elect a Steering Committee in order to coordinate political work between meetings. A cell with at least 7 members must elect a steering committee.
3. Cells may be seeded by other cells, or seek to join collectively in areas where the RCO currently has no structures. In the case of a cell joining, normal membership processes can be temporarily suspended to allow their cadre membership, after a period of political assessment. Political education must then be delivered as quickly as possible to the new cell’s members.

### All-City, All-Region, and All-Industry Committees

1. All-City, All-Region, and All-Industry committees may be convened by a group of cells with the approval of the Central Committee. These committees oversee a group of cells, and serve to centralise and collectivise their work across a city (in the case of urban cells), a region (in the case of rural and town cells, or across large geographic regions), or an industry (in the case of industrial or school cells). All-City, All-Region, and All-Industry Committees are elected by the cells that convened them, and must hold regular mass meetings of all members of the relevant cells.

### Working Groups

1. Organisational bodies may establish working groups for the purpose of carrying out particular forms of political work and coordinating activities across cells. Working groups do not operate publicly, nor do they have the right to publish their own material. The convener and/or steering committee of a working group is appointed by the body that created it. Working group membership is voluntary and open to all members of the relevant cells or committees.

### General Congress

1. The General Congress is the highest decision-making body of the organisation. The General Congress should normally be held every year. The congress should be announced by the Central Committee at least three months in advance. The congress can be delayed by decision of the Central Committee, but the period between congresses should not exceed two years. Preparation and representation is decided by the committee convening the congress, though the delegate system in place should seek to represent the membership as broadly as possible.
2. Extraordinary congresses can be called by a majority decision of the Central Committee. If more than a third of the membership demand it, the Central Committee is obliged to convene an extraordinary congress. It should be held within three months. Failing that, the next highest committees calling for a congress has the duty to set up an organising committee to convene one.
3. Any cadre member of the RCO has the right to attend and speak at the General Congress, but only delegates have the right to vote.
4. The General Congress hears, discusses and votes upon all reports, resolutions and matters it considers relevant. Through simple majorities it also decides upon the numbers and composition of the Central Committee, decides on organisation-wide strategy, changes in the rules and program, takes appeals on matters of discipline, etc.

### The Central Committee

1. The Central Committee is the highest decision-making body between congresses. It is tasked with maintaining the daily functioning of the organisation, overseeing its working groups and committees, issuing statements and communiques, and carrying out the general strategy and orientation endorsed by the General Congress. All serious organisational, political, strategic decisions of the Central Committee must be submitted to the General Congress, where they may be overturned.
2. If one third of its members so decide, the chair of the Central Committee must convene an extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee.
3. Decisions of the Central Committee are taken by a simple majority of those members participating. The Central Committee has the power to dissolve and re-establish any party body or publication. The Central Committee may co-opt new members who will not have voting rights.
4. Between congresses or at particularly important junctures, a Steering Congress may be convened by the Central Committee or a majority of district committees or cells. Conference cannot take the place of the congress. It cannot elect the Central Committee nor change the rules and programmatic documents.

### Caucuses and Leagues

1. The RCO seeks to encourage the growth and development of affiliate organisations, known as Caucuses and Leagues. All Caucuses and Leagues must draft a charter of their internal organisational practices and perspectives, to be publicly available. This charter must be approved by the Central Committee or by Congress.
2. Caucuses are organisation-wide RCO-affiliated mass organisations that organise members of specifically oppressed groups within the organisation. They operate between and within cells, working groups, and other organisational bodies. Caucus status can only be granted by the General Congress, and have the right to issue publications, conduct public facing organisational activities, and elect their own steering committees. All Caucus activities must be within the bounds of programmatic unity. Caucuses must produce a Charter of their Organisational Rules, political principles, and general orientation, which can be approved by the General Congress or by the Central Committee of the RCO.
3. Caucuses maintain their own membership roles in accordance with their charter. As affiliated mass organisations of the RCO, they have the right to include trusted fellow travellers and sympathisers of the RCO in their membership rolls.
4. Caucuses have the right to elect one delegate to the Central Committee.
5. This document allows for the automatic creation of the following caucuses:
   1. a women’s caucus,
   2. a caucus representing queer people,
   3. a caucus representing disabled people,
   4. a caucus representing Indigenous people
   5. a caucus representing exploited minority ethnic and migrant communities, and peripheralized workers, and
   6. a youth caucus.
6. Leagues are affiliated mass organisations, created by the RCO for the purposes of conducting public facing organisational work. Leagues have the right to distribute their own material and publications, and conduct their own propaganda, as long as such work is in line with the principle of Programmatic Unity. All Leagues are ultimately accountable to the Congress and the Central Committee, and League status can only be approved by the Central Committee or Congress. Leagues may be formed to organise the intervention into a specific social or industrial struggle, to conduct a certain form of work, or to perform some other specific, public facing task. Leagues must produce a Charter of their Organisational Rules, political principles, and general orientation, which can be approved by the General Congress or by the Central Committee of the RCO.
7. Leagues may maintain their own membership rolls in accordance with their charter. As affiliated mass organisations of the RCO, they have the right to include trusted fellow travellers and sympathisers of the RCO in their membership roles.

## Elections

1. Cell Steering Committees and the Central Committee are made up of officers directly elected by the electing body. All Cell Steering Committees and the Central Committee must include a Chairperson, Secretary, and Financial Officer. Other positions on an elected committee may be created by the electing body. All other elected committees in the RCO must include a Chairperson or a Secretary that can be elected directly or chosen by the elected committee.
   1. The role of the Chairperson is to convene meetings of a given committee, and to chair and organise those meetings, as well as to oversee the execution of decisions made in meetings.
   2. The role of the Secretary is to take minutes of the meetings of a given committee, and to oversee the membership rolls of that committee/body (unless this task is delegated to a Membership Officer). They have the power to grant terms of leave to cadres in the relevant committees.
   3. The role of the Financial Officer is to oversee the finances of a given committee/body, and to ensure the payment of dues. They have the power to grant relevant dispensation in times of financial hardship.
2. Elected officers and elected committees of the RCO are recallable by a simple majority vote by the electing body.
3. All elected positions within the RCO have a term limit of 2 years before they must be replaced with another member.
4. All elections in the RCO are conducted as follows:
   1. For positions that are held by an individual, a single transferable vote system is utilised.
   2. For the election of large committees (more than 5 members) without set offices, a proportional representation system with a single transferable vote is utilised, made up of competing tickets, with a 3% threshold to take a seat.
   3. For the election of delegates, or for small committees (5 or fewer members), a multi-member constituency voting system is utilised, alongside a single transferable vote.
   4. When elections are not contested, a simple approve/disapprove vote is held, with the election being recalled on a “disapprove” vote.
   5. An outgoing committee will not suggest a “slate of candidates” or endorse any ticket or candidate/s in its capacity as a committee.
   6. All elections are conducted by a secret ballot.

## Discipline

1. The following are violations of organisational discipline: failure to adhere to organisational rules; violating organisational security; refusal to support an agreed action; concealing by words, conduct or silence one’s political or factional relations and activities; behaving in a way that brings discredit to the organisation; behaving in a way that undermines the solidarity of the organisation and endangers its members.
2. Any committee of the organisation can vote on a motion of censure against one of its members. The relevant higher committee must be notified. Votes by a committee to suspend or expel a member must be ratified by the Central Committee. A member who is suspended has no membership rights, only duties. The comrade’s level of consciousness and experience should always be taken into account.
3. Every member of the organisation who is subject to disciplinary procedures has the right to appeal to higher bodies of the organisation, up to and including the Congress.
4. The expulsion of a member of the Central Committee must be agreed by a two-thirds majority of its full membership.
5. The Congress or the Central Committee has the right to adopt and enforce Codes of Conduct and other disciplinary documents and processes that are binding throughout the organisation, as long as they do not abridge the rules outlined in the Organisational Rules.

## Dues and Finances

1. The Central Committee determines the level of membership dues. Money from dues must be distributed between the Central Committee, organisation-wide, and local party bodies. Dispensation can be negotiated in particular cases by the basic committees, but have to be ratified by the Central Committee.
2. Only directly elected positions within the organisation may have a stipend attached.