



**AUSTRALIA'S PATH
TO SOCIALISM**

**Program of the Communist
Party of Australia**

Sixteenth Congress, 1951.

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PROGRAM

of the

Communist Party of Australia

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The Crisis We Face

THE time has arrived when every Australian democrat must ponder seriously the future of our nation.

The flourishing young colony of the 19th century, of which our poets have sung and our writers given vivid pictures, with its liberal politics and small enterprise industry in the cities and towns, and in which pastoral and agrarian production played the predominant role in the economy, has passed away forever.

Today, the vast majority of the population are wage-workers and employees in the big industries in the cities and towns, in factories and mines, in ships, mills and railways, in banks and offices.

The small industrial enterprise has given place to the giant factory and steel mill; industrial production has outstripped agrarian production and occupies the first place in the economy.

Many tens of thousands have been forced from the small farms and the land to become wage-workers in the cities, and this process is continuous. Already the majority of Australians live in the six capital cities.

The small factory owner makes way for the monopolists, who own and control whole industries, the small shopkeeper is menaced by the growth of the chain store. Such is the main economic trend in our time. We live in the era of monopoly in industry, finance and commerce, when the big landowners and land-owning companies are gaining ever greater control of the land. In a word, when a financial oligarchy dominates every phase of Australian life.

This transformation has brought about important changes in the lives of the people. No longer is Australia a land of cheap and plentiful foodstuffs. The majority work in highly complex industries, often in conditions of speed-up, under the direction of and for the profit of the few monopolists.

With the development of small scale industry into monopoly, accompanied by penetration of foreign capital, Australian capitalism became imperialist, exploiting colonies in New Guinea, Papua and various Pacific islands, and acted as a junior partner of British imperialism.

Since the Second World War the penetration of American capital, and the onerous terms of American loans, are transforming Australia into a satellite of aggressive American imperialism, and threatening to drag our people into a third world war for the profit of American billionaires—a war which could only mean disaster for our people.

Democracy In Danger

The ever-increasing cost of living harasses the people and undermines their living standards. In the past slumps and depressions have racked the country. One crisis follows on the heels of another. Under the domination of the monopolists there is an ever-growing tendency towards reaction, an increasing attack on progressive thought and activity considered dangerous to the interests of and domination by the wealthy few.

One repressive law after another is enacted by the Parliaments at the dictation of the monopolies. Political parties and trade unions are threatened and attacked. The public halls are denied to progressive movements and freedom of speech and the press hampered in every way. The daily press and radio and other means of publicity are controlled by the millionaires, who impose rigid censorship to ensure that only their ideology will reach the people, at the same time painting a false picture of the world, both at home and abroad.

Greater powers are given to the police authorities, and new secret police organisations, directed against popular movements, are founded. The hard-won democracy of the Australian people is being strangled.

The growth of monopoly produces an ever-growing crisis—economic, political and social—and leads to more intense class and political struggle. The situation within Australia is strongly influenced also by the crisis of monopoly-capital abroad, in Europe and America—

by the decay of capitalism in Great Britain in particular. Britain has lost its predominant position in the world and falls into ever-deepening decline which, in turn, renders more acute the position of Australia.

Our people feel the impact of the changing world on their daily lives and search for an answer to their problems.

Who Is Responsible?

MANY grave problems demand a solution, everywhere the question is asked: "Where is the way out?"

Two world wars and the great slump of 1930-33 have been experienced within a few decades, within the lifetime of many of our people. Today, the people know there is danger of a new world war and of a new depression. This occurs at a time when the productive forces of society have advanced a hundredfold since our grandfathers' time, when colossal scientific and technical advances have been made, when our knowledge has increased immeasurably, when the possibilities for security and abundance for everybody have become ever clearer.

What is wrong?

What is blocking the way to economic and social progress? The Communists reply: The system of profit-making, the ownership and control of industry by a few monopolists and bankers who arrange things, not for the benefit of the people, but for their own gain.

The solution for the ills of present-day society is the Socialist ownership of the industries and national wealth of the country and production for the common good, instead of profits for the few.

The time has come when big changes must be made because the old system has demonstrated its inability to serve the needs of the people.

Time and again, the people have rejected the Liberal Party, the representative of the biggest monopolies and financial magnates, and its ally, the Country Party, which represents in reality the interests of the big land-

owners, landholding companies and all of those who exploit the countryside, and have turned to the Labor Party in the hope that great changes would be brought about and the way opened up to Socialism.

Labor Party's Failure

Each time the working people have been disappointed. The Hughes Labor Government was unable to meet the crisis of the First World War and split to pieces on the issue of conscription for overseas service, with its main leaders joining the party of outright reaction, of the monopolies and enemies of the people. This led to a long period of Tory reaction, for the so-called Liberal Party, which has had many names, is in reality a party of Tory reaction.

To meet the problem of the great depression of 1929-33, the people turned once more to the Labor Party and elected the Scullin Federal Government, and Labor governments in the majority of the State parliaments. The Labor Party Governments could not solve any of the problems of the economic crisis in the interests of the majority of toiling Australians; instead they sponsored the program of the bankers and capitalists, known as the Premiers' Plan, which placed the burdens of the depression on the backs of the toilers.

As a consequence, the Labor Party, losing its mass support, broke into warring factions, and again a number of its leaders went over to the side of the Liberals. Once more this led to a long and dreary period of Liberal Party misrule.

On the outbreak of the Anti-fascist War, when Australia was threatened with invasion, the people once more turned to the Labor Party to lead the way to a new order after the fascist threat to enslave the world had been destroyed.

The Labor Government failed to grapple with the post-war problems and to implement peace and security for the masses. Instead, the Chifley Government formed an alliance with the worst enemies of Labor—the giant monopolies and bankers of the United States—for war against the Soviet Union and other countries where the working people held power. The

Labor leaders joined with the capitalist press and politicians in building up the "Red bogey", in anti-Sovietism and Communist-baiting.

The Labor Government embarked on a career of strike-breaking, opposition to legitimate union demands, jailing of workers and war preparations. This policy of the Labor leaders once more strengthened reaction and led to the return of Menzies and his bitterly anti-labor followers to power. Once more the Labor Government had failed to fulfil the expectations of the toiling masses.

Why has the Labor Party so often disappointed the hopes of the people? Because it allies itself with Big Business, because it rejects Socialism, because its policies and activities are based on those of the Liberals and of the ruling class whom they in reality serve.

Hughes, the conscriptionist and warmonger, Scullin of the Premiers' Plan dictated by overseas bankers such as Niemeyer, and Chifley of the aggressive alliance with the U.S. billionaires, each in turn has carried out the major policies demanded by Collins House and the B.H.P. monopoly groups, each in turn has strengthened reaction against the people.

On the basis of the Labor Government's support for America's war plans, Menzies embarked on a huge rearmament scheme. Following the lead of the Labor Government, Menzies jailed union leaders and militant workers and set out to shackle the trade unions with his Arbitration Amendment Act and, helped by the Labor Party leaders' anti-Communism, to outlaw the Communist Party and to attack the democratic liberties of the Australian people.

This clearly indicates the unity of basic policy between the Liberal and Labor parties, with the latter acting as a kind of left wing of the Liberal Party.

The failure of the Labor Party is not the failure of Socialism, for the Labor Party leaders, despite the Socialist objective inserted in the Labor Party's platform on the insistence of the rank and file, have never had anything in common with Socialism. They have always pursued a non-Socialist and anti-Socialist policy and have confused, split and disorganised the working

class movement and thus facilitated the attacks of reaction on the people. They have strengthened and restored reaction at home and abroad.

The experience of the people with similar Labor governments in Britain and New Zealand fully bears out our own. The Labor Party leaders, when in opposition, in words support the popular demands of the people, but when in office, espouse the basic policies of the capitalists.

New Policy Needed

Australia's problems can be solved only by a new policy and program which ends forever the ownership and control of our national resources by a small exploiting minority and establishes genuine political and economic democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people.

The world is rapidly changing. Vast progress has been registered in a comparatively short time. The great Socialist Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the earth, has already established Socialism, is advancing economically and socially at a pace unknown in capitalist countries, its mighty plans of Socialist construction are raising living and cultural standards and speeding the advance to Communist society. A large part of Europe is now ruled by the workers and the foundations of Socialism are being laid.

The great Chinese People's Republic, embracing 475,000,000 people, has overthrown the power of the landlords and foreign imperialism, is industrialising and modernising the country and aiming at eventual Socialism. All over the world the masses are stirring to new life.

Instead of uniting the people's movement in Australia with these great world-changing movements, the Labor Party leaders prefer alliance with the monopolists of Australia, Britain and America to fight Socialism and the colonial liberation movement, and to defend capitalism and imperialism against the workers.

It is clear that if the people are to advance, then not only the Liberals but their allies in the labor move-

ment, the Rightwing leaders, must be fought and defeated.

It is clear that something quite different from the old type of Labor Government is needed if the problems facing the working class and all the toilers are to be solved. It is clear that the old Rightwing Labor leaders and their policies must be rejected and a great People's Movement, led by the working class, brought into being—a people's movement which will establish People's Power and a Government of Peace.

Forward to Peace

THE struggle to maintain peace is the most pressing task of the present time and therefore the Communist Party devotes its main energies to fighting and organising for peace.

Australia sustained heavy losses in two World Wars. In the Second World War, Australia narrowly escaped invasion by a barbarous foe, Japanese fascist imperialism.

The wars have left a crippling legacy to our country. Basic industries, such as coal and power, have not been properly developed, housing, education, hospitals have been grossly neglected, necessary public works abandoned and the nation saddled with an enormous public debt.

The war preparations and rearmament program of the Federal Government make all of these conditions worse and will undermine living standards, increase inflation and place new grievous burdens on the shoulders of the people.

While not objecting in principle to people from other lands making their homes in this country, nor harboring narrow nationalist prejudices, the Communist Party is opposed to the mass immigration policy of the Federal Government.

This policy of indiscriminate mass immigration is regarded by its sponsors as part of the plans for a new world war. It is a threat to the established living standards of this country, coming as it does at a time

of economic crisis, of a housing crisis and growing shortage of foodstuffs and other necessities.

A new world war, waged with atomic and other horror weapons, would be ruinous for Australia, would cause untold destruction and suffering to our country.

The Communist Party emphatically rejects the theory of the inevitability of a new world war.

The Communist Party brands as an infamous propaganda lie the statements of the reactionary press and politicians that the Soviet Union is planning to impose Communism throughout the world by means of aggression and war.

Socialism can be achieved only by the will of the people in a given country, when the conditions have become ripe for the historical changeover from capitalism to Socialism. Socialism will thus triumph in Australia as the result of the will and actions of the Australian people, and cannot be imposed from outside. Such is the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the guiding theory of Communism everywhere.

There is not, nor can there be, "Communist imperialism", since imperialism has its roots in exploitation, leading to a drive to invest profits and further exploit the working people. Communism is the antithesis of imperialism and will end it forever.

Cause Of War

Capitalism is the basic cause of war in modern times. The First World War occurred at a time when there was no Soviet Republic nor People's Democracies, nor a powerful international Communist movement. Capitalism controlled the entire globe and the war resulted from the struggles of the monopolies in the leading capitalist countries to re-divide the world, to wrest from each other colonies and markets, cheap labor and raw material supplies.

The Second World War had similar origins in the strivings of the monopolies in Germany, Italy and Japan to expand, which led to fascist dictatorship and to their aggressive war for world domination. In preparing

war they were aided by the anti-Soviet "appeasement" policy of the monopolists in Britain, U.S.A. and France.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the Communist Parties were responsible for the two World Wars. The guilt for these wars lies at the door of the big capitalist monopolies and their governments. It is capitalism which gives rise to the danger of a third world war. Today, it is the American monopolies, the biggest the world has seen, which want to dominate the world, to conquer colonies in order to obtain super-profits out of the "backward" peoples.

American Big Business mortally fears the advance of the people's forces throughout the world and the effects on all people of the mighty Socialist construction now proceeding in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Capitalism fears the peaceful competition of Socialism. It hopes, by war, to set back the clock of progress.

The monopolists in Britain, France, Australia and elsewhere, hate Socialism and the people's movement and hope for a share in the profits of war as junior partners of U.S. imperialism. This leads to the loss of national independence and subordination to the dictates of U.S. imperialism.

Thus, Australian governments, whether Labor or Liberal, have, like the British and French in the post-war period, placed themselves and the country and its people at the disposal of U.S. imperialism. They accept its orders and embark on rearmament at the dictates of the American aggressors. There is no independent Australian policy today other than that of the Communist Party.

The U.S. imperialists have ringed the world with air and naval bases and have troops stationed in many countries. They are stockpiling atom bombs and have embarked upon a colossal armaments program which is impoverishing America and the whole capitalist world through its demand for war materials.

The U.S. government, with its regimented majority, has illegally turned U.N.O. into an obedient instru-

ment of its aggressive designs, planned and embarked on hostilities in Korea, seized Taiwan (Formosa) and threatened the Chinese People's Republic with invasion. It is this aggressive policy, directed by the mammoth U.S. trusts, which has destroyed the wartime unity of Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. which defeated the fascist aggressors.

Five Power Peace Pact

Since the end of the war, the Soviet Union has consistently fought for peace, a peace based on national independence for all countries and a demilitarised, democratic Germany and Japan. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed disarmament, the outlawing of atomic weapons and a Five Power Pact between the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain, People's China and France to end the present dangerous international tension.

The Soviet Union is engaged in giant tasks of peaceful construction, the Five-Year Plan in industry and the historic 15-Year Plan for the Remaking of Nature, the planting of forests and the construction of the largest dams and canals in the world, which will also produce enormous quantities of hydro-electric power. All of this indicates the will to peace of the Soviet government and people.

Therefore, the Communist Party of Australia declares that agreement and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies can be achieved whenever a genuine and honest approach is made to them by the capitalist powers. It is possible for the rival systems, Socialism and capitalism, to live side by side in peace.

An end must be put to the aggressive war alliances with the U.S. warmongers, our national independence asserted and a peaceful policy substituted which aims at world peace and international co-operation, independence and respect for the rights of all nations, the banning of the atom bomb, disarmament and adherence to a Five-Power Peace Pact.

Australia Must Be Independent

THE policy pursued by Labor and Liberal governments alike of acting as "junior partner" of aggressive U.S. imperialism means the loss of Australia's independence.

Throughout the history of Australia, from a convict colony to self-government and finally to the right to an independent domestic and foreign policy, the theme of national independence runs like a red thread. This process was continued when the Curtin Government endorsed the Statute of Westminster. Today, we are losing what independence we won from British capitalism to American imperialism. The war policy of the monopolists and their governments makes us more and more a dependency of the U.S.A.

There is an ever-growing U.S. penetration of Australia in economic, political, military and cultural affairs, aiming at complete domination and converting our country into a semi-colony, a source of raw materials and manpower and profits for U.S. imperialism.

Great Britain, too, because of the betrayal of her interests by the Labor and Tory parties, has lost her independence. An American monopolist has been placed in charge of Britain's industry and American economic controllers report to Washington. The British arms program was dictated by the U.S. and American generals and admirals have been placed in charge of Britain's armed forces. The U.S. imperialists at the same time are everywhere increasing their hold on the colonies of the British Empire.

It is clear that the Australian Government's announced program of placing the country on a war footing and the enormous expenditure on armaments for war in three years were dictated by the U.S. imperialists in order to use our resources and manpower for their aggressive military plans aiming at a new world war.

The attempts to destroy the trade union movement, to curtail democratic liberties, to outlaw the Communist Party, the jailings of working class leaders, are like-

wise dictated by U.S. imperialism which, in U.S.A., has already, through the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran Act, manacled the trade unions and political freedom. On the orders of the U.S., the Australian warmongers set out to destroy democracy in order to prepare for war.

The Australian Government, on orders from the U.S., acquiesces in the rearming of Japanese militarism, which creates a grave threat to Australia's security.

U.S. War Base

We have close ties with Britain, and the subordination of Britain to the U.S. increases Australia's dependence on the U.S. The Labor and Liberal parties in Australia have followed the lead of the Labor, Liberal and Tory parties of Britain in the betrayal of our national interests.

We, too, are to become a war base, a "Pacific bastion" of "American defence", our armed forces commanded and directed by American generals and admirals and our living standards undermined by a rearmament program which has nothing in common with legitimate defence, which piles up arms at the dictates of the U.S. for its aggressive and adventurous military plans.

At the dictates of Washington, the Federal Government hastens to conscript the youth in order to train them for service on far-off, overseas battlefields, and thus provide U.S. imperialism with manpower for its war plans.

Australian resources of manpower and materials are to be used to produce weapons for war in the Pacific, against the Asian nations struggling for national liberation from colonial slavery, as part of the American war plan aiming at the domination of the world.

Our inadequate supplies of coal, steel, electricity and building materials are being diverted to war production, thus rendering more acute the already grave shortages of necessary commodities and destroying the hopes of the people for housing, hospitals, schools and reasonable prices for food, clothing and other necessities of life.

Peace With Asia

The present policies earn the enmity of the peoples who live nearest to us, the great nations of Asia, and thus imperil Australia's future. It is certain that the nations of Asia will win their freedom and emerge victorious over U.S. imperialism and its dreams of a great colonial empire in the Far East. Essential, therefore, to Australia's future is a policy of friendship with the peoples of Asia.

The so-called Pacific Pact cannot be regarded as pursuing the aim of peace or defence of Australia, but is part of the world-wide aggressive plans pursued by the U.S. imperialists and of their attempts to suppress the national revolutionary movements of Asia and the Pacific.

What Australia needs is a policy of peace with all nations and not a policy of alliance aiming at new wars. The genuine defence of Australia demands a foreign policy of peace.

Disarm Japan

The policy of sell-out to America pursued by the Labor and Liberal Federal governments alike is fraught with danger of catastrophe for Australia.

Worst danger of all comes from the U.S. policy of rearming Japan. A rearmed Japan presents an obvious threat to Australia's security and independence. Therefore, under all circumstances, Australians must resolutely oppose Japanese rearmament and fight for a disarmed, democratic and peaceful Japanese state.

The Communist Party values the independence of Australia and, rejecting theories that national independence is out of date—theories which only make it easier for American penetration and domination—the Communist Party asserts that such independence is necessary for Australia's growth and development and peaceful progress.

For Colonial Independence

AUSTRALIAN monopoly capitalism is itself imperialist. It already has its own colonies to exploit in New Guinea and Papua and various Pacific islands. It has large investments in Malayan rubber and tin and in Fijian sugar and gold. It supports British, European and U.S. imperialism in their efforts to suppress by force the national struggles of the Asiatic peoples for independence.

These interests of the monopolies are contrary to the true interests of the people. Imperialism involves us in continuous wars which drain our economic resources and sacrifice our youth.

Australia's true interests demand an end to the policy of intervention in Asia and instead, the cultivation of friendly and peaceful relations with our nearest neighbours. The intervention in Korea and Malaya antagonises half the human race against us.

We need a People's Government which would put an end to colonial wars and to imperialism which arise from the strivings of the monopolists for ever-expanding profits.

Australia's geographical nearness to Asia and our economic interests demand relationships of friendship and mutual respect with all Asian nations, particularly with Indonesia and India, with People's China and a democratic and peaceful Japan.

The demands of the colonial peoples in Asia and elsewhere, for independence, do not constitute a menace to the Australian people. The granting of their independence would open up the way to new fraternal relations, to a close association which would strengthen peace and Australia's security.

Safeguard the Native Races

THE treatment of the Australian Aborigines by Australian capitalism is a blot on the fair name of our nation and is condemned by democratic people, not only in Australia, but throughout the civilized world.

The peoples of New Guinea and Papua, of Fiji and other islands face, at the hands of the exploiting classes, the same danger of ruthless exploitation and extermination meted out to the Australian Aborigines. It is the duty of Australian democracy to safeguard these native peoples from destruction at the hands of the imperialists and "colonisers." Their lands and economic resources must be guaranteed them and our scientific and cultural aid extended them so that they can advance rapidly and take their place in the great family of nations.

Justice must be done to the Australian Aborigines. In the Northern Territory and adjacent areas tribal lands must be made secure for the surviving tribes and every aid extended them to develop their own life and culture. Full citizen rights must be extended to non-tribal aborigines.

Socialism Is the Answer

THE way forward for Australian democracy is through the establishment of Socialism, which will open up a new and glorious future for the people.

Today, the politicians and editors who serve the millionaires attribute all the ills of the world to Communism and Socialism. The exact opposite of that is true. The modern Communist movement arose out of the struggle against the evils of capitalism. Communism has grown and developed because it provides the only answer to ever-recurring imperialist wars, to everlasting insecurity, depressions and slums, crime and poverty and the oppression of classes and nations that accompany the rule of the capitalists.

Communism has grown because its principles and teachings are true, because it gives a correct analysis of the fundamental reasons for the wars and miseries of our times, and because it is able to give answer to these pressing problems, i.e., that wars and insecurity arise from capitalist profitmaking and the national and international struggles of rival capitalist groups for markets and superprofits through the exploitation of all toilers.

The solution is to end private ownership of the means of production for profit and replace it with social ownership and production planned to meet the people's needs that is, Socialism.

Socialism Ends Wars

Socialism puts an end to wars and the danger of wars because under Socialism there are no capitalists who are interested in war profits and the conquest of new markets and colonies. Socialist planned economy abolishes anarchy of the market and thereby puts an end to depressions and mass unemployment.

Social ownership ends exploitation of man by man because it is through private ownership of the factories and workshops, mills and mines, the banks and lands that the wealthy minority exploit the great mass of the people. It frees the energies of the people and productive forces for mighty economic, social and cultural advances by means of Socialist planning.

♥ **Socialism does not destroy democracy, as the servants of the wealthy assert, but, on the contrary, enormously extends democratic liberties.**

Despite the extension of liberties won by the Australian labor movement, the fact is that the financial interests centred in the B.H.P.-Collins House monopoly group and the bankers, dictate policy to the governments.

By ending the political, economic and financial domination by the clique of millionaires, Socialism, for the first time, creates the conditions for the free expression of the people's will. The dictation of policy by the wealthy few makes way for the dictation of policy by

the many: the workers, farmers, middle class and the intelligentsia.

The only "liberty" which Socialism ends is the freedom of the privileged class to own industry and amass wealth at the expense of the great majority. Socialism puts an end to all exploitation and oppression of the producers by a privileged parasitical class.

Nor does Socialism "worship the State" and aim at domination of the individual by an all-powerful State. As Socialism becomes firmly founded and grows into Communism, its higher form, the State "withers away" until full direction is in the hands of a co-operative society producing for the benefit of all. The talents and abilities of the individual receive fullest recognition, there is equal opportunity for all to rise to the highest positions in society.

Socialism means abolishing capitalism, and the leaders of the Labor Party, like those of the Liberal and Country Parties, defend capitalism and strive to prolong its existence. The "democratic" and "gradual" Socialism about which they sometimes talk is only meant to deceive the toilers. Always, when in office, they operate in essentials the policy of the capitalists and the Liberal Party; they are, in reality, the main social support of the magnates of capital.

So-called "democratic Socialism" is only a camouflage for their real defence of capitalist exploitation, wars and economic insecurity. The Labor Party leaders mislead, split and disrupt the forces of the workers.

Workers' Mission

The trade union movement, embracing a united working class, will play a key role, without it a People's Government could not function. The working class has the glorious mission of leading forward all the sections of the toiling and democratic masses, farmers and middle classes, to freedom from the yoke of the monopolists. The workers are the advanced class who inspire, arouse and lead this democratic coalition.

The struggle for peace, for genuine people's democracy, for the improvement of our living standards, will unite the majority of the people in a massive move-

ment which, in defeating the warmongers and imposing the people's will to peace upon them, will march forward to the establishment of a government of peace.

While the Communist Party at all times criticises the reformist policy and weaknesses and betrayals of A.L.P. leaders, it nevertheless leads the fight for unity of the workers. Only when united can the working class expect to be victorious over its enemies.

Working-class unity, which means the building of the United Front of members and supporters of the Communist Party and Labor Party in the industries and unions, will strengthen the working-class and its role in the People's Movement.

New paths to Socialism were revealed in the post-war period. The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe have shown that the rule of the democratic masses, led by the working class, can be established in various ways. There, in Eastern Europe, it was established without Soviets. The toiling people united in a coalition of a number of democratic political parties and mass organisations, used the existing parliamentary institution of those countries in the establishment of people's power.

The road of the Chinese people to power differs, because of the different conditions in that country, from the path of the Soviet Union, and also from those of Eastern European countries.

Australia also will find her own path to People's Democracy and Socialism in accord with her own historical conditions, her own level of economic, political and cultural development and political institutions and forms of organisation.

For a People's Government of Peace

HOW is Socialism to be achieved? What are the forces making for Socialism? How can we best go forward?

Capitalism cannot grow into Socialism. To take the path to Socialism the people must first win real political power. The Communist Party declares that the enormous growth of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism on a world scale and evident in Australia since the Second World War opens new paths for the Australian people to win real political power and begin the advance to Socialism.

The working people in industry and agriculture constitute the great majority of the population. The alliance of the workers and farmers constitutes the main base of the new People's Power. With them also must be included the professional and clerical workers, scientists, technicians and teachers, small shopkeepers and business people, all of whose interests are threatened by the ever-growing encroachments of the monopolists, financiers and big landowners and whose real interests and future prospects are therefore closely bound up with those of the industrial workers.

These are the classes and groups who have repeatedly elected Labor governments, only to see their hopes bitterly disappointed. It is this mighty political force that can also establish People's Power and fundamentally alter society in line with its own interests—the interests of the immense majority.

The fight for People's Power must be waged in opposition to the Right-wing Labor leaders, and by the rank and file of the Labor Party itself in unity with all other sections of the progressive movement.

The bringing into being of a broad, organised and active people's movement led by a united working class—an organised movement embracing trade unions, farmers, youth and women's organisations, cultural, sporting, scientific, religious and other democratic associations of the people—actively engaged in the struggle for peace, democracy and the vital interests of the working people will enable the people to impose their will upon the few score monopolists who are leading our country to disaster.

This mighty organised movement of the people led by a united working class will win real people's political

power and a People's Government. The machinery of State will be transformed and the agents of Collins House and B.H.P. in positions of authority in the civil service, police, judiciary and the armed forces will be replaced by determined and loyal supporters of the people's power. Scores of thousands of working people will be drawn into the work of State administration.

The broad popular alliance of the people will transform parliament into a genuine instrument of the working people, carry through electoral reform with proportional representation, and regulate the powers of Federal and State parliaments.

Our parliaments will be filled by true representatives of the people's movement, who will be subject to recall at any time by a majority of their electors. The legislative and executive machinery of the country will be made continuously responsive to the democratic will of the people, and the whole of the people will be drawn into active participation in the control and administration of every sphere of national life.

The People's Government, arising from, and based upon the People's Movement and the People's Parliament, will immediately proceed to replace the present dangerous policy of war with a policy of peace and to break the power of the small clique of industrial, banking and land monopolists as the essential condition for opening the way to the building of Socialism.

People's Program

The People's Government, expressing the power of the people based on a united working class and a broad popular alliance embracing farmers, professional people, technicians and all those who work by hand and brain, would:

- Restore Australia's independence and pursue a foreign policy of peace.
- Break the power of the monopolies and big capitalists by the Socialist nationalisation of large-scale industries, banks, distributive monopolies, insurance companies and the land of the large landowners

and introduce a government monopoly of foreign trade.

- Re-equip the basic industries and power resources, build new power resources and develop machine building industry to supply all Australia's production needs.
- Plan the economy on Socialist lines and secure an unparalleled growth of the productive forces, free from the crises inseparable from capitalist economy which inflicts so much hardship on the toilers and at the same time impels capitalism towards war as a means of attempting to solve its economic problems. This would realise the objective of the Australian labor movement which has been defined in general terms as "socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange", and ensure a big rise in real wages together with improved living conditions.
- Eliminate the national debt by cancellation of debts to foreign and big Australian bondholders, and by democratic compensation to Australian small holders.
- Introduce democratic reform of the currency to remedy the inflated note issue and to stabilise the purchasing power of the pound.
- Eliminate all indirect taxation.
- Break up the big landed estates in order to provide farms for those willing to work the land.
- End the ravages of ever-recurring droughts by a great national plan of water conservation and irrigation, flood control and prevention of erosion, together with afforestation, in order to safeguard the agrarian industries and the soil now endangered by ruthless exploitation. The inland and sparsely inhabited regions, an enormous part of our territory, present a challenge that only Socialism can meet. These lands, now deteriorating and subject to erosion, can be made fertile and add to the national wealth by means of provision of water, reafforestation and other scientific measures. Socialism will

make possible a vast plan for the remaking of nature and the rehabilitation of the present waste and semi-arid lands of our continent.

- Eliminate the heavy burden of debts which today weighs down the farmer and stultifies his efforts to improve agriculture.
- End the monopoly and middleman control of farm needs and the handling of farm produce, giving planned assistance to the promotion of producer and consumer-controlled co-operative marketing. The People's Government will also assist with machinery pools and in many ways the planned extension and improvement of agriculture, thus ensuring security and prosperity to the farming population.
- End the press monopoly of the millionaires. The giant printing plants and daily newspapers will be placed under the control of the democratic organisations of the workers and farmers and their allies. This applies equally to radio and other forms of education and enlightenment now in the hands of those who are interested in the exploitation of the people.
- Guarantee freedom of religion, free speech and criticism, make available the press and public halls to the people.

Develop Our Culture

Today, our culture is being debased by the widespread importation from the U.S.A. of low-grade films, fiction which glamorises gangsters, and comic strips which degrade the minds of our children. It is linked with the American imperialist penetration of our country.

This degradation of culture must be ended. The People's Government will take steps to develop our own specific Australian culture, while at the same time accepting all that is best in world culture.

A peaceful policy and Socialist planning mean that the national income can be devoted to overcoming the housing crisis, the lack of school and hospital accommodation and to increasing pensions and social amenities.

The People's Parliament will, for the first time, establish genuine democracy, the real rule of the majority.

Today, the people have wrested from the rulers, by means of long-drawn-out political struggle, certain democratic rights of organisation, free speech, a limited right to strike and a vote. These rights, however, are under constant attack by the wealthy few and their minions who, owning the industries, the banks, the press and other levers of power, are able to frustrate the will of the people.

People's Power is needed to end this veiled dictatorship of the few over the many.

In carrying through these decisive measures to implement the democratic will of the people, every effort of the capitalist class to defy the People's Government and Parliament will be resisted and defeated.

The great broad popular alliance, led by the working class, firmly based on the factories, which has democratically placed the People's Government in power, will have the strength to deal with the attacks of the capitalist warmongers and their agents.

The Government will rely on the strength of the organised workers to ensure that the program decided upon by the people's representatives in Parliament is operated in practice, and that all attempts to resist or sabotage it are defeated and the enemies of the people brought to justice.

It would be wrong to believe that the big capitalists will voluntarily give up their property and their big profits in the interests of the people. They will offer active resistance to the decisions of the People's Government and will fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power. Therefore the working people and the People's Government should be ready decisively to defeat such attempts.

The power of the working people, uniting all sections who recognise the need for social change and participate in carrying it through, as expressed and laid down through the elected Parliament, is alone capable of securing peace, high wages for working people, rapid expansion of the productive forces, and of creating the conditions for the establishment of Socialism.

Socialist Nationalisation of the Monopolies

SOcialist nationalisation is the foundation of the policy of a People's Government. Socialist nationalisation abolishes private ownership of industry and substitutes public Socialist ownership. Instead of production for profit there is production for the benefit of the people.

All large-scale industry and transport, the banks, monopoly-owned wholesale and retail trading concerns as well as large landed property will be brought under social ownership by the People's State. Small investors will be protected and partial compensation given to those who do not resist the People's State.

Socialist nationalisation breaks the power of the monopolists and places industry in the hands of the people. It puts an end to exploitation of the workers and to capitalist profit-making.

The crisis which is gripping all capitalist countries will also influence adversely economic developments within Australia. Rearmament, placing new burdens on the people, may prolong the period of full employment, but will in the end render the economic crisis more acute.

The economy at the present time is marked by the disparity between the rapid growth of the light and manufacturing industries and the lagging behind of the heavy industries, such as coal and iron. This has created the problems of lack of fuel, power, transport and many others. It is characteristic of the anarchy of capitalism; with its rush for profits which prevents planning for a sound, all-round economic advance.

Socialist nationalisation opens up the possibility of control over economic life by means of a planned economy, thereby ending slumps and depressions. It removes the economic basis of modern wars and imperialism.

Eliminates Usury

Socialist nationalisation is fundamentally different from the form of nationalisation to be found in some Australian industries—different, for example, from the government-owned railways from which the capitalist bondholders draw an enormous annual tribute in the form of interest. This overwhelming burden remains although the original loans advanced for the construction of the railways have sometimes been repaid twice over. Socialist nationalisation will eliminate this burden.

Capitalist nationalisation simply guarantees the incomes of millionaires, irrespective of whether the industry is profitable or not. Nationalisation of some industries, while the key industries are still privately owned and provide the main income of the wealthy, is designed to strengthen capitalism as a whole.

The Australian railways, due to the relatively undeveloped state of the country are often conducted at a loss. Government control, therefore, ensures the capitalists of an income from the railways while the people are taxed to bear the losses.

Nationalisation of the type represented by the railways is designed to benefit the owners of the rest of industry by supplying them with goods and services at cheap rates at the expense of the wages and conditions of the workers.

Socialist nationalisation eliminates capitalist rent, interest and profit and its objective is the continuous growth of the incomes and well-being of the workers and of society as a whole.

Capitalist nationalisation is usually bureaucratic in character and inefficient in its administration, precisely because it is in the charge of a handful of top officials over whom the workers and the people generally have no control.

Socialist nationalisation ensures the workers and their trade unions an effective voice, at all levels, in the direction and management of industry. The weapon of criticism of bureaucracy and other abuses, used by the workers, by the press and the people, ensures effi-

cient management and administration of socialised industries.

Proved In Practice

Socialist nationalisation has been proved in practice, in life. Formerly backward, Tsarist Russia has been transformed by Socialism into the second greatest industrial country in the world. Economic planning by means of the Five-Year Plans ensures its economic growth at a rate hitherto unknown.

In the People's Democracies, Socialist nationalisation of the basic industries has already achieved remarkable results in transforming backward countries into modern industrial states which are taking their place in the vanguard of progress.

Socialist nationalisation of the big industries, which presupposes a national, all-round economic plan, would guarantee a more rapid growth of industry and make impossible the one-sided development which has created so many acute problems, would provide for adequate growth of basic industry and forever put an end to the threat of a new depression.

Socialist nationalisation will make available for social use immense wealth that has hitherto gone to build up the capitalist profits and power of the rich property owners. It will enable the Government, with the co-operation of the workers and technicians, to end restrictions and bring about a great increase in production, to re-equip and reorganise industry on the basis of a national plan to increase the productive resources of the country, improve wages and working conditions, reduce prices, extend all social services, and remove forever the danger of economic crisis and unemployment.

Co-operatively-owned productive and consumers' enterprises will be encouraged and assisted to develop, taking over appropriate services now in the hands of the monopolies.

Small shopkeepers and business men, as well as small landowners and farmers, will be freed from restrictions imposed by the monopolists, and will benefit from the rising turnover resulting from the new conditions.

Social Services

THE social ownership of industry would provide enormous means for all forms of social services, amenities and benefits.

The People's Government, having no other interest than the welfare of the people, would provide adequate housing for the population, that crying need of the present time. It would proceed to repair the situation created by capitalist inefficiency, planlessness and greed for rents and profits, and would build enough houses for the people. It would take over the empty and half-empty mansions of the privileged. It would proceed at once with slum clearance.

With the land and building materials under its control, with the ending of racketeering in building materials, the Government could build houses and flats at low cost and at low rentals, abolishing the exorbitant rents and "key money" now demanded by the landlords.

Holiday rest homes, sanatoria for adults and children would be built in such beautiful areas as the Blue Mountains, the Dandenongs, the Barrier Reef and by our unrivalled beaches, and the mansions of the wealthy in the health and holiday areas would be taken over for these social purposes.

The health services would be reorganised and developed as a State medical service and greatly extended in order to provide free and efficient medical attention to the working people. This will demand an increasing number of doctors, nurses and specialists.

The new Government, serving only the people's interests, would rapidly terminate the present shocking hospital conditions of an inadequate number of beds, insufficient trained medical personnel and the dependence of the hospitals upon voluntary subscriptions, State lotteries and charity.

The health of the people would be a first consideration of public policy, and efficient medical services, linked with adequate housing and higher living standards,

more parks and open spaces, playing grounds and opportunities for physical culture, would eliminate most of the diseases endangering the health of the population.

Equal Opportunity

The educational system would be transformed into a system giving equal opportunities to all children. Higher education and university training would cease to be, as now, a privilege mainly of the rich. Education today is being neglected and is falling behind. There is insufficient school accommodation and a lack of teachers. This would be overcome and there would be a great extension of universities and technical schools, which would demand an increasing number of trained teachers, educationists and specialists of all kinds. The aim would be to provide every child with the most modern educational facilities and the highest possible training.

The present meagre allowances to old age pensioners, disabled ex-servicemen and women and all those temporarily or permanently incapacitated from work would be raised to provide an adequate standard of life.

Improved living standards and social conditions, higher education, greater opportunities would lead to a rapid diminution of crime; the prison system would be transformed from an instrument of punishment into a corrective social institution, aiming at the reformation and rehabilitation of those who display anti-social tendencies.

Part of the profits now going to the owners of industry would be utilised for social insurance, permitting the abolition of workers' contributions. The principle of equal pay for equal work for women would be applied at once throughout the public services, industry and trade; the provision of creches and nursery schools would help to remove the practical difficulties in the way of women's full participation in the life of the nation.

The youth of the nation would be the first concern of all, and every facility would be provided to ensure their all-round mental and physical development,

The Communist Party Will Play Its Part

THE working class is the leading force in the people's movement in alliance with the working farmers. The working class, in order to fulfil its historical role, can only be victorious on the basis of the invincible teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Only the Communist Party bases itself on this firm foundation and this determines the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party demonstrates its serious purpose and honesty before the people by means of criticism and self-criticism. It openly and frankly discusses its mistakes and shortcomings in order to correct them and render better service to the cause of the toilers. The Communist Party at all times invites criticism from the toiling people which will aid in the elimination of weaknesses.

The Party regards criticism and self-criticism as the law of its own inner development and growth. Open criticism leading to the correction of weaknesses deepens the confidence of the working masses in the Party.

The Communist Party unites in its ranks the advanced and most active section of the working-class. It inherits the splendid traditions of the Australian labor movement and the militant spirit of the Eureka fighters. History proves that without such a Party, the victory of Socialism cannot be realised.

The Communist Party will devote all its energies and resources to the building of the united front of the working class and the broad popular coalition to win the victory of peace and people's democracy. This program can only be realised by the united action of the working people in the struggle for peace, for improved living standards, in the defence of trade union rights and the extension of democratic liberty.

The Communist Party sees the future society ultimately as one of world-wide co-operation for the common good

of all peoples, based on the principles of Socialist internationalism.

This does not contradict the national independence or national cultural development of each country.

It means equality and mutual respect between all nations and a peaceful solution of all problems.

It means the widest economic, scientific and artistic co-operation between the different peoples.

It means a peaceful, free world instead of one torn by rivalries, prejudices and war.

The Communist Party has no interests other than those of the majority, the Australian working people.

The Party will work selflessly to win the labor movement and the rest of the toiling majority for this program, and calls upon all workers, trade unionists, small farmers, and all those progressive people who want peace, not war, who recognise the need for social change, to join its ranks in order to help the realisation of the glorious aim of a peaceful, free and prosperous Australia.