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# Continuing Revolution By Stages

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# Continuing Revolution By Stages

The ultimate objectives of revolution in Australia are socialism and then the building of Communism. We speak of socialism as the first stage of Communism. It is the stage where the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" prevails, the stage where socialism has emerged from capitalism and bears the birthmarks left by capitalism upon it. Communism is the stage where the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" prevails, where the birthmarks left by capitalism have gone, class struggle has been eliminated and the government of people is replaced by the administration of things. It takes a historical epoch of socialism to reach the stage of Communism.

We are adherents of the theory of continuing revolution by stages. Our view is that the Australian revolution is a continuing revolution by stages. The first stage of the Australian revolution is the anti-imperialist, national democratic stage which involves the unity in struggle of all Australian anti-imperialists led by the workers and aimed at expelling the imperialists, defeating the local collaborators with the imperialists, socialising their factories, mines, etc. taking over

other key sections of the economy, establishing democracy with real content. This is the stage of people's democratic dictatorship. Through it, the struggle for complete socialism goes on and through that, the struggle for communism goes on. This is the broad picture of continuing revolution by stages. It is impossible to impose schemes upon events (they have a nasty habit of rejecting schemes) or to impose fixed, arbitrarily created ideas. We are dealing with class struggle against a definite enemy, aimed at seizing state political power from that enemy and establishing people's power. There is no doubt that this will almost certainly be resisted with force and violence (qualitatively more force and violence than the ordinary force and violence by which the ruling class now rules) and that the people led by the workers will seize power by their own force and violence, chief weapon of which is a people's army. This struggle arises from objective conditions which are in a continuing process of change and development. The process can be forecast in general because there has been enough experience to show the general laws of its development but its precise form and circumstances cannot be forecast.

Through a process of ever deepening study and making many errors, Communists in Australia have come to understand something of the principles of continuing revolution by stages. One such error was the skipping or slurring over the stage of national democratic revolution, and the view that the content of the Australian revolution was proletarian socialist with the immediate transition to socialism. The correction of

this error is very important in understanding the strategy and tactics of revolution in Australia.

The Australian workers and working people have a "potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism." For decades, the advanced workers in Australia have been interested in socialism. This goes back to the last century. This sentiment for socialism has been so great that the bourgeois-liberal Labor Party inserted the social-ist plank in its objective in 1921. Today the sentiment amongst the workers for socialism, far from having diminished, has greatly increased. It is a very precious thing, a thing to be proud of, a thing to learn from and a thing to nurture.

The basis of this sentiment lies in the development of the capitalist mode of production. Engels said: "The spinning wheel, the handloom, the blacksmith's hammer were replaced by the spinning machine, the powerloom, the steam hammer; the individual workshop by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them 'I made that; this is my product'."

"Then came the concentration of the means of

production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production and socialised producers. But the socialised producers and means of production and their products were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i.e. as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labor had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer his product but exclusively the product of the labor of others. Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the capitalists. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests." (Socialism Utopian and Scientific)

It is the understanding of this process and the conclusion which it compels i.e. for the socialised workers to establish socialised ownership, that continually generates socialist ideas. The workers see at first

hand the parasitical character of capitalism. In Australia, socialised production and individual (monopolistic) appropriation (ownership), are far advanced. They are becoming all the time more and more advanced. Hence the material basis for socialist ideas is continually expanding in Australia. Communists most certainly realise this and propagate the ideas of socialism.

The decisive form of the individual (monopolist) appropriation of the products of socialised labor in Australia, is appropriation by the foreign giant monopolies and local "partners" of these foreign giants. This brings the workers, other working people, intermediate sections of the people and native capitalists into conflict with the imperialist giants which directly exploit the workers and crush them. It is the expulsion and expropriation of these monopolies that is the basis of the first stage of continuous revolution and the basis for uniting broad sections of the people against imperialist domination. The workers engaged in socialised production are the leaders of the united forces.

Thus the enthusiasm for socialism needs a scientific analysis to carry that enthusiasm into realisation. Some say it is wrong to talk about socialism because we are only concerned with a people's anti-imperialist democratic revolution. Or they say if there is talk about socialism, it frightens off the capitalists who might otherwise join the anti-imperialist united front. But of course, it is correct to talk about socialism and to point out to the socialist workers that the way to achieve it is through

uniting all the anti-imperialists in the struggle to expropriate the imperialists. This is a stage that must be gone through. At all stages of the anti-imperialist struggle there is class struggle as to which class will lead but it is subordinate to the central theme of struggle, anti-imperialism. After the expropriation of the imperialists, this class struggle continues. It is a matter as yet of generality and a certain speculation as to the form it takes or as to the form the thoroughgoing transformation to socialism will take. There is no set path or scheme. Events and struggle determine it. Certainly the capitalists will struggle; certainly the workers will struggle. The laws of history, of social development, determine that the Australian workers will succeed in establishing socialism.

The conditions in Australia are vastly different from those in China and China's revolution of necessity followed and follows a different course from that in Australia. Nonetheless, it is a process of continuing revolution by stages and we can learn an immense amount from China's revolution and appropriate what is applicable to the conditions in Australia. Chairman Mao said:

"Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, i.e. the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic

revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society."

And he said:

"We Communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum programme is to carry China forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our Party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendour."

In Australia our problem has similarities. Thus it is wrong to try to suppress or discourage socialist sentiment in the interests of building up a broad united front of Australian people. Socialist ideas are splendid ideas that arise from Australian and world reality. Marxism-Leninism reveals their basis and their direction. We encourage them but we concentrate our work and attention on the anti-imperialist democratic stage of continuing revolution for that is the immediate reality of Australia in the march to thoroughgoing socialism and communism.



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