APPENDIX: 3a—SUCI Documents

PLATFORM OF ACTION: PROVISIONAL CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE (MAY 01, 1946)

INTRODUCTION

AN APPEAL FOR A CLOSE MARXIST UNITY

We owe it to all Marxists to explain why the Socialist Unity Centre has come into existence at this critical period of Indian history. We must make it clear at the very outset we have no intention to add to the prevailing confusion and bewilderment of the working class and other toiling masses by claiming it to one of the so many working-class parties that are functioning today so ineffectively in our country. In explaining its character and role we have therefore emphasized in its “platform of action" that "the SUC is not a Party nor a sectarian group in any sense", but "a propagandist platform and a TEMPORARY INSTRUMENT FOR THE UNIFICATION OF ALLSOCIALIST FORCES" that identify their interests completely it the working class without reservation and pledge themselves to work for the Social Revolution on the basis of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Socialism or communism, as against capitalism, imperialism and fascism", as speedily as the objective conditions of the country would permit. The very division in the SOCIALIST CAMP has made the appearance. of a propagandist centre of this nature an indispensable OBJECTIVE NECESSITY. Its very name signifies its TASK and justifies its emergence as a UNIFYING FORCE to cement a close MARXIST UNITY in order TO PAVE THE RISE OF AN EFFECTIVE WORKING CLASS PARTY Worth the name

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The War has ended with the victory of the Soviet Union And the Allied Powers. The fascist military might has been annihilated but Fascism, as a world reactionary force, has not yet been crushed and eliminated, although it has received a mortal blow. The victory of the United Nations has no automatically liquidated imperialism or established democracy and "people's rule" in our country and other colonies, as anticipated by the "People's War' school of communist and Radical Democrats. On the contrary, we are facing today the gravest menace of a division of India and a new type of domination of the Anglo-American group of Power through their feudal allies and other social reactionaries PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE VERY FAILURE OF THE PEOPLE TO ASSERT THEIR OWN STRENGTH AGAINST THE VICIOUS COMBINATION. In the world context, colonies and dependencies still remain. Those who used to swear by anti-fascism and popular democracy, are trying hard to re-establish their imperialist domination, in some form or other, to re-conquer their colonies back into their fold and to aid the pro-fascist forces. Imperialist itself is changing its colours under the cover of the Trusteeship Charter of the U. N. O. Even fascism that is fighting for its last breath is desperately seeking to reappear in a less offensive and misleading garb. This is almost inevitable in the very nature of things, because MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, the ROCK-BOTTOM FOUNDATION OF IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM, STILL DOMINATES THE GREATER PART OF THE WORLD.

On the other hand, after-events have clearly FALSIFIED THE ANTICIPATIONS of those political parties who pinned their faith or based their strategy on the possible victory of the NAZI ARMY and AXIS

XXXVIII
POWERS. As the CPI school lived to learn that it was impossible to eliminate even fascism without eliminating imperialism too, many of their political opponents also lived to learn that it was impossible to the secure national independence of their country in alliance with the Fascist POWERS. At least in Indonesia, in Burma, in Indo-China, all those, who wanted to fight imperialism with the aid of the Axis Powers or to take advantage of the defeat of the imperialist Powers, ruling their country, have long learnt the less as they themselves had to organise later on a formidable and underground people's resistance against the Japanese menace. The Azad Hind. Fouz, too, had to go through this very process and try hard to rise as an independent force out of this conflict with the imperialist Japan. They had to pay as well a heavy price in course of their march to Assam. Their great popularity is not due to any illusion they might or might not have entertained previously but because of their STRIKING ABILITY to build up a formidable UNITED ARMY of aspiring Free India for the first time in our struggle for freedom. It was undoubtedly a notable MATERIAL achievement. The very nature of the Soviet victory has also exposed the role of those socialists and communists who posed as pro-Soviet and anti-fascist in words but behaved as anti-Soviet and pro-fascist in action or in actual effect of their policy.

Yet not only fascism but also imperialism have been vitally weakened to the extent the fascist military might has been shattered to pieces and the Soviet Union has gained grounds and rising as one of the two foremost powers with the support of the progressive and revolutionary forces in Europe, Assia and other continents in its wake. The war has polarised two great powers-the United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics - as the two opposing social forces. They represent, two opposite social systems, two worlds - one old and dying and the other new and rising.

The war has thus sharpened the class struggle still further, released tremendous forces in the very process, deepened the economic crisis and brought many countries almost to the breaking point and to the verge of revolution. In spite of every attempt of the Imperialists, monopoly capitalists and pro-fascists to stem the tide of the mass upsurge, the popular forces are on march almost all over the world. International conditions have thus combined in a striking manner in favour of the cherished Indian Revolution.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

But the tragedy of the Indian Revolution is that although the objective conditions are well neighed explosive, the temp of the popular forces have long reached a very high level, working class, and the armed forces are more progressive militant and organised than ever in the history of our struggle for freedom, yet the leadership is still in the Hands of the Bourgeoisie and far behind the objective urge of the popular forces. It is not even bourgeois-democratic and anti-imperialist in the fullest sense.

This is primarily due to the disintegration of the bonafide left forces. They are more sharply divided than ever. Short-sighted sectarianism dominates their party politics and outlook to the extent that they even lose the light of their common enemy and forget their common purpose. The War has left bitter legacies behind and further sharpened their antagonism and complicated their relations. Under the cover of communist baiting, the vested interests are out not only to fight communism and socialism but also to sidetrack and obstruct the rising forces of Democratic and Socialist Revolution. In the circumstances, mutual recriminations among the left forces have only added further to the confusion and bewilderment of the working class and other popular forces. The formation of the National T. U. C. can

XXXIX
only further sharpen the divisions among the anti-imperialist elements, add to their confusions and serve the purpose of reaction.

The only OBJECT LESSON we can draw from our past experiences is that the Congress leadership could monopolise for itself much of the popularity and prestige that was rightly due to the achievements of the Azad Hind Fouz, militant actions, and disposition of the working class and the armed forces and activities of other left elements. PRECISELY BECAUSE the divided left forces could not take any advantage of the growing revolutionary situation, in consolidating their position in and outside the Congress or in leading the rising popular forces onward in any organised and systematic manner. The revolutionary situation could not, therefore, produce a corresponding revolutionary leadership. On the contrary, the result has been a consolidation of the reformist and even reactionary forces and gradual transformation of the Congress into a non-working class party with an anti-communist and even anti-socialist complex. The objective conditions and revolutionary disposition of the masses surely did not warrant this development. It is a tragedy of the first magnitude.

It is rather an irony of history that so many parties are claiming to be the ONLY GENUINE party of the working class and all equally swearing by Marxism or even Marxism-Leninism; and yet none of them are ideologically and organisationally capable of leading the working class and other popular forces in the struggle against feudalism and imperialism in spite of the most favourable objective conditions. This very INABILITY, this very unpreparedness may well point to their predominant middle-class composition, their wavering and opportunist role, speak a volume about their real character.

The failure of any of the said Marxist parties to rise as an effective party of the working class to act as real vanguards of the impending Revolution is to our judgment, the ROOT CAUSE of the disintegration and rout of the left forces. What is worse, this has not only obstructed the process of socialist revolution but has vitally weakened the Democratic Revolution and driven a large section of the working class into the arms of the reformists. The nationalist forces, further weakened by the decadent feudal lords and wavering bourgeoisie and faced with the terror of mass revolution, have now given way to the dark and sinister forces of communalism that seek to embitter the inter-communal relations by a fratricidal bloodbath and destroy the unity of India. It is really tragic that at this critical crossroad of Indian history when NONE BUT INDIANS themselves can ess of imminent democratic revolution, we are actually throwing away OUR UNIQUE CHANCE of asserting our own freedom in a senseless communal frenzy and suicidal civil war of a very low and degrading order.

The division of India and Provinces on a communal basis is another tragic outcome of our sectarian warfare and opportunist maneuver. This will not only perpetuate communal conflict in a more vicious manner for decades but also DELIVER THE DIVIDED INDIA NEW TO THE HANDS OF THE ANGLO AMERICAN GROUP OE RULING CLASSES AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM that dominate the capitalist world today and seek to suppress the progressive and revolutionary forces and crush the might of the Soviet Union. The division, already effected, would be the gravest menace to our democratic freedom, peace, and progress and must, therefore, be resisted by all means.
OUR OBJECTIVE

In this adverse Indian situation, our objective and immediate tasks are crystal clear. A far-reaching Socialist Revolution is THE ONLY WAY OUT.

Our IMMEDIATE objective is to work for the re-establishment of the unity of India, of Bengal and Punjab, and to eliminate the IMPERIALIST AND FEUDAL AUTOCRACY in all forms and to complete the process of the Democratic Revolution as a prelude to the Socialist Revolution. With the peaceful transfer of 'power' to the Government of Divided India under the Dominion Constitution, a new situation has arisen. Our fight is NO LONGER against any foreign imperialism as openly and clearly as before. With the establishment of two sovereign States, the question of national independence assumes a different significance. On the one hand, we will have to still assert our complete national independence and eliminate the last vestiges of foreign domination. On the other hand, we will have to overthrow the despotic or benevolent rule of the reactionary feudal princes and crush the feudal strongholds, the new base of imperialism fighting for a fresh lease of life. What is more SIGNIFICANT is whatever may be the character of the Governments of India and Pakistan, the far-reaching issues of the independent Socialist Revolution would be more and more brought to the forefront of the Indian politics. These Governments can not much longer solve the burning economic issues. Either they will have to solve the food crisis and fulfill growing aspirations of the toiling masses or give way to the revolutionary forces. The only way to keep the masses out of the vicious circle of the communal tangle is to conduct their economic and political struggle on the basis of their vital needs in this new context and TO WORK FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION FOR THE RE-UNITY OF INDIA WITH COMPLETE DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM.

All our experiences unmistakably point to the over-riding necessity of UNITING ALL, GENUINE LEFT FORCES FOR THE COMMON PURPOSE, Firstly, we must, therefore, do everything possible to cement a CLOSER UNITY among the bonafide socialist forces in order to achieve a BROADER DEMOCRATIC UNITY for the immediate objective.

Secondly, the absence of an effective working class party makes it imperative on us to create preconditions for the rise of a Party of our concept, capable of leading the working class and other popular forces in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the immediate present, and against capitalism for its overthrow in no distant future to achieve the ultimate task of socialism which is assuming an increasing importance in the new situation, Sooner or Later, the Indian people have to realise that socialism alone can really put an end to all exploitation of a people by a people and of the toiling multitude by the privileged class, and thereby ensuring democracy, freedom, and peace. It is the task of the Working Class Party to prepare the masses for the attainment of democratic freedom and socialism.

The Socialist Unity Centre has come into being in this critical period of our struggle precisely because of these adverse circumstances, Our principal task is to do some SOLID GROUND WORK for consolidating all uncompromising forces against imperialism and feudalism, for bringing all sincere Marxists closer and closer THROUGH AN AGREED PROGRAMME OF ACTION as far as possible at this stage and to pave the rise of a GENUINE WORKING CLASS PARTY of this nature in the very process of our struggle for unity in order to achieve our tasks.
We repeat, the SUC has therefore given a great emphasis on its primary position that it is not a Party in any sense, but only a PROPAGANDIST CENTRE AND A TEMPORARY INSTRUMENT for accomplishing these specific purposes.

It shall be, therefore, content, as laid down in its "platform of action" to work for the Objective on the basis of MAXIMUM POSSIBLE AGREEMENT among the socialist forces, learn by actual experiences and events and resolve the points of disagreement as far as possible and leave the apportioning of blameworthy and credits among themselves to the judgment of history.

"It shall cease to exist as soon as its Objective to build up an effective working class party of its accomplished. In that eventuality, it shall merge in it."

Until then, we will have to work hard for this cherished UNITY OF ACTION and hope for the best in the adverse Indian situation. We must make our own contribution, however modest, to this desirable end, in order to accelerate the process of the Indian Revolution which is overdue for long. In the circumstances, there seems to be no better alternative out of the impasse, out of the tragedy. We must not fail in our task.

PROVISIONAL CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE

SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE

PLATFORM OF ACTION OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE

IT'S OBJECT

1. The OBJECTIVE of the Socialist Unity Centre shall be to work for the unity of all bonafide socialist forces and to pave the rise of a really effective party of the INDIAN WORKING CLASS on the basis of theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and in light of later development of the social forces and of actual experiences, in order to accelerate the process of history and accomplish the supreme tasks of the Social Revolution, National Democratic and Socialist Proletarian stage by stage, as speedily as the objective conditions of the country would permit. The phrase 'bonafide socialist forces' include all parties, groups, and individuals those identify their interests completely with the working class without reservation and pledge themselves to work for the Social Revolution on the basis of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Socialism or Communism as against Capitalism, Imperialism, and Fascism.

ITS CHARACTER AND ROLE

2. The Socialist Unity Centre or the SUC is not a party nor a sectarian group in any sense of the term. It does not seek to arrogate to itself the sole monopoly of Ideological clarity and Political wisdom or to impose its leadership from above on the working people as the existing political parties groups usually tend to do, however ineffective they may be in reality to accomplish their declared objective singly.

SUC is purely a propagandist platform and temporary instrument for the unification of, all socialist forces it firmly believes that not only the future of socialism but the very attainment of democratic freedom of the Indian people depends mainly on our ability to achieve and cement this Unity-in action.
The only justification of its emergence is the overriding need of this historical epoch to do everything possible to this end.

It shall be therefore content to work for the objective on the basis of Maximum Possible Agreement among the Socialist forces, learn by actual experiences and events and resolve the points of disagreement as far as possible and to leave the apportioning of blames and credits among themselves to the judgment of history.

It shall cease to exist as soon as its objective to build up an effective working class party of its conception is accomplished either by a fusion of different working-class-parties or through the process of unification of socialist forces. In that eventuality, it shall merge in it.

**PROGRAMME OF THE SUC Shall be:**

(a) To open socialist institutes, labour research centres, study circles etc., to propagate its objective and line of action and to equip its members and sympathisers with the actual conditions of our country and the world;

(b) To arrange debates and lectures on important political issues and on the question of democratic and socialist unity and to promote all possible healthy exchange of views among different parties and groups;

(c) To publish journals and periodicals, leaflets, pamphlet and books to promote its object and programme;

(d) To train up a selfless band of class-conscious workers, farmers and declassed members to devote themselves to the cause;

(e) To build up model Trade Unions, Kisan-samities, Cultural centres of students and youths and to work out its plan of a united front on specific issues;

(f) To explore all possibilities to develop a united front of all anti Imperialist forces as the Central Organ for the capture of political power and attainment of democratic freedom by the people of India in close co-operation with Trade Unions and Kisan Samities and other organisations of different sections of the people in consistency with our democratic principles; to promote local United Front organisations for the, purpose of economic and political issues affecting the toiling masses;

(g) To rely mainly on the strength of our class organisations. of workers and peasants and to make them as powerful and extensive on the basis of our ideology and line of action as the conditions would permit;

(h) To organise the vast multitude of landless agricultural workers into a powerful organisation of their own in close co-operation with Kisan Samities and Trade Unions, as they are destined to play an important role in the Social Revolution under the Indian Conditions;

(i) To do everything possible to cement a Closer Socialist Unity in order to achieve a Broader Democratic Unity to over-throw the Imperialist and the Feudal Autocracy and to pave the way to Socialism;
STRATEGY

3. Its strategy shall be based on its objective and efficacy of any organisational tactic shall be judged by the sole test to achieve this unity-in-action. Broadly its strategy shall be

(a) To develop the struggle of workers and peasants in the process of our revolutionary struggle for democratic freedom and complete independence, while maintaining their (class) organisational independence and initiative; or in other words, to harness the forces of class-conscious-workers and peasants as an integral part of the country-wide struggle for democratic revolution till imperialism and feudalism are overthrown; the working class to occupy a position of vantage and power in leading the revolutionary Struggle along with other classes BY REALLY ACTING AS THEIR VANGUARD;

(b) To differentiate the thoroughly reactionary role feudal princes and landlords from the relatively progressive but wavering role of the nationalist-minded industrialists during the national democratic phase and to neutralise and isolate them as a class as effectively as possible so that they may not capture the fruits of the Revolution at any opportune and crucial moment;

(c) To differentiate the most revolutionary role of the working class from the progressive role of all other classes participating in the Democratic Revolution;

(d) To differentiate the progressive role of the landed peasantry rooted in private property with all its traditions from the revolutionary role of the industrial proletariat that has lost much of its stake in land and property and to cement the closest possible alliance of the toilers of the country and the city, of fields and factories;

(e) To differentiate the revolutionary, role of landless agricultural workers and poor peasants from the relatively progressive role of the landed peasantry in respect of democratic revolution;

(f) To differentiate the wavering role of the upper middle class that tends to gravitate towards feudal lords and industrialists as co-sharers in the exploitation of workers and peasants, from the wavering role of the lower middle class elements that tend to gravitate towards the working class because of their being pauperised and coming down to the level of the toilers, and to enlist the support of the latter to the common cause of democratic freedom and socialism under the leadership of the working class;

(g) To conduct the class struggle of workers through their industrial Trade Unions on economic issues and to make them politically conscious by bringing them actively in the forefront of the political struggle for democratic freedom and to avoid any premature and unnecessary clash with really democratic forces representing other classes so as not to; weaken and disintegrate the forces of democratic revolution;

(h) To conduct the class struggle of the peasantry for their economic betterment and for the final overthrow of feudalism and to develop the struggle on concrete issues in a manner so as to leave no alternative to the nationalist forces but to support or oppose the local struggle and the process of the agrarian revolution which is an integral and vital part of the democratic revolution;

XLIV
(i) To broaden and deepen the basis of the democratic revolution by advocating inclusion on vital economic demands of workers and peasants and declassed elements in 'course of the actual struggle for the capture of power on vital issues.

Adopted by the P. E. C. of the S. U. C. 1st May 1946.

Publisher’s Note: Published by Com. Tribeni Bardhan

From 32/B, Jhamapukur Lane, Calcutta