APPENDIX: 2a- RSP Document

The Anushilan programme of 1937

OUR STAND

Party name.- We retain our party name Anushilan. We stand by it (of course we are conscious about the questions of changing party name with new changed ideology. So we maintain that if that name hampers the growth of party on All-India basis and further if it is found to be expedient to change the name, we should give more serious consideration to it and try to reach a unanimous decision. We discussed this point and found that majority would not stick to silly dogmatism opposing change. Rather we are optimistic over it. So, otherwise decided by all, we stick to that name)

(2) Ideology.- We accept scientific Socialism as our ideology.

(a) By scientific socialism, we mean socialism as explained by Marx and Engels. It involves the acceptance of (i) Materialistic Interpretation of History, (ii) Class struggle, and (iii) Surplus theory of value

(b) We accept the full implications of scientific socialism including its full logical conclusion. This includes acceptance of classless society; abolition of private property; withering away of the State Dictatorship of the Proletariat, etc.

(c) We accept Marxism fully and as such declare ourselves as Marxists

d) We maintain, scientific socialism has very little difference with Communism, except on some historical, technical and academical points. We have nothing to say against Communism, but we do not declare ourselves as Communists. (We maintain is only a question of nomenclature. If occasion needs it the point would be settled in future by us all.)

(3) Method. - To achieve the goal, our method is Armed Mass Revolution. Organised mass insurrections may be necessary steps leading to the final blow. (Let this be understood, but we do not believe in the efficiency of terrorism as a method to realise that goal-nor do we accept the principles of Intelligentsia Insurrection.)

(4) Programme. To materialise our goal we decide to act as follows :- (a) To organise peasants, (b) to organise Labour and make them class-conscious, (c) to organise Militia, (d) to preach through party paper and make propaganda, (e) to organise students and youths (details not mentioned here. It is to be worked out according to circumstances by the Executive)

(5) Immediate objective. Having the establishment of a classless society as our goal, our immediate objective is the seizure of State power by the party and immediate establishment of a Socialist Republic (so far about theoretical side -of course in brief-excluding all details of full clarifications. As regards, practical side details depend on the objective conditions and on dynamic leadership. Subjective to that condition, we set forth below a rough sketch, avoiding reasons for arguments. Because space and opportunity do not allow it. We give our considered view. The Executive must have the right to change the tactics according to circumstances)
(6) Strategy. -Imperialism has given rise to two problems here - firstly, National Revolution or question of National Independence; secondly, the question of Social Revolution which is now manifesting itself as the demand for Socialism. But the questions are vital. This peculiar condition here necessitates the formation of "Anti-Imperialist Front" by Congress and the Radicals have raised the cry for "United Front"

(a) We admit the necessity of creating a United Front (United Front is not merging. It is a front of two or three groups having identical or like ideas with a view to working out an agreed programme against a common enemy). We must have the leadership in the Front, must have a separate existence. Leadership to be taken by eliminating the vacillating reactionaries Rightists and the dogmatists. It is to be done by an organisation for struggle and preaching of our ideology.

The programme to be chalked out from time to time on the basis of our programme.

(b) We remain united solid through our party name and ideology. In the United Front, we represent our party and we are there only to carry out the party mandate, carrying out the programme there and thus eliminating others by our dynamism we take the leadership.

(c) We decide to take an open stand to carry out work to establish party leadership over the masses. Secret work to be carried on secretly.

(7) Tactics. -Before we are in a position to take open stand with an open name, we decide to work through those platforms which are somewhat similar or the like as our own ideology. It is simply tactics.

(a) We are willing to make alliance with Radical Group including Communists, but before so doing we must thin seriously.

(b) We do not know much about the Communists. But this we know that Communists and non-Communists are at daggers drawn. While they are fighting and allowing them to fight out, we like to wait and take the opportunity afterwards; so for the present we are of opinion to stand independent in the United Front.

(c) We decide to utilise the platform of Congress Socialists and have leadership over it. Some must go there at the earliest opportunity. Its branches may be opened in every district by our comrades. Bengal's Congress Socialist Party's leadership must be in our hand.

(d) We decide to work in through (i) Trade Union Congress; (ii) All-India Peasant Conference; (iii) All-India Student Organisation to carry our work. These being All-India bodies and having some reputation it would not be wise to start rival organisations.

(e) We decide to work through these All-India organisations by creating "cells" of our own within them.

(f) Before we have a party label and before we can do that we decide to send our party men there. They are to make them prominent there and preach party ideas.

(8) Party must be thoroughly reorganised to conduct the above tactics and coordinate the different branches.

(9) Starting of a weekly paper is urgent. It must be at once.
(10) We do not believe in a federated party. We must have a centralised Unitary Party, without sacrificing the principles of unitary centralisation the party should be the democratically broad basis.

(Excerpts from Note on the Policy and Activities of the Terrorist Parties in Bengal from 1937 to August 1939 prepared in 1940 by the IB, CID)