

## ANDHRA THESIS

What is the precise nature of our revolution? Regarding this there were a number of arguments and different view-points that had appeared in the course of our discussions. Some comrades had contended that the nature of our revolution is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. Some others argued that it is not only anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, but also anti-capitalist. Now it has been made clear that it is totally wrong to characterise it as "anti-capitalist" also, but it is only anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. In this connection we have to admit that those who argued that it is only anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution also had not been able to draw the full conclusions from it and many erroneous conceptions prevailed as a result of which many wrong and ultra-leftist slogans and programmes of action have come out. What are these erroneous conceptions and how to correct them? Let us first see what we mean by anti-imperialist revolution.

In the programme it has been stated that we have to fight against British Imperialism for our complete national independence. I hear that some comrades who have not fully grasped this point have run into some amazing conclusions and have gone to the extent of saying that the present programme must have been written by Dulles because American Imperialism, *the chief enemy of the world proletariat* is not brought out in the programme as *the Chief Enemy of our national Independence*. It is quite natural to get such wild reactions in the background of run-riot inter-Party discussion and the wrong education and erroneous political understanding so far prevailed on this issue.

Some time after the Second Party Congress we altogether forgot about the role of imperialism as a force that is gripping our national economy and enslaving it, barring all our national progress. In our agitation and propaganda the fire against Imperialism was almost absent. When it was brought by some comrades to the notice of the then existing PB, it, instead of correcting it, had advanced another totally wrong formula that "freedom means not from this or that imperialism only but impe-

rialism in general, that is world imperialism, etc.," thereby submerging the specific in the general, blurring the vision and direction of the entire force of attack. After the LPPD editorial and subsequent discussions, when imperialism has again been brought into the picture as the enemy of our national independence, the pattern has become to talk of Anglo-American Imperialism, that is both imperialisms clubbed together as the enemies of our national independence and enslavers of our people.

The present discussions reveal that this view is also defective and wrong. You will naturally ask me why it is so. It is so because (a) it is unreal and factually incorrect to talk of American imperialism as the American capital does not form more than 3-4% of foreign capital investments in India; (b) it is so because it is British imperialism that has directly ruled over us for the last 200 years and is still keeping us in its grip (i.e. economically direct and politically indirect even today;) more than 80% of the foreign capital in India belongs to the British; (c) it is so since that when we are demanding complete national independence, we are demanding secession from the British Commonwealth of which our country has been forced to be a member and not from the United States of America; (d) it is also wrong to talk of general anti-imperialist fight without specifying the particular imperialism that is dominating over our country as this outlook, if logically extended, leads us on the verge of erroneous conclusions of the Trotskyite school of thought which advocate world revolution against world imperialism, i.e. the theory of permanent revolution; (e) it is totally wrong to talk of general anti-imperialism because this view point refuses to take note of the advancement of the revolution.

We know that the present Anglo-American contradictions are the chief inner imperialist contradictions of the day. This contradiction manifests itself not only in the international arena in general but has also its specific expression in our own country. America is trying to elbow out the British from their dominant position in the market. Britain and the native interests that are closely allied with her are vitally interested in opposing all such attempts in their own way. That is how the Anglo-American contradiction is expressing itself in our country. Instead of utilising this contradiction for the benefit of the advancement of the revolutionary movement, if we club both imperialists together

and declare both of them simultaneously and equally our national enemies to be fought out and liquidated, it not only becomes unreal but also lands us in the stand of "fight all the enemies of the Proletariat at one stroke" instead of fighting them one after another in its own turn. It also conjectively amounts, at this stage, to fighting the battles of English imperialists against America.

All this brings before us one salient point, namely that British imperialism is the chief enemy of our national progress and therefore of our national independence. It is British imperialism that has allied itself with the native feudal interests and is defending the feudal order, barring all roads to prosperity and advancement; it is British imperialism that has allied itself with a section of the national bourgeoisie and defends the rotten colonial order; it is British capital that grips our national economy and impedes our national industries and bars national progress; it is British imperialism that has drawn to its side a section of the national big bourgeoisie and with their help tied us to the chariot of the British Commonwealth. So when we talk of anti-imperialist revolution it specifically means, in the present set-up a fight against British imperialism for national independence and freedom, but not against Anglo-American imperialism or world imperialism in general.

Now, comrades raise the questions: Is not American imperialism the spearhead of reaction and the chief enemy of the Soviet Union, People's China and other People's Democratic States? Is not American imperialism hatching conspiracies against communist parties throughout the world, our party being no exception? Is not American imperialism trying to penetrate into our country and exploit and enslave us? When such are the facts are we not to fight American imperialism as well? These are all very pertinent questions and we have to answer them correctly. Our party, as the vanguard detachment of the Indian working class which is a part of the world working class has to fight against American imperialism. This is our inviolable international obligation or rather a revolutionary duty on our part. We, as a party of the working class, as a part of the world working class have our national and international duties to discharge. Internationally speaking, America is the spearhead of world reaction as the main enemy of Peace and Freedom for all the people.

We, situated as we are in a country under a particular State, have some concrete tasks to perform. The chief enemy of our national freedom today is British imperialism. When we have to fight for the complete freedom of our own territory the fight will be against British imperialism. It is our national enemy. America figures as our international enemy. We should neither forget our task of fighting British imperialism nor absolve ourselves of our international responsibilities of exposing and isolating American imperialism. It will be also wrong to deduce syllogisms of formal logic, asserting that:—

our international enemy is also our national enemy,  
the chief international enemy is American imperialism,  
therefore our fight for freedom is against American imperialism.

This does not take us anywhere near the truth or the success of our fight for freedom.

American imperialism has to be thoroughly exposed and all its reactionary ideological propaganda has to be constantly laid before the people and rouse them to the consciousness of fighting these conspiracies, the war manoeuvres of American imperialism and thus prevent our country from being drawn into the whirlpool of war on behalf of the American imperialism against the world peoples' camp.

If we forget the concrete question of British imperialism and the concrete task of fighting it for our national freedom and only indulge in general talk of fighting Anglo-American imperialism we reduce ourselves to the position of tall-talkers and fail to mobilise the people for the struggle for complete national independence from British imperialism.

If we ignore the task of exposing and isolating American imperialism as the chief enemy of the world people and world peace and confine ourselves to the narrow shell of our fight against British imperialism, we again reduce ourselves to the position of bourgeois nationalists.

We have one national enemy and a separate international enemy. The struggle against one particular national enemy for our national freedom is not in contradiction with the fight against another international enemy though the nature of the fight varies. Bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois internationalism are two irreconcilable conceptions because of the very

inherent contradictory nature of the bourgeois class and their interests. The bourgeois class, in the final analysis, never considers either nationalism or internationalism as sacrosanct. For them everything is subserving to their class domination and class exploitation.

For the proletariat it is not so. The proletariat can afford to be the real defender of itself, that is of its national interest, as well as of the international interest of the people because it stands against all exploitation.

Earlier, when we had to face a similar situation i.e. of facing one international enemy in the form of German Fascists and another separate national enemy in the form of British imperialism, we could not co-ordinate the struggle against both correctly. For some time we argued that the main question for us was our national freedom and therefore we could not bother about the international enemy. Later, when we realised and woke up to the danger of the international enemy, we had almost neglected, ignored and sidetracked our fight against the national enemy. I am referring here to the period of the anti-fascist war. The present correction not only restores us the clear perspective of the nature of our anti-imperialist struggle at the present state, but also goes a long way in correcting our very erroneous outlook on the problem which has been persisting since a very long time. Lastly, before I conclude, let me remind you of the inner imperialist contradictions and how they were utilised by the CPSU (B) and the CPC. Take for instance the Treaty of Brest Litovsk and the non-aggression pact of the USSR (1939) etc. Similarly our Chinese comrades had also applied the Marxist theory of inner imperialist contradictions to their struggle for freedom and national independence. They concentrated against the chief imperialist enemy of their freedom which was for some time the Anglo-French bloc, later Japanese imperialism and subsequently now American imperialism. As a matter of fact, even though Britain has the territory of Hongkong under its control, they (China) now do not talk of liquidating British imperialism along with American imperialism etc. If today British imperialism feels that the Chinese Republic is soft toward them and therefore it is time to make use of the Chinese difficulties for its own ends and slackens its attack on Chinese Republic, it is all for the good because in the long run it is not

British imperialism that is going to gain by the present Chinese attitude towards it, but on the contrary, after eliminating the present menace of American imperialism the Chinese Republic will eventually direct its attention against British imperialist positions. In our case also, if American imperialism thinks that our Party and our class is not so much hostile to their penetration into India and we are not concentrating fire on American plans swallowing British interests, let them think so and our revolution is not at all going to suffer thereby. At present it remains as an Anglo-American conflict. It is none of our business to take sides. It is also none of our business to encourage either. If in the course of these Anglo-American conflicts and contradictions America elbows out the British from India and becomes dominant and if in the meanwhile we would not be able to achieve full independence and if America then remains our chief national enemy, it will be our task to concentrate our main fight against American imperialism. This understanding is nothing new to Marxism-Leninism though we are learning it for the first time in all its implications. As a matter of fact, Lenin's thesis on imperialism is the basic document where this point of view has been dealt with at length. It is basing on this thesis that the revolutionary movements have been working out their tactics and strategy. *Let us imbibe this and never again derail and deviate from this.* Now it will be clear for you all why in our programme we concentrate fire on British imperialism and figure it as the chief and immediate enemy of our national freedom and stop talking of Anglo-American imperialism in a general way, as we have been doing till now.