

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

To the Enslaved and Oppressed Peasants of India.

The revolutionary workers of the whole world send fraternal greetings to the toiling and exploited peasants of India, who are rising up in a revolutionary struggle against their oppressors—the British imperialists, the Indian landlords and the capitalists allied with them.

The life of the Indian peasantry is filled with bitterness, want and the wretchedness of a serfdom bordering on slavery. With the help of the gallows, the prisons and the army, the British imperialists strangle and rob, while their chief supporters, the landlords and the usurers, suck the blood of the working masses, and following in their footsteps come the British capitalists, all of whom are together attempting to demolish the toiling masses of India.

Even during the last century the exploited peasantry of India mercilessly raised in Decan the banner of revolt against their exploiters. During the past years the number of local and isolated uprisings has increased. The toiling masses have not forgotten the Moplah uprising. But now the peasants of Burma have been carrying on for eight months an armed insurgent struggle against the imperialists and local exploiters. Following their example the oppressed peasantry of Kashmir, suffering from the domination of a feudal prince, landlords, usurers and imperialists, are also in revolt. Why is it that the uprisings in Moplah and elsewhere, and the struggle of the peasants in the United Provinces, Punjab (Akali), Bengal (Kishoreganj), Madras and other regions were put down, and why is it that the peasantry has not succeeded in gaining even slight improvements?

The peasant risings were put down because they were uprisings of unorganised masses, uprisings without definite **clear political** demands, that is, without demanding the complete overthrow of the yoke of imperialism and without demanding the confiscation of all the land of the landlords and usurers, and a change in the **governmental** structure. The peasant uprisings were put down because they were not organised and **not prepared in advance**. They were put down because the proletarians and toiling masses of the rural districts were not yet allied with the proletarians of the towns. These are the reasons why the peasants did not succeed. A successful struggle of the peasantry requires a close alliance with the revolutionary workers in the towns. In order to succeed it must be consciously revolutionary, prepared in advance and extended throughout all India.

In 1919—22 the peasant masses launched a struggle. But the bourgeois National Congress, which had the confidence of the toiling masses, betrayed them and disorganised them because the peasants were beginning to avenge themselves on the landlords and usurers and ally themselves with the workers in a real fight against the police and against the imperialists. Owing to the betrayal of the National Congress the peasants and workers suffered defeat. The Congress non-violence agitation is nothing else but direct help on their part to the British imperialists and has the purpose to prevent, to disorganise revolutionary struggle of the peasantry for independence and land.

In 1930—31 the toiling masses, desperate and worn out with suffering, rose up once more against national injustice and slavery conditions. And again the bourgeois National Congress, headed by Gandhi, Nehru, Bose, Abdul-Caphar-Han, combating the peoples' revolution is once more attempting to help the British plunderers crush the workers and peasants of India and, disguising themselves in pseudo-radical phrases, to avert the peoples' revolution for independence, land and a workers' and peasants' government. The bourgeois National Congress in fact assisted the British imperialist robbers to collect rent and taxes in U.P., Gujerat and elsewhere.

The toiling masses of India have reached the point where they cannot endure this suffering any longer. The workers and peasants do not want to die from serfdom without protest and without resistance, but the peasant masses of India must understand and apply the lessons of the last struggle. The peasant uprisings so far have been put down because the bulk

of the peasantry, instead of recognising the traitorous bourgeois nature of the National Congress and the falseness of its promises, has followed it. Even today, instead of preparing for struggle hand in hand with the working class, in many districts, at the **treacherous advice** of the National Congress, it is continuing to meekly put up with the serfdom of the feudal lords and landowners and the power of the imperialists.

The time has now come to **choose: either** go along with the National Congress and its agents in the workers' and peasants' movement and remain enslaved, deprived of rights, hungry, landless, in debt, and again toiling in servitude, **or** carry on a struggle against all exploiters, against the imperialists, landlords, usurers and their allies—the Indian bourgeoisie, which is in control of the National Congress, and take a firm and decided stand together with the working class for the abolition of slavery and serfdom.

The advanced conscious industrial workers, rising up against capitalist wage slavery in the factories have at the same time shown themselves to be the most self-denying and determined fighters for the cause of the peoples' revolution against imperialism, against the landlords, princes and usurers.

The city workers of India have begun a new and tremendous struggle of all the poor against all the rich. The city workers in Bombay, Calcutta and other cities have begun to rally together in the Communist Party and, in spite of inexperience, great obstacles and numerous mistakes, are carrying on their struggles stubbornly, steadfastly and unitedly, setting an example to all the workers in the towns and villages of how to defend their interests. Proceeding step by step, preparing and clearing the way for the great and final struggle, the workers, headed by the Communists, are demanding independence and freedom for the whole nation. The Communist Party of India has come out with its platform of action, which represents the interests of all workers and toiling peasants. The doctrine of the Communists is the doctrine of struggle against all oppression, against all plunder, against all forms of injustice. A person is a real Communist only if he knows the reasons for class oppression and **devotes his whole life to struggle against every form of oppression.**

In its programme of action, the Communist Party of India has come out for the interests, not only of the working class, but of the peasantry, for the interests of the toiling masses, demanding the complete state independence of India, the abolishment of the feudal-landlord system of land tenure and all forms of feudalism, the transfer of all land to the peasantry, complete and gratuitous cancellation of all indebtedness and all extortions and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' Soviet government.

Every conscious worker and peasant must gather around him the most hopeful and courageous of his comrades. He must attempt to explain to them what the Communists want, so that they understand what kind of a struggle to carry on and what demands to put forward. And then they, too, will understand that previous **preparations** for the struggle must be carried on in advance stubbornly and steadfastly, and that these preparations must be made not alone, but together with the city workers—with the Communists. The poor peasants must understand by this that the final victory depends on whether or not an **alliance** is established between the poor peasantry and the city workers—Communists, for the struggle against imperialism and the whole national bourgeoisie. The sooner **this** alliance is extended and consolidated, the sooner will the middle peasantry understand the falseness of bourgeois promises and the sooner will the middle peasantry stand side by side with the proletariat and the Indian revolution.

In the struggle for independence and the abolishment of the serfdom maintained by the landlords and usurers, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab, the revolutionary organisation of the Punjab peasants, is carrying on today an honest struggle in defence of the interests of the exploited population. This distinguishes it from the number of other workers' and peasants' parties established by the "left" national reformists of the type of Kandalkar, Brij Narayan, Roy and others, which have set themselves the task of disorganising the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses and of maintaining the influence and leadership of the bourgeoisie in the National Congress. In the National movement the struggle is being carried on and must be carried on for a clear-cut demarcation of forces between the revolutionary camp and the counter-revolutionary camp: for or against independence, for or against the interests of the workers and

peasants, for or against the National Congress, for or against the Communists, for or against the revolution. Such clarity will strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The future of India depends on how far and how speedily the bourgeois National Congress is **unmasked** before the eyes of the toiling masses, and the **determination** with which the revolutionary workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party prepare and organise the toiling masses for the struggle against the existing order and foreign rule.

This is the revolutionary duty of the genuinely revolutionary groups and organisations in the peasant movement. These groups and organisations are correct when they transfer the **centre of gravity** of their work to the task of pointing out to the great masses of peasantry the traitorous bourgeois nature of the National Congress. They are correct when they call upon the peasantry to organise independently, separate from and **against** the National Congress, and to stand side by side with the Communist workers in the towns against the imperialists and all exploiters. They are correct when, in their struggles for the various local demands of the peasants, they carry on widespread propaganda in favour of the general slogans for anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, and when they persistently and systematically teach the peasants and prepare them for the decisive and final struggle for the abolishment of the regime of the landlords and imperialists and the establishment of an independent workers' and peasants' India. They are correct when they organise the peasantry and above all, the agricultural labourers, regularly calling local and peasant conferences and organising peasant committees elected on a broad basis to carry on the various struggles and systematically prepare the great masses of peasants to come out in defence of their basic demands.

At the present time the struggle for independence and the abolishment of the serfdom maintained by the feudal lords, landholders and usurers calls for preparation and development of the proletariat, the Communist Party, will be formed and peasantry. This means that the struggle should be organised and given a conscious character, unmasking the bourgeoisie of the National Congress, with all its pseudo-left groupings disguised in "socialist" phrases, and calls for strong militant alliance between the peasantry and the Communist workers in the towns. Such an alliance is the only guarantee of the victory of the workers and peasants, the victory of the Indian revolution. This struggle calls for the awakening of the toiling masses everywhere, throughout the country, building and helping to build all kinds of local legal and semi-legal revolutionary organisations and directing their activities in the channel of genuine class struggle.

It is in this daily struggle and in this movement that the leader of the Indian revolution, the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, will be formed and will grow. It is in this struggle that the militant alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class will be consolidated.

The day will soon come when the working population in the towns will rise up, not only to march fearlessly through the streets shouting revolutionary slogans: "Down with Imperialism!" and "Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Republic!", but will rise up for the great and final struggle when the working masses will say: "We will die in the struggle or win our freedom", when, in place of the hundreds of killed and wounded in the struggle, thousands of new and determined fighters will rise up. And the peasantry will then arise, will arise throughout all India, and will go to the aid of the workers in the towns and fight to the end for the freedom of the peasants and workers. No hordes of imperialism will hold out against them. The working population will conquer in India just as it conquered in Russia fifteen years ago, and the Indian workers will follow the broad road of liberation of all the toilers of India from every form of oppression. The working class, together with the basic masses of the toiling peasantry, will utilise its freedom to proceed towards socialism in alliance with the proletariat of the world.

We call upon the workers' and peasants' revolutionary organisations to direct all their energies to this end.

Long live the independence of India! Long live the workers' and peasants' revolution for independence, land and power! Long live the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the C.P.! Long live the world revolution!

**The Chinese Section of the Anti-Imperialist League.
The Japanese Section of the Anti-Imperialist League.**