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The United States is not prepared to look on while Japan alone derives benefit from the plundering of China. It also wants to have a share in the booty—and a big share at that. It has therefore addressed a Note to Japan and also to China.

But France and Great Britain refuse to join in the action taken by the United States. French imperialism is taking advantage of the antagonism between Japan and the United States in order to increase the understanding between France, Japan, and Great Britain, which is not only necessary to them for the common fight against the colonial revolts in British India and Indo-China, but also for France's fight for hegemony in Europe and the further enslavement of the working masses in Germany.

But the fight against the land of Socialism, the necessity of the capitalist Powers, who are in the midst of a crisis, to make an attempt to crush the workers' State which is rapidly building up Socialism, must cause the imperialists to sink their differences for the moment in order to realise the united front of the declining capitalist world against the rising socialist world. In this task French imperialism plays the leading role.

INDIA

The Old and the New in India's Struggle for Freedom.

By B. Saunders (London).

The revolutionary gale is once more sweeping the Indian continent. In the United Provinces more than 1,000 villages have decided not to pay the rent to the zemindars. The peasant movement is spreading farther to the Punjab in the North and to Bengal in the South. In the North-Western Frontier province the Red Shirts arouse the tribes against their chieftains—the nominees of British imperialism. In Bengal the students have taken to the bomb with such a zeal that during the last two months the killing of British officials became an almost daily phenomenon. Sporadic workers' strikes have broken out in a number of cities. Open battles with the imperialist police and military are reported from Peshawar, Chittagong, Bombay...

The imperialist executions have run amok. For months past the European Association of British capitalists in India which in that country takes the place of the so-called "public opinion" elsewhere, has been shouting for blood. Lord Reading admitted in the House of Lords that the Indian Government was discussing last year the "policy" of making a desert out of India. It is this "policy" that is now put into action.

"To make a desert out of India"—this is the motto of MacDonald's National Government, and the British rulers of India, stained with the blood of the toiling masses, are as good as their word. The policy of suppression is being carried out on a truly grand fashion, on a Himalayan scale. Mass shootings, pacification, military executions, are the methods of their struggle with the masses. The masses, under the leadership of the Congress, are rising up against the yoke of foreign rule. The peasant movement is spreading farther, the workers' struggle is becoming more and more general.

The bourgeoisie National Congress is again embarking on its old game. The Congress has declared for civil disobedience. Patel, its president, has promised this time it will be "a war to a finish". Gandhi, its leader, has been arrested in the company of his God and the spinning wheel. All this looks like a tedious repetition of an old familiar tale.

But history does not repeat itself. The Indian masses on the back of which the Congress carries out its policy of sham fights and actual surrenders, are already different from the masses two years ago who were confidently making salt from sea-water. The masses have learnt much and are learning every day more about the treacherous role of the bourgeoisie's "leaders".

"It is, i.e. the Congress' service and its challenge", writes the "Liberty" with pride: "have led the Government out of many a madventure... It was Congress..."
For the moment relations between Japan and the United States are very much strained owing to their dispute over the partition of China. The United States is not prepared to look on while Japan alone derives benefit from the plundering of China. It also wants to have a share in the boot— and a big share at that. It has therefore addressed a Note to Japan and also to China. But France and Great Britain refuse to join in the action taken by the United States. French imperialism is taking advantage of the antagonism between Japan and the United States in order to increase the understanding between France, Japan and Great Britain, which is not only necessary to them for the common fight against the colonial revolts in British India and Indo-China, but also for France's fight for hegemony in Europe and the further enslavement of the working masses in Germany.

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"To make a desert out of India!"—this is the motto of MacDonald's National Government. And the British rulers of India, stained with the blood of the toiling masses, are as good as their word. The policy of suppression is being carried out on a truly grand fashion, on a Himalayan scale. Mass shootings, mass imprisonments, military parades through the villages, Martial Law all over the country—this is something unheard of in the eventful years of 1919-21.

The bourgeois National Congress is again embarking on its old game. The Congress has declared for civil disobedience. Patel, its president, has promised this time it will be "a war to a finish". Gandhi is the only pretender, the only prisoner, in the company of his God and the spinning wheel. All this looks like a tedious repetition of an old familiar tale.

But history does not repeat itself. The Indian masses on the back of which the Congress carries out its policy of sham fights and actual surrenders, are already different from the masses that two years ago were contentedly making salt from sea-water. The masses have learnt much and are learning every day more about the treacherous role of the bourgeoisie's nationalists.

"Its, i.e. the Congress' service and its challenge" writes the "Liberty" with pride: "have led the Government out of many a misadventure... It was Congress that rallied India in a day and made the Delhi Pact. It was Congress that suspended its considered conviction in the interests of peace when it deputed Mahatma Gandhi to the Round Table Conference, Congress in the person of Mahatma Gandhi laboured and negotiated and compromised..."

Yes, it was the Congress that compromised India's struggle for freedom! There can be no doubt but that the Indian masses have assimilated this experience. And if the Congress now declares civil disobedience without going through all the intermediate stages of Gandhi's prayers to God and the Vice-roy, without spectacular marches to the sea like in the year 1919, when it took Gandhi 11 months to start the campaign denouncing the Lahore Congress, it is because the bourgeoisie nationalists know that the masses have changed, and will no more put up with dilatory tactics.

To be sure, the Indian workers and peasants who now enter the anti-imperialist struggle have not yet drawn all the necessary conclusions from their bitter experience with the counter-revolutionary Congress. This, the Indian Communist Party must help them to do. To bring out before the masses the history of the Congress betrayals past and present, in its proper light is the supreme task of the moment. This can be done only on the basis of organising the masses in the present fight with the help of the new development. This task of the Indian communists is much easier now than it was two years ago. For the treachery of the Congress to the cause of India's freedom is as old as the Congress itself. But the Indian masses are being reborn in the fire of the struggle. Under revolutionary guidance they will achieve victory.


The Vice-roy has granted interviews to a number of Indian Liberal leaders who attended the Round Table Conference with a view to arranging for the smooth working of the Round Table committee which are nearly due to assemble in India. At the same time the whole position is being reviewed by the Imperialists and their lackeys. The London "Daily Telegraph" reports that proposals for the calling off of civil disobedience had been prepared by Mr. Jayakar, the Moderate leader who supported Gandhi's arrest and had been shown to him. Saya the Telegraph".

"The Moderate leaders had drawn up compromise proposals which they placed before Mr. Gandhi... He yielded to the Moderate's pressure stating that he had no objection to the proposals being laid before the Viceroy by Mr. Gandhi.

At Cawnpore a number of boys and girls 14 and 15 years of age, have been arrested and charged with circulating leaflets on the N.Rent campaign. Their parents have been summarily fined. The salt laws were broken to-day at Karachi, where a number of Indians in defiance of the Government proclamation, marched to the seashore and made salt. This was later sold at a public meeting.

The Calcutta Corporation has decided by a majority vote to suspend its sitting as a "protest against the reactionary and repressive policy of the Government".

In Ahmedabad the City Council has decided to buy no British goods until further notice. In both Councils the only Councillors to vote against these measures were the appointed European members.

Dr. Ansari, the acting President of Congress, has been arrested. He is the third successive president taken into custody this week. Ten prominent Poonawalla lawyers were arrested to-day while attending the civil court there to defend the prisoners in a conspiracy case.

January 13 is the anniversary of the hanging of a number of Indians in connection with the death of a number of police in fighting in Sholapur. The Government has declared that on that day a parade of British troops with flags flying and bands playing shall be organised in that city. A machine gun company is to remain in the city while the battalion marches through the surrounding district "showing the flag".


During the last six days 4,000 persons were arrested in the North West Frontier Province; nevertheless the Red Shirts continue to display great activity.
When yesterday the Congress men arrived at Bombay Common in order to celebrate the weekly salutation of the flag which is now prohibited, they found large numbers of troopers at the parade ground. A large crowd watched the demonstrative hoisting of the Union Jack, the line of inspection and the march past. In the middle of the proceedings, a man bearing the tricolour of the Congress, broke through the ranks marching straight to the salute and amid great cheers fell dead. The man was at once arrested and the crowd dispersed by the troopers.

An armed crowd 12,000 strong besieged the police station at Srinagar yesterday and released three peasants who had been arrested. 28 persons were injured last night in Karachi as a result of a police charge with lathis following a meeting. Gandhi's wife has been arrested in Bardoli.

**CHINA**


Adopted at the First All-Chinese Soviet Congress on November 7, 1931.

The first All-Chinese Soviet Congress proclaims before the toiling masses of China and of the whole world the fundamental lines of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic. It regards the realization of this Constitution in the whole of China as its fundamental task.

In the existing Soviet districts a commencement has already been made to carry out these tasks. But the first All-Chinese Soviet Congress recognizes that it will be possible to carry out completely the Constitution only after the final overthrow of the ruling power of imperialism and of the Kuomintang in the whole of China, only after the setting up of the rule of the All-Chinese Soviet Republic, and that the Constitution can then be made more concrete and become a complete Constitution of the whole Soviet Republic.

The first All-Chinese Soviet Congress calls upon the workers, peasants and the toiling masses of the whole of China, to fight under the leadership of the Provisional government of the Soviet Republic of China for their central tasks, the realization of the following Constitution:

1. The task of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic is to establish the fundamental power of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the Chinese Soviet districts and its final establishment in the whole of China. The aim of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry is to destroy all the national剥削制度, to obliterate the bourgeois classes and of the population, to unite the whole country, systematically to restrict the development of capitalism, to develop State economy, to promote the class-consciousness and the organisation of the proletariat, and to rally the broad masses of the poor peasants round the proletariat until the going over to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The Chinese Soviet Power is establishing a State based on the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The whole power of the Soviets belongs to the workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses. Under the Soviet Power, all workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses have the right to elect delegates, who exercise political power. On the other hand, the capitalists, landowners, gentry, militarists, reactionary officials, big peasants, monks and nuns, all exploiting and counter-revolutionary elements are deprived of the right to elect delegates or to a share in political power, and they enjoy no political liberties.

3. The supreme power of the Chinese Soviet Republic is the Congress of the All-Chinese Workers, Peasants' and Soldiers' deputies (Soviets). After the conclusion of the Congress, the highest organ of power, is the All-Chinese Soviet Central Executive Committee of the All-Chinese Soviets, to which is subordinated the Peoples Commissariat for the conducting of government affairs, the promulgation of laws, directions and decisions.

4. In the Soviet districts the workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the working masses as well as the members of their families, without distinction of sex, race (Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moghomedans etc. and the Koreans, Formosans and Indo-Chinese living in China), and religion are all equal in the eyes of the Soviet law; they have the right to be elected to the Soviets.

5. The aim of the Soviet Power is to improve fundamentally the standard of life of the working class, to enact laws for the protection of labour, to carry out the eight-hour working day, to fix a minimum wage, to establish social insurance and State benefit for the unemployed, to assure the right to control production by the workers.

6. Another aim of the Chinese Soviet power is to destroy feudalism, fundamentally to improve the standard of living of the peasants, to issue a law for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners and its distribution among the poor and middle peasants, and finally to carry out the nationalisation of the land.

7. Further, the Chinese Soviet Power has set itself the aim to safeguard the interests of the workers and peasants, to restrict the development of capitalism, to free the working masses from exploitation by capitalism and to lead them on the path to the socialist society. It proclaims the abolition of all the onerous taxes and duties imposed by the former Capitalists and the Soviet nationalisation of the land through a progressive tax. It energetically suppresses all secret plans for disintegration and sabotage by the native and foreign capitalists; it conducts an economic policy advantageous to the working and peasant masses and leading to Socialism. To this end the Chinese Soviet Power pursues the aim of freeing China completely from the yoke of imperialism. It proclaims the complete independence of the Chinese people, the non-recognition of the political and economic privileges of the imperialists in China, the annulment of all unequal treaties concluded between China and the revolutionary Chinese government and the imperialists and the cancellation of the foreign loans. The imperialists are forbidden to maintain land, naval and air forces in the Soviet districts; the concession and leased areas of the imperialists in China are unconditionally taken back. The banks, customs houses, police, army, post and telegraph office shall belong to the Chinese people nationalised. For the time being the foreign employers are permitted to conclude a rent agreement for various undertakings and to continue production on condition that they submit completely to the laws of the Soviet government.

8. The Chinese Soviet Power pursues the aim to develop and to secure the workers and peasants revolution until its final victory throughout the whole of China. It declares that participation in the revolutionary class struggle is the duty of all the working masses. Military service will at first be voluntary, but will then be made compulsory. Only the workers and toiling peasants have the right to possess weapons and to take part in the class war; all counter-revolutionary exploiting elements, however, are completely disarmed.

9. The Chinese Soviet power secures to the workers, peasants and toilers freedom of speech, press, meeting and combination; it is against the democracy of the bourgeoisie and landlords but for the freedom of the workers and peasants. It destroys the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and the landowners in order to abolish all oppression of the freedom of the workers and peasants existing during the rule of reaction. The printing works (newspaper offices, publishing houses etc.), meeting halls, and other institutions are placed at the disposal of the workers, peasants and toiling masses for their use in order to secure the material