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**Manifesto of**  
**The Central Committee**  
**of The**  
**Communist Party of India**  
**on**  
**The New Constitution**

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# Manifesto Of Central Committee Of Communist Party Of India On The New Constitution

The Congress rulers are going to impose their slave Constitution on the people of India from January 26, 1950.

When, in the immediate post-war period, the Indian people rose in a mighty revolt for freedom, the British as well as the Indian capitalists shook in their shoes for fear of losing their opportunity to fleece the people. The Indian capitalist class, through their Congress representatives, sold away the freedom of the country, came to a deal with British imperialism through the Cabinet Mission and Mountbatten Plan and together hatched a conspiracy against the Indian people to jointly rule over them in the interest of the Indo-British capitalist classes. The present Constitution is a product of that conspiracy.

**D**OES the Constitution which is the product of the union between national traitors and imperialist exploiters, guarantee the sovereignty of the Indian nation?

No. It does not. It is not a Constitution embodying the sovereignty of the Indian nation; but its enslavement to the British imperialists and to the new masters, the American exploiters.

It is because of this that the Congress leaders have in full gaze of the people, deleted the word "Independent India" from every part of the Constitution, from the very preamble where they themselves had written three years ago, to deceive the people that India would be an independent republic.

The capitalist agents who forged the Constitution have thus openly declared that it is not a Constitution of a free India, but of a subservient, enslaved India.

The enslaved and subordinate status of India had already been clear when Nehru took India into the British imperialist Commonwealth.

The subordinate status of India to Britain is being proved every day when Nehru's Government dare not take a single step in its foreign policy without British sanction. It dared not recognise the world-shaking events in China, dared not recognise the People's Democratic Government of China till it was permitted by its imperialist masters.

The subordinate status of India was again seen in the continuance of the privileged position of British capital in India; in the fact of Britain's domination over the India Government's economic policies, as seen on the question of Sterling devaluation.

The dependent Government of the "Indian Dominion" was not even consulted on the question of devaluation; it had to meekly accept it and throw additional burdens on the bent backs of its own peoples to satisfy the lust of profits of the Americans and the British.

Not satisfied with the enslavement to the British imperialists, the ruling clique is throwing open India's doors to the American robbers and guaranteeing them full safety for exploitation of the Indian people.

To get a few crumbs from the American capitalists, to get their help for joint exploitation of the Indian people and for propping up their tottering re-

gime, the ruling clique supports the Anglo-American war camp against the Soviet Union, and agrees to act as the imperialist policeman in South-East Asia. The ruling circles treacherously call for American intervention in Kashmir and allow their foreign policy to be determined by the Anglo-American warmongers; they sell India's sovereign right to determine her own foreign policy, and join the anti-Soviet conspiracies.

This policy of national enslavement to the Anglo-American bloc, this growing subservience before American capital, this policy of anti-Soviet war conspiracies is being fully embodied in the Constitution through the assurance given to foreign vested interests, through the assured inviolability of their profits.

The Constitution guarantees to the British and foreign bankers, jute profiteers, tea monopolists, coal bandits—all the profits, properties and industrial and economic power they have accumulated in India by open robbery for centuries; and goes further to promise them, as well as their new Gods, the American imperialists, complete freedom to economically subjugate India—by declaring shamelessly as a *fundamental law* of the Constitution that the people of India will *not* have the right to confiscate the industries and assets owned by any profiteer, past, present or future.

The Constitution goes further in worshipping the vested interests. The debts and interests payable to the Indian and foreign railway bondholders, the profits that the Government guarantees to capitalist concerns like the Industrial Finance Corporation to strengthen capitalist industry and finance, the bonds that the Government may present to the landlords and Princes in the name of compensation, the loans that are taken from American and British financiers to help the industry of the Indian capitalists—all these are guaranteed in the Constitution as the first charges on the revenues of the State, not votable by the Parliament even.

The capitalist Constitution imposes upon the people the permanent compulsion of paying through taxes enormous profits to the Indian and foreign vested interests.

The Constitution thus embodies the national enslavement of India. It is a Constitution which perpetuates the enslavement of the Indian people and under which the people can be used as cannon-fodder in a war against the USSR, against the freedom-loving peoples of Asia, in the interests of Anglo-American imperialists.

Does the Constitution embody the sovereignty of the Indian people, of the toiling millions of India? Does it install the people in authority and enable them to fight their exploiters, those who thrust poverty on them?

It does not. On the contrary it shamelessly embodies the rule of the Indian capitalists, landlords and princes working in collaboration with the imperialists.

Under it the foreign exploiters have got more rights and privileges than the toiling millions of India, than the people of India. It is really a Constitution embodying the freedom of the free-booters—foreign and Indian.

The exploited, the people of India, the workers, peasants, *khet mazdurs*, middle classes, have no right—no right to struggle against their poverty and slavery.

The right to accumulate private property, i.e., the ill-gotten gains of exploitation on the other hand has been securely ensured to the exploiters.

The exploiters, foreign and indigenous, have been given a constitutional guarantee that the State would not take over their property without compensation—a guarantee which only means that there would be no nationalisation of industries in the interests of the people, and that the capitalists would continue to exploit the people unhampered, fortified by a fundamental provision in the Constitution.

This guarantee of compensation does away with the solemn promise of nationalisation and removes all prospects of free economic life for the people, a life free from exploitation and poverty.

It openly announces that the Constitution is designed only to protect the interests of the vested interests.

The Constitution framed by the Nehru-Patel combine is thus a Constitution of the capitalist vested interests. It only assures the Tatas, Birlas and Dalmias security from confiscation of their profits and their industries; it guarantees them the freedom of unhindered exploitation of the working class and the people.

To strengthen their none-too-secure regime the capitalist sponsors of the Indian Constitution have sought an alliance with every reactionary and rotten elements in the Indian society. The Constitution bolstered up the feudal parasites, the Princes, zamindars and jotedars. It denies land to the tillers and protects the feudal interests from confiscation of their estates by the people or the Government.

Parasites like the Nizam and Maharaja Hari Singh are allowed to keep their armies of oppression against peasants; the blood-stained hands of the Rajahs and Nawabs, guilty of the most dastardly crimes against their subjects, are clasped in cordiality by their Congress friends whose Constitution gives them life-long lease of tyranny over the people as Rajpramukhs, Upa-Rajpramukhs, etc., and guarantees them fabulous salaries, pension, zemindary property at the expense of the people.

The Constitution is a constitution for the Indo-foreign vested interests *against* the Indian working class, khet mazdurs and the peasantry, *against* the oppressed middle classes and the progressive intelligentsia, *against* the whole democratic population of the country.

It declares brazenfacedly that the State will have *no* obligation to secure to its

citizens the right to work and to means of livelihood. It unashamedly denies any responsibility for providing the people living wage, unemployment relief, old age pensions or a higher standard of living and nutrition. It cynically denies culture to the people by refusing to accept any enforceable obligation for introducing free primary education.

In short, this hated Constitution gives absolute freedom to the Indo-imperialist profit-sharks to carry on the most inhuman and brutal exploitation of the people and condemns Indian humanity to the permanent agony of unbearable poverty, vast unemployment, unredeemable illiteracy, chronic famines and unmitigated devastation by disease and pestilence.

The Constitution denies to the workers and employees the most elementary right of forming trade unions by keeping in the Executive's hands the unbridled power of declaring any organisation illegal without the need of any proof or evidence, the right to strike and picket has been denied.

Freedom of Press is not even mentioned in the Constitution. It is completely stifled. The capitalist class does not want the workers and people to have their own Press unmasking the villainies of the exploiters and educating the toilers. Freedom of speech is done away with. Right of meetings and demonstrations is denied—subjecting it to every existing restriction and also promising to add to the restrictions any number of future 'laws' and ordinances according to the pleasure of the capitalist rulers.

Following the slave-holding tactics of their British masters the sponsors of the Constitution have sought to emasculate a whole people by refusing them the right to possess arms—it is only the fascist police, military, and those on whom the Congress leaders can rely to protect the present regime—organisations like the Seva Dal or other watch-dogs of the capitalists—that will have arms which will



And, finally, they seek to crush the workers, peasants and middle classes' resistance and to stifle every voice of democratic opposition by providing in their Constitution unrestricted power to detain persons without trial for as long a period as the ruling classes may ordain. The provisions of the Security Acts have been made a fundamental part of the Constitution. It is a Constitution of fascist tyranny.

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The Constitution sponsored by the Congress leaders will further create enmity between the peoples of different nationalities in India and is calculated to suppress the just demand for self-determination of nationalities to the point of secession, for free economic and political development of peoples of all regions, for free development of the language and culture of all nationalities.

The strong Centre envisaged in the Constitution, the wide powers given to the Central Government in the name of the security of State—constitute nothing but a device for the unbridled domination by the Marwari-Gujerati capitalists of the economic and political life of all nationalities; for the subjugation of the people of all nationalities—Andhra, Tamilnad, Bengal, Maharashtra, Assam, Oriya, Kerala, Karnatak—to the tyranny of the Marwari and Gujerati capital.

The Constitution denies equality of all languages and imposes English and Hindi as the State languages on all nationalities. The worker from Andhra, from Tamilnad, from Bengal, is denied the right of equality of his language.

This monstrous attack on the equality of all languages is a weapon of perpetuating backwardness in these regions and denying culture and education to the people of these regions; it is a weapon of creating a solid basis for Marwari-Gujerati domination—because such domination stands endangered if people develop their own language and culture.

The avaricious greed for exploitation and domination of the Congress bosses stands unmasked on the question of formation of linguistic Provinces.

The local exploiters from Andhra, Karnatak, etc., demand linguistic Provinces to get a larger share out of the exploitation of their own people.

The ruling clique refuses this to a number of Provinces because it wants to keep the profits from exploitation of these regions for itself.

The Constitution thus is a Constitution of national oppression and under it the various national regions will find themselves more and more oppressed and discriminated against.

The Constitution further sanctions the unbridled exploitation of the Adibasi areas and its authors are strengthening their stranglehold over the freedom-loving tribes on the Assam border; while they are mercilessly crushing the revolts of Adibasis in Bihar and Orissa.

The Adibasi areas, full of rich minerals and untapped resources have fallen into the hands of this exploiting clique who are resorting to the most rapacious methods of exploitation of the adibasi workers.

The Constitution makes a hypocritical promise for the abolition of untouchability. The lot of the untouchables, suffering from economic exploitation, lack of land and Hindu social oppression, is not going to be relieved a jot despite this promise.

The Constitution will not give land to them. It denies them all rights because the untouchables are part of the toiling workers and peasants. The educational and economic backwardness of the untouchables will not go under this Constitution; they will increase.

The social oppression will not go because the Congress leaders are the most tyrannical, caste-ridden, Hindus and they

are the enemies of the untouchables; because the Congress leaders in their struggle against the workers and peasants are supporting and encouraging the dark forces of Hindu reaction like the Hindu Sabha and RSS who are out to fully restore the old Hindu caste society.

In the name of fighting communalism the Constitution suppresses the rights of the minorities—especially the Muslim minority.

The cowardly chicken-hearted communal leaders who have hitherto misled the Muslim masses dare not now take up the fight for the just demands of the Muslim people. These leaders relied on imperialism for their nefarious game and had no intention of defending the real interests of the masses at the cost of personal comfort or profit.

Already before the inauguration of the Constitution the position of the Muslim is being rapidly reduced to one of an inferior person.

The Urdu language has been denied equal status under the Constitution. It is being suppressed in the most blatant manner.

The Constitution formally lays down that every citizen has the right to follow his own religion; that every person has the right to follow his own script and culture.

It talks about every individual having the right to preserve his language, script, etc., but implements this by officially denying equality of treatment to the Urdu language and unofficially enabling it to be suppressed.

The Constitution formally accepts freedom of conscience, but gives no guarantee that the minority will be really protected against the aggressive communal reactionaries from the other religious groups.

On the other hand the framers of the Constitution by their practice have made it plain that they are out to suppress and discriminate against the minority masses

—that the provision in the Constitution is merely intended to hoodwink the people.

The Muslim League—for whom no one will shed a tear—has been disbanded under the plea that it was a communal organisation; at the same time the Congress leaders not only allow and encourage but extend patronage to the rabid Hindu communal organisations like the Hindu Sabha and the RSS.

The utterances of many Congress leaders can only end in a policy of discrimination against the minority. Many Congress Ministers give open threats, reminiscent of Nazi threats to the Jews, to minority MLAs in the Legislature, libelling and threatening the entire minority.

Thus things are tending towards unofficial discrimination against the Muslims, discriminating against them in services—and keeping them educationally and economically backward.

This is what the Constitution is powerless to prevent.

The Constitution does not give any guarantee against this policy and leaves the minority at the mercy of the capitalist rulers.

Its pitiful provision of adult franchise is a fraud. While all the propaganda apparatus is in the hands of the capitalists and the ruling classes in the form of the Government controlled radio, the kept capitalist Press, the costly meeting halls and loudspeaker arrangements, etc., and while the poor are deprived even of normal electoral rights by the residential qualification, the big sums to be deposited by candidates, etc., etc., it is a deliberate falsehood to say that adult franchise gives equal opportunities to the rich and to the poor to gain constitutional power.

It becomes a double falsehood when, as in the present Constitution, the overwhelming majority of the population are debarred from having any representa-

tion in the Upper Houses of both the Central and Provincial Legislatures; when the people are denied any right to elect the President of the Union though the President has been endowed with powers of life and death over the people; when the despotically powerful Governor of each Province is going to be foisted on the population by appointment from above; when the crores of people of the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the smaller States are deprived of the right to have even legislatures and parliamentary forms, their fate having been placed entirely in the hands of the Hitlerite President. The elections under the Constitution will be nothing but a farce.

The electoral rolls are most shamelessly manipulated, making it extremely difficult for vast numbers to vote. The electoral officers openly obstruct the people from exercising their right to vote and the power of the State is freely used for this purpose.

And finally to escape the verdict of the people, the Government has banned the Communist Party—the Party of the working class and the people—the one Party that champions the cause of the masses; it has launched widespread repression to crush the workers and peasants, to curb the middle classes; it has launched a campaign of widespread repression in Telengana and villages of Bengal, Kerala and Andhra; it is resorting to firing and lathi-charges in the streets of Calcutta; in workers' strikes, peasants' struggles, students' strikes, against women's processions. What chance have the masses for a free election under these circumstances?

Under this Constitution.

- \* The kisan cannot demand land
- \* The worker, agricultural labourer and employees cannot demand employment or living wage.
- \* The middle class cannot demand means of livelihood.

\* The nation cannot demand civil liberties, right to education and culture.

\* Untouchability will not go. Adivasis will continue to be oppressed.

If the people dare demand them the Constitution seeks to stifle their voice. It empowers the President and the Governors to issue ordinances to crush the voice of the people, and finally, to suspend the Constitution itself, to rule by Proclamation and give rein to the most monstrous autocracy whenever the vested interests feel shaky.

To support this Constitution, not to denounce it, is to support and sanction the regime that has been oppressing Indians for the last two years. It means supporting those who resort to firing on the political prisoners in Presidency Jail and Sabarmati Jail, in Vellore and Cuddalore jails; it means supporting those who are guilty of outrageous conduct to women political prisoners in the jails of Calcutta.

Down with this monstrous Constitution! Down with the Constitution of national enslavement to the American and British imperialists! Down with the Constitution of slavery and fascism!

The Constitution is supported not only by Nehru & Co., not only by the Tata-Birla gang.

The treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party are also supporting the Constitution and creating illusions in the minds of the people that their problems can be settled under the Constitution; that the people can capture power through the Constitution.

The Socialist leaders who betray every strike and every struggle of the peasants, who stand for the same policy as the Nehru Government, seek to repeat the trick of the Nehru Government and cheat the masses.



Nehru, Patel and Co., cheated the masses, climbed into power over the backs of the masses and are now repressing them.

Jai Prakash and Co., want the vote of the masses in the coming election, to come to power and again cheat them in the interest of the capitalist class.

These traitors are against every kind of militant struggle. It is they, Narendra Deo and Co., who shamelessly agreed in U.P. for rich and extortionate compensation to the landlords; now they are posing as opponents of such compensation.

It is these traitors who in the Tripartite Conference agreed with the foreign and Indian capitalists and the Nehru Government for the retrenchment of thousands of workers; and at the same time to hide this treachery of theirs they organise demonstrations against unemployment.

They support the British imperialist labour Government; and they pour venom against Socialist Russia.

They want the workers and peasants to accept the Constitution—directly or indirectly so that capitalism can continue and the Socialist leaders come to power and get into Ministries—to do service to the capitalists.

Workers! Peasants! Students! Women! Members of the oppressed middle classes!

Demonstrate against this exploiters' Constitution, this Constitution of national enslavement, on January 26.

Organise strikes, processions and demonstrations and voice your indignant protest against this conspiracy of Indian vested interests and foreign exploiters.

Announce your decision to bury this Constitution which places power in the hands of capitalists, landlords, feudal Princes, blackmarketeers and food-thieves; which enslaves the workers; which enslaves the peasants; which creates splits among toilers by discriminating against the Muslim minority, by sanctioning the social oppression of the untouchables, by oppressing all the nationalities.

Down with this Constitution prepared by the warmongers, prepared by those who have taken India into the Anglo-American war camp; a Constitution which places power in the hands of those who aid and abet the war conspiracy against the Soviet Union!

The Communist Party of India calls on all toilers, all honest people, to make the anti-Constitution demonstration a demonstration of the unity of the people, of the toilers, to win real independence and freedom.

The Communist Party calls upon the entire working class of India, upon all working class organisations, to demonstrate the unity of the working class on the Anti-Constitution Day, despite the efforts of the Socialist disruptors.

The working class must realise that splitting its strength is the enemy's game and against this game the working class has only one invincible weapon—the weapon of its class unity.

Foil the efforts of the Socialist leaders to tear worker away from worker, foil their efforts to cheat the workers into accepting the Constitution of the Tatas and Birlas and demonstrate the unity of the working class.

On January 26 announce your determination to forge a powerful democratic front—of workers, peasants, agricultural workers, students, women, employees—a democratic front based on workers' and peasants' alliance.

The Constitution which the people of India want will not come from the hands of the exploiters; it will be secured by the people on the strength of their own struggle by winning the battle for political and economic freedom.

While those who forged the present Constitution were busy manipulating people's rights, the heroic peasants of Telengana were inscribing people's rights with heroism, sacrifice, courage and de-

termination, in the face of unprecedented repression at the hands of the Military administration.

The fighting peasantry of Telengana two years back drove out the tyrannical police of the Nizam, liberated large areas from the Nizam's yoke and secured land for the tiller, decent conditions for all.

In the innumerable struggles all over India, in which the workers and Peasants are fighting with courage, determination and heroism—in Kerala and Andhra, in Midnapore and Kakdwip—are being forced sanctions of the People's Constitution. These fiery ordeals are inscribing the peasants' right to land, the workers' right to living wage, the people's right to economic and political security.

Down then with the present Constitution!

Forward to a People's Constitution—a Constitution

- which will embody the independence and sovereignty of the Indian people.
- Which will secure land to the tiller, living wage to the industrial and agricultural worker,
- Which will nationalise industries and ensure right to work and economic security for all,
- Which will place power in the hands of the toilers and will ensure the alliance of the Indian people with the Soviet Union, China and People's Democracies, for peace, against war.



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