APPENDIX I
PLEDGE OF INDEPENDENCE TO BE READ ON JANUARY, 1930

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined Indian economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain purna swaraj of complete independence.

India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than 2 pence) per day. The taxes we pay are 2.5 pines per day and of these the land revenue derived from the peasantry is 20% and the salt tax, which falls heaviest on the poor, is 3% of the total.

Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports and customs revenue from these, which ought to have been used to lessen the burden of taxation on the masses, is 44 times lighter in India than it is in Russia and 44 times and 24 times, respectively, less heavy than it is the United States of America and
Germany. The arbitrary manipulation of the exchange ratio has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. No reform has given real political power to the people.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made to think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, of even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against men and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing so far as we can all voluntary association from the British Government and will prepare for civil disobedience, including the payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions, issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing purna swaraj.