APPENDIX ONE

THE INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE

The Indian National Congress, at its Lahore session held in Lahore in 1929, adopted the attainment of *Purna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) as its goal. It was decided to observe 26 January every year as the Independence Day. On 26 January 1930, the following Pledge of Independence was adopted by the people at thousands of meetings held all over the country.

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 the 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 India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or 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 two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20 percent are raised from the Land Revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the Salt Tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

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. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufacturers, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been manipulation of exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.
Politically India’s status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and masses have to be satisfied with petty offices and clerkship.

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 us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attack of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this four fold 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 non 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.
APPENDIX TWO

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme

Following the Gandhi-Irwin pact signed on 5 March 1931, the Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended. The Indian National Congress held its session at Karachi from 29 to 31 March 1931 and adopted the following resolution.

This Congress is of the opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what “Swaraj”, as Conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in the manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide, or enable the Swaraj Government to provide, for the following:

1. Fundamental Rights of the people including:

   (i) Freedom of association and combination;

   (ii) Freedom of speech and of the press;

   (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality;

   (iv) Protection of the culture, language, and scripts of the minorities

   (v) Equal rights and obligation of all citizens, without any bar on account of sex

   (vi) No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste or creed or sex in regard to public employment, office or power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;

   (vii) Equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort;
(viii) Right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf;

(ix) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

2. Religious neutrality on the part of the state.

3. Adult suffrage.

4. Free Primary education

5. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequence of old age, sickness and unemployment.

6. Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

7. Protection of woman workers, and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.

8. Prohibition against employment of children of school going age in factories.

9. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration

10. Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings, exemption from rent for such a period as may be necessary, relief being given to small Zamindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction.

11. Imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed income.

12. A graduated inheritance tax.

13. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one half of the present scale.

14. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the state, other than specially employed experts and the like, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.
15. Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country.

16. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

17. No duty on salt manufactured in India.

18. Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses.

19. Control by the state of key industries and ownership of mineral resources.

20. Control of usury-direct or indirect.
APPENDIX THREE

INDIA’S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

India’s Constituent Assembly which had started meeting on 9 December 1946 to frame the constitution for independent India unanimously adopted the following resolution on 22 January 1947.

This constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim aim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a constitution:

WHEREIN that territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian states as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted in to the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a union of them all; and

WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of the government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union, on resulting therefrom; and

WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, be derived from the people; and

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, economic and political; equality of status, and of opportunity before the law, freedom of thought, expression belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action subject to law and public morality; and

WHEREIN adequate safeguards, shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

WHEREBY shall be maintained the integrity of the territory, the republic and its sovereign rights sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and
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APPENDIX FOUR

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, the General Assembly proclaims This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of
achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, in-human or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any
discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

**Article 8**

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**Article 9**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

**Article 10**

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by and independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

**Article 11**

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

**Article 12**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

**Article 13**

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including the own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and its entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice worship and observance.

Article 19
Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

**Article 20**

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

**Article 21**

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

**Article 22**

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

**Article 23**

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an
existence worthy of human
dignity, and supplemented, if
necessary, by other means of
social protection.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and
leisure, including reasonable limitation
of working hours and periodic holidays
with pay.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a
standard of living adequate for
the health and well-being of
himself and of his family,
including food, clothing, housing
and medical care and necessary
social service, and the right to
security in the event of
unemployment, sickness,
disability, widowhood, old age or
other lack of livelihood in
circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are
entitled to special care and
assistance All Children, whether
born in or out of wedlock, shall
enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

(1) Everyone has the right to
education. Education shall be
free, at least in the elementary
and fundamental stages.
Elementary education shall be
compulsory. Technical and
professional education shall be
made generally available and
higher education shall be equally
accessible to all on the basis of
merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the
full development of the human
personality and to the
strengthening of respect for
human rights and fundamental
freedoms. It shall promote
understanding, tolerance and
friendship among all nations,
racial or religious groups, and
shall further the activities of the
United Nations for the
maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to
choose the kind of education that
shall be given to their children.

Article 27

(1) Everyone has the right to a
participate in the cultural life of
the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.