

Appendix II

TEXT OF THE POONA PACT

(1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorates seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows :

Madras	..	..	..	30
Bombay with Sind	..	..	..	15
Punjab	..	..	..	8
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	..	18
Central Provinces	..	..	..	20
Assam	..	..	..	7
Bengal	..	..	..	30
United Provinces	..	..	..	20
			Total	<u>148</u>

These figures are based on total strength of the Provincial councils announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

(2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates, subject however, to the following procedure :

All the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote ; the four getting the highest number of votes in such Primary election, shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.

(3) Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of Primary election in the manner provided for in clause (2) above, for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.

(4) In the Central Legislature, eighteen per cent of seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said Legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

(5) The system of Primary election to a pannel of Candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislature, as hereinbefore mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause (6) below.

(6) The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses (1) and (4) shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement.

(7) Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures, for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.

(8) There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Class in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Service.

(9) In every Province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the Members of the Depressed Classes.

Appendix III**DISADVANTAGES OF THE POONA PACT**

1. The Poona Pact was intended to devise a method whereby the Scheduled Castes would be able to return to the Legislature representatives of their choice. This intention has been completely nullified as will be seen from the following series of statistics. The series have been constructed from the results of the last elections which took place in February 1946.

2. The statistical data is arranged in four series of tables :

First series show the votes secured by the successful Caste Hindu candidate and the successful Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election.

Second series show in how many cases did reliance on reservation clause become necessary for the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election and in how many he succeeded without the benefit of reservation.

Third series show the relative voting strength of the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes in constituencies in which seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes.

Fourth series show the position in the Primary election of the Scheduled Caste Candidates who became successful in the Final elections.

3. The conclusions that follow from these figures will not escape those who care to examine them. The figures prove the following propositions :

- (i) That every of the Scheduled Caste candidate who became successful in the Final election owed his success to the votes of the caste Hindus and not of the Scheduled Castes. A great many of them came to the top of the poll and secured votes equal to and in some cases larger than those obtained by Caste Hindu candidates (*See Tables in the First Series*). Secondly, in very few constituencies was the successful Scheduled Caste candidate required to rely on reservation (*See Tables in the Second Series*). This is a most unexpected phenomenon. Anyone who compares the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes with the voting strength of the Caste Hindus in the different constituencies (*See Tables in the Third Series*) would realize that the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes is so small that such a phenomenon could never have occurred if only the Scheduled Castes voters had voted for the Scheduled Caste candidates. That they have occurred is proof positive that the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election is conditioned by the Caste Hindu votes.
- (ii) That comparing the results of the Primary election with those of the Final election (*See Tables in the Fourth series*) the Scheduled Caste candidate who was elected in the Final election was one

who had failed in the Primary election (if the Primary election be treated as a Final election and the constituency be treated as a single-member constituency).

- (iii) Owing to the extreme disparity between the voting strength of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes—disparity which will not disappear even under adult suffrage—a system of joint electorates will not succeed in giving the Scheduled Castes the chance of returning their true representatives.
- (iv) The Poona Pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes inasmuch as candidates whom they rejected in the Primary elections—which is a true index of their will—have been returned in the Final election by the votes of the Caste Hindus.

The Poona Pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of the assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the Scheduled Castes.

FIRST SERIES

Votes obtained by the successful Scheduled Caste candidates as compared with the votes secured by the successful Caste Hindu candidates.

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First Series**I. MADRAS**

Name of the Constituency				Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1				2	3	4
1.	Coconada	..	..	2	32,607	28,544
2.	Ellore	..	..	2	37,618	38,195
3.	Bandar	..	..	2	69,319	70,931
4.	Ongole	..	..	2	50,906	49,992
5.	Penukonda	..	..	2	17,406	18,125
6.	Kurnool	..	..	2	32,756	32,294
7.	Chingleput	..	..	2	13,865	15,129
8.	Thiruvalur	..	..	2	17,225	17,818
9.	Ranipet	..	..	2	21,249	21,059
10.	Tiruvannamalai	..	..	2	31,476	32,132
11.	Tindivanam	..	..	2	25,626	25,442
12.	Chidambaram	..	..	2	15,272	14,874
13.	Tanjore	..	..	2	26,904	16,133
14.	Mannargudi	..	..	2	29,932	30,116
15.	Ariyalur	..	..	2	22,656	20,520
16.	Sattur	..	..	2	30,988	29,530
17.	Malapuram	..	..	2	28,229	28,085
18.	Namakkal	..	..	2	15,433	15,085

II. BENGAL

Name of the Constituency				Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1				2	3	4 5
1.	Burdwan Central	..	..	2	42,858	33,903
2.	Burdwan, North-West	..	..	2	32,270	25,723
3.	Birbhum	..	..	2	24,629	20,252
4.	Bankura, West	..	..	2	30,388	21,266
5.	Thurgram-cum-Ghatal	..	..	2	40,900	19,060
6.	Hooghly, North-East	..	..	2	26,132	18,768
7.	Howrah	..	..	2	40,608	36,099
8.	24 Parganas, South-East	..	..	2	50,345	38,459
9.	24 Parganas, North-West	..	..	2	45,339	48,272
10.	Nadia	..	..	2	30,489	28,054
11.	Murshidabad	..	..	2	32,386	26,958
12.	Jessore	..	..	2	38,665	41,434

II. BENGAL

Name of the Constituency		Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates	
1		2	3	4	5
13. Khulna		3	79,218	57,724	44,043
14. Malda		2	32,728	12,796	
15. Dinajpur		3	46,146	35,127	30,839
16. Jalpaiguri-cum-Siliguri		3	30,950	26,109	13,829
17. Rangpur		3	46,869	29,657	23,237
18. Bogra-cum-Pabna		2	43,249	31,515	
19. Dacca, East		2	51,808	31,392	
20. Mymensingh, West		2	37,983	32,782	
21. Mymensingh, East		2	43,678	32,207	
22. Faridpur		2	70,115	51,450	29,503
23. Bakargunj		2	48,560	28,560	
24. Tippera		2	60,146	59,051	

III. BOMBAY

Name of the Constituency		Seats	Votes secured by successful Hindu candidates			Votes secured by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1		2	3	4	5	6
1. Bombay City (Suburban)		3	57,182	47,835		59,646
2. Bombay City (Byculla)		3	42,143	41,795		43,251
3. Kaira District		4	68,044	63,422	57,394	69,807
4. Surat District		4	40,232	39,985	39,610	39,849
5. Thana, South		3	30,581	27,587		11,630
6. Ahmednagar, South		3	25,747	20,948		20,908
7. East Khandesh, East		4	38,721	34,349	33,960	36,136
8. Nasik, West		4	37,218	36,794	36,555	42,604
9. Poona, West		3	23,758	23,454		24,709
10. Satara, North		4	44,315	42,727	41,474	43,961
11. Sholapur, North-East		3	19,380	16,705		18,264
12. Belgaum, North		4	55,787	50,759	49,867	27,682
13. Bijapur, North		3	23,083	20,838		16,059
14. Kolaba District		4	41,012	38,864	35,633	17,676
15. Ratnagiri, North		4	13,640	10,985	10,372	11,734

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Name of the Constituency		Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1		2	3	4
1.	Lucknow City	.. 2	24,614	14,110
2.	Cawnpore City	.. 2	34,550	34,782
3.	Agra City	.. 2	17,446	16,343
4.	Allahabad City	.. 2	19,870	10,308
5.	Badaun District	.. 2	6,716	14,037
6.	Jalaun District	.. 2	21,692	15,363
7.	Basti District	.. 2	14,450	15,447
8.	Almora District	.. 2	36,371	20,605
9.	Rai Bareilli	.. 2	15,917	1,889
10.	Sitapur District	.. 2	28,665	20,204
11.	Gonda District	.. 2	17,949	13,447

V. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Name of the Constituency		Seats	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates	Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1		2	3	4
1.	Nagpur City	.. 2	21,905	23,595
2.	Nagpur-Umred	.. 2	8,330	7,847
3.	Hinganghat-Wardha	.. 2	11,677	10,781
4.	Chanda-Brahmapuri	.. 2	10,208	8,144
5.	Chindwara-Sansad	.. 2	16,365	6,190
6.	Saugor-Khurai	.. 2	7,829	5,162
7.	Raipur	.. 2	8,183	6,112
8.	Baloda Bazar	.. 2	21,861	9,659
9.	Bilaspur	.. 2	13,109	6,030
10.	Mungeli	.. 2	9,600	6,418
11.	Tanjgir	.. 2	11,914	7,419
12.	Drug	.. 2	5,975	5,593
13.	Bhandara-Sakoli	.. 2	16,824	10,491
14.	Yeotmal-Daresha	.. 2	10,915	4,719
15.	Ellichpur	.. 2	16,298	4,592
16.	Chikhli-Mehkar	.. 2	16,397	2,748
17.	Akola-Balapur	.. 2	6,455	5,567

VI. ASSAM

Name of the Constituency		Seat	Votes polled by successful Hindu candidates		Votes polled by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1		2	3	4	5
1.	Kamrup-Saor, South	.. 3	15,890	14,971	13,693
2.	Nowgong	.. 1			14,560
3.	Jorhat, North	.. 2	17,429		5,809
4.	Habibganj	.. 2	10,985		9,770
5.	Karimganj	.. 2	12,562		11,676
6.	Silchar	.. 3	17,340		7,081

VII. ORISSA

Name of the Constituency		Seats	Votes obtained by successful Hindu candidates	Votes obtained by successful Scheduled Caste candidates
1		2	3	4
1.	East Tajpur	.. 2	8,427	8,712
2.	East Bargarh	.. 2	4,195	937

Second Series

NUMBER OR CONSTITUENCIES IN WHICH RESERVATION BECAME NECESSARY FOR THE
SCHEDULED CASTE CANDIDATES TO SUCCEED IN ELECTION

Province	Number of Constituencies in which seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Number of Constituencies in which there was a conflict	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of Hindu candidates	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of Scheduled Caste candidates	Number of Constituencies in which the contest was due to excess of both	Number of Constituencies in which reliance on reservation became necessary for the Scheduled Caste candidates to succeed	
1	2	3	6	5	6	7	
1. Madras	..	30	18	14	17		None
2. Bengal	..	30	24	19	24	19	None
3. Bombay	..	15	15	15	15	15	2
4. C.P.	..	22	17	14	17	14	2
5. U.P.	..	15	11	5	11	6	None
6. Assam	..						2
7. Orissa	..		2		2		None
8. Punjab	..	8					

Third Series

RELATIVE VOTING STRENGTH OF CASTE HINDUS AND
SCHEDULED CASTES

I. MADRAS

Constituency		Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1		2	3	4
1.	Madras City, South-Central	26,922	4,082	1 : 6.6
2.	Chicacole ..	90,496	8,070	1 : 11.2
3.	Amalapuram ..	95,954	28,282	1 : 3.4
4.	Cocanada ..	86,932	17,616	1 : 4.9
5.	Ellore ..	88,249	16,835	1 : 5.24
6.	Ongole ..	1,10,152	11,233	1 : 9.8
7.	Gudur ..	52,415	10,263	1 : 5.1
8.	Cuddapah ..	92,572	10,842	1 : 8.5
9.	Penukonda ..	74,952	11,896	1 : 6.3
10.	Bellary ..	85,928	10,146	1 : 8.5
11.	Kurnool ..	72,753	11,679	1 : 6.2
12.	Tirutanni ..	77,337	15,243	1 : 5.07
13.	Chingleput ..	73,554	22,182	1 : 3.3
14.	Tiruvallur ..	81,814	21,287	1 : 3.8
15.	Ranipet ..	24,403	11,271	1 : 2.1
16.	Tiruvannamalai ..	97,259	15,536	1 : 6.2
17.	Tindivanam ..	85,514	19,221	1 : 4.4
18.	Chidambaram ..	96,086	16,762	1 : 5.7
19.	Tirukoyilur ..	1,02,482	21,733	1 : 4.7
20.	Tanjore ..	99,496	13,198	1 : 7.5
21.	Manaargudi ..	69,579	11,547	1 : 5.8
22.	Ariyalur ..	1,13,630	16,772	1 : 6.7
23.	Palani ..	92,655	13,521	1 : 6.8
24.	Sattur ..	84,169	8,033	1 : 10.5
25.	Koilpatti ..	1,00,521	20,907	1 : 4.8
26.	Pollachi ..	63,821	12,808	1 : 4.9
27.	Namakkal ..	51,860	11,407	1 : 4.5
28.	Coondapur ..	46,032	8,030	1 : 5.7
29.	Malapuram ..	70,346	10,808	1 : 6.5

II. BOMBAY

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
<i>General Urban</i>			
1. B o m b a y C i t y .. North and Bombay Suburban District	1,67,002	34,266	1 : 4.8
2. Bombay City— Byculla and Parel .. General Rural	1,52,991	28,520	1 : 5.3
3. Kaira District ..	1,39,508	7,318	1 : 19.06
4. Surat District ..	85,670	4,765	1 : 18.8
5. Thana, South ..	67,749	4,668	1 : 14.5
6. Ahmednagar, South	73,162	7,382	1 : 9.9
7. East Khandesh, East	91,377	10,109	1 : 9.35
8. Nasik, West ..	99,274	12,698	1 : 7.7
9. Poona, West ..	73,551	13,055	1 : 5.6
10. Satara, North ..	95,459	11,152	1 : 8.5
11. Sholapur, North-East ..	64,583	9,713	1 : 6.6
12. Belgaum, North ..	79,422	18,303	1 : 4.3
13. Bijapur, North ..	60,655	8,993	1 : 6.7
14. Kolaba District ..	1,03,828	5,001	1 : 20.7
15. Ratnagiri, North	32,606	3,529	1 : 9.2

III. BENGAL

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
<i>General Rural</i>			
1. Burdwan, Central	74,306	24,610	1 : 3.01
2. Burdwan, North-West ..	80,035	16,830	1 : 4.8
3. Birbhum ..	1,03,231	37,637	1 : 2.7
4. Bankura, West ..	84,128	25,487	1 : 3.3
5. Midnapore, Central	99,961	20,167	1 : 4.95
6. Jhargam-cum-Ghatal	64,031	13,091	1 : 4.85
7. Hooghly, North-East.	67,697	20,318	1 : 3.33
8. Howrah ..	1,03,346	22,990	1 : 4.5
9. 24 Parganas, South- West.	82,366	47,378	1 : 1.7

III. BENGAL—*contd.*

Constituency		Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1		2	3	4
10.	24 Parganas, North-East	85,477	30,607	1 : 2.78
11.	Nadia ..	90,092	25,605	1 : 3.5
12.	Murshidabad ..	81,083	17,176	1 : 4.8
13.	Jessore ..	1,21,760	55,052	1 : 2.2
14.	Khulna ..	1,45,335	76,848	1 : 1.87
15.	Malda ..	73,664	29,010	1 : 2.54
16.	Dinajpur ..	1,48,804	1,18,454	1 : 1.25
17.	Jalpaiguri-cum-Siliguri	78,552	65,679	1 : 1.2
18.	Rangpur ..	29,437	65,679	1 : 0.44
19.	Bogra-cum-Patna ..	87,704	33,873	1 : 2.58
20.	Dacca, East ..	94,858	40,238	1 : 2.35
21.	Myroensingh, West	98,795	38,046	1 : 2.59
22.	Mymensingh, East	68,360	29,588	1 : 2.3
23.	Faridpur ..	1,72,683	96,319	1 : 1.7
24.	Bakarganj, South-West.	78,796	49,014	1 : 1.6
25.	Tippera ..	1,27,097	34,813	1 : 3.61

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Constituency		Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1		2	3	4
General Urban				
1.	Lucknow City ..	89,412	9,079	1 : 9.8
2.	Cawnpore City ..	1,31,599	22,515	1 : 5.8
3.	Agra City ..	47,505	10,105	1 : 4.7
4.	Allahabad City ..	55,379	6,854	1 : 8.07
General Rural				
5.	Charanpur District, South-East.	47,773	7,256	1 : 6.5
6.	Bulandshah District, South-East.	49,699	7,506	1 : 6.6
7.	Agra District, North-East.	61,515	8,290	1 : 7.4
8.	Manipuri District North-East.	51,406	5,878	1 : 8.7

IV. UNITED PROVINCES—*Contd.*

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
9. Budaun District, East	46,966	7,087	1 : 6.6
10. Jalaun District	68,815	14,611	1 : 4.7
11. Mirzapur District, North.	43,648	4,045	1 : 10.7
12. Gorakhpur District, North.	43,441	5,626	1 : 7.7
13. Basti District, South	37,084	4,194	1 : 8.8
14. Azamgarh District, West.	51,194	8,127	1 : 6.2
15. Almora District	1,39,217	20,671	1 : 6.7
16. Rai Bareilli District, North-East.	48,697	10,488	1 : 4.6
17. Sitapur District, North- East.	76,682	22,913	1 : 3.3
18. Fyzabad District, East.	57,154	9,988	1 : 5.7
19. Gonda District, North- East.	64,225	8,274	1 : 7.7
20. Bara Banki District, North.	68,285	16,303	1 : 4.18

V. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
<i>General Urban</i>			
1. Nagpur City ..	72,329	14,388	1 : 5.02
<i>General Rural</i>			
2. Nagpur-Umrer ..	29,267	6,037	1 : 4.8
3. Hinghanghat-Wardha	35,201	4,011	1 : 9.02
4. Chanda-Brahmapuri	30,132	5,229	1 : 5.7
5. Chindwara-Sausar	37,942	3,914	1 : 9.7
6. Jubulpure-Patan ..	20,587	1,186	1 : 17.5
7. Saugor-Khurai ..	30,660	5,224	1 : 5.8
8. Damoh-Hatta ..	33,284	3,608	1 : 9.2
9. Narsinghpur- Gadarwara.	35,781	2,019	1 : 17.6
10. Raipur ..	33,053	11,041	1 : 2.9

V. CENTRAL PROVINCES—*contd.*

Constituency		Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1		2	3	4
11.	Baloda Bazar ..	46,943	15,636	1 : 3.06
12.	Bilaspur . .	33,260	10,547	1 : 3.1
13.	Mungeli . .	28,028	10,067	1 : 2.7
14.	Janjgir . .	42,763	13,558	1 : 3.15
15.	Drug . .	34,883	8,942	1 : 3.19
16.	Bhandara-Sakoli . .	47,047	10,399	1 : 4.5
17.	Ellichpur-Dartapur- Nelghat	30,094	2,885	1 : 13.8
18.	Akola-Belapur . .	25,912	3,233	1 : 9.81
19.	Yeotmal-Darwha . .	20,327	2,020	1 : 10.06
20.	Chikhli-Mehkar . .	37,936	3,468	1 : 1.09

VI. BIHAR

Constituency		Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1		2	3	4
1.	East Bihar ..	35,631	4,618	1 : 7.7
2.	South Gaya ..	49,363	10,360	1 : 4.7
3.	Nawada ..	41,432	7,684	1 : 5.3
4.	East Central Shahabad. ..	41,707	5,984	1 : 6.9
5.	West Gopalganj ..	33,395	3,415	1 : 9.7
6.	North Bettiah ..	25,760	2,831	1 : 9.09
7.	East Muzaffarpur-Sadr.	27,271	3,133	1 : 8.7
8.	Darbhanga Sadr ..	26,864	2,116	1 : 12.6
9.	South-East Samastipur	37,291	2,672	1 : 13.9
10.	South Sadr-Monghyr	54,229	6,465	1 : 8.5
11.	Madhipura ..	26,523	1,284	1 : 20.6
12.	South-West Purnea	44,232	2,938	1 : 15.05
13.	Giridih-cum-Ghatra	55,246	4,667	1 : 11.8
14.	North-East Palamnu	23,072	4,237	1 : 5.3
15.	Central Manbhum	39,626	5,617	1 : 7.05

VII. ASSAM

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. Nowgong, North-East	26,618	3,569	1 : 7.2
2. Kamrup Sadr, South	33,234	2,117	1 : 15.6
3. Silchar ..	38,647	4,201	1 : 9.2
4. Karimganj, East ..	25,701	10,132	1 : 2.5
5. Jorhat, North ..	26,733	1,360	1 : 19.6
6. Jonamganj ..	39,045	11,603	1 : 3.3
7. Habibganj, North	31,511	9,996	1 : 3.1

VIII. PUNJAB

Constituency	Total number of voters in the Constituency	Total number of Scheduled Caste voters in the Constituency	Relative proportion of columns 2 and 3
1	2	3	4
1. South-East Gurgaon	37,815	6,049	1 : 6.2
2. Karnal, North	31,967	5,120	1 : 6.2
3. Ambala and Simla	47,403	17,507	1 : 3.27
4. Hoshiarpur, West	51,084	7,281	1 : 7.0
5. Jullundur	36,570	20,521	1 : 1.8
6. Ludhiana and Ferozepur	52,009	27,354	1 : 1.8
7. Amritsar and Sialkot	38,046	10,328	1 : 3.68
8. Lyallpur and Jhang	32,703	7,602	1 : 4.2

Fourth Series

COMPARISON OF PRIMARY ELECTION AND FINAL ELECTION

I. MADRAS

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election		His rank among candidates who fought the general election		His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member	Votes obtained in the Primary election	What his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote	
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured					
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Amalapuram	.. Pandu Lakshmana-swami.	Congress	48,524	1st among 3	3rd (failed)	2,683		
2. Cocanada	.. B. S. Murthy	Congress	28,544	2nd among 4 (beating 2 Hindus)	4th (failed)	1,411		
3. Bandar	.. Vemula Kurmayya	Congress	70,931	1st among 6 (beating 4 Hindus)	2nd (failed)	4,914		
4. Cuddapah	.. Swarna Nagayya	Congress			1st	3,482	Absolute majority.	
5. Penukonda	.. D. Kadrippa	Congress	18,125	1st among 4 (beating 1 Hindu and 2 Sch. Caste)	1st	2,564	Bare majority.	
6. Tiruvannamali	R. Thangavelu	Congress	32,132	1st among 5 (beating 2 Hindus and 2 Sch. Caste)	1st	1,960	Bare majority.	
7. Tindivanam	.. K. Kulashekhardas	Congress	25,442	2nd among 4 (beating 2 Hindus)	1st	2,785	Split vote.	
8. Mannargudi	Thiagoo Voikarar	Congress	30,116	1st among 5 (beating 5 Hindus)	1st	2,895	Split vote.	
9. Pollachi	.. C. Krishna Kudumban	Congress			1st	2,430	Absolute majority.	
10. Namakkal	.. M. P. Periyaswami	Congress	15,085	2nd among 5 (beating 2 Hindus and 1 Sch. Caste)	1st	2,355	Bare majority.	

II. BOMBAY

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election		His rank among candidates who fought the general election		His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Bombay City, North.	Savilaram Gundaji Songaoker.	Congress	59,646	1st among 3 (standing above 2 Hindus)	2nd (failed)	2,038	...
2. Bombay City, Byculla and Parel.	N. S. Kajrolkar	Congress	43,251	1st among 3 (standing above 2 general candidates)	2nd (failed)	2,098	...
3. East Khandesh, East.	Hiralal Kalyani	Congress	36,136	2nd among 4 (beating 2)	2nd (failed)	1,147	...

III. CENTRAL PROVINCES

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election		His rank among candidates who fought the general election		His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member Constituency	Votes obtained in the Primary election	Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Nagpur-Umrer	Lelendra chandra.	Ram - Congress	7,847	2nd	3rd (failed)	112	...
2. Hinghanghat-Wardha.	Shanker Vithal	Congress	10,781	2nd	4th (failed)	56	...
3. Bhandra-Sakoli	Harnuji Isram	Congress	10,491	2nd	3rd (failed)	471	...
4. Yeotmal-Darwaha	Daulat-Luxman	Congress	4,719	2nd	3rd (failed)	126	...

IV. UNITED PROVINCES

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election		His rank among candidates who fought the general election		His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member		Votes obtained in the Primary election		Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote	
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured	Number of votes secured						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1. Agra City	.. Ram Chand	Congress	16,343	2nd	1st	836	Bare majority and split vote.			
2. Allahabad City	Masuria Din	Congress	10,308	2nd	1st	1,701	Bare majority and split vote.			
3. Almora	.. Khushi Ram	Congress	20,605	2nd	2nd (failed)	937				

V. PUNJAB

Constituency	Scheduled Caste candidate who was successful in Final election		His rank among candidates who fought the general election		His position in the Primary election treating the Constituency as a single member		Votes obtained in the Primary election		Was his success in Primary election due to bare or absolute majority or split vote	
	His name	His party affiliation	Number of votes secured	Number of votes secured						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1. South-East Gurgaon.	Prem Singh	Unionist	7,706	2nd	1st	1,353	Split vote			
2. Karnal, North	Sunder	Congress	3,136	2nd	1st	519	Bare majority			
3. Ambala-Simla	.. Prithivi Singh Azad	Congress	10,503	2nd	3rd (failed)	1,392				
4. Hoshiarpur, West	Mehr Chand	Congress	16,307	2nd	3rd (failed)	641				
5. Jullundur	.. Gurbanta Singh	Congress	21,476	1st	1st					
6. Ludhiana-Ferozepur.	Matu Ram	Congress	24,352	1st	4th (failed)	812				
7. Lyallpur and Jhang	Harbhaj Ram		8,312	2nd	2nd (failed)	1,166				

Appendix IV**STATISTICS OF POPULATION**

The population of the Scheduled Caste in 1941 is estimated at 48,793,180. Can this figure be accepted as accurate ?

In coming to a definite conclusion on this issue the following points must be borne in mind : —

- (i) The population of the Scheduled Castes in 1941 as compared with their population in 1931 shows a decline.
- (ii) The population of all other communities during the same period shows an increase of 15 per cent.

The question is whether there is any special reason why the population of the Scheduled Castes should have declined.

Was the basis for computation of the population of the Scheduled Castes in 1931 the same as in 1941 ? The answer is in the affirmative. The figures given for 1931 are the result of recasting of the Census of 1931 in the light of the definition of "Untouchables" given by the Lothian Committee. The same basis was adopted in 1941. It cannot therefore be said that the decline in the population of the Scheduled Castes in 1941 was due to an over-estimate made in 1931.

It is true that the Census for 1941 does not give any figures for the Scheduled Castes for Ajmer-Merwara and Gwalior State. But even adding to the total for 1941 the figures for these two areas as they stood in 1931 the population comes to only 49,538,145 which still shows a comparative decline.

The want of any proper explanation for the decline of the Scheduled Caste population and an increase in the population of all other communities during the same decade only reinforces the impression which every honest student of Indian census has formed namely that the Census of India has over a number of decades ceased to be an operation in demography. It has become a political affair. Every community seems to be attempting to artificially augment its numbers at the cost of some other community for the sake of capturing greater and greater degree of political power in its own hands. The Scheduled Castes seem to have been made a common victim for the satisfaction of the combined greed of the other communities who through their propagandists or enumerators are able to control the operation and the results of the Census.

In the light of these circumstances it is fair to demand that an accurate figure for the population of the Scheduled Castes would be the Census figure as corrected by the inclusion of the population for Ajmer-Merwara and Gwalior State *plus* an increase of 15 per cent to give them the benefit of the general rise in the population.

Appendix IV
POPULATION FIGURES
Table 1
POPULATION OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1941

	Hindus	Scheduled Castes	Muslims	Sikhs	Indian Christians	Anglo- Indians	Parsis
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Provinces	..	39,920,807	79,398,503	4,165,097	3,245,706	1,13,936	1,01,968
Ajmer-Merwara	..	376,481	?	89,899	867	3,895	1,005
Assam*	..	3,586,932	676,291	3,442,479	3,464	37,750	634
Baluchistan	..	39,521	5,102	438,930	11,918	2,633	263
Bengal	..	17,680,054	7,378,970	33,005,434	16,281	110,923	31,619
Bihar	..	22,173,890	4,340,379	4,716,314	13,213	24,693	5,963
Orissa	..	5,594,535	1,238,171	146,301	232	26,584	789
Bombay	..	14,700,242	1,855,148	1,920,368	6,044	338,812	14,034
Sind	..	1,038,292	191,634	3,208,325	31,011	13,232	2,731
Central Provinces and Berar	..	9,880,583	3,051,413	783,697	14,996	48,260	4,538
Coorg	..	105,013	25,740	14,730	Nil	3,309	80
Delhi	..	444,532	122,693	304,971	16,157	10,494	3,408
Madras	..	34,731,330	8,068,492	8,896,452	418	2,001,032	28,661
N.W.F.P.	..	180,321	?	2,788,797	57,939	5,426	837
Punjab	..	6,301,737	1,248,635	16,217,242	3,757,401	486,038	5,891
United States	..	34,094,511	11,717,158	8,416,308	232,445	131,327	13,383
States and Agencies	..	55,227,180	8,892,373	12,659,593	1,526,350	2,794,959	26,468
INDIA	..	206,117,326	48,813,180	92,058,096	5,691,447	6,040,665	140,422

* Tribes 6,484,996.

TRIBES			
Provinces	..	..	16,713,256
States and Agencies	..	..	8,728,233
INDIA	..	..	25,441,489

Table II
VARIATION IN POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES, 1931-1941

		Provinces	States and agencies	Total India	Provinces	States and agencies	Total India	Increase (+) Decrease (-)
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hindus	..	139,319,979	50,335,391	189,654,370	150,890,146	55,227,180	206,117,326	+ 26,462,956
Scheduled Castes	..	38,409,009	11,131,761	49,540,770	39,920,807	8,892,373	48,793,180	- 747,590
Muslims	..	67,020,443	10,657,102	77,677,545	79,398,503	12,659,598	92,058,096	+ 14,381,551
Sikhs	..	3,220,997	1,114,774	4,335,771	4,165,097	1,526,350	5,691,447	+ 1,355,676
Christians	..	3,860,660	2,430,103	6,296,763	3,471,430	2,834,119	6,316,119	+ 19,786
Parsis	..	96,549	13,203	109,752	101,968	12,922	114,890	+ 5,138
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PART V

ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

