The Working Committee added :—

> "The Congress had proposed that minority rights should be amply protected by agreement with the elected representatives of the minorities concerned."

This shows that even the Congress did not demand that the decision of minority rights should be included in the purview of the Constituent Assembly. His Majesty's Government has, however, given them the additional right to decide this minority rights issue by a bare majority vote. With regard to the question of Pakistan, the same attitude is noticeable. The Muslim League did not demand that Pakistan must be conceded immediately. All that the Muslim League had asked for was that at the next revision of the Constitution, the Mussalmans should not be prevented from raising the question of Pakistan. The present proposals have gone a step beyond and distinctly give to the Muslim League the right to create Pakistan. These are constitutional proposals. They are intended to lead India to wage a total war in which Hindus, Mussalmans, Depressed Classes and Sikhs are called upon wholeheartedly to participate. Yet Sir Stafford Cripps, either with the consent or without the consent of His Majesty's Government, has been making discrimination between major parties and minor parties. The major parties are those whose consent is necessary. Minor parties are those with whom consultation is believed to be enough. This is new distinction. Certainly it was never made in the prior pronouncements either of His Majesty's Government or of the Viceroy. The pronouncement spoke of the "consent of the principal elements in the national life of India."

So far as the Depressed Classes are concerned, I am not aware of any pronouncement in which the Depressed Classes were placed on a lower plane than the one given to the Mussalmans. I quote the following from the speech of the Viceroy made in Bombay on January 10, 1941, from which it will be seen that the Depressed Classes were bracketed with the Mussalmans :

> "There are insistent claims of the minorities. I need refer only to two of them ; the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Classes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past, the fact that their position must be safeguarded and that those guarantees must be honoured."

This invidious distinction now sought to be made is a breach of faith with those minorities whose position has been lowered by this discrimination. From a constitutional point of view of total war, it is bound to cause more disaffection and disloyalty in the country. It is for the British to consider whether in this attempt to win the friendship of those who have probably already decided to choose

other friends, they should lose those who are their real friends. The proposals show a sudden *volte face* on the part of His Majesty's Government. The putting forth of those proposals which were denounced by them as an invasion of minorities' rights is an indication of their complete surrender of right to win might. This is Munich Mentality the essence of which is to save oneself by sacrificing others and it is this mentality which is writ large on those proposals. My advice to the British Government is that they should withdraw these proposals. If they cannot fight for right and justice and their plighted word they should better make peace. They can thereby at least save their honour.

Appendix X

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD WAVELL AND MR. GANDHI, 1944

1. Letter from Mr. Gandhi to Viceroy on July 15th, 1944.

"Dear Friend,

You have no doubt seen the authentic copies, now published in the Indian Press, of the statements given by me to Mr. Gelder of the *News Chronicle*. As I have said to the Press, they were meant primarily to be shown to you. But Mr. Gelder, no doubt with the best of motives, gave the interview premature publicity. I am sorry. The publication will nevertheless be a blessing in disguise, if the interview enables you to grant at least one of my requests contained in my letter of June 17, 1944.

I am yours, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi."

2. Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi, dated 22nd July 1944.

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of July 15. I have seen the statements you have made to Mr. Gelder, and your subsequent explanation of them. I do not think I can usefully comment at present, except to repeat what I have said in my last letter that if you will submit to me a definite and constructive policy, I shall be glad to consider it.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Wavell."

3. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy, dated 27th July 1944.

"DEAR FRIEND,

I must admit my disappointment over your letter of 22nd instant. But I am used to work in the face of disappointment. Here is my concrete proposal.

I am prepared to advise the Working Committee to declare that in view of changed conditions, mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942, cannot be offered and that full cooperation in the war effort should be given by the Congress, if a declaration of immediate Indian independence is made and a National Government responsible to the Central Assembly be formed subject to the proviso that, during the pendency of the war, the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India. If there is a desire on the part of the British Government for a settlement, friendly talks should take the place of correspondence. But I am in your hands. I shall continue to knock so long as there is the least hope of an honourable settlement.

After the foregoing was written, I saw Lord Munster's speech in the House of Lords. The summary given by him in the House of Lords fairly represents my proposal. This summary may serve as a basis for mutual friendly discussion.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI."

4. Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi, dated 15th August 1944.

"DEAR MR, GANDHI,

Thank you for your letter of July 27. Your proposals are :—

(*i*) that you should undertake to advise the Working Committee : (*a*) "that in view of changed conditions mass civil disobedience envisaged by the resolution of August 1942, cannot be offered" and (*b*) "that full co-operation in the war effort should be given by the Congress provided

(*ii*) that His Majesty's Government (*a*) declare immediate Indian independence, and (*b*) form a "National Government" responsible to the Central Assembly "subject to the proviso that during the pendency of the war the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India."

His Majesty's Government remain most anxious that a settlement of the Indian problem should be reached. But proposals such as those put forward by you are quite unacceptable to His Majesty's

Government as a basis for discussion and you must realise this if you have read Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on July 28th last. They are indeed very similar to the proposals made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Sir Stafford Cripps in April 1942 and His Majesty's Government's reasons for rejecting them are the same as they were then.

3. Without recapitulating all these reasons in detail, I should remind you that His Majesty's Government at that time made it clear:

(*a*) That their offer of unqualified freedom after the cessation of hostilities was made conditional upon the framing of a Constitution agreed by the main elements of India's national life and the negotiation of the necessary treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government:

(*b*) That it is impossible during the period of hostilities to bring about any change in the Constitution by which means alone a "National Government" such as you suggest could be made responsible to the Central Assembly.

The object of these conditions was to ensure the fulfilment of their duty to safeguard the interests of the racial and religious minorities of the Depressed Classes and their treaty obligations to the Indian States.

4. It was upon the above conditions that His Majesty's Government invited Indian leaders to take part in an interim Government which would operate under the existing Constitution. I must make it quite clear that until the war is over responsibility for defence and military operations cannot be divided from the other responsibilities of Government and that until hostilities cease and the new Constitution is in operation, His Majesty's Government and the Governor-General must retain their responsibility over the entire field. So far as the question of India's share of the cost of the war is concerned, this is essentially a matter for settlement between His Majesty's Government on the one hand and the Government of India on the other, and existing financial arrangements can only be reopened at the instance of one or the other.

5. It is clear in these circumstances that no purpose will be served by discussion on the basis which you suggest. If however the leaders of the Hindus, the Muslims and the important minorities were willing to co-operate in a transitional Government established and working within the present constitution, I believe good progress might be made. For such a transitional Government to succeed, there must before it is formed, be agreement in principle between , Hindus and Muslims and all important elements as to the method by which the new Constitution should be framed. This agreement is a matter for Indians themselves.

Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance.

6. The period after the termination of hostilities for which the transitional Government would last, would depend on the speed with which the new constitution could be framed. I see no reason why preliminary work on that Constitution should not begin as soon as the Indian leaders are prepared to co-operate to that end. If they can arrive at a genuine agreement as to the method of framing the Constitution, no unnecessary time need be spent after the war in reaching final conclusions and in agreeing treaty arrangements with His Majesty's Government. There again the primary .responsibility rests on the Indian leaders.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) WAVELL."

APPENDIX XI

POLITICAL DEMANDS OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation held in Madras on the 23rd September 1944 *under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj, B.A., B.L., M.L.A., outlining the safeguards for the Untouchables in the new Constitution.*

RESOLUTION NO. 1

SUBJECT :—*Recognition of the Scheduled Castes as a separate element.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation has found a section of the Press in India making the allegation, that the statement made by H. E. the Viceroy in his letter Mr. Gandhi dated the 15th August 1944 to the effect that the Scheduled Castes are one of the important and separate elements in the national life of India and requiring that the consent of the Scheduled Castes to the Constitution of India was a necessary condition precedent for transfer of power to Indians, is a departure from the position of His Majesty's Government as defined in the Cripps Proposals. The Committee cannot help expressing its indignation at this propaganda and takes this occasion to state in most emphatic and categorical terms that the Scheduled Castes are a distinct and separate element in the national life of India and

that they are a religious minority in a sense far more real than the Sikhs and Muslims can be and within the meaning of the Cripps Proposals. The Working Committee desires to point out that what has been stated by Lord Wavell in his letter to Mr. Gandhi has been the position of His Majesty's Government from the very beginning and was enunciated in clear terms as early as 1917 by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report simultaneously with the enunciation by them of Responsible Government as the goal of India's political evolution and has been confirmed by subsequent action of His Majesty's Government such as the grant of separate representation to the Scheduled Castes at the Round Table Conference, Joint Parliamentary Committee and in the Government of India Act, 1935, as a recognized minority, separate from the Hindus. The Working Committee has, therefore, no hesitation in saying that it is a false and malicious propaganda to allege that this is a departure from the policy of His Majesty's Government and regards it as a manoeuvre on the part of the enemies of the Scheduled Castes to defeat their just claims for constitutional safeguards and calls upon Indian political leaders and particularly the Hindu leaders to accept this fact, in the interests of peace and good-will between the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, and for the speedy realization of India's political goal.

Resolution No. 2

Subject :—*Declaration by His Majesty's Government relating to the Scheduled Castes and the Constitution.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation welcomes the declaration made by His Majesty's Government and recently reiterated by His Excellency the Viceroy that His Majesty's Government regards the consent of the Scheduled Castes, among others, to the Constitution of a free India, as a matter of vital importance and as a necessary condition precedent to the transfer of power to Indian hands. At the same time, the Working Committee wishes to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the attitude of the Congress and other political organizations in the country which treats this declaration of His Majesty's Government as not being a *bona fide* declaration and made without any intention to honour it and as a mere matter of tactics adopted to postpone transfer of power, and which is in all probability responsible for the unwillingness of the Majority Community to seek for a settlement with the Scheduled Castes. The Working Committee regards this allegation as baseless and calls upon His Majesty's Government not to give any ground for such suspicion and make it clear that they will stand by the declaration at all times and under all circumstances.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

SUBJECT :—*Nature of Constitutional Safeguards.*

The Working Committee declares that no Constitution shall be acceptable to the Scheduled Castes unless :—

(*a*) it has the consent of the Scheduled Castes ;

(*b*) it recognizes the Scheduled Castes as distinct and separate element;

(*c*) it contains within itself provisions for securing the following purposes :

(1) For earmarking a definite sum in the Budgets of the Provincial and Central Governments for the Secondary, University and Advanced Education of the Scheduled Castes.

(2) For reservation of Government lands for separate settlements of the Scheduled Castes through a Settlement Commission.

(3) For Representation of the Scheduled Castes according to their needs, numbers and importance :—

(*i*) in the Legislatures,

(*ii*) in the Executive,

(*iii*) in Municipalities and Local Boards,

(*iv*) in the Public Services,

(*v*) on the Public Service Commissions.

(4) For the recognition of the above provisions as fundamental rights beyond the powers of the Legislature or the Executive to amend or alter or abrogate.

(3) For the appointment of an Officer similar in status to that of the Auditor-General appointed under Section 166 of the Government of India Act of 1935 and removable from office in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the Federal Court to report on the working of the provisions relating to Fundamental Rights.

RESOLUTION NO. 4

SUBJECT :—*Communal Settlement.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation, while it is most eager for a settlement of the Communal problem, wholly disapproves of the secret negotiations which are being carried

on by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah for a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Working Committee is of opinion that Communal settlement of a sectional character is harmful in every way. It is harmful because it ignores the vital interests of other communities. It is harmful because it creates a feeling of suspicion in other communities that dishonest deal is being made between two communities to defeat their interests. It is also harmful to the general interests of the country, inasmuch as the singling out of one special community from others for conferring special privileges, not necessary for its protection but demanded on the basis of prestige, creates differences in status which from the point of view of maintaining equal citizenship for all, are unjustifiable and must be deplored. The Working Committee is surprised that Mr. Gandhi who has time and again proclaimed himself as an opponent of secrecy in public life should have entered into secret diplomacy to bring about Hindu-Moslem Settlement. The Committee expresses its emphatic opinion that the proper procedure to settle the communal question, which would give a sense of security and ensure fair and equal treatment to all is to discuss the demands put forth by each interest in public and in the presence of and with the representatives of other interests.

Resolution No. 5

Subject :—*Revision of the Constitution.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation is of opinion that the provisions in the existing Constitution relating to minority representation are not based on any intelligible principle. The Committee finds that as the system now stands, some minorities have not received even their population ratio of representation, while other minorities have been given weightage over and above their population ratio as a concession to their claims based on historical and military importance. The Working Committee regards the recognition of such claims to be harmful to the interests of other minorities and inconsistent with the ideal of social and political democracy, which is the goal of all Indians and that they should never be tolerated. In this connection, the Committee wishes to draw attention to the fact that the principle of giving weightage to specially selected minorities has been condemned by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and also by the Simon Commission. The Committee demands that in view of the fact that the next Constitution of India will be for India as a Dominion, the provisions of the Constitution relating to minorities should be revised and should be brought in accord with the principle of equal treatment of all minorities.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

SUBJECT :—*Representation in the Legislatures and in the Executive.*

The Working Committee of the All-India, Scheduled Castes Federation desires to state in categorical and emphatic terms that the Scheduled Castes will not tolerate any discrimination between one community and another in the matter of representation and will insist upon their claim for seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures and in the Provincial and Central Executive being adjudged in the same manner and by the same principles that may be made applicable to the claims of the Muslim Community.

RESOLUTION NO. 7

SUBJECT:—*Electorates.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation is of opinion that the experience of the last elections held under the Government of India Act has proved that the system of joint electorates has deprived the Scheduled Castes of the right to send true and effective representatives to the Legislatures and has given the Hindu Majority the virtual right to nominate members of the Scheduled Castes who are prepared to be the tools of the Hindu Majority. The Working Committee of the Federation therefore demands that the system of joint electorates and reserved seats should be abolished and the system of separate electorates be introduced in place thereof.

RESOLUTION NO. 8

SUBJECT :—*Framework of Executive Government.*

The working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation takes note of the fact that not only all wealth, property, trade and industry are in the hands of the Majority Community, but even the whole administration of the State is controlled by the Majority Community whose members have monopolized all posts in the State services both superior and inferior. The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation regards this as the most dangerous situation which cannot but cause great apprehension to the minority communities since the combination of these circumstances gives the majority the fullest power to establish its stranglehold upon the minorities. This fear of a stranglehold is greatly augmented by the Constitutional provisions relating to the Executive contained in the Government of India Act of 1935 which permits the majority in the Legislature to form a Government without reference to the wishes of the minorities,

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation feels that while, in the absence of an alternative system, the Parliamentary system of Government may have to be accepted, the Committee is definitely opposed to the system of Parliamentary cabinet inasmuch as it automatically vests the Executive authority in the Majority Community and thereby strengthens the hold of the Majority Community which has entered into the steel frame of the administration and thus has become a source of great danger to the Minorities. The Working Committee has, therefore, come to the conclusion that the system of Parliamentary Cabinet is not suited to Indian conditions and that a different system under which Executive Government would be formed in consultation with the wishes of the Minorities must be designed to give them a better sense of security.

The Working Committee insists that the Executive in the Provinces as well as in the Centre should be constituted in the following manner:—

(*i*) The Executive should consist of a Prime Minister and other ministers drawn from general community and from minority communities in a proportion to be specified in the Constitution.

(*ii*) The Prime Minister and Ministers drawn from the general community shall be elected to the Executive by the whole house by single transferable vote.

(*iii*) The Ministers representing the minority communities shall be chosen by the members representing the different communities by single transferable vote.

(*iv*) The Members of the Executive shall be members of the Legislature, shall answer questions, vote and take part in debates.

(*v*) Any vacancy in the Executive shall be filled in accordance with rules governing the original appointments.

(*vi*) The period for Which the Executive shall hold office shall be co-terminus with the life of the Legislature.

Resolution No. 9

Subject :—*Public Services.*

While it is desirable to plan for a Government which will be a Government of Laws and not of men, it cannot be forgotten that no matter how Government is organized, it must remain a Government of men. That being so, whether Government is good or bad—as distinguished from a merely efficient Government—and how far the administration of public affairs will be non-political and impartial must depend upon the spirit and outlook and sense of justice of the

men who are appointed to administer the Law. The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation is convinced that the Scheduled Castes can never get protection, justice or sympathy from the present administration which is controlled by men full of caste consciousness, narrow-mindedness, absence of sense of justice and having a hatred and contempt for the Scheduled Castes. The Working Committee, therefore, demands that the Constitution must recognize the right of the Scheduled Castes to reservation in the Public Services in the same proportion as may be applied to the claims of the Muslim Community.

Resolution No. 10

Subject :—*Provision for Education.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation feels that unless persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes are able to occupy posts which carry executive authority, the Scheduled Castes must continue to suffer, as they have been doing in the past all the injustices and indignities from the hands of the Government and the Public. The Working Committee, therefore, regards the spread of higher and advanced education among the Scheduled Castes as of vital importance to them. But, it cannot be denied that such advanced education is beyond the means of the Scheduled Castes. The Committee regards it as essential that a definite liability in this behalf should be imposed on the State to provide funds for that purpose and demands that the Constitution should impose an obligation upon the Provincial Governments and the Central Government to set apart adequate sums, as may be specified by the Constitution, exclusively for advanced education of the Scheduled Castes in their annual budgets and to accept such provisions as a first charge on their revenues.

Resolution No. 11

Subject :—*Separate Settlements.*

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation holds:—

(a) that so long as the Scheduled Castes continue to live on the outskirts of the Hindu village, as an alien people, with no source of livelihood and in small numbers as compared to Hindus, they will continue to remain Untouchables and subject to the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus and will not be able to enjoy free and full life, and

(*b*) that for the better protection of the Scheduled Castes from the tyranny and oppression of the Caste Hindus, which may take a worse form under Swaraj, and to enable the Scheduled Castes to develop to their fullest manhood, to give them economic and social security as also to pave the way for the removal of untouchability, the Working Committee demands that the Constitution should provide—

(1) For the transplantation of the Scheduled Castes from their present habitations and form separate Scheduled Caste villages away from and independent of Hindu villages;

(2) For the settlement of the Scheduled Castes in new villages a provision shall be made by the Constitution for the establishment of a Settlement Commission ;

(3) All Government land which is cultivable and which is not occupied and land which may be reclaimed shall be handed over to the Commission to be held in trust for the purpose of making new settlements of the Scheduled Castes.

(4) The Commission shall be empowered to purchase new land under the Land Acquisition Act from private owners to complete the scheme of settlements of the Scheduled Castes.

(5) The Constitution shall provide that the Central Government shall grant to the Settlement Commission a minimum sum of rupees five crores per annum to enable it to carry out their duty in this behalf.

Resolution No. 12

"The Working Committee of the A.I.S.C. Federation unanimously resolves that it places its complete confidence in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and authorises him to negotiate on its behalf and oil behalf of Scheduled Castes with other political parties or their leaders as and when necessity arises."

Appendix XII

Communed Distribution of Population by Minorities in the Provinces of British India.

Province	*Total Population*	*Muslims*		*Scheduled Castes*		*Indian Christians*		*Sikhs*	
		Population	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*
Ajmere-Merwara	583,693	89,899	15.4	*Nil(?)*	—	3,895	.8	867	.15
Andaman Nicobar	33,768	8,005	23.7	*Nil*	—	779	2.3	744	2.2
Assam	10,204,733	3,442,479	33.7	676,291	6.6	37,750	.4	3,464	.03
British Baluchistan	501,631	438,930	87.5	5,102	1.0	2,633	.5	11,918	2.3
Bengal	60,306,525	33,005,434	54.7	7,878,970	13.0	110,923	.2	16,281	.03
Bihar*	36,340,151	4,716,314	12.9	4,840,379	13.3	24,693	07	13,213	.04
Bombay	20,849,840	1,920,368	9.2	1,855,148	8.9	338,812	1.6	8,011	.04
Central Province & Ber r† ...	16,813,584	783,697	4.7	3,051,413	18.1	48,260	.3	14,996	.09
Coorg	168,726	14,780	8.8	25,740	15.3	3,309	2.0	*Nil*	—
Delhi	917,939	304,971	33.2	121,693	13.3	10,494	1.1	16,154	1.8
Madras	49,341,810	3,896,452	7.9	8,068,492	16.4	2,001,082	4.06	418	.001
N.W.F.P	3,038,067	2,788,797	91.8	*Nil*	—	5,426	.2	57,989	1.9
Orissa	8,728,544	146,301	1.7	1,238,171	14.2	26,584	.3	232	.003
Punjab	28,418,819	16,217,242	57.0	1,248,635	4.4	486,038	1.7	3,757,401	13.2
Pant Piploda	5,267	251	4.8	918	17.4	216	4.1	*Nil*	—
Sind	4,229,221	3,054,635	72.2	191,634	4-5	13,232	.3	31,011	.7
United Provinces ‡	55,020,617	8,416,308	15.3	11,717,158	21.3	131,327	.2	232,445	.4
Total	295,502,935	79,344,863	26.9	40,919,744	13.9	3,245,453	1	4,155,147	1
*Bihar	28,823,802	4,168,470	14.4	3,919,619	13.6	12,651	.04	3,204	.01
Chota Nagpur	7,516,349	547,844	7.3	420,760	5.6	12,042	.2	10,009	.1
‡C.P	13,208,718	448,528	3.4	2,359,836	17.9	42,135	.3	12,766	.1
Berar	3,604,866	335,169	9.3	691,577	19.2	6,125	.2	2,230	.05
Agra	40,906,147	6,231,062	15.2	8,018,803	19.6	120,549	.3	226,096	.5
Oudh	14,114,470	2,185,246	15.5	3,698,355	26.2	10,778	.08	6,349	.05

Appendix XIII

Communal Distribution of Population by Minorities in Indian States

States and Agencies	*Total Population*	*Muslims*		*Scheduled Castes*		*Indian Christians*		*Sikhs*	
		Population	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*	*Population*	*Per-cent-age*
Assam	725,655	31,662	4.4	265	.04	25,913	3.6	381	.05
Baluchistan	356,204	346,251	97.2	65	.02	40	.01	126	.04
Baroda	2,855,010	223,610	7.8	230,794	8.1	9,182	.3	566	.02
Bengal	2,144,829	372,113	17.3	269,729	12.6	564	.03	28	.001
Central India	7,506,427	439,850	5.9	1,027,009	13.7	7,582	.1	2,731	.04
Chattisgarh	4,050,000	28.773	0.7	483,132	11.9	11,820	.3	507	.01
Cochin	1,422,875	109,188	7.7	141,154	9.9	399,394	28.1	9	—
Deccan (and Kolhapur) ...	2,785,428	182,036	6.5	306,898	11.0	17,236	.6	22	.001
Gujarat	1,458,702	58,000	3.9	55,204	3.8	4,215	.3	182	.01
Gwalior	4,006,159	240,903	6.0	—	—	1,352	.03	2,342	.06
Hyderabad	16,338,534	2,097,475	12.8	2,928,048	17.9	215,989	1.3	5,330	.03
Kashmere and Feudatories ...	4,021,616	3,073.540	76.4	113,464	2.8	3,079	.08	65,903	1.6
Madras	498,754	30,263	6.0	83,734	16.8	20,806	4.2	5	—
Mysore	7,329,140	485,230	6.6	1,405,067	19.2	98,580	1.3	269	.004
N.W.F.P	46,267	22,068	47.7	*Nil*	—	571	1.2	4,472	9.1
Orissa	3,023,731	14,355	0.47	352,088	11.6	2,249	.07	151	.005
Punjab	5,503,554	2,251,459	40.9	349,962	6.4	6,952	.1	1,342,685	24.4
Punjab Hill	1,090,644	46,678	4.3	238,774	21.9	188	.02	17,739	1.6
Rajputana	13,670,208	1,297,841	9.5	—	—	4,349	.03	81,896	.6
Sikkim	121,520	83	0.07	76	.06	34	.03	1	—
Travancore	6,070,018	434,150	7.2	395,952	6.5	1,958,491	32.3	31	—
U. P.	928,470	273,625	29.5	152,927	16.5	1,281	.1	731	.08
Western India	4,904,156	600,440	12.2	358,038	7.3	3,105	0.6	239	.005
Total	90,857,901	12,659,593	13.9	8,892,380	9.7	2,792,972	3.1	1,526,346	1.7

Appendix XIV

Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in regard to seats and voting strength Province by Province :—

Appendix XIV :		(1) Madras
”	”	(2) Bombay
”	”	(3) Bengal
”	”	(4) U. P.
”	”	(5) Punjab
”	”	(6) Bihar
”	”	(7) C. P. & Berar.
”	”	(8) Assam
”	”	(9) Orissa

Appendix XIV (1) Madras

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Voters in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Madras City, South Central	1	1	4	1	13,318	2,909	22
Chicacole	1	1	4	4	54,012	7,461	14
Amalapuram	1	1	2	3	46,163	23,110	50
Cocanada	1	1	3	1	50,384	12,066	24
Ellore	1	1	3	3	45,452	11,463	25
Bandar	1	1	2	3	77,627	13,314	17
Ongole	1	1	2	2	67,851	10,885	16
Gudur	1	1	2	4	35,094	7,436	21
Cuddapah	1	1	2	3	74,497	10,630	14
Penukonda	1	1	2	2	54,864	11,396	21
Bellary	1	1	3	2	63,092	9,232	15
Kurnool	1	1	2	4	53,687	13,433	25
Tiruttani	1	1	2	2	52,875	6,350	12
Chingleput	1	1	2	2	46,237	19,366	42
Tiruvallur	1	1	2	3	57,029	21,033	37
Ranipet	1	1	3	4	53,632	10,370	19
Tiruvannamalai	1	1	3	4	67,861	16,705	25
Tindivanam	1	1	3	4	63,485	19,500	31
Chidambaram	1	1	3	1	68,713	19,947	29
Tirukkoyilur	1	1	2	2	75,874	22,986	30
Tanjore	1	1	1	1	78,874	14,718	19
Mannargudi	1	1	3	4	45,283	11,767	26
Ariyalur	1	1	2	3	85,125	16,076	19
Palni	1	1	1	2	60,453	11,400	19
Sattur	1	1	2	2	58,648	6,843	12
Koilpatti	1	1	2	3	59,101	12,526	21
Pollachi	1	1	2	4	39,239	12,919	32
Namakal	1	1	2	2	43,437	14,561	34
Coondapur	1	1	2	3	35,679	8,843	25
Malappuram	1	1	2	3	47,299	10,355	22

Appendix XIV (2) Bombay

Name of Constituency	*Total Number of Seats in the Constituency*		*Total Number of Candidates*		*Total Number of Voters in the Constituency*		
	For General	*For Scheduled Castes*	*For General Seat*	*For Scheduled Caste Seat*	*General*	*Scheduled Castes*	*Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Bombay City North and Bombay Suburban District	2	1	6	4	61,831	9,880	16
Bombay City (Byculla and Parel)	2	1	4	3	71,100	10,486	15
Kaira District	3	1	4	1	92,388	6,231	7
Surat District	3	1	6	4	51,711	3,929	8
Thana, South	2	1	3	3	42,003	2,263	5
Ahmednagar South	2	1	4	3	36,065	4,814	13
East Khandesh, East	3	1	7	4	56,733	4,842	9
Nasik, West	3	1	7	2	44,517	8,881	20
Poona, West	2	1	4	2	43,147	7,206	17
Satara, North	3	1	5	4	57,839	6,692	12
Sholapur, North East	2	1	6	4	36,210	6,741	19
Belgaum, North	3	1	6	4	49,507	12,493	25
Bijapur, North	2	1	4	4	42,301	7,525	18
Kolaba District	3	1	7	3	59,490	4,804	8
Ratnagiri, North	3	1	8	[3]	21,908	3,961	18

Appendix XIV (3) Bengal

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Voters in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Burdwan, Central	1	1	2	3	35,294	14,450	41
Burzdwan, North West	1	1	2	3	41,817	8,693	21
Birbhum	1	1	3	3	52,569	18,506	35
Bankura, West	1	1	1	4	44,115	19,272	44
Midnapur, Central	1	1	2	2	75,903	19,664	26
Jhargram-cum-Ghatal	1	1	2	4	40,596	9,917	24
Hooghly, North East	1	1	3	3	35,500	12,254	35
Howrah	1	1	2	3	68,526	22,470	33
24-Parganas, South East	1	1	3	3	29,342,	37,556	128
24-Parganas, North West	1	1	2	4	42,214	24,404	58
Nadia	1	1	2	4	53,247	20,957	39
Murshidabad	1	1	2	3	46,122	11,692	25
Jessore	1	1	4	2	50,966	43,425	85
Khulna	1	2	3	6	41,639	54,530	131
Malda	1	1	2	4	30,916	22,728	74
Dinajpur	1	2	1	2	25,985	89,880	346
Jalpaiguri-cum-Siliguri	1	2	3	8	9,074	54,657	602
Rangpur	1	2	2	5	21,497	68,759	320
Bogra-cum-Pabna	1	1	3	4	41,539	31,459	76
Dacca, East	1	1	2	4	38,810	36,749	95
Mymensingh, West	1	1	2	4	47,974	30,036	63
Mymensingh, East	1	1	2	4	42,237	29,745	70
Faridpur	1	2	2	8	63,532	73,946	116
Bakarganj, South West	1	1	1	4	23,477	37,895	161
Tippera	1	1	3	4	65,898	27,475	41

Appendix XIV (4) U. P.

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Voters in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Lucknow City	1	1	3	4	29,133	6,821	23
Cawnpore City	1	1	2	4	49,485	14,462	29
Agra City	1	1	2	4	27,805	6,103	22
Allahabad City	1	1	1	4	27,313	6,503	24
Saharanpur District	1	1	2	2	27,053	3,720	14
Bulandshahr District	1	1	4	3	32,434	4,648	14
Agra District	1	1	3	4	33,230	4,476	13
Mainpuri District	1	1	3	4	41,044	5,356	13
Budaun District	1	1	4	4	32,763	7,558	23
Jalaun District	1	1	2	4	40,862	10,356	25
Mirzapur District	1	1	2	1	26,803	2,969	11
Gorakhpur District	1	1	2	4	25,113	3,697	15
Basti District	1	1	2	1	27,193	4,143	15
Azamgarh District	1	1	3	2	36,541	7,231	20
Almora District	1	1	3	1	93,380	17,809	19
Rae Bareili District	1	1	2	1	38,320	10,829	28
Sitapur District	1	1	3	3	45,130	18,868	42
Fyzabad District	1	1	4	2	48,337	10,035	22
Gonda District	1	1	2	1	47,666	7,428	16
Barabanki District	1	1	2	4	41,957	14,649	35

Appendix XIV (5) Punjab

Name of Constituency	*Total Number of Seats in the Constituency*		*Total Number of Candidates*		*Total Number of Voters in the Constituency*		
	For General	*For Scheduled Castes*	*For General Seat*	*For Scheduled Caste Seat*	*General*	*Scheduled Castes*	*Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South East Gurgaon	1	1	4	1	27,177	2,842	10
Karnal, North	1	1	4	3	23,224	2,698	12
Ambala and Simla	1	1	5	3	26,918	7,611	28
Hoshiarpur, West	1	1	2	4	27,589	11,701	42
Jullundur	1	1	2	4	12,967	14,744	114
Ludhiana and Ferozepur	1	1	4	4	20,334	12,299	60
Amritsar and Sialkot	1	1	2	1	21,610	5,374	25
Lyallpur and Jhang	1	1	2	3	13,909	3,805	27

Appendix XIV (6) Bihar

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Voters in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
East Bihar	1	1	2	2	23,966	3,944	16
South Gaya	1	1	2	1	35,104	9,675	28
Nawada	1	1	3	2	28,149	7,060	25
East Central Shahabad	1	1	4	1	34,138	6,491	19
West Gopalganj	1	1	3	1	25,419	3,361	13
North Bettiah East	1	1	2	1	22,596	2,985	13
Muzaffarpur Sadr	1	1	2	1	23,007	3,382	15
Darbhanga Sadr	1	1	3	1	22,189	2,018	9
South East Samastipur	1	1	2	1	29,595	2,642	9
South Sadr Monghyr	1	1	3	1	38,772	5,739	15
Madhipura	1	1	2	2	21,251	1,383	6
South West Purnea	1	1	2	2	33,071	2,440	7
Giridih-cum-Chatra	1	1	2	1	39,670	4,528	11
North East Palamau	1	1	2	2	13,853	4,174	30
Central Manbhum	1	1	2	2	22,930	5,075	22

Appendix XIV (7) C. P. & Bebar

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Voters in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Nagpur City	1	1	2	4	34,816	8,574	24
Nagpur-Umrer	1	1	3	4	20,795	5,451	26
Hinganghat-Wardha	1	1	3	4	25,275	3,088	12
Chanda-Brahmapuri	1	1	3	4	21,747	4,582	21
Chhindwara-Sausar	1	1	3	4	32,040	3,929	12
Jubbulpore Patan	1	1	3	4	23,667	1,519	6
Saugor-Khurai	1	1	3	2	23,487	4,679	20
Damoh-Hatta	1	1	3	2	29,069	3,461	12
Narsinghpur-Gadarwara	1	1	4	2	31,873	1,927	6
Raipur	1	1	2	2	20,209	10,885	54
Baloda Bazar	1	1	2	3	27,045	14,386	53
Bilaspur	1	1	2	3	22,343	10,963	49
Mungeli	1	1	2	3	17,412	10,032	58
Jangir	1	1	2	3	28,303	13,641	48
Drug	1	1	3	1	23,493	8,663	37
Bhandara-Sakoli	1	1	2	4	68,889	8,591	13
Ellichpur-Daryapur-Melghat	1	1	3	4	21,862	2,183	10
Akola-Balapur	1	1	3	4	20,529	2,761	13
Yeotmal-Darwha	1	1	3	3	31,052	1,954	6
Chikhli-Mehkar	1	1	5	3	28,971	2,792	10