

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### APPENDICES

Appendix I : Shradhanand on Bardoli Programme for Untouchables

Appendix II : Political Safeguards for Depressed Classes

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### APPENDIX I SHRADHANAND ON BARDOLI PROGRAMME FOR UNTOUCHABLES

*Correspondence between Swami Shradhanand and Pandit Motilal Nehru, General Secretary of the Congress, on the Congress Sub-Committee appointed in 1922 to frame a Scheme for the uplift of the Untouchables,*

#### (1)(1) SWAMIJI'S LETTER

The General Secretary,  
All India Congress Committee,  
Camp, Delhi.

I acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letters Nos. 331 and 332 embodying resolutions of the Working Committee and of the All-India Congress Committee about Untouchability. I observe with pain, that the resolution of the All India Congress Committee, as at present worded, does not include the whole of what was passed by the Committee.

The facts are these : I sent the following letter to Mr. Vithalbai Patel (the then) General Secretary on 23rd May 1922, which was also published by the principal dailies of the country.

**'MY DEAR MB. PATEL,**

There was a time (vide *Young India* of 25th May, 1921) when Mahatmajji put the question of Untouchability in the forefront of the Congress programme. I find now that the question of raising the Depressed Classes has been relegated to an obscure corner. While Khadi claims the attention of some of our best workers and a liberal sum has been earmarked for it, for the year, while a strong sub-committee has been appointed to look after national education and a special appeal for fund is to be made for the same, the question of the removal of

Untouchability has been shelved by making small grants to Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar and Madras. I am of opinion that with a majority of 6 crores of our brethren set against us by the bureaucracy, even the Khadi Scheme cannot succeed completely. The Members of the Working Committee, perhaps, do not know that on this side, our suppressed brethren are leaving off khadi and taking to buying cheap foreign cloth. I want to move the following resolution in the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which comes off on the 7th of June next at Lucknow, that a sub-committee consisting of three members of the All-India Congress Committee be appointed to give effect to the resolution about the so-called Depressed Classes, that a sum of five lakhs of rupees be placed at their disposal for propaganda work and that in future all applications for grants be referred to the said subcommittee for disposal." My proposal was amended by the Working Committee and ran as follows:—

"This Committee hereby appoints a committee consisting of Swami Shradhanand, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. G. B. Deshpande and 1. K. Yajnik to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so-called Untouchables throughout the country and to place it for consideration before the next meeting of the Working Committee, the amount to be raised for the scheme to be Rs. 2 lakhs for the present."

Mr. Patel asked me to accept the Working Committee's proposed resolution *in toto*. I refused to accept the Working Committee's resolution and in the very first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee substituted 5 lakhs for 2 lakhs with the condition that one lakh of the same be allotted by the All-India Congress Committee out of the funds in its hands, in cash and an appeal be made for the balance.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar, on behalf of the Working Committee, proposed that instead of fixing the amount to be allotted out of the Congress funds now, it should be provided that when the Scheme was accepted by the Working Committee that Committee should allot as much cash as it could then spare for this purpose. I do not recollect the exact words but the purport of the amendment as given above is, to my knowledge, true.

On this an uproar arose and the query was pressed from all sides that the cash balance in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee ought to be announced. The President called me aside and told me in confidence that the Congress possessed very little cash balance and if pressed to disclose the true state of affairs it would harm the movement,

as outsiders and even C.I.D. people were also present. On this I accepted the amendment of Mr. Rajagopalachariar in spite of protests from my seconder and supporters. But my surprise was great when I found the resolution in the dailies, as reported by the Associated Press, shorn of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's amendment.

After the above resolution was passed, some members suggested that a convener of the sub-committee ought to be appointed and several members proposed me as the convener. On this, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel (the then General Secretary) got up and said : "As Swami Shradhanand's name occurs first, naturally he will be the convener and therefore there was no need of moving any fresh resolution at all."

Members from all parts of the country began to give information to me about Untouchability in their provinces and pressed me to visit their parts. On this, I made some promises. Then I thought that without some cash for preliminary expenses, no enquiries on the spot could be made and hence no proper scheme could be formulated. I also learnt that Rs. 25,000 had been voted by the Working Committee for "the Independent" of Allahabad and that an application for grant of Rs. 10,000 to the Urdu daily *Congress* of Delhi had been placed by Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari before the Working Committee. So, considering that after all, the Congress might not be so hard pressed 'for cash, I wrote a letter addressed to the President, asking him to give the Untouchability Sub-Committee an advance of Rs. 10,000 for preliminary expenses.

After all this, the following resolution of the Working Committee forwarded by your letter No. 331 presents a very interesting reading;—

"Read letter from Swami Shradhanand, dated 8th June 1922 for an advance for drawing up a scheme for Depressed Class work— Resolved that Mr. Gangadharrao B. Deshpande be appointed convener of the sub-committee appointed for the purpose and he be requested to convene a meeting at an early date, and that Swami Shradhanand's letter be referred to the Sub-Committee"

There is another matter which is inexplicable. After my first letter had been acknowledged, I addressed the following letter from Haridwar on 3rd June 1922:—

**"MY DEAR MR. PATEL,**

I shall leave Haridwar the day after tomorrow and reach Lucknow on the morning of June 9th. You know by now, that I feel the most for the so-called Depressed Classes. Even in the Punjab I find that no attention worth the name has been paid to this item of the constructive

programme. In the U. P. of course it will be an uphill work. But there is another very serious difficulty.

The Bardoli programme in its note under item (4) lays down that where prejudice is still strong, separate wells and separate schools must be maintained out of the Congress Funds. This leaves a loophole for those Congress workers who are either prejudiced against the Depressed Classes or are weak and no work can be done in inducing people to agree to allow the Untouchables to draw water from common wells. In the Bijnoor District, I learn there was no restriction and the Untouchables drew water freely from common wells. But in some places, fresh prejudice is being engendered under the aegis of the Bardoli resolution note. In my recent visits to Ambala Cant., Ludhiana, Batala, Lahore, Amritsar and Jandiala, I found that the question of the removal of disabilities of the Untouchables is being ignored. In and near Delhi, it is the Dalitodhar Sabha, of which I am the president, rather than the Congress which is doing appreciable work. I think that unless item (4) of the Bardoli constructive programme is amended in proper form, the work which I consider to be the most important plank in the Congress programme, will suffer.

Kindly place the following proposal before the President and if he allows it to be placed before the next meeting, of the All-India Congress Committee, I shall move it there—"Instead of the Note under item (4) of the Bardoli resolution substitute the following note;—,

"The following demands of the Depressed Classes ought to be complied with at once, namely that (a) they are allowed to sit on the same carpet With citizens of other classes ; (b) they get the right to draw water from common wells and (c) their children get admission into National schools and Colleges and are allowed to mix freely with students drawn from the so-called higher castes."

I want to impress upon the members of the All-India Congress Committee the great importance of this .term. I know of cases where the Depressed Classes are in open revolt against tyranny of the so-called upper castes and unless the above demands are conceded to them, they will succumb to the machine of the bureaucracy.

After my first proposals were passed in the All-India Congress-Committee Meeting on *June* 7th at Lucknow, I asked Mr. Patel to put my proposed amendment of Note to item (4) of Bardoli resolution before the meeting. He told me that the Working Committee would refer it to the .Sub-Committee and asked me not to press it there. I agreed. But I have not received copy ,of my resolution of the Working

Committee, referring my proposal to the Untouchability Sub-Committee.

The Untouchability question is very acute in and near Delhi and I have to grapple with it at once. But the Sub-Committee cannot begin work off-hand because the Working Committee has to take several other political situations in the country into consideration before deciding upon any scheme of practical measures to be adopted for uprooting Untouchability on behalf of the Congress. Under these circumstances, I cannot be of any use to the Subcommittee and beg to resign from membership.

Yours sincerely,  
SHRADHANAND SANYASI.

Delhi, Jan. 80.

**SECRETARY'S REPLY**

DEAR SWAMIJI,

Your letter, dated June 1922 received in my office on the 30th of that month, has by a resolution of the Working Committee passed in Bombay on the 18th instant been referred to me with instructions to explain facts and request you to be good enough to reconsider your resignation from the Depressed Classes Sub-Committee.

As you are aware, I have no personal knowledge of the facts which happened prior to my release from the jail. But I was present at the meeting of the Working Committee which passed the resolution dated 10th June 1922, appointing Mr. Deshpande as the Convener of the Sub-Committee. It was not then mentioned that there was any understanding about any particular member acting as the convener of the Sub-Committee and the whole resolution was passed merely to complete the necessary formalities in regard to the payment of money. It was felt that a formal resolution of the Sub-Committee was necessary before any expenditure could be sanctioned. Mr. Deshpande was accordingly appointed as the convener and a sum of Rs. 500/- was voted for the expense of these preliminary steps. By an oversight, the resolution as drafted omitted to mention the sanction of Rs. 500/-. You will thus observe that it was not due to the unwillingness of the Working Committee . to sanction Rs. 10,000/- for Untouchability, but the true reason for framing the resolution in the manner it was framed was that I have explained above. Nothing could be farther from the intention of the Working Committee than a desire to under-rate the importance of the work your Sub-Committee was called upon to do or in any way to ignore the valuable advice tendered by you. On your letter being placed

before the last meeting of the Working Committee, the omission of the grant of Rs. 500/- was supplied and I was instructed to communicate with you on the subject. It will be a great pity if the Sub-Committee is deprived of the benefit of your experience and special knowledge of the whole question of Untouchability and I will ask you, therefore, in public interest, to reconsider your decision and wire to my office at Allahabad withdrawing your resignation from the Sub-Committee. I need hardly add that any resolutions arrived at by your Sub-Committee will receive all the consideration they deserve at the hands of the Working Committee.

As to the alteration in the Working Committee's resolution in regard to separate wells and schools, the best course would be for your Sub-Committee to recommend the change and for the Working Committee to adopt it.

I am afraid you are under a misapprehension as regards the grant to *The Independent*, of Allahabad, and *The Congress* of Delhi. In reference to the former, all that has been done is to sanction the application of the U. P. Provincial Committee to advance as a loan to the "Nationalist Journals" Ltd., Rs. 25,000/- from the funds already granted to that Committee and in reference to the latter, the application for a grant of a loan was wholly rejected.

Yours sincerely,  
MOTILAL NEHRU,  
Bombay,  
*General Secretary,*

July 23, 1922.

### (2) (2) SWAMIJI'S REJOINDER

DEAR PANDIT MOTILALJI,

I received your letter of 23rd July 1922 addressed from Bombay about my resignation from the Untouchability Sub-Committee, I am sorry I am unable to reconsider it because some of the facts brought out by me in my first letter have simply been ignored.

- (1)(1) Kindly enquire of Mr. Rajagopalachariar Whether I did not first propose that at least one lakh should be given in cash out of the funds in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee, whether he did not move an amendment substituting words for the above which purported to promise that when the plan of work formulated by the Sub-Committee was accepted by the Working Committee, that Committee would allot as much money for Untouchability

department as it could then spare and whether I did not accept his amendment when the President called me aside and explained the exact financial position at the time. If this is the fact, then why did the amendment not appear with the resolution?

- (2)(2) Did you enquire of Mr. Vithalbai J. Patel whether the members of the All-India Congress Committee did not propose me as the convener of the Sub-Committee and whether he did not then say—"As Swami Shradhanand's name occurs first naturally he will be the convener and therefore there was no need of moving any fresh resolution at all?" I enquired about this from Dr. Ansari and he wrote back to me on June 17th, 1922, saying that I was appointed convener. Dr. Ansari is with you and you can verify it from him. I hope Mr. Patel has not forgotten all about it.
- (3)(3) Then the immediate work among the Untouchables here is very urgent and I cannot delay it for any reason whatsoever. Kindly have my resignation accepted in the next meeting of the Working Committee, so that I may be free to work out my own plan about the removal of Untouchability. This was my position at the end of July last. My experience in the Amritsar and Mianwali Jails and the information I gathered there have confirmed me in the belief that unless sexual purity (Brahmacharya) is revived on the ancient Aryan lines and the curse of Untouchability is blotted out of the Indian Society, no efforts of the Congress nor of other patriotic organisations out of the Congress will avail in their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj. And as national self-realization and virile existence is impossible without Swaraj, I, as a Sanyasi, should devote the rest of my life to this sacred cause—the cause of sexual purity and true national unity.

Yours, etc.

SHRADHANAND SANYASI.

Delhi, July 23, 1922.

## APPENDIX II

### POLITICAL SAFEQUARDS FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

*Supplementary Memorandum on the claims of the Depressed Classes for Special Representation, submitted to the R. T. C, by Dr, Bhimrao R. Ambedkar and Rao.Bahadur R. Srinivasan,*

In the memorandum that was submitted by us last year dealing with the question of political safeguards for the protection of the Depressed Classes in toe constitution for a self-governing India, and which forms

Appendix III to the printed volume of Proceedings of the Minorities Sub-Committee, we had demanded that special representation of the Depressed Classes must form one of such safeguards. But we did not then define the details of the special representation we claimed as being necessary for them. The reason was that the proceedings of the Minorities Sub-Committee came to an end before the question was reached. We now propose to make good the omission by this supplementary memorandum so that the Minorities Sub-Committee, if it comes to consider the question this year, should have the requisite details before it.

### (1)(1) EXTENT OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATION

#### A. A. *Special Representation in provincial Legislature*

- (I) (I) In Bengal, Central Provinces, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Punjab and the United Provinces, the Depressed Classes shall have representation in proportion to their population as estimated by the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee.
- (II) (II) In Madras, the Depressed Classes shall have twenty-two per cent representation.
- (III) (III) In Bombay:
- (a) (a) in the event of Sind continuing to be a part of the Bombay Presidency, the Depressed Classes shall have sixteen per cent. Representation;
- (b) (b) in the event of Sind being separated from the Bombay Presidency the Depressed Classes shall enjoy the same degree of representation as the Presidency Muslims, both being equal in population. '

#### B. B. *Special Representation in the Federal Legislature.*

In Both Houses of the Federal Legislature, the Depressed Classes shall have representation in proportion to their *population in India*.

### RESERVATIONS

We have fixed this proportion of representation in the Legislatures on the following assumptions:—

- (1) (1) We have assumed that the figures for the population of the Depressed Classes given by the Simon Commission (Vol. I, p. 40) and the Indian Central Committee (Report p. 44) will be acceptable as sufficiently correct to form a basis for distributing seats.
- (2) (2) We have assumed that the Federal Legislature will comprise the whole of India, in which case the population of the Depressed



Classes in Indian States, in Centrally Administered Areas, and in Excluded Territories, besides their population in Governor's Provinces, will form very properly an additional item in calculating the extent of representation of the Depressed Classes in the Federal Legislature.

- (3) (3) We have assumed that the administrative areas of the Provinces of British India will continue to be what they are at present.

But if the assumptions regarding figures of population are challenged, as some interested parties threaten to do, and if under a new census the Depressed Classes show a lower proportion, or if the administrative areas of the Provinces are altered, resulting in disturbing the existing balance of population, the Depressed Classes reserve their right to revise their proportion of representation and even to claim weightage. In the same way, if the All-India Federation does not come into being, they will be willing to submit to readjustment in their proportion of representation calculated on that basis in the Federal Legislature.

## (2) (2) METHOD OF REPRESENTATION

1. 1. The Depressed Classes shall have the right to elect their representatives to the Provincial and Central Legislature through separate electorates of their voters.

For their representation in the Upper House of the Federal or Central Legislature, if it is decided to have indirect election by members of the Provincial Legislatures, the Depressed Classes will agree to abandon their right to separate electorates so far as their representation to the Upper House is concerned subject to this: that in any system of proportional representation arrangement shall be made to guarantee to them their quota of seats.

2. 2. Separate electorates for the Depressed Classes shall not be liable to be replaced by a system of joint electorates and reserved seats, except when the following conditions are fulfilled :—

(a) A referendum of the voters held at the demand of a majority of their representatives in the Legislatures concerned and resulting in an absolute majority of the members of the Depressed Class having the franchise.

(b) No such referendum shall be resorted to until after twenty years and until universal adult suffrage has been established.

## (3) NECESSITY OF DEFINING THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

The representation of the Depressed Classes has been grossly abused in the past inasmuch as persons other than the Depressed Classes were nominated to represent them in the Provincial Legislatures, and cases are not wanting in which persons not belonging to the Depressed Classes got themselves nominated as representatives of the Depressed Classes. This abuse was due to the fact that while the Governor was given the power to nominate persons to represent the Depressed Classes, he was not required to confine his nomination to persons belonging to the Depressed Classes. Since nomination is to be substituted by election under the new constitution, there will be no room for this abuse. But in order to leave no loophole for defeating the purpose of their special representation we claim

- (i) That the Depressed Classes shall not only have the right to their own separate electorates, but they shall also have the right to be represented by their own men.
- (ii) That in each Province the Depressed Classes shall be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to communities which are subjected to the system of Untouchability of the sort prevalent therein and which are enumerated by name in a schedule prepared for electoral purposes.

#### (4) NOMENCLATURE

In dealing with this part, of the question we would like to point out that the existing nomenclature of Depressed Classes is objected to by members of the Depressed Classes who have given thought to it and also by outsiders who take interest in them. It is degrading and contemptuous, and advantage may be taken of this occasion for drafting the new constitution to alter for official purposes the existing nomenclature. We think that they should be called "Non-Caste Hindus," "Protestant Hindus," or "Non-Conformist Hindus," or some such designation, instead of "Depressed Classes." We have no authority to press for any particular nomenclature. We can only suggest them, and we believe that if properly explained the Depressed Classes will not hesitate to accept the one most suitable for them.

We have received a large number of telegrams from the Depressed Classes all over India, supporting the demands contained in this Memorandum.

Nov. 4th 1931.

#### WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE

## UNTOUCHABLES

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### APPENDICES

#### Appendix III : Minorities Pact

### APPENDIX III

#### MINORITIES PACT

*Provisions for a Settlement of the Communal Problem, put forward jointly by Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans,*

#### CLAIMS OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES

1. 1. No person shall by reason of his origin, religion, caste or creed, be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, or with regard to enjoyment of his civic rights and the exercise of any trade or calling.
2. 2. Statutory safeguards shall be incorporated in the constitution with a view to protect against enactments of the Legislature of discriminatory laws affecting any community.
3. 3. Full religious liberty, that is, full liberty of belief, worship observances, propaganda, associations and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities subject to the maintenance of public order and morality.  
No person shall merely by change of faith lose any civic right or privilege, or be subject to any penalty.
4. 4. The right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments with the right to exercise their religion therein.
5. 5. The constitution shall embody adequate safeguards for the protection of religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of education, language, charitable institutions of the minority communities and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State

and by the self-governing bodies.

6. 6. Enjoyment of civic rights by all citizens shall be guaranteed by making any act or omission calculated to prevent full enjoyment an offence punishable by law.
7. 7. In the formation of Cabinets in the Central Government and Provincial Governments, so far as possible, members belonging to the Mussalman community and other minorities of considerable number shall be included by convention.
8. 8. There shall be Statutory Departments under the Central and Provincial Governments to protect minority communities and to promote their welfare.
9. 9. All communities at present enjoying representation in any Legislature through nomination or election shall have representation in all Legislatures through separate electorates and the minorities shall have not less than the proportion set forth in the Annexure but no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even an equality, Provided that after a lapse of ten years it will be open to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal and any minority communities in any other Provinces to accept joint electorates, or joint electorates with reservation of seats, by the consent of the community concerned. Similarly after the lapse of ten years, it will be open to any minority in the Central Legislature to accept joint electorates with or without reservation of seats with the consent of the community concerned.

With regard to the Depressed Classes, no change to joint electorates and reserved seats shall be made until after 20 years' experience of separate electorates and until direct adult suffrage for the community has been established.
10. 10. In every Province and in connection with the Central Government, a Public Services Commission shall be appointed, and the recruitment to the Public Services, except the proportion, if any, reserved to be filled by nomination by the Governor-General and the Governors, shall be made through such commission in such a way as to secure a fair representation to the various communities consistently with the considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications. Instructions to the Governor-General and the Governors in the Instrument of Instructions with regard to recruitment shall be embodied to give effect to this principle, and for that purpose to review periodically the composition of the Services.
11. 11. If a Bill is passed which, in the opinion of two-thirds of the

members of any Legislature representing a particular community, affects their religion or social practice based on religion, or in the case of fundamental rights of the subjects if one-third of the members object, it shall be open to such members to lodge their objection thereto, within a period of one month of the Bill being passed by the House, with the President of the House who shall forward the same to the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, and he shall thereupon suspend the operation of that Bill for one year, upon the expiry of which period he shall remit the said Bill for further consideration by the Legislature. When such Bill has been further considered by the Legislature and the Legislature concerned has refused to revise or modify the Bill so as to meet the objection thereto, the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, may give or withhold his assent to it in the exercise of his discretion, provided, further, that the validity of such Bill may be challenged in the Supreme Court by any two members of the denomination affected thereby on the ground that it contravenes *one* of their fundamental rights.

### **SPECIAL CLAIMS OF MUSSULMANS**

- A. A.* The North -West Frontier Province shall be constituted a Governor's Province on the same footing as other Provinces with due regard to the necessary requirements for the security of the Frontier.  
In the formation of the Provincial Legislature, the nominations shall not exceed more than 10 per cent. of the whole.
- B. B.* Sind shall be separated from the Bombay Presidency and made a Governor's Province similar to and on the same footing as other Provinces in British India.
- C. C.* Mussulman representation in the Central Legislature shall be one-third of the total number of the House, and their representation in the Central Legislature shall not be less than the proportion set forth in the Annexure.

### **SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES**

- A. A.* The constitution shall declare invalid any custom or usage by which any penalty or disadvantage or disability is imposed upon or any discrimination is made against any subject of the State in regard to the enjoyment of the civic rights on account of Untouchability.
- B. B.* Generous treatment in the matter of recruitment to Public Services and the opening of enlistment in the Police and Military

Service.

- C. C. The Depressed Classes in the Punjab shall have the benefit of the Punjab Land Alienation Act extended to them.
- D. D. Right of Appeal shall lie to the Governor or Governor-General for redress of prejudicial action or neglect of interest by any Executive Authority.
- E. E. The Depressed Classes shall have representation not less than set forth in the Annexure.

### **SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY**

- A. A. Generous interpretation of the claims admitted by Subcommittee No. VIII (Services) to the effect that in recognition of the peculiar position of the community, special consideration should be given to the claim for public employment, having regard to the maintenance of an adequate standard of living.
- B. B. The right to administer and control its own educational institutions, i.e. European education, subject to the control of the Minister.
- Provisions for generous and adequate grants-in-aid and scholar-silip on the basis of present grants.
- (c) (c) Jury rights equal to those enjoyed by other communities in India unconditionally of proof of legitimacy and descent and the right of accused persons to claim trial by either a European or an Indian jury.

ANNEXURE—*Representation in Legislatures*. Figures in brackets  
=Population basis 1931 figures and depressed percentages as per Simon  
Report

Strength of Chamber	Hindu			Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Animals-Indians	Tribal, etc.	Europeans	Remarks	
	Caste	Depressed	Total								
CENTRE All India (1931) Upper	200	(47.5) 101	(19)* 20	(66.5) 121	(21.5) 67	1	6	1	—	4	*Represents percentage in Governor's Provinces of B.I.
Lower	300	123	45	168	100	7	10	3	—	12	
Assam	*100	(48.9) 38	(13.4) 13	(62.3) 51	(34.8) 35	3	—	1	—	10	*Pop. figures exclude Tribal Areas.
Bengal	200	(18.3) 38	(24.7) 35	(43) 73	(54.9) 102	2	—	3	—	20	
Bihar & Orissa	100	(67.8) 51	(14.5) 14	(82.3) 65	(11.3) 25	1	—	1	3	5	
Bombay	200	(68) 88	(8) 28	(76) 116	(20) 66	2	—	3	—	13	On Sind being separated weights

**Sind & N.W.F.P. Weightage similar to that enjoyed by the Musalmans in the Provinces in which they constitute a minority of the population, shall be given to the Hindu minority in Sind and to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the N.W.P.P.**

**SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**

- A. A.* Equal rights and privileges to those enjoyed by Indian-born subjects in all industrial and commercial activities.
- B. B.* The maintenance of existing rights in regard to procedure of criminal trials, and any measure or bill to amend, alter, or modify such a procedure cannot be introduced except with the previous consent of the Governor-General.

Agreed by:—

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN (Muslims)

DR. AMBEDKAR (Depressed Classes)

RAO BAHADUR PANNIR SELVAM (Indian Christians)

SIR HENRY GIDNEY (Anglo-Indians)

SIR HUBERT CARR (Europeans).

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**APPENDICES**

Appendix IV : Statement by B. R. Ambedkar on Gandhi's fast

Appendix V: Temple Entry in Travancore

**APPENDIX IV**

**STATEMENT BY B. R. AMBEDKAR ON GANDHI'S FAST**

*Statement on Mr. Gandhi's attitude at the Round Table Conference to the Untouchables and their demand for Constitutional Safeguards, 19th September 1932.*



I need hardly say that I was astounded to read the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Samuel Hoare and the Prime Minister, which was published recently in the Papers, in which he has expressed his determination to starve himself unto death till the British Government of its own accord or under pressure of public opinion revise their opinion and withdraw their scheme of communal representation for the Depressed Classes. The unenviable position, in which I have been placed by the Mahatma's vow of self-immolation, can easily be imagined.

It passes my comprehension why Mr. Gandhi should stake his life on an issue arising out of the communal question which he, at the Round Table Conference, said was one of a comparatively small importance. Indeed, to adopt the language of those of Mr. Gandhi's way of thinking, the communal question was only an appendix to the book of India's constitution and not the main chapter. It would have been justifiable, if Mr. Gandhi had resorted to this extreme step for obtaining independence for the country on which he was so insistent all through the R. T. C. debates. It is also a painful surprise that Mr. Gandhi should single out special representation for the Depressed Classes in the Communal Award as an excuse for his self-immolation. Separate electorates are granted not only to the Depressed Classes, but to the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, as well as to the Mohammedans and the Sikhs. Also separate electorates are granted to landlords, labourers and traders. Mr. Gandhi had declared his opposition to the special representation of every other class and creed except the Mohammedans and the Sikhs. All the same, Mr. Gandhi chooses to let everybody else except the Depressed Classes retain the special electorates given to them.

The fears expressed by Mr. Gandhi about the consequences of the arrangements for the representation of the Depressed Classes are, in my opinion, purely imaginary. If the nation is not going to be split up by separate electorates to the Mohammedans and the Sikhs, the Hindu society cannot be said to be split up if the Depressed Classes are given separate electorates. His conscience is not aroused if the nation is split by the arrangements of Special Electorates for classes and communities other than the Depressed Classes.

I am sure many have felt that if there was any class which deserved to be given special political rights in order to protect itself against the

tyranny of the majority under the Swaraj constitution it was the Depressed Classes. Here is a class which is undoubtedly not in a position to sustain itself in the struggle for existence. The religion to which they are tied, instead of providing for them an honourable place, brands them as lepers, not fit for ordinary intercourse. Economically, it is a class entirely dependent upon the high-caste Hindus for earning its daily bread with no independent way of living open to it. Nor are all ways closed by reason of the social prejudices of the Hindus but there is a definite attempt all throughout the Hindu Society to bolt every possible door so as not to allow the Depressed Classes any opportunity to rise in the scale of life. Indeed it would not be an exaggeration to say that in every village the caste Hindus, however divided among themselves, are always in a standing conspiracy to put down in a 'merciless manner any attempt on the part of the Depressed Classes who form a small and scattered body of an ordinary Indian citizen.

In *these* circumstances, it would be granted by all fair-minded persons that as the only path for a community so handicapped to succeed in the struggle for life against organised tyranny, some share of political power in order that it may protect itself is a paramount necessity.

I should have thought that a well-wisher of the Depressed Classes would have fought tooth and nail for securing to them as much political power as might be possible in the new Constitution. But the Mahatma's ways of thinking are strange and are certainly beyond my comprehension. He not only does not endeavour to augment the scanty political power which the Depressed Classes have got under the Communal Award, but on the contrary he has staked his very life in order to deprive them of little they have got. This is not the first attempt on the part of the Mahatma to completely dish the Depressed Classes out of political existence. Long before, there was the Minorities Pact. The Mahatma tried to enter into an agreement with the Muslims and the Congress. He offered to the Muslims all the fourteen claims which they had put forth on their behalf, and in return asked them to join with him in testing the claims for social representation made by me on behalf of the Depressed Classes.

It must be said to the credit of the Muslim delegates, that they refused to be a party to such a black act, and saved the Depressed Class from 'what might as well have developed into a calamity for them as a result of the combined opposition of the Mohammedans and Mr. Gandhi.

I am unable to understand the ground of hostility of Mr. Gandhi to the Communal Award. He says that the Communal Award has separated' the Depressed Classes from the Hindu Community. On the other hand,- Dr. Moonje, a much stronger protagonist of the Hindu case and a militant advocate of its interests, takes a totally different view of the matter. In the speeches which he has been delivering since his arrival from London, Dr. Moonje has been insisting that the Communal Award does not create any separation between the Depressed Class and the Hindus. Indeed, he has been boasting that he has defeated me in my attempt to politically separate the Depressed Class from the Hindus. I am sure that Dr. Moonje is right in his interpretation of the Communal Award although, I am not sure that the credit of it can legitimately go to Dr. Moonje. It is therefore surprising that Mahatma Gandhi who is a nationalist and not known to be a communalist should read the Communal Award, in so far as it relates to the Depressed Class, in a manner quite contrary to that of a communalists like Dr. Moonje. If Dr. Moonje does not sense any separation of the Depressed Classes from the Hindus in the Communal Award the Mahatma ought to feel quite satisfied on that score.

In my opinion, that Communal Award should not only satisfy the Hindus, but also satisfy those individuals among the Depressed Classes such as Rao Bahadur Rajah, Mr. Baloo or Mr. Govai, who are in favour of Joint Electorates. Mr. Rajah's fulminations in the Assembly have amused me considerably. An intense supporter of Separate Electorates and the bitterest and the most vehement critic of caste Hindu tyranny, now professes faith in the Joint Electorates and love for the Hindus ! How much of that is due to his natural desire to resuscitate himself from the oblivion in which he was cast by his being kept out of the Round Table Conference and how much of it is to his honest change of faith, I do not propose to discuss.

The points on which Mr. Rajah is harping by way of criticism on the Communal Award are two: One is that the Depressed Classes have gained lesser number of seats than they are entitled to on the population basis, and the other is that the Depressed Classes have been separated from the Hindu fold.

I agree in his first grievance, but when the Rao Bahadur begins to accuse those who represented the Depressed Classes at the R. T. C. for having sold their rights, I am bound to point out what Mr. Rajah did as

a member of the Indian Central Committee. In that Committee's report, the Depressed Classes were given in Madras 10 seats out of 150; in Bombay 8 seats out of 14; in Bengal 8 seats out of 200 ; in U. P. 8 seats out of 182; in the Punjab 6 seats out of 150 ; in Behar and Orissa 6 out of 150; in C. P. 8 out of 125 and in Assam, 9 seats for the Depressed Classes and the indigenous and primitive races out of 75. I do not wish to overburden this statement by pointing out how this distribution compares with the population ratio. But there can be no doubt that this meant a terrible under-representation of the Depressed Classes. To this distribution of seats Mr. Rajah was a party. Surely, Mr. Rajah, before he criticises the Communal Award and accuses others, should refresh his memory of what he accepted as Member of the Indian Central Committee on behalf of the Depressed Classes without any protest. If the population ratio of representation was to him a natural right of Depressed Classes and its full realisation was a necessity for their protection, why did not Mr. Rajah insist upon it in the Central Committee when he had an opportunity to do so?

As to his contention that in the Communal Award, the Depressed Classes have been separated from the caste Hindus, it is a view to which I cannot subscribe. If Mr. Rajah has any conscientious objection to separate Electorates, there is no compulsion on him to stand as a candidate in the Separate Electorates. The opportunity to stand as a candidate in the general electorate as well as the right to vote in it are there, and Mr. Rajah is free to avail himself of the same. Mr. Rajah is crying at the top of his voice to assure to the Depressed Classes that there is a complete change of heart on the part of the Caste Hindus towards the Depressed Class. He will have the opportunity to prove that fact to the satisfaction of the Depressed Class, who are not prepared to take his word by getting himself elected in the general constituency. The Hindus, who profess love and sympathy for the Depressed Classes, will have also an opportunity to prove their *bona fides* by electing Mr. Rajah to the legislature.

The Communal Award, therefore, in my opinion, satisfied both those who want separate Electorates and those who want joint Electorates. In this sense, it is already a compromise and should be accepted as it is. As to the Mahatma, I do not know what he wants. It is assumed that although Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to the system of separate electorates, he is not opposed to the system of Joint Electorates and Reserved Seats. That is a gross error. Whatever his views are today,

while in London he was totally opposed to any system of Special representation for the Depressed Classes whether by joint Electorates or by Separate Electorates. Beyond the right to vote in a general electorate based upon Adult Suffrage, he was not prepared to concede anything to the Depressed Classes by way of securing their representation in the legislatures. This was the position he had taken at first. Towards the end of the R. T. C. he suggested to me a scheme, which he said, he was prepared to consider. The scheme was purely conventional without any constitutional sanction behind it and without any single seat being reserved for the Depressed Classes in the electoral law. The scheme was as follows :

Depressed Class candidates might stand in the general electorate as against other high caste Hindu candidates. If any Depressed Class Candidate was defeated in the election, he should file an election petition and obtain the verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable. If such a decision was obtained, the Mahatma said he would undertake to induce some Hindu members to resign and thus create a vacancy. There would be then another election in which the defeated Depressed Class candidate or any other Depressed Class candidate might again try his luck as against the Hindu candidates. Should he be defeated again, he should get similar verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable and so on *ad infinitum*. I am disclosing these facts as some people are even now under the impression that the Joint Electorates and Reserved Seats would satisfy the conscience of the Mahatma. This will show why I insist that there is no use discussing the question until the actual proposals of the Mahatma are put forth.

I must, however, point out that I cannot accept the assurances of the Mahatma that he and his Congress will do the needful. I cannot leave so important a question as the protection of my people to conventions and understandings. The Mahatma is not an immortal person, and the Congress, assuming it is not a malevolent force, is not to have an abiding existence. There have been many Mahatmas in India whose sole object was to remove Untouchability and to elevate and absorb the Depressed Classes, but every one of them has failed in his mission. Mahatmas have come and Mahatmas have gone. But the Untouchables have remained as Untouchables.

I have enough experience of the pace of Reform and the faith of

Hindu reformers in the conflicts that have taken place at Mahad and Nasik, to say that no well-wisher of the Depressed Classes will ever consent to allow the uplift of the Depressed Classes to rest upon such treacherous shoulders. Reformers who in moments of crises prefer to sacrifice their principles rather than hurt the feelings of their kindred can be of no use to the Depressed Classes.

I am therefore bound to insist upon a Statutory guarantee for the protection of my people. If Mr. Gandhi wishes to have the Communal Award altered, it is for him to put forth his proposals and to prove that they give a better guarantee than has been given to us under the Award.

I hope that the Mahatma will desist from carrying out the extreme step contemplated by him. We mean no harm to the Hindu society when we demand separate electorates. If we choose separate electorates, we do so in order to avoid the total dependence on the sweet will of the Caste Hindus in matters affecting our destiny. Like the Mahatma we also claim our right to err, and we expect him not to deprive us of that right. His determination to fast himself unto death is worthy of a far better cause. I could have understood the propriety of the Mahatma contemplating such extreme step for stopping riots between Hindus and Mohammedans or between the Depressed Classes and the Hindus or any other national cause. It certainly cannot improve the lot of the Depressed Classes. Whether he knows it or not, the Mahatma's act will result in nothing but terrorism by his followers against the Depressed Classes all over the country.

Coercion of this sort will not win the Depressed Classes to the Hindu fold if they are determined to go out. And if the Mahatma chooses to ask the Depressed Classes to make a choice between Hindu faith and possession of political power, I am quite sure that the Depressed Classes will choose political power and save the Mahatma from self-immolation. If Mr. Gandhi coolly reflects on the consequences of his act, I very much doubt whether he will find this victory worth having. It is still more important to note that the Mahatma is releasing reactionary and uncontrollable forces, and is fostering the spirit of hatred between the Hindu Community and the Depressed Classes by resorting to this method and thereby widening the existing gulf between the two. When I opposed Mr. Gandhi at the R. T. C. there was a hue and cry against me in the country and there was a conspiracy in the so-called nationalist press to represent me as a traitor to the nationalist cause, to suppress

correspondence coming from my side .and to boost the propaganda against my party by publishing exaggerated reports of meetings and conferences, many of which were never held. "Silver bullets" were freely used for creating divisions *in* the ranks of the Depressed Classes. There have been also a few clashes ending in violence.

If the Mahatma does not want all this to be repeated on a larger scale, let him, for God's sake, reconsider his decision and avert the disastrous consequences, I believe the Mahatma does not want this. But if he does not desist, in spite of his wishes these consequences are sure to follow as night follows the day.

Before concluding this statement, I desire to assure the public that although I am entitled to say that I regard the matter as closed, I am prepared to consider the proposals of the Mahatma. I how' ever trust the Mahatma will not drive me to the necessity of making a choice between his life and the rights of my people. For I can never consent to deliver my people bound hand and foot to the .Caste Hindus for generations to come.

B. R. AMBEDKAR.

## APPENDIX V

### TEMPLE ENTRY IN TRAVANCORE

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore issued a Proclamation «n the 12th November 1936 opening the Temples in the State to the Untouchables. The Proclamation reads as follows :—

"Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of our religion, believing tbat\_it is based on divine guidance and on all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has throughout the centuries adapted itself to the need of the changing times, solicitous that none of our Hindu subjects should, by reason of birth, caste or community, be denied the consolation and solace of the Hindu faith, we have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering or worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government."

A great lot has been made by the Congressmen and by Mr. Gandhi about this Proclamation. It is regarded as heralding the birth of a new conscience in the Hindu world. I don't feel quite so sure of this. At any rate there are facts on the other side, which are worth bearing in mind.

The proclamation was issued by the Maharaja of Travancore in his name. But the real active force behind the scene was the Prime Minister, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. It is his motives that we must understand. In 1932, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer was also the Prime Minister of Travancore. In 1932, when Mr. Gandhi had raised a controversy over the entry of the Untouchables into the Guruvayur Temple, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer had taken part in the controversy on the side of those who were against Temple Entry. In the course of this controversy, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer issued a statement (*Times of India dated November 10, 1932*) to the Press.

This is what he said :

"Personally I do not observe caste rules. I realise there are strong, though not very articulate, feelings in this matter in the minds of men who believe that the present system of temple worship and its details are based on divine ordinances. The problem can be permanently solved only by a process of mutual adjustment and by the awakening of religious and social leaders of Hindu society to the realities of the present situation and to the need for preserving the solidarity of the Hindu community.

"Shock tactics will not answer the purpose and direct action will be even more fatal in this sphere than in the political. I have the misfortune to differ from Mr. Gandhi when he says that the problem of temple-entry can be divorced from such topics as interdining and I agree with Dr. Ambedkar that the social and economic uplift of the Depressed Classes should be our immediate and urgent programme."

This statement shows that in 1933 spiritual considerations did not move Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Spiritual considerations have become operative after 1933. What made Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer take a different view in 1936? What had happened in Travancore in 1936 to compel this change of opinion? It may be recalled that in 1936, there was held in Travancore a Conference of the Yezawa Community. The Yezawas are an Untouchable community spread over Malabar. It is an educated community and economically quite strong. It is also a vocal community and has been carrying on agitation in the State against social and religious disabilities. The Conference was held to consider whether the Yezawas



should not abandon the Hindu Religion in favour of some other religion (**This was in pursuance of the decision taken at Yeola in 1935 under my chairmanship**). The Yezawas form a very large community. The cessation of so large a community would be death-knell to the Hindus and the Conference had made the danger real.

It may not be far fetched to say that the Proclamation was issued to forestall this danger. If this is correct, there is very little spiritual substance behind the proclamation. It must not be forgotten that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has his own way of giving spiritual colouring to a material act. The Brahmins have been, in accordance with the Hindu Law, exempt from capital punishment which applied to all Brahmins. This was a very glaring case of discrimination. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer very recently announced the abolition of capital punishment in Travancore State and took credit for having carried out a great humanitarian Reform. As a matter of fact, the object was really preventing the Brahmin from being brought under the guillotine in obedience to the principle of equality before law.

How far did this Proclamation change facts and how far it has remained a show? It is not possible to get real facts as they exist in Travancore. In the course of the discussion on the Malabar Temple Entry Bill in the Madras Legislative Assembly, certain facts relating to Travancore were mentioned by Sir T. Pannirselvam which, if true, would show that the whole thing is hollow.

Sir T. Pannirselvam said ;—

"One of the arguments advanced by the Premier in support of the measure was that temples in Travancore had been thrown open to the 'Untouchables.' A Maharaja vested with autocratic powers did so by an order. But how was it working there? From representations received, he was led to believe that after the first flush of enthusiasm, Harijans had left off going to temples, and people who used to worship previously before Harijans were allowed to enter the temples, had stopped worshipping in temples. He would ask the Government to tell them if the measure was really a success in Travancore."

On the third reading of the Bill, Sir T. Pannirselvam made a statement which must have come as a surprise to many. He said :

"He wanted to know whether it was a fact that the private temples of

the Senior Maharani were excluded from the Proclamation. What was the reason for it? Again during the celebration of the marriage of the daughter of the Senior Maharani, it was found necessary, so he was told, to perform purificatory ceremony of the temple. If such a purification of temples took place, what happened to the Proclamation?"

These facts were not challenged by anybody, either by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer or C. Rajagopalachariar. Evidently, they cannot be challenged. If they are incontrovertible, then the less said about the Malabar Temple Entry Proclamation as a spiritual testament, the better.

Is this Temple Entry in Travancore the be-all and end-all of the social reform in Travancore? Is there to be just Temple Entry and no further or is it going to lead to equality in the matter of religious status? Will, for instance, the Devasthan Department be placed in the hands of the Untouchables and the Shudras? Nine years since the Proclamation have passed, there has been no move in democratisation of religion in Travancore.

Will the Untouchables of Travancore have to pay for Temple Entry? I am not in a position to say. But I like to reproduce below a letter addressed to me by Sri Narayan Swami of the All-Travancore Pulayar Cheramar Aykia Maha Sangham. It is dated 24th November 1938.

"Camp Mayyanad  
Quilon, 24-11-1938.

To Dr, Ambedkar,  
Bombay.

RESPECTED SIR,

I have unaffected pleasure to draw your attention to the following facts for obtaining the valuable advice from you. Being the leader of a Harijan Community of the Travancore State, I think, it is my paramount duty to suggest you definitely all the grievances that the Harijans of this State are enduring.

1. 1. The Temple Entry Proclamation issued by His Highness The Maharaja is indeed a boon to Harijans ; but the Harijans are enjoying all the other social disabilities except the temple Entry. The Government do not take any step for the amelioration of the

Harijans.

2. 2. Among 15 lakhs of Harijans, there are a few graduates, half a dozen undergraduates and 50 school finals and more than 200 vernacular certificates holders. Though the Government have appointed a Public Service Commission, appointments to the Harijans are very few. All the appointments are given to Savarnas. If a Harijan is appointed, it will be for one week or two weeks. According to the rules of the recruitment in Public Service, the applicant is allowed to apply only after a year again. While a Savarna will be appointed for a year or more. When the list of the appointments is brought before the Assembly, the number of appointments will be equal to the communal representation; but the duration of the post of all the Harijans will be equal to one Savarna. This kind of fraud is associating with the officials. Thus the public service is a common property of the Savarnas. No Harijan is benefited by it.
3. 3. There was a proclamation from H. H. The Maharaja, a few years ago that three acres of ground should be given to each Harijan to live in; but the officials are Savarnas who are always unwilling to carry out the proclamation. Even though the Government is willing to grant large extent of ground for pasturing near towns, not a piece of the ground is given to the Harijans. The Harijans are still living in the compounds of the Savarnas and are undergoing manifold difficulties. Though large extents of ground lay in "Reserve," the applications of the Harijans for granting grounds are not at all regarded with importance or listened to. The most parts of *the* lands are benefited by the Savarnas.
4. 4. The Government nominates every year, for the election of members of the Assembly, one member from each Harijan Community. Though they are elected to present the grievances of the Harijans before the Assembly, they are found to be the machinery of the Government, viz., the toys of the Savarna officers, who are benefited by them. Thus the grievances of the Harijans cannot be redressed any way.
5. 5. All the Harijans of Travancore are labourers in the fields and compounds. They are the servants of the Savarnas who behave with them as beasts—nobody to look after for protection. Every Harijan gets only 2 chs (one anna) as the wage in most parts of the State. The social disabilities are the same to them even after the Temple Entry. The workers in the factories in various parts of the State of

Travancore and the Officers of the State are all Savarnas and they are at present agitating for responsible Government. Now the Harijans are demanding jobs in Government and in factories but the agitation in Travancore is a Savaroa agitation by which the Savarnas are making arrangements to get rid of Harijans in Public Service and factories. They plead for higher salaries and more privileges. They pay the least care to the Harijan labourers while the people of Travancore are maddened with the agitation of the workers in the factories. The standard of salary of Harijan worker is very low while the standard of a factory worker is thrice the former.

6. 6. Due to starvation and want of proper means of livelihood, the heads of the children of Harijans are heated as a result of which they are likely to fail in school. Before proclamation, the duration of Concession in high schools was for 6 years; now, it has been reduced to three years by which a good number of students stopped their education after their failure.
7. 7. There is a department for the Depressed Classes, the head of which is Mr. C. O. Damodaran (the protector of the Backward Communities). Though every year a big amount is granted for the expenditure, at the end of the year, two-thirds of the sum is lapsed by his sagacity. He used to submit reports to the Government that there is no way of spending the amount. Ninety-five per cent of the sum allotted for the Depressed Class is spent as the salary of the officials who are always Savarnas and 5 per cent. is benefited. Now the Government is going to make some colonies in three parts of Travancore. The officers are Savarnas. This scheme is, in my opinion, not a success for the Government do not pay greater attention to it. I regret that Travancore Government spends one anna for the Harijan cause, while Cochin State spends a rupee, for the same.
8. 8. The majority of the subjects of Travancore are now agitating strongly for Responsible Government under an organisation 'The State Congress.' The leaders of this popular organisation belong to the four major communities of the State, namely, the Nair, Mahomedan, Christian and Ezhava community. The President of the State Congress Mr. Thanu Pillai issued a statement in which he stressed that special concessions would be given to the Depressed Class. All the leaders of the Depressed Class have been awaiting for a time to see the attitude of the State Congress. Now we come to understand that there is no reality in the promise of these leaders.
9. 9. Now I am sure that the leaders have neglected the cause of the

Depressed Class. The State Congress was started on the principles of nationalism and now it has become an institution of communalism. Communal spirit is now working among the leaders. In every public speech, statement or article, the leaders mention only these four major communities, while they have no thought on us. I fear, if this is the case of the leaders of the political agitation of Travancore, the situation of the Depressed Class will be more deplorable when the Responsible Government is achieved, for the entire possession of the Government will be then within the clutches of the above mentioned communities and the Depressed Classes' rights and privileges will be devoured by the former. In the meetings of the working committee of the States Congress, two-thirds of the time was devoted in discussion concerning the strike of the Alleppey Coir Factories; but nothing was mentioned in the meeting about the Harijan workers who are undergoing manifold difficulties. The workers in Factories are Savarnas and the agitation for obtaining Responsible Government is a kind of anti-Harijan movement. The motive of every leader of the State Congress is to improve the situation (circumstance) of the Savarna. The leaders of the major communities have some mercenary attitude who are going to sacrifice the Depressed for their progress.

10. 10. These are the conditions of the Depressed Class of the State. What are the ways by which we have to establish our rights in the State? I humbly request you to be good enough to render me your advice at this occasion. I am awaiting for the reply. Excuse me for the trouble,

Yours faithfully,

SHRI  
NARAYANASWAMI

If the plan of Temple Entry is ultimately to deprive the Untouchables of their statutory rights, then the movement is not only not spiritual but it is positively mischievous and it would be the duty of all honest people to warn the Untouchables.

**WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE  
UNTOUCHABLES**

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**APPENDICES**

Appendix VI : Recognition of Untouchables as a Separate Element

**APPENDIX VI****RECOGNITION OF UNTOUCHABLES AS A SEPARATE  
ELEMENT**

*Pronouncements of the British Government on the position of the Untouchables in the Constitution of India,*

**INTRODUCTION**

The necessity for recalling the pronouncements of the Viceroys and of the Secretaries of State has arisen because of the recent criticism in the Press against the reply of 15th August 1944 given by Lord Wavell to Mr. Gandhi stating that the Scheduled Castes are a separate element in the national life of India and that their consent to the new Constitution was essential before power is transferred to Indian hands. This criticism is based upon the supposition that the Cripps's proposals did not recognise the Scheduled Castes as a separate element and did not make their consent necessary. Reliance is placed 'upon the fact that the Cripps's proposals spoke of "racial and religious minorities" only and it is argued that the Scheduled Castes are neither a racial nor a religious minority.

It is hardly necessary to point out how ignorant this criticism is. The Scheduled Castes are really a religious minority. The Hindu religion by its dogma of untouchability has separated the Scheduled Castes from the main body of the Hindus in a manner which makes the separation far more real and far wider than the separation which exists either between Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Sikhs or Hindus and Christians. It is difficult to concede of a more effective method of separation and segregation than the principle of untouchability and it is only those who are actuated by malicious spirit of finding excuses to deny the Scheduled Castes their claim to political rights would indulge in this kind of jugglery. Those who regard the statement of Lord Wavell as a new departure have completely forgotten what attitude His Majesty's Government has taken in the matter of the Scheduled Castes from the very beginning when the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands was thought of. Ever since 1917 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Report advocated responsible Government, the British Government have taken a definite

stand that they would, under no circumstances, transfer power to Indian hands until they were satisfied that the position of the Scheduled Castes was safeguarded by adequate Constitutional provisions. A few of the many declarations made by Secretaries of State and Viceroys of India from 1917 to 1941 *are* collected together in the following pages. It will be found that the recognition that the Scheduled Castes are a separate and important element in the national life of the country and that their consent is necessary are in no way new proposals. Both the statements have been made by responsible representatives of His Majesty's Government, viz., the Secretary of State and the Viceroy long before the Cripps's proposals came into being. Particular attention is drawn to Mr, Amery's statement on 14th August 1940 and Lord Linlithgow's statement on 10th January 1940. It is hoped that a perusal of these declarations will enable those who are trying to negative the claim of the Scheduled Castes for political rights to realise that their propaganda is both foolish and malicious.

(1)

*Extract from the Montagu-Chdmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reform—1917.*

155. ... , .. We have shown that the political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid, and may be a very difficult process. Till it is complete, he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is : and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interest, we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes. We intend to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation, in order that they too may ultimately learn the lesson of self-protection. But if it is found that their interests suffer and that they do not share in the general progress, we must retain the means in our own hands of helping them,

(2)

*Extract from the Fifth Despatch of the Government of India dated 23rd April 1919 on the Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchise,*

13. We have analysed in the statement (printed at the top of the next page) the interests which in the committee's opinion should be represented by non-official nomination.

We accept these proposals generally. But there is one community whose case appears to us to require more consideration than the committee gave it. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms dearly recognises the

problem of the depressed classes and gave a pledge respecting them."We intend to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation."The castes described as"Hindus—others" in the committee's report, though they are defined in varying terms, are broadly speaking all the same kind of people.

<i>Names of Province</i>	De pressed Classes	A n g l o - I n d i a n s	I n d i a n C h r i s t i a n s	L a b o r	Ex cl u d e d t r a c k s	M i l i t a r y I n t e r e s t	I n d u s t r i a l I n t e r e s t o t h e r t h a n p l a n t i n g & M i n i n g	A b o r i g i n e s	D o m i c i l e d B e n g a l i s	O t h e r s	<i>T o t a l</i>	% of total membership
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Madras	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	6	5
Bombay	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	6	9
Bengal	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	4
United Province s	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	6	4
Punjab	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	9	7
Bihar and Orissa	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	1	!	2	9	9
Central Province s	1	1*	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	5	7
Assam	—	1*	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	6	9



Total	7	7	6	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	47	—
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\*Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### APPENDICES

#### Appendix VI : Recognition of Untouchables as a Separate Element

#### Continued...

Except for differences in the rigidity of their exclusion they are all more or less in the position of the Madras Panchamas, definitely outside that part of the Hindu community which is allowed access to their temples. They amount to about one-fifth of the total population, and have not been represented at all in the Morley-Minto Councils. The committee's report mentions the depressed classes twice, but only to explain that in the absence of satisfactory electorates they have been provided by nomination, It does not discuss the position of these people or their capacity for looking after themselves. Nor does it explain the amount of nomination which it suggests for them. Para 24 of the report justifies the restriction of the nominated seats on grounds which do not suggest that the committee were referring to the depressed classes. The measures of representation which they propose for this community is as follows;—

	<i>Total Population</i>		<i>Population of Depressed Classes</i>		<i>Total Seats</i>	<i>Seats for Depressed Classes</i>
	<i>(millions)</i>		<i>(millions)</i>			
Madras	39	8	6.3	a	120	2
Bombay	19.5	5		6	113	1
Bengal	48	0	9.9	9	127	1

United Provinces		47	0	10	1	150	1
Punjab		19	19. 5	1	7	85	-
Bihar and Orissa		33	4	9	3	100	1
Central Provisions		12	12. 2	3	7	72	1
Assam		6	0	0	3	54	--
Total		221.4		41 9		791	7

These figures speak for themselves. It is suggested that one-fifth of the entire population of British India should be allotted seven seats out of practically eight hundred. It is true that in all the councils there will be roughly a one-sixth proportion of officials who may be expected to bear in mind the interests of the depressed ; but that arrangement is not, in our opinion, what the Report on reforms aims at. The authors stated that the depressed classes also should learn the lesson of self-protection. It is surely fanciful to hope that this result can be expected from including a single member of the community in an assembly where there are sixty or seventy caste Hindus. To make good the principles of paras 151, 152, 154 and 155 of the Report we must treat the out-castes more generously. We think there should be in each council enough representatives of the depressed classes to save them from being entirely submerged, and at the same time to stimulate some capacity for collective action. In the case of Madras, we suggest that they should be given six seats; in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, we would give them four; in the Central Provinces and Bombay two and elsewhere one. In these respects we think that the committee's report clearly requires modification.

(3)

*Extract from Lord Birkenhead's speech as Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords on the 30th March 1927 on the appointment of Statutory Commission.*

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Let me take the case of the depressed classes. There is in India a vast population even in relation to the numbers with which we are dealing, a population of sixty millions of the depressed classes. Their condition is not quite as terrible, quite as poignant as it has been in the past, but it is still terrible and poignant. They are repelled from all social intercourse. If they come between the gracious light of the sun and one who despised

them the sun is disfigured for that man. They cannot drink at the public water-supply. They must make diversions of miles in order to satisfy thirst and they are tragically known and they have been known for generations as the "untouchables." There are sixty millions of them in India. Am I to have a representative of them upon this Commission? Never, never would I form a Commission nor would anyone in a democratic country, nor would my friends opposite recommend it, from which you have excluded a member of this class which more than any other requires representation if you are indeed to put the matter to a mixed jury of the kind I am indicating.

## (4)

*Extract from the Report of the Simon Commission, Vol. II.*

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78. . . . . In no other province has it been possible to get an estimate of the number of the depressed classes who are qualified to vote. It is clear that even with a considerable lowering of the franchise—which would no doubt increase the proportion of the depressed class voters—there would be no hope of the depressed classes getting their own representatives elected in general constituencies without special provision being made to secure it. In the long run the progress of the depressed classes, so far as it can be secured by the exercise by them of political influence, will depend on their getting a position of sufficient importance for other elements to seek their support and to consider their needs.

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80. . . . . It will be seen, therefore, that we do not recommend allocating seats to the depressed classes on the basis of their full population ratio. The scale of reserved representation suggested will secure a substantial increase in the number of the M.L.C's. drawn from the depressed classes. The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them make it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a larger number of ineffective who are only too likely to be subservient to higher castes. The re-distribution of seats which is now being attempted among different kinds of representatives cannot be permanent, and provision must be made for its revision. But we think that our proposal is adequate for the present, especially as the representation of opinion by reservation of seats does not exclude the possibility of the

capture of other seats not so reserved.

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(5)

*Extract from the Government of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reform (as set out by the Simon Commission).*

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35. *The Representation of the Depressed Classes.*--The suggestions made by the Commission for the representation of the depressed classes have been much criticized by the provincial Governments. The difficulty of framing for each province a definition of the "depressed classes" is probably inherent in any scheme for the special representation of this class other than by nomination; but the Commission's proposals place a peculiarly embarrassing duty on the Governor to certify candidates authorised to stand for the depressed classes ; and the proportion of representation which the Commission suggest, namely, in the ratio of three-quarters of the proportion of the depressed classes population to the total population of the electoral area of the provinces, seems likely to be unduly high. The Government of the United Provinces have calculated that in that province the Commission's proposal would result in the return to the provincial legislature of no less than forty members in place of the single nominated member who at present represents the community. The whole problem of the representation of the depressed classes will require careful investigation by the Franchise Committee ; and at this stage we only wish to make plain that in our view their adequate representation should be secured by the best means that may be found practicable. Though there are some differences of opinion within the community, recent meetings of depressed classes associations have re-affirmed their belief in separate electorates.

(6)

*Extract from the Terms of Reference to the Lothian Committee (on Franchise) 1932.*

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3. You are aware that the present electorate in Indian provinces amounts to less than 8 per cent. of the population of the areas returning members to provincial Councils, and it is obvious that under this limited franchise, the majority of the people and many large and important sections of the community can enjoy no effective representation in the Legislatures. The principle of a responsible Federal Government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's

Government while it has been decided that the Governors' provinces are to become responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere. In these circumstances, it is clearly necessary so to widen the electorate that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions.

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6. It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connections in the Conference that the new Constitution must make adequate provision for the representation of the De-profiled Classes and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate. As you are aware, there is difference of opinion whether the system of separate electorates should be instituted for the Depressed Classes and your Committee's investigations should contribute towards the decision of this question by indicating the extent to which the Depressed Classes would be likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you may recommend, to secure the right to vote in ordinary electorates. On the other hand, should it be decided eventually to constitute separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, either generally or in those provinces in which they form a distinct and separate element in the population, your committee's inquiry into general problem of extending the franchise should place you in possession of facts which would facilitate the devising of a method of separate representation for the Depressed Classes.

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(7)

*Extract from the Statement issued by H. E. Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated 17th October 1939.*

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"Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the Assurance given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate.

And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with

representatives of the several communities) parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

(8)

*Extract from a Statement made on 7th November 1989 by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords.*

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"The Congress have further consistently taken the line, which they still maintain, that the fact that there are racial and religious minorities in India is of no relevance in that connexion, and that it has always been the intention of the Congress to secure, through the Constitution to be framed by Indians themselves, such protection for their rights as may prove acceptable to the minorities.

His Majesty's Government find it impossible to accept this position. The long-standing British connexion with India has left His Majesty's Government with obligations towards her which it is impossible for them to shed by disinteresting themselves wholly in the shaping of her future form of Government. Moreover, one outstanding result of the recent discussions in which the Governor-General has been engaged with representatives of all parties and interests in India has been to establish beyond doubt the fact that a declaration in the sense proposed, with the summary abandonment by His Majesty's Government of their position in India, would be far from acceptable to large sections of the Indian population."

(9)

*Extract from the Speech made by H. E. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940.*

"Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any Constitutional scheme. There are the insistent claims of the minorities. I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—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.

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(10)

*Extract from a Speech made by the Right Hon'ble Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 14, 1940.*

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"Congress leaders have built up a remarkable organization, the most efficient political machine in India, ..if only they had succeeded, if the Congress could, in fact speak, as it professes to speak, for all the main elements in India's national life, then however advanced their demands, our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is to-day. It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India, but their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. These others assert their right to be regarded not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian policy. The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community. They will have nothing to do with a constitution framed by a constituent assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right in any constitutional discussions to be regarded as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority. The same applies to the great body what are known *as* the Scheduled Castes who feel that in spite of Mr. Gandhi's earnest endeavours on their behalf, that, as a community, they stand outside the main body of the Hindu community which is represented by the Congress.

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(11)

*Extract from the Speech of the Right Hon'ble Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on 23rd April 1941.*

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"India's future Constitution should be devised by Indians for themselves and not by the British Government. India's future Constitution should be essentially an Indian Constitution, framed in accordance with the Indian conception of Indian conditions and Indian needs. The only essential condition is that the Constitution itself and the body which is to frame it must be the outcome of agreement between principal elements in India's national life.

(12)

*Extract from a Statement by H. E. Lord Linlithgow Viceroy and Governor-General, of India on 8th August 1940.*

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"These are two main points which have emerged. On these two points. His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear. The first is as to the position of the minorities in relation to any future Constitutional scheme It goes without saying that they (H. M. Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### APPENDICES

Appendix VII : Minorities and weightage

Appendix VIII : Cripps Proposals

Appendix IX: Objections to Cripps Proposals

Appendix X: Correspondence between Lord Wavell and Mr. Gandhi, 1944

Appendix XI : Political Demands of Scheduled Castes

### APPENDIX VII

#### MINORITIES AND- WEIGHTAGE

*Views of the Montagu-Ohdmsford Report find of the Simon Commission on the iniquitous distribution of weightage.*

(1)

MONTAOU-CHILMSIORD Report.

*Extyact from the Moniagu'Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.*

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163. Important minorities, it is proposed, should be represented by election. This appears to point to a system of specified only for Mohammedans, who are no longer to be allowed to vote in the general electorates as well as in their own special ones. We have elsewhere touched upon the difficulty of denying to certain other communities, such as the Sikhs in the Punjab, a concession which i"granted to Mohammedans, The authors of the scheme have also agreed upon, and



set forth the proportions of the seats to be reserved for the special Muslim electorates in the various provinces. We are not aware on what basis, other than that of negotiation, the figures were arrived at. Separate electorates are proposed in all provinces even where Mohammedans are in a majority: and wherever they are numerically weak, the proportion suggested is in excess of their numerical strength or their present representation. At the same time, nearly all the Muslim associations which addressed us urged upon us that it should be still further increased. Now a privileged position of this kind is open to the objection, that if any other community hereafter makes good a claim to separate representation, it can be satisfied only by deduction from the non-Muslim seats, or else by a rateable deduction from both Muslim and non-Muslim; and Hindu and Muslim opinions are not likely to agree which process should be adopted. While, therefore, for reasons that we explain subsequently, we assent to the maintenance of separate representation for Mohammedans, we are bound to reserve our approval of the particular proposals set before us until we have ascertained what the effect upon other interests will be, and have made fair provision for them. We agree with the authors of the scheme that Mohammedans should not have votes both in their own special, and in the general electorates—and we welcome the Muslim League's assent to the revision in this respect of existing arrangements."

(2)

*Extract from the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. II.*

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## NUMBER OF MOHAMMEDAN SEATS

Para 85. We now take up the question of the proportion of seats in the various provincial councils to be set aside for Mohammedan members,

The Lucknow Pact, as we have already pointed out, included an 'agreement between Hindus and Moslems as to the proportion of Indian elected seats allotted in each province to the Mohammedan community, and its terms have been followed closely in the allocation of Mohammedan seats in the existing provincial legislatures. The Pact is no longer accepted by either side as offering a fair basis of representation and the rival contentions now put forward are indicated in paragraph 70 above. It is very much to be hoped that a renewed effort will be made between the two communities themselves to arrive at a fresh accommodation; but in the absence of agreement, a decision will have to be reached by others, on the assumption that separate electorates remain.

Our own opinion is that in view of the existing position and of the weakness of the Moslem minority in six out of the eight provinces (*Burma is not in question*), the present scale of weightage in favour of Mohammedans in those provinces might properly be retained. Thus, the proportion to be allotted to them, of seats filled from the "general" constituencies (other than the European general constituencies) would be determined as at present. But a claim has been put forward for a guarantee of Mohammedan representation which goes further than this—see paragraph 70 above and Appendix VII at the end of this chapter. This claim goes to the length of seeking to preserve the full security for representation now provided for Moslems in these six provinces and at the same time to enlarge in Bengal and the Punjab the present proportion of seats secured to the community by separate electorates to figures proportionate to their ratio of population. This would give Mohammedans a fixed and unalterable majority of the "general constituency" seats in both provinces. We cannot go so far. The continuance of the present scale of weightage in the six provinces could not—in the absence of a new general agreement between the communities—equitably be combined with so great a departure from the existing allocation in Bengal and the Punjab.

It would be unfair that Mohammedans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces, and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu-Sikh opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. On the other hand, if by agreement separate electorates in Bengal were abandoned, so that each community in that province was left to secure such seats as it could gain by appeal to a combined electorate, we should not, on that account, seek to deprive the Moslem community of its existing weightage in the six provinces where they are in a minority. In the same way in the Punjab, if Moslems, Sikhs and Hindus were prepared to seek election through a joint electorate covering all three communities, here again we should still be prepared to see this combined with the preservation of the present numerical proportion secured to the Mohammedans by separate electorates in the six other provinces.

We make this last suggestion, which really involves giving the Moslem community the advantage of a choice between two courses to follow, because we sincerely desire to see all practicable means attempted for reducing the extent of separate electorates and for giving the other system a practical trial.

## APPENDIX VIII

### CRIPPS PROPOSALS

#### *DRAFT DECLARATION FOR DISCUSSION WITH INDIAN LEADERS*

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has brought with him for discussion with Indian Leaders, and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of those discussions which are now taking place.

His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms, the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration:—

- (a) (a) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.
- (b) (b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body.
- (c) (c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:—

- (i) (i) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution, to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

- (ii) (ii) The signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-

making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands ; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) (d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:—

Immediately upon the result being known of Provincial Elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation, This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the electoral college,

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian Members,

{e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the New Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military) moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participate on of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the united nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the in-charge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

## APPENDIX IX OBJECTIONS TO ORIPPS PROPOSALS

*Statement by B. R. Ambedkar showing how the CRIPPS Proposals would affect the Untouchables*

The War Cabinet proposals show a sudden *Volte Face* on the part of His Majesty's Government. The putting forth of these proposals, which were denounced by them as an invasion of minority 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 these proposals. It is reported that the American and English people are annoyed at Indians not welcoming the proposals of His Majesty's Government relating to the constitutional advancement of India and hereby allowing the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to fail. One can forgive the Americans for their attitude, but surely the English people and Sir Stafford Cripps ought to know better. It does not seem to have been sufficiently realised that the proposals of His Majesty's Government now put forth as the best are the very proposals which have been rejected and condemned by His Majesty's Government as the worst, only a few months previously. Those who realise this cannot but help saying that this is the ugliest part of the whole business of constitutional advance, which His Majesty's Government is now suddenly and contrary to its previous declarations, rushing to undertake. The proposals fall into three parts; (1) There is to be a constituent assembly with a right to frame the Constitution for India. This Assembly is to have the fullest power to frame such constitution as the majority in the Assembly may choose to decide; (2) The new Constitution is not to include all of the present Provinces of India but only such Provinces as may be willing to be bound by it. For this the Provinces have been given a right to decide whether they shall join the new Constitution or stay out of it. This is left to be done by a plebiscite in which a bare majority is declared enough to decide the issue ; (3) The Constituent Assembly shall be required to enter into a treaty with the British Government. The treaty is to contain provisions for the safety and security of racial and religious minorities. After such a treaty is signed, the British Government is to withdraw its sovereignty and the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly is to come into operation.

Such, in brief outline, is the scheme of His Majesty's Government.

The proposal regarding Constituent Assembly is not a new proposal. It

was put forth by the Congress when the war broke out and what is important is that this proposal of the Congress was rejected by His Majesty's Government. This is what Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons on August 14, 1940, regarding Constituent Assembly:—

"Congress leaders have built up a remarkable organization, the most efficient political machine in India. .. If only they had succeeded, if the Congress could, in fact speak, as it professes to speak, for all the main elements in India's national life, then however advanced their demands.-our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is today. It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India, but their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. These others assert their right to be regarded not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian policy. The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community. They will have nothing to do with a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right in any constitutional discussions to be regarded as an entity and are determined only to accept a Constitution whose actual structure will secure their position as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority. The same applies to the great body of what are known as the *Scheduled Castes* who feel, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's earnest endeavours on their behalf, that, as a community, they stand outside the main body of the Hindu Community which is represented by the Congress."

This statement was made by Mr. Amery when he was elucidating the announcement made by the Viceroy on 6th August 1941 in which he had given the following pledge to the minorities on behalf of His Majesty's Government;—

"There are two main points which have emerged. On these two points. His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear. The first is as to the position of the minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. . . It goes without saying that they (H. M. Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

Again on the 23rd April 1941, Mr. Amery referred to the demand of the Constituent Assembly and expressed himself in the following terms:—

"India's future Constitution should be devised by Indians for themselves and not by the British Government. India's future Constitution should be essentially an Indian Constitution, framed in accordance with the Indian conception of Indian conditions and Indian needs. The only essential condition is that the Constitution itself and the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between principal elements in India's national life."

Such were the views and pledges given by H. M. Government regarding Constituent Assembly, which is now conceded. Regarding the demand for Pakistan, it was a demand put forward by the Muslim League. This demand was also rejected by His Majesty's Government. This is what Mr. Amery said in regard to it in the House of Commons on August 1, 1940 :—

“This reaction against the dangers of what is called the Congress Raj or Hindu Raj has gone so far as to lead to a growing demand from Muslim quarters for a complete breaking up of India into separate Hindu and Muslim dominions. I need say nothing to-day of the manifold and to my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme, at any rate in its extreme form. I would only note that it merely shifts the problem of permanent minorities to somewhat smaller areas, without solving it.”

Again on April 23, 1941, he referred to it in his speech in the House of Common and spoke about it in the following terms :—

"I am not concerned here to discuss the immense practical difficulties in the way of this so-called Pakistan project nor need I go back to the dismal record of India's history in the 18th century or to the disastrous experience of the Balkan countries before our eyes, to-day, in order to point out the terrible dangers inherent in any break up of the essential unity of India, at any rate in its relation to the outside world. After all, there is no British achievement in India of which we have reason to be proud than the unity. . .we have given her."

Such were the views of His Majesty's Government only a year ago regarding Constituent Assembly and Pakistan.

It is quite obvious that the proposal for a Constituent Assembly is intended to win over the Congress, while the proposal for Pakistan is designed to win over the Muslim League. How do the proposals deal with the Depressed Classes? To put it shortly, they are bound hand and foot and handed over to the caste Hindus. They offer them nothing; stone instead of bread. For the Constituent Assembly is nothing short of a betrayal of the Depressed Classes. There can be no doubt as to what

the position of the Depressed Classes will be in the Constituent Assembly; nor can there be any doubt regarding the political programme of the Constituent Assembly. In the Constituent Assembly, there may be no representatives of the Depressed Classes at all because no communal quotas are fixed by these proposals. If they are there, they cannot have a free, independent and decisive vote. In the first place, the representatives of the Depressed Classes will be in a hopeless minority. In the second place, all decisions of the Constituent Assembly are not required to be by a unanimous vote. A majority vote is enough to decide any question no matter what its constitutional importance is. It is clear that under this system the voice of the Depressed Classes in the Constituent Assembly cannot count. In the third place, the present system of proportional representation by which the members to the Constituent Assembly are to be elected under the terms contained in His Majesty's proposals cannot but result in the caste Hindus having virtually the right to nominate the representatives of the Depressed Classes to the Constituent Assembly. Such representatives of the Depressed Classes will be the tools of the caste Hindu. In the fourth place, the Constituent Assembly will be filled with the Congressites who will form the dominant majority party able to carry out its own programme. There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi, whatever may be said about his endeavours in the matter of the social uplift of the Depressed Classes, is totally opposed to giving political recognition to the Depressed Classes in the Constitution as a separate and distinct element in the national life of India. That being the case, the programme of the majority party in the Constituent Assembly will be to wipe out the political safeguards already granted to the Depressed Classes in the present Constitution. Any one, who realises what is implied in the Constituent Assembly, will admit that His Majesty's Government by their proposals have literally thrown the Depressed Classes to the wolves. It may be said that while there is the Constituent Assembly which may deny constitutional safeguards to the Depressed Classes, His Majesty's Government have been careful to include in their proposals the provisions for a treaty with the Constituent Assembly the object of which is to secure the interests of the Depressed Classes. This proposal of a treaty is evidently borrowed from the plan adopted by His Majesty's Government for the settlement of the Irish dispute. The proposal regarding the treaty does not say what are the safe-guards His Majesty's Government will decide to include in the treaty. This is an important point because there may be a difference of opinion between His Majesty's Government and the Depressed Classes on the nature, number



and method of the political safeguards that may be necessary to protect the interests of the Depressed Classes under the new Constitution. The second and equally important question about the treaty is what is going to be the sanction behind the treaty. Will the treaty be a part of the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly, so that any provision in the Constitution which, is repugnant with the treaty will be null and void? Or, will the treaty be just a treaty between the two governments, the Indian National Government and His Majesty's Government, as any trade treaty? If the treaty is to be of the former kind, it will be the law of the land and will have legal sanction of the Indian Government behind it. If, on the other hand, the treaty is to be of the latter kind, it is obvious it will not be the law of the land and will have no legal sanction behind it. Its sanction will be political sanction. Now a treaty cannot override the Constitution framed by the National Government for the obvious reason that such a thing, as was found in the case of Irish Free State, is incompatible with Dominion Status. The only sanction behind such a treaty will be political sanction. It is obvious that the use of such sanction must depend upon the colour of the Government and the state of public opinion. Given this fact, the questions that arise are two: (1) What are the means which His Majesty's Government will have at its disposal to enforce the treaty obligations? (2) Secondly, will His Majesty's Government be prepared to use these means to coerce the Indian National Government to abide by the terms of the treaty? With regard to the first question, it is obvious that the means for enforcing the treaty are twofold—use of force and trade war. As to the military force, the Indian army will not be available. It will be entirely transferred to the control of the new Indian National Government. His Majesty's Government will have therefore lost this means of enforcing the treaty. It is impossible to believe that His Majesty's Government will send its own army to compel the National Government to obey the treaty. A trade war is not possible. It is a suicidal policy and the experience of the Irish war with the Irish Free State for the recovery of land annuities shows that a nation of shopkeepers will not sanction it even though it may be for their interest and honour. The treaty therefore is going to be an empty formula, if not a cruel joke, upon the Depressed Classes. His Majesty's Government has sent out these proposals to be welcomed by Indians. But neither His Majesty's Government nor Sir Stafford Cripps have offered any explanation as to why they are offering to Indians the very proposals which His Majesty's Government had been condemning in scathing terms only a few months ago. A year ago, His Majesty's Government said

that they would not grant Constituent Assembly because that would be a coercion of the minorities. His Majesty's Government is now prepared to grant Constituent Assembly and to coerce the minorities. A year ago, His Majesty's Government' said that they will not allow Pakistan because that is Balkanisation of India. To-day, they are prepared to allow the partition of India. How can the Government of a Great Empire lose all sense of principle? The only explanation is that His Majesty's Government has, as a result of the course of the war, become panic-stricken. The proposals are the result of loss of nerves. How great is the panic that has overtaken His Majesty's Government can be easily seen if one compared the demands made by the Congress and the Muslim League and the concessions made to them by these proposals. The Congress demanded that the Constitution should be framed by a Constituent Assembly by a mere majority vote. On the other hand, when the Viceroy announced that the British Government will not be a party to the coercion of the minorities involved in the demand by the Congress, the Working Committee of the Congress at its meeting at Wardha held on August 22, 1940. passed the following resolution ;—

"The Committee regrets that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less of asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of a Constitution though through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been misrepresented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to Indian progress."

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

"DEAR FRIENDS,

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 tendency 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, *Viceyoy'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)(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)(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. I

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 to 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 recognised 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) (a) it has the consent of the Scheduled Castes ;
- (b) (b) it recognises the Scheduled Castes as distinct and separate element;
- (c) (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) (i) in the Legislatures,



- (ii) (ii) in the Executive,
  - (iii) (iii) in Municipalities and Local Boards,
  - (iv) (iv) in the Public Services,
  - (v) (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.
- {5) 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 re-movable 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) (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) (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) (iii) The Ministers representing the minority communities shall be chosen by the members representing the different communities by single transferable vote.
- (iv) (iv) The Members of the Executive shall be members of the Legislature, shall answer questions, vote and take part in debates.
- (v) (v) Any vacancy in the Executive shall be filled in accordance with rules governing the original appointments.
- (vi) (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 organised, 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 recognise 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



## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

	n	on		on		on		on	
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	1,820,368	9.2	1,855,148	8.9	338,812	1.6	8,011	.04
Central Province & Berer*.	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	16,157	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	28,418,81	16,217,2	57.	1,248,63	4.4	486,038	1.7	3,757,40	13.

	9	42	0	5				1	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 Province s*	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

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES



## Appendices

Appendix XIII : Communal Distribution of Population by Minorities in Indian States

### APPENDIX XIII

#### *COMMUNAL DISIRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY MINORITIES*

#### *IN INDIAN STATES.*

Province States and Agencies	Total Populati on	Muslims		Scheduled Castes		Indian Christians		Sikhs	
		Populati on	%	Populati on	%	Populati on	%	Populati on	%
Assam	725,655	31,662	4.4	265	.04	25,913	3.6	381	.05
Baluchist an	356,204	346,251	97. 2	65	.02	40	.01	126	.04
Baroda	2,855,01 0	223,610	7.8	230,794	8.1	9,182	.3	566	.02
Bengal	2,144,82 9	372,113	17. 3	269,729	12. 6	564	.03	28	.00 1
Central India	7,506,42 7	439,850	5.9	1,027,00 9	13. 7	7,582	.1	2,731	.04
Chattiaga rh	4,050,00 0	28,773	0.7	483,132	11. 9	11,820	.3	507	.01
Cochin	1,422,87 5	109,188	7.7	141,154	9.9	399,394	28. 1	9	—
Deccan (and Kolhapur	2,785,42 8	182,036	6.5	306,898	11. 0	17,236	.6	22	.00 1

)									
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	4,904,15	600,440	12.	358,038	7.3	3,105	0.6	239	.00

India	6		2						5
Total	90,857,9 01	12,659,5 93	13. 9	8,892.38 0	9.7	2,792,97 2	3.1	1,526,34 6	1.7

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### Appendices

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

### APPENDIX XIV

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

Appendix XIV:	(1)	Madras
Appendix XIV:	(2)	Bombay
Appendix XIV:	(3)	Bengal
Appendix XIV:	(4)	U.P
Appendix XIV:	(5)	Punjab
Appendix XIV:	(6)	Bihar

Appendix XIV:	(7)	C.P. & Berar
Appendix XIV:	(8)	Assam
Appendix XIV:	(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
Chieacole	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
Penakonda	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
Tiravannamalai	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
Sattir	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
Mamaka	1	1	2	2	43,437	14,561	34
Coondapar	1	1	2	3	35,679	8,843	25
Malappuram	1	1	2	3	47,299	10,355	22

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

**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	% 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	3	1	7	4	56,733	4,842	9

Khandesh, East								
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	8	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	
Kalaba District	3	1	7	3	59,490	4,804	8	
Ratnagiri, North	3	1	8	3	21,908	3,961	18	

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### Appendices

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

### 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
Burdwan, 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	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	25,965	1 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

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard  
to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

### APPENDIX XIV (4) U. P.

	Total Number of Seats in the	Total Number of Candidates	Total Number of Voters in the Constituency
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Name of Constituency	Constituency		For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
	For General	For Scheduled Castes					
(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
Sahranpur 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	1	1	2	1	27,193	4,143	15



				Seat			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	28,918	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

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

### 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	% 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	1	1	2	1	22,596	2,985	13
East Muzaffarpu r 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	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

**WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE  
UNTOUCHABLES**

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

**APPENDIX XIV (7) C. P. & BERAR**

Name of Constituency	Total Number of Seats in the Constituency		Total Number of Candidates		Total Number of Votes in the Constituency		
	For General	For Scheduled Castes	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	% Scheduled Caste Votes to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Nagpur City	1	1	2	4	34,816	8,574	
Nagpur-Umrer	1	1	3	4	20,795	5,451	
Hinganghat-Wardha	1	1	3	4	25,275	3,088	
Chanda-Brahmapuri	1	1	3	4	21,747	4,582	
Chhindwara-Sausar	1	1	3	4	32,040	3,929	
Jubbulpore Patan	1	1	3	4	23,667	1,519	
Saugor-Khurai	1	1	3	2	23,487	4,679	
Damoh-Hatta	1	1	3	2	29,069	3,461	
Narsinghpur-Gadarwara	1	1	4	2	31,873	1,927	
.Raipur	1	1	2	2	20,209	10,885	
Baloda Bazar	1	1	2	3	27,045	14,386	
Bilaspur	1	1	2	3	22,343	10,963	

Mungeli	1	1	2	3	17,412	10,032	
Jangir	1	1	2	3	28,303	13,641	
Drug	1	1	3	1	23,493	8,663	
Bhandara-Sakoli	1	1	2	4	68,889	8,591	
Ellichpur-Daryapur-MeIghat	1	1	3	4	21,862	2,183	
Akola-Balapur	1	1	3	4	20,529	2,761	
Yeotmal-Darwha	1	1	3	3	31,052	1,954	
Chikhli-Mehkar	1	1	5	3	28,971	2,792	

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

### APPENDIX XIV (8) ASSAM

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 General	For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	% of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Kamrup Sadr	2	1	2	4	17,501	1,203	7



(South), General								
Nowgong (North East), General	1	1	3	4	13,173	1,825	14	
Jorhat (North), General	1	1	6	2	12,785	657	5	
Sunamganj. General	1	1	2	1	15,907	6,502	41	
Habiganj (North), General	1	1	3	3	1 12,628	7,615	60	
Karimganj (East), General	1 1	1 1	4 2	2 3	9,611 15,459	7,323 1,587	76 10	
Silchar, Gener al								

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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Appendix XIV : Particulars of Scheduled Castes Constituencies in Regard  
to Seats and Voting Strength Province by Province

Continued...

### APPENDIX XIV (9) ORISSA

	Total Number of Seats in the	Total Number of Candidates	Total Number of Voters in the Constituency
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Name of Constituency	Constituency		For General Seat	For Scheduled Caste Seat	General	Scheduled Castes	% of Scheduled Caste Voters to General
	For General	For Scheduled Castes					
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
North Cuttack Sadr	1	1	2	1	17,288	4,158	24
East Jaipur	1	1	3	2	15,338	4,808	31
North Puri Sadr	1	1	4	2	13,803	3,182	23
East Bargarh	1	1	3	1	22,849	1,237	5
West Bhadrak	1	1	2	3	16,187	5,152	32
Aaka-Surada	1	1	2	4	24,914	1,475	6

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

Appendix XV: Particulars regarding election, to seats reserved for scheduled castes province by province

**CONTINUED...**

## APPENDIX XV

### Particulars regarding Election, to seats reserved for Scheduled Castes Province by Province ;

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

*N.B.*—All figures except those in column 8 are actuals. Those in column 8 are calculated as actuals are not obtainable. They are calculated on the assumption that the percentage of Scheduled Caste Voters and of Hindu Voters who went to the polls was the same. How far the assumption is justified, it is not possible to say

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### Appendices

**CONTINUED...**

## APPENDIX XV (1) MADRAS

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by Successful Candidate			Votes Polled by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Scheduled-Caste Votes Polled
			Schedule d-Caste Votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Madras City (South Central)	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Chicacole	Contested	Congress	2,380	5,259	7,639	4,036	6,416
Amalapuram	Contested	Congress	9,742	Nil	9,742	5,523	29,111
Cocanada.	Unopposed	Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Ellore	Contested	Congress	7,532	6,796	14,328	4,848	12,380
Bandar	Contested	Congress	9,935	Nil	9,935	2,004	18,393
Ongole	Contested	Congress	6,513	Nil	6,513	3,807	11,973
Gudur	Contested	Congress	4,293	344	4,637	4,778	9,072
Cuddappah	Contested	Congress	8,284	344	8,628	4,047	12,331

## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

Penukohda	Contested	Congres s	4,731	Nil	4,731	1,749	9,801
Bellaly	Contested	Congres s	4,019	Nil	4,019	910	8,124
Kurnool	Contested	Congres s	5,362	Nil	5,362	5,929	13,164
Tiruttani	Contested	Congres s	4,966	Nil	4,966	741	8,128
Chingleput	Contested	Non- Congres s	12,360	Nil	12,36 0	6,110	22,852
Tiruvallur	Contested	Congres s	3,107	6,216	9,323	14,140	17,247
Ranipet	Contested	Non- Congres s	2,969	Nil	2,969	4,000	8,296
Tiruvannam alai	Contested	Congres s	3,342	Nil	3,342	4,938	12,696
Tiadianam	Contested	Congres s	6,396	Nil	6,396	2,541	12,480
Chidambara m	Unoppose d	Non- Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
Tirukkoyilur	Contested	Congres s	9,957	4,436	14,39 3	6,133	16,090
Tanjore	Unoppose d	Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
Mannargudi	Contested	Congres s	2,294	20,49 4	22,78 8	8,296	10,590
Ariyalur	Contested	Congres s	1,208	10,06 4	11,29 2	8,759	9,967
Palni	Contested	Congres	1,469	29,43	30,90	10,615	12,084

		s		6	5		
Sattur !	Contested	Congres s	Nil	18,51 4	18,51 4	11,894	6,980
Koilpatti	Contested	Congres s	4,199	6,284	10,48 3	811	5,010
Pollachi	Contested	Congres s	9,703	Nil	9,703	2,217	15,244
Namakal	Contested	Congres s	8,141	8,153	16,29 4	3,217	11,358
Coondapur	Contested	Congres s	1,425	Nil	1,425	1,798	11,673
Malappuram	Contested	Congres s	7,154	Nil	7,154	2,606	10,148
Total of Scheduled- Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates			126,152			Total	321,616
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes 321,616							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates 126,152							
Scheduled Caste Votes secured by Non-Congress Candidates 195,464							

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

CONTINUED...

APPENDIX XV (2) BOMBAY

## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by Successful Candidate			Votes Polled by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Scheduled Caste Votes
			Schedule d- Caste votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
1	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Bombay City North & Bombay Suburban District	Contested	Congress	2,414	15,004	17,418	9,733	12,152
Bombay City (Byculla & Parel)	Contested	Non-Congress	8,494	4,751	13,245	11,662	8,494
Kaira District	Unopposed	Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Surat District	Contested	Congress	7,913	Nil	7,913	7,245	12,101
Thana South	Contested	Non-Congress	4,006	227	4,223	2,733	4,006
Ahmednagar, South	Contested	Non-Congress	6,499	296	6,795	1,976	6,499
East. Khandesh,	Contested	Non-Congress	9,519	Nil	9,519	4,689	10,846

East		s					
Nasik, West ,	Contested	Non- Congres s	16605	Nil	16,60 5	5,679	18,472
Poona- West '	Contested	Non- Congres s	9512		12,11 1	1 532	9.512
Satara, North	Contested	Non- Congres s	6736	Nil	6,736	10,984	11.243
Sholapur. North East	Contested	Non- Congres s	7622	Nil	7,622	2,891	9.303
Belgaum, North :	Contested	Non- Congres s	21322	Nil	21,32 2	6,596	36,979
Bijapur, North	Contested	Non- Congres s	4566	Nil	4,566	4,423	11,965
Kolaba District	Contested	Congres s	2644	4,781	7,425	8,117	10,761
Ratnagiri, North .	Contested	Non- Congres s	5523	Nil	5,523	not known	8,714
Total of Scheduled Caste Votes secured by Congress candidates			12,971			Total	171,047
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes						171,047	
Total of Scheduled Votes secured by Congress						12,971	



Candidates		
Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Non-Congress Candidates	158.076	

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

**CONTINUED...**

#### APPENDIX XV (3) BENGAL

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by			Total Scheduled Caste Votes Polled	
			Successful Candidate	by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total		
			Schedule d-Caste Votes	Hindu Votes			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Bardwan, Central	Contested	Non-Congress	2,383	Nil	2,383	2,728	17,918
Burdwan,	Contested	Non-	2,332	Nil	2,332	2,506	9,388

North West		Congres s					
Birbhum	Contested	Non- Congres s	4,832	Nil	4,832	848	18,876
Bankura. West	Contested	Congres s	5,100	4,501	9,601	1,838	6,938
Midnapur, Central	Contested	Non- Congres s	1851	Nil	1,851	1,733	16,124
Jhargram- cum- Ghatal	Contested	Congres s	1171	Nil	1,171	869	11,305
Hoogly, North East	Contested	Congres s	1,638	Nil	1,638	1,613	11,764
Howrah	Contested	Non- Congres s	10,373	Nil	10,373	5,986	14,380
24 - Parganas, South East	Contested	Non- Congres s	7,289	Nil	7,289	745	27,791
24- Parganas, North West	Contested	Congres s	14,964	Nil	14,964	2,361	20,987
Nadia	Contested	.Non- Congres s	5,219	Nil	5,219	8,967	20,957
Murshidab ad	Contested	Non- Congres s	2,529	Nil	2,529	2,129	10,522
Jessore	Contested	Congres s	20,198	15	20,213	11,936	32,134

## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

Khulna	Contested	Congress Non-Congress	16,575 32,662	Nil Nil	16,578 32,662	20,307	76,887
Malda	Contested	Non-Congress	2,229	Nil	2,229	1,413	21,364
		Non-Congress				—	
Dinajpur	Unopposed	Non-Congress			—	—	
Jalpaiguri-cum-Saliguri	Contested	Non-Congress Non-Congress	16,244 7,261	Nil Nil	16,244 7,261	19,513	48,191
Bangpur	Contested	Non-Congress	12,212	Nil	12,212	17,345	53,632
Bogra-cum-Pabna	Contested	Congress Non-Congress Non-Congress	11,914 10,502	Nil Nil	11,914 10,502	9,920 12,062	27,054 30,869
Dacca, East	Contested	Non-Congress	17,413	Nil	17,413	12,062	
Mymenaingh, West	Contested	Non-Congress	11,822	Nil	11,822	8,987	21,025
Mymenain	Contested	Non-	10,720	Nil	10,720	16,509	31,530

gh, East		Congres s			0		
Faridpur	Contested	Non- Congres s Non- Congres s	27,342 25,924	Nil Nil	27,342 25,924	57,699	97,608
Bakarganj, South West	Contested	Non- Congres s	10,515	Nil	10,515	18,801	26,526
Tippera	Contested	Non- Congres s	19,388	Nil	19,388	8,017	29,673
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates			59,646			Total	684,443

Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes 684,443

Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates. 59,646

Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Non-Congress Candidates 624797

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### Appendices

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### APPENDIX XV (4) U. P.

			Distribution of Votes Polled by Votes Polled		Total
Name of	Contested	Party	Successful Candidate	by	Schedul

## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Ticket of Successful Candidate				Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Caste Votes Polled
			Schedule-Caste Votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Lucknow City	Contested	Congress	1,910	2,327	4,237	4,092	6,002
Cawnpore City	Contested	Congress	4,483	4,901	9,384	1,301	5,784
Agra City	Contested	Congress	1,018	4,389	5,407	3,132	4,150
Allahabad City	Contested	Congress	385	9,285	9,670	4037	4,422
Saharanpur District 1	Contested	Congress	3,252-	Nil	3,252	648	5,282
Bulandshahr District	Contested	Congress	3,853	547	4,400	2,365	6,228
Agra District	Contested	Non-Congress	1,851	Nil	1,851	2,513	5,550
Mainpuri District	Contested	Congress	2,317	932	3,249	4,431	6,748
Bodaon District	Contested	Congress	1,557	Nil	1,557	2,676	9,070
Jalaun District	Contested	Congress	3,791	Nil	3,791	4,840	12,428
Mirzapur	Unoppose	Congress	—	—	—	—	—

District	d	s					
Gorakhpur District	Contested	Congress	2,762	Nil	2,762	819	4,954
Basti District	Unopposed	Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Azamgarh District	Contested	Congress	949	Nil	949	196	9,256
Almora District	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Rae Bareilly District	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Sitapur District	Contested	Congress	12,535	Nil	12,535	955	20,000
Fyzabad District	Contested	Congress	5,771	Nil	5,771	22	13,848
Gonda District	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
Barabanki District	Contested	Congress	8,026	Nil	8,026	7,283	18,458
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates			52,609			Total	132,180
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes 132,180							
Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates 52,609							
Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by non-Congress Candidates 79,571							

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

## Appendices

CONTINUED...

### APPENDIX XV (5) PUNJAB

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by Successful Candidate			Votes Polled by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Scheduled-Caste Votes ; Polled
			Schedule d-Caste Votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
South East Gurgaon	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
karnal, North	Contested	Non-Congress	3,318	Nil	3,318	1,299	3,777
Ambala and Simla	Contested	Non-Congress	5,237	Nil	5,237	4,911	10,960
Hoehiarpur, West	Contested	Non-Congress	8,599	Nil	8,599	14,640	11,701
Jullundur	Contested	Non-Congress	13,135	Nil	13,135	9,176	20,347





			ed. Caste Votes	u Vote s	al		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
East Bihar South Gaya	Contested Unopposed	Non- Congres s Congres s	2,471	Nil	2,471	519	5,443
N Wada East Central Shahabad ,	Contested Unopposed	Congres s Non- Congres s	3,079	Nil	3,079	1,629	10,449
West Gopalganj North Bettiali East.Muzaffar pur Sadr	Unopposed Unopposed Unopposed	Non- Congres s Congres s Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
Darbhanga Sadr	Unopposed	Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
South East Samastipur South Sadr Monghyr	Unopposed Unopposed	Congres s Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
Madhipura South West Purnea Girdih-cum- Chatra	Contested Contested Unopposed	Congres s Congres s Congres s	70 2,040	1,688 2,878	1,754,918	1,700 1,669	1,770 3,709



## Selected Works of Dr BR Ambedkar

				s			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Nagpur City	Contested	Non- Congres s	7,796	Nil	7,796	3787	9088
Nagpur- Umrer	Contested	Congres s Non- Congres s	3,667	Nil	3,667	2774	6323
Hingangha t-Wardha	Contested	Congres s Non- Congres s	2,964	262	3,226	3093	2964
Chanda	Contested	Congres s Non- Congres s	5,133	Nil	5,133	1764	5590
Brahmapur i	Contested	Congres s Non- Congres s	1,477	Nil	1,477	4035	4400
Chhindwar a-Sausar							
Jubbulpur- Patan	Contested	Congres s	473	2,017	2,490	1198	1671
Saugor- Khurai	Contested	Congres s	2,986	Nil	2,986	1417	5147
Damoh- Hatta	Contested	Congres s	3,056	259	3,315	958	4014
Narsinghp ur- Gadarwara	Contested	Congres s	1,023	95	1,118	480	1503
Raipur	Contested	Congres s	3,856	Nil	3,856	1332	9361
Baloda Bazar	Contested	Congres s	8,113	Nil	8,113	4451	17551
Bilaspur	Contested	Non- Congres s	1,900	Nil	1,900	1655	15348
Mungeli	Contested	s Non- Congres s	5,357	Nil	5,357	4730	14045

Jangir	Contested	Non-Congress	2,411	Nil	2,411	3299	17188
Drug	Unopposed	Congress	---	---	---	---	---
Bhandara-Sakoli	Contested	Non-Congress	7,916	Nil	7,916	5197	309
Ellichpur-Daryapur-Melghat	Contested	Non-Congress	1,697	Nil	1,697	3086	2532
Akola-Balapur	Contested		1,823	Nil	1,823	1726	3203
Yeotmal Darwha	Contested	Non-Congress	1,150	Nil	1,150	864	1329
Chikhli-Mehkar	Contested	Non-Congress	2,194	Nil	2,194	2164	3295
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates			19,507			Total	134861
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes 134861							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates 19507							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by non-Congress Candidates 115354							

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

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#### APPENDIX XV (8) ASSAM

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by Successful Candidate			Votes Polled by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Scheduled Caste Votes Polled
			Schedule-Caste Votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Kamrup Sadr (South), General	Contested	Congress	Nil	4,832	4,832	3,665	1,841
Nowgong (North East),	Contested	Non-Congress	1,596	Nil	1,596	3,045	2,226

General							
Jorhat (North), General	Contested	Congres s	457	495	952	371	828
Sunamganj , General	Unoppose d	Congres s	—	—	—	—	—
Habiganj (North), General	Contested	Congres s	4,863	Nil	4,86 3	4,397	10,356
Karimganj (East), General	Contested	Non- Congres s	3,252	Nil	3,25 2	1,119	10,252
Silchar, General	Contested	Non- Congres s	2,108	Nil	2,10 8	2,197	2,254
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates			5,320			Total	27,757
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes 27757							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates 5320							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by non-Congress Candidates 22437							

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

### Appendices

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#### APPENDIX XV”(9) ORISSA

Name of Constituency	Contested or Uncontested	Party Ticket of Successful Candidate	Distribution of Votes Polled by Successful Candidate			Votes Polled by Unsuccessful Candidates	Total Caste Votes Polled
			Schedule Caste Votes	Hindu Votes	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
North Cuttack Sadr	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
East Jajpur	Contested	Congress	958	Nil	958	571	4,808
North Puri Sadr	Contested	Congress	3,416	602	4,018	339	3,755
East Bargarh	Unopposed	Non-Congress	—	—	—	—	—
West Bhadrak	Contested	Congress	1,504	Nil	1,504	734	5,049
Aaka	Contested	Congress	Nil	917	917	1,402	973

Surada							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates	5,878						14,585
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes - 14585							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by Congress Candidates - 5878							
Total of Scheduled-Caste Votes secured by non-Congress Candidates - 8707							

## WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

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### APPENDICES

#### APPENDIX XVI THE WAVELL PLAN

*(i) White Paper presented to Parliament on 14th June 1945 by the Secretary of State for India, containing His Majesty's Government's Proposal relating to the Government of India.*

1. 1. During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country"His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.
2. 2. Members will be aware that since the offer by His Majesty's Government to India in March 1942 there has been no further progress towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.



3. 3. As was then stated, the working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian peoples themselves.
4. 4. While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not; possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British Indian affairs.
5. 5. The main constitutional position remains therefore as it was. The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification. His Majesty's Government still hope that the political leaders in India may be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government can be determined.
6. 6. His Majesty's Government are, however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political deadlock in India. While that deadlock lasts not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.
7. 7. The Indian administration, over-burdened with the great tasks laid upon it by the war against Japan and by the planning for the post-war period, is further strained by the political tension that exists.
8. 8. All that is so urgently required to be done for agricultural and industrial development and for the peasants and workers of India cannot be carried through unless the whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people is forthcoming.
9. 9. His Majesty's Government have therefore considered whether there is something which they could suggest in this interim period, under the existing constitution, pending the formulation by Indians of their future constitutional arrangements, which would enable the-main communities and parties to co-operate more closely together and with the British to the benefit of the people of India as a whole.
10. 10. It is. not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some step forward during the interim period if the leaders, of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the

reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

11. 11. To this end they would be prepared to see an important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive. This is possible without making any change in the existing statute law except for one amendment to the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935. That Schedule contains a provision that not less than three members of the Executive must have had at least 10 years' service under the Crown in India. If the proposals I am about to lay before the House meet with acceptance in India, that clause would have to be amended to dispense with that requirement.
12. 12. It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus.
13. 13. In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are the heads of the most important parties or who have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of Provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above stated and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would recommend for appointment by His Majesty to the Viceroy's Council although the responsibility for the recommendations must of course continue to rest with him, and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.
14. 14. The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would whole-heartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion.
15. 15. The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.
16. 16. Nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States through the Viceroy as

Crown Representative.

17. 17. The Viceroy has been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place this proposal before the Indian Leaders. His Majesty's Government trust that the leaders of the Indian communities will respond. For the success of such a plan must depend upon its acceptance in India and the degree to which responsible Indian politicians are prepared to co-operate with the object of making it a workable interim arrangement. In the absence of such general acceptance existing arrangements must necessarily continue.
18. 18. If such co-operation can be achieved at the Centre it will no doubt be reflected in the Provinces and so enable responsible Governments to be set up once again in those Provinces where, owing to the withdrawal of the majority party from participation, it became necessary to put into force the powers of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. It is to be hoped that in all the Provinces these Governments would be based on the participation of the main parties, thus smoothing out communal differences and allowing Ministers to concentrate upon their very heavy administrative tasks.
19. 19. There is one further change which, if these proposals are accepted, His Majesty's Government suggest should follow.
20. 20. That is, that External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.
21. 21. By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements,
22. 22. His Majesty's Government consider, after the most careful study of the question, that the plan now suggested gives the utmost progress practicable within the present constitution. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.
23. 23. His Majesty's Government feel certain that given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration

of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self-government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence, of India in the counsels of the nations.

*(ii) Broadcast Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy at New Delhi on 14th June 1946.*

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals' are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of Central and Provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems. It would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions to represent Great Britain's Commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians,

while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution ; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement. The main tasks for this New Executive Council would be :

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council ; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government ; or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes. Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on 25th June at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their

help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it, depend on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present ; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at International conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread.

We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

(iii) (i) *Mr. Gandhi's Statement.*

As soon as I read the broadcast, I sent a wire to His Excellency the Viceroy drawing his attention to the fact that I have no *focus standi* as the "recognised representative of the Congress." That function belongs to the President of the Congress or whoever is appointed to represent the Congress on a particular occasion.

For several years, I have acted unofficially as an adviser to the Congress whenever required. The public will remember that I went with the same unrepresentative character for my talks with the Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, and I can take up no other position with the British Government, in this instance represented by the Viceroy.

There is one aspect of the Viceregal broadcast which certainly offends my ear and, I hope, will offend that of every politically-minded Hindu. I refer to the expression "caste Hindus." I claim that there is no such person, speaking politically, as a "Caste Hindu," let alone the Congress which seeks to represent the whole of India which is yearning after political independence. Does Veer Savarkar or Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasabha represent caste Hindus? Do they not represent all Hindus without distinction of caste? Do they not include the so-called untouchables? Do they themselves claim to be caste Hindus? I hope not. Of all politically-minded Hindus, I know that even the revered Pandit Malaviyaji, though he observes caste distinction, will refuse to be called a caste Hindu, as distinguished from the other Hindus, Modern tendency in Hinduism is to abolish all caste distinctions and this I maintain in spite of my knowledge of reactionary elements in Hindu society. I can only hope, therefore, that the Viceroy has allowed himself to make use of the expression in utter ignorance. I want to acquit him of knowingly wounding the susceptibilities of the Hindu society or dividing it. I would not have dwelt on this matter but for the fact that it touches the political mind of Hindus in its sensitive spot and carries with it political repercussions.

The proposed conference can do much useful work if it is put in its proper political setting and is at the very outset rendered immune from any fissiparous tendency. Undoubtedly all invitees might appear as

Indians conjointly bent on achieving India's natural goal and not as persons representing several sections of Indian society.

That is how I have viewed the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali understanding which I suppose laid the foundations for the forthcoming Viceregal conference, Sri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal has no such colouring as the Viceregal broadcast would seem to have. I am not ashamed of the part I have played in advising Sri Bhulabhai Desai when he consulted me about his proposal. Sri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal, as I understood it, attracted me as one interested in solving the communal tangle, and I assured him that I would use my influence with the members of the Working Committee and give reasons for acceptance of his proposal and I have no doubt that, if both parties to the proposal correctly represent their constituents and have independence of India as their common goal, things must shape well.

At this point, I must stop and the Working Committee has to take up the thread. It is for its members to declare the Congress mind on the impending questions.—*A.P.I.*







