

First Draft

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

and

THE KARNATAK PROBLEM

A Detailed Statement

by

The Karnatak Unification Sabha

and

The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee

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Chapter I-

NEED FOR LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

Units in a Federation.

The present distribution of provinces is based on no rational basis. The provincial boundaries were artificially drawn as a result of British conquest and rule. As the authors of the Montford Report admitted, "the present map of British India was shaped by a military, political and administrative exigencies or conveniences of the moment with small regard to the actual affinities or wishes of the people". The Simon Commission also pointed out this fact. The Nehru Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference in 1928 discussed the question of the redistribution of province and held the view that there was a strong case for a distribution of provinces on linguistic lines. The report pointed out that the existing provinces had little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons and that, even from the purely administrative point of view, they were not a success.

It would be unwise to postpone this question any longer in view of the approaching formation of a federation for the Indian Union. The nature of units in a federation is a matter of vital importance. To treat the existing provinces as the federating units would, as rightly pointed out by Prof. D.R. Gadgil, Director of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, "not only be meaningless, but also positively harmful. A large number of these units are so composite in character as to be potential federations in themselves, and in a number of instances, there is no homogeneity of sentiment or interest, between all their parts. If the federal structure is to be raised on a basis that is durable, the settling of Provincial constitution..... must be done by units which are homogeneous, which have a feeling of distinct identity on themselves and which represent a common way of thinking."

Since language is the most important factor indicating a distinct culture, common traditions and a common way of thinking, a linguistic area would be the most appropriate unit in a federation. In India the people having a common language and literature have already developed such a strong feeling of oneness that they should be considered as a distinct national group. It would be really wrong to consider the Indian people as a whole as forming one homogeneous mass of population representing only one nationality. As a matter of fact, the Indian nation is made of several national groups each speaking a well developed language of its own.

That the people in India speaking a distinct language form a separate nationality can be well illustrated by way of a comparison with conditions in Europe. The difference between a Punjabi and a Tamil, in respect of language, traditions, culture etc., is at least as wide as that between an Englishman and a Frenchman. Similar comparisons between different nationalities in India and those on the European continent would show that India is really a sub-continent with many distinct nationalities. These various nationalities in India may not seek to break away from one another. On the contrary, they may aspire to form a united Indian nation, but this should not mislead us into thinking that the Indian people as a whole do not even constitute different nationalities. Once it is admitted that India is made up of various nationalities, no further argument is necessary for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis. In short, in the comprehensive nationhood of India which we are building, the individualities of the Bengalee, the Maratha, the Tamil, the Andhra, the Kannadiga and other groups must each find their proper place as distinct national groups like those of the English, Scotch and Welsh in the United Kingdom, and like those of the British and French in Canada.

Size of Provinces

The existence of large provinces such as Madras and Bombay is a definite disadvantage from the administrative point of view. These large provinces have become so unwieldy that serious inconvenience is caused to the people, particularly to those who are in the border districts. In a country like India, where people are generally poor, care should be taken to see that no part of the province is far away from the provincial headquarters. In fact, the people should have easy access to the headquarters of the province. Moreover, the functioning of democracy becomes difficult in a province where the people are far removed from the place where the legislature meets.

That the existing provinces are of an unwieldy size was recognised as early as 1918 by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. "We cannot doubt," stated the Montagu-Chelmsford Commission, "that the business of Government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous; and when we bear in mind the prospect of the immense burdens of government in India being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands, such considerations acquire additional weight".

The Simon Commission, which reported in 1930, also held the same view. The Commission stated: "Most of them (provinces) are too populous and extensive, having regard to the cultural level and economic conditions of their inhabitants, to allow of the easy working of the machinery of representative government on a reasonably extensive franchise". Thus the Commission thought that even under the restricted franchise which they proposed, the size of the province was too large for the easy working of the representative government. This means that an efficient functioning of the administrative machinery would become much more difficult

under universal adult franchise, which is now guaranteed by the Constituent Assembly, unless the size of the provinces is greatly reduced.

That the existing provinces are too extensive and populous can be seen from a few comparisons. The provinces of Madras and Bombay are each of them bigger than Italy; The United Provinces and the Central Provinces each exceed Great Britain in size; and Orissa, one of the smallest in area in the Indian Dominion, is of almost the size of Portugal. If we turn from areas to population, the scale of things is not less significant. The provinces of Madras and United Provinces have each of them, more inhabitants than Great Britain. Even Assam (excluding Sylhet), which is the smallest in population in the Indian Dominion, has more inhabitants than Portugal.

No federation in the world contains units so large as the existing provinces in India. In the Soviet Union, the units of the Federation based on linguistic, ethnic and cultural affinity, are much smaller in population when compared to the provinces in India. Out of the 16 Soviet Republics, only three have a population exceeding one crore each, whereas in the Indian Dominion, only two provinces have a population of less than one crore each. As many as 11 republics out of 16 in the Soviet Union have a population of less than 36 lakhs each. In fact, only two have a population of more than 60 lakhs each, while as many as seven have a population of less than 20 lakhs each. The smallest of them has a population which is less than five lakhs. In the United States of America, the average population of a State which is analogous to our province is about 30 lakhs. The average population of a Canadian province is still less. Considered in the light of these figures, the creation of linguistic provinces in India for nationalities like Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Andhras, Kannadigas, Tamils and

and Malayalees will not result in provinces of an unduly small size.

The size of the proposed province of Karnatak would be neither too small nor too big. The area of the new province would be about 32,000 square miles with a total population of about 70 lakhs. The principles of a 'model' constitution for the provinces of the Indian Union, as enunciated by the Constituent Assembly, recognise the possibility of the creation of provinces which would be even smaller in population than the proposed province of Karnatak. Clause 19 of this 'Model' Constitution says:- "The representation of the different territorial constituencies in the Legislative Assembly shall be on a scale of not more than one representative for every lakh of the population, subject to a minimum of 60 for any province and a maximum of 300". The laying down of this minimum of 60 for a province clearly shows that there is a possibility of provinces being created with a population which would be less than 60 lakhs. It is important to note that to-day no province in the Dominion of India has less than 60 lakhs of population. Even Assam, the smallest of the existing provinces, has a population of over 71 lakhs. Knowing that no existing province has a population which is less than 60 lakhs, the Constituent Assembly thought it proper to lay down this limit of 60 members, thereby recognising the possible need for the creation of smaller provinces.

Harmonious Relations.

It is often argued that the creation of linguistic provinces would lead to provincial rivalries and will thereby weaken the solidarity of the Indian people as a whole. The truth is that only the formation of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis would eliminate provincial jealousies and rivalries. It is common knowledge that there is a feeling of mutual rivalry and even distrust amongst the peoples comprising different linguistic and cultural regions when they happen

to be grouped in multilingual provinces such as Madras and Bombay. For instance, this feeling exists in the province of Bombay between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis on the one hand and the Maharashtrians and the Karnatakis on the other. Similarly, in the Madras province, the feeling of distrust between the Andhras and the Tamils has assumed such serious proportions that unless a division is effected between them by the creation of separate provinces a stable and efficient administration for the province of Madras will be very difficult of realisation.

That the provincial rivalries will cease to exist as a result of the creation of linguistic province, is evident from the fact that today there is no ill-feeling whatsoever between the various nationalities when they are not grouped in one province. For instance, such feeling does not exist between the Maharashtrians and the Andhras in spite of the fact that they are neighbours. Similarly, the ill-feeling that existed between the Oriyas and the Andhras before the creation of the separate province of Orissa has now practically ceased to exist.

It is thus clear that the only remedy for the elimination of such ill-feeling and rivalries between various linguistic sub-nationalities is to form linguistic provinces. Recent history has shown that the creation of linguistically homogeneous units greatly helps in developing initiative and a feeling of oneness amongst the people comprised within these units. In our opinion, the national movement in India would not have acquired the strength it did, if the Indian National Congress had ignored the factor of language in framing its constitution. The creation of linguistic provinces for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress was one of the fundamental factors in evoking the loyalty of the people to the central organisation and also in developing a sense of patriotism amongst the people. It will be a great misfortune if this lesson of history is ignored by the

framers of India's new constitution. In fact, the existing units in the Indian Union will fail to give that sense of stability and administrative efficiency which are so essential for the successful working of a federal government. It is, therefore, essential that the units in the federation should be linguistically homogeneous.

Functioning of Democracy.

The existence of bi-lingual or multi-lingual provinces would make democratic government extremely difficult and unreal. A variety of languages in a province would mean that the members of a provincial legislature will have to speak in different languages, if each of them desires to speak in his own language. As each and every member of a multi-lingual province cannot reasonably be expected to know all the regional languages of his province, the result would be that a member speaking his own language may not be understood by a large section of the house. The Simon Commission did not fail to take note of this anomalous position when they wrote that "in Madras Legislative Council, Tamil-speaking members will be understood only by a minority; Telugu and Kanarese are in the same case; and English provides the greatest common measure".

This anomalous position may often lead to absurdities as it actually did in the Bombay Legislative Assembly very recently. On September 11, 1947, the Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly told the members that they could speak in any recognised provincial language, bearing in mind that what they spoke was not meant for their own satisfaction, but to make themselves understood by others. The result of this so-called 'freedom of language' led to several undesirable incidents almost within a week itself. A Minister piloted a Bill in Marathi and a Parliamentary Secretary made a speech in Gujarati, thereby depriving several members of their right

to know what a Government representative speaks in the legislature. A member put certain questions in a language which the Minister concerned could not understand. Another member spoke in Kannada which could not be understood by more than 80 per cent of the members of the Assembly. All this happened for the simple reason that the province of Bombay is a multi-lingual area, its inhabitants speaking three different languages, viz., Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada.

Only the formation of linguistic provinces can eliminate the possibility of absurd situations like those described above. That democracy cannot function efficiently under such conditions is hard to deny. The use of provincial languages in politics is essential for the successful working of democracy. The provinces should be so designed as to make it possible for public business to be discussed in a language which all the legislators can speak with ease and which the electors can understand. Only then the common people, who cannot be expected to conduct debates in English, are rendered available for being members of the legislature. In short, the hope of a democratic government lies in the language of the people.

The fact that the existence of bi-lingual or multi-lingual provinces in India is a great obstacle in the successful working of responsible or representative government is recognised by many constitutional experts. The Montford Commission reporting in 1918 stated:

"It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English. We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action; and that

such a process ought in any case to follow and neither to precede nor accompany, constitutional reform. But we are bound to indicate our own clear opinion that wherever such redistributions are necessary and can be effected by process of consent, the attempt to do so should be made; and therefore, we desire that it should be recognised as one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial Governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end".

In 1928, the Nehru Committee Report discussed this question at great length. The views of the Nehru Committee on this subject are so instructive that we make no apology for quoting them in full. They stated:

"It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes. A democracy must be well informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is largely used. It becomes essential therefore to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the provinces are concerned this must be the provincial language. "We are certainly not against the use of English. Indeed from the necessities of the situation we feel that English must, as at present, continue for some time to come to be the most convenient medium for debate in the central legislature. We also believe that a foreign

language, and this is likely to be English, is essential for us to develop contacts with the thought and science and life of other countries. We are however strongly of opinion that every effort should be made to make Hindustani the common language of the whole of India, as it is to-day of half of it. But, granting all this, provincial languages will have to be encouraged and, if we wish the province to make rapid progress, we shall have to get it to do its work in its own language.

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be in two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province".

The conclusion is that it is practically impossible for India to develop a democratic form of government or to achieve a genuine nationhood on the basis of a map inherited from the British and fashioned to suit the needs of an autocratic administration. The formation of linguistic provinces alone will create the necessary machinery for the successful functioning of democracy. As the late Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri once declared; "The idea of a compact area with a homogeneous population dwelling in it is certainly the most propitious condition that we can imagine for the success of representative government".

Chapter II.

Movement for Linguistic Provinces

Beginnings of the Movement.

The hardships and injustice suffered by the people of those linguistic areas who were inconveniently grouped in different administrative units naturally gave rise to the movement for linguistic unity and for the formation of linguistic provinces. The beginnings of this movement can be traced to the last quarter of the 19th century. The fact that the people could strongly feel the desire for linguistic unity at a time when even the Indian National Congress was not born clearly shows the depth of the feeling among the people on this question.

As early as 1874 when the district of Sylhet was transferred from Bengal to the Chief Commissionership of Assam, the inhabitants of that district strongly protested against the transfer. Even since the people of Sylhet, both Hindus and Muslims, had been demanding their reunion with Bengal on the ground that they formed a part and parcel of the Bengali-speaking nationality.

Two years later, i.e. in 1876 Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore and Bichitranand Patnaik submitted a memorial to the Government pleading for a single administration for all the scattered Oriya-speaking tracts. This is how the movement for a linguistic province of Orissa began in those early days. Since then the demand of the Oriyas steadily gained ground; and in 1895 it attracted the attention of Mr. Cooke, Commissioner for Orissa, who officially supported the demand and recommended that the Oriya people should be united under a single administrative unit.

In 1896, the Biharis under the leadership of Mr. Mahesh Narayan started the movement for a separate province of Bihar on the ground that the Hindi-speaking people of Bihar formed

a distinct national group in the Presidency of Bengal which then comprised within its boundaries most of the territories which are at present included within the provinces of East and West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

When this feeling for a separate existence was gaining ground in Bihar, the movement in Orissa took a definite shape. In 1902 a memorial signed by hundreds of Oriyas was presented to Lord Curzon, the then Governor-General, asking for the linguistic unity of the Oriyas under one administration. In 1903, an association called the Utkal Union Conference was formed with a view to systematically carrying on the agitation for a united Orissa.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 gave a great fillip to the movement for linguistic unity in various parts of the country. It is very significant to note that in 1908 the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, giving evidence before the Royal Commission upon decentralization in India, advocated "a re-arrangement of provinces on considerations of linguistic and ethnological affinities, and a federation thereof under a central authority". The agitation in various parts of the country for the creation of linguistic provinces and the evidence of Lokmanya Tilak seem to have made an impression upon the Commission. Although the Commission was not called upon to deal with the question of provincial boundaries, it could not fail to point out the fact that "the various provinces contain diverse nationalities with different languages, traditions, and interests, and are often on separate planes of development."

The agitation against the partition of Bengal assumed such serious proportions that the British Government was forced to cancel the partition in 1911. The famous Hardinge Dispatch of 1911 proposing the cancellation of the partition of Bengal and the new re-arrangement of the territories concerned was a great victory for the principle underlying

the formation of linguistic provinces. The Dispatch clearly recognised that injustice might be done to a people speaking a distinct language by their being placed in a position of permanent minority in a province. Speaking on this point with regard to Bihar, the Dispatch stated that "it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people, now included within the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis, and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development".

Thus the agitation started by the Biharis in 1896 had its effect; and the Hardinge Dispatch had to recognise the soundness of the claim put forward by them. The fact that the Government of India was practically forced to this conclusion is evident from the following remarks of the Hardinge Dispatch. It stated: "The cry of Bihar for Biharis has frequently been raised. . . . There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Bihar in recent years, and a strong feeling has grown up among Biharis that Bihar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much deserved change."

The result was the creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa. The Hardinge Dispatch, although admitted the fact that the Oriyas, like the Biharis, had little common with the Bengalis, did not recommend the formation of a separate province for Orissa. This failure on the part of the British Government to fulfil the natural aspirations of the Oriyas and many other nationalities not only kept the movement alive in Orissa, but also gave birth to similar movements in other areas.

Spreak of the Movement.

The new areas in which this movement became more pronounced was Andhra, the Telugu-speaking country, and Karnataka, the Kannada-speaking country. Since 1913 the Andhras had been holding conferences at almost regular intervals, at which resolutions demanding a separate province for Andhra were adopted. The Kannadigas, who were also feeling the desire to unite under one administrative unit, formed in 1917 an association known as the "Karnataka Sabha" with the aim of unifying Karnataka. This Sabha, which was later on re-named as the Karnataka Unification Sabha, has been ever since holding conferences and passing resolutions demanding unification. In 1917 when Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford were touring India before submitting their proposals to the British Government on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the Oriyas, the Andhras and the Kannadigas presented them with representations demanding the creation of separate provinces for Orissa, Andhra and Karnataka.

At about the same time, Mr. Lionel Curtis, a close student of constitutional questions, fully realising the soundness of the peoples' demand for linguistic provinces, very ably advocated their cause both before the Montford Commission and the public. The views he held on this question were so sound and rational that they have not lost their force even today. Since Mr. Curtis played an important part in educating public opinion on this question, particularly in influential quarters, it would be useful to know the arguments he put forward in advocating the cause. While speaking of the provinces, as 'irrationally created', he says:

"They are for the most part the artificial creations of a paternal and highly centralised government which has its mainspring in England. They were designed as the satrapies of a vast oriental dependency. . . . it is of vital importance to consider now what the proper provincial units

are to be, out of which the whole of the national fabric can be built.....The internal peace of India, generations hence, will depend upon the wisdom and foresight with which the areas of provincial Self-Government are planned in the initial stages of the new departure". Next when writing about the principle of redistribution he says, 'where possible historic areas like Sind should be taken. But units of language, race and religion are also important factors, and language is the most important of all'. While speaking of the application of the principle, he further says, 'If this experience is held in mind, can we really look forward to be a United States of India within the British Commonwealth, under which Sind and the Kanarese-speaking people are tied and bound into the same self-governing unit as the Marathas? Are not the Marathas themselves entitled to a state such as will perpetuate the traditions of that famous community? Are the Tamil and Telgu peoples of Madras to be given no separate institution of their own? Are the Oriyas to be left dispersed amongst three provinces, the larger section being left under the permanent domination of the people of Bihar? To base responsible government on such units is not only to ignore the experience of the other dominions, but to violate the principles for which we are fighting in this war. You cannot base responsible government on units evolved on principles which are the antithesis of that system. You cannot graft figs on thorns or grapes on thistles'.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Commission, after pointing out that provinces were distributed having "small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people", remarked that "the point is of supreme importance when we have to consider the future development of India". In paragraph 246 of their Report, they made the definite recommendation that the question "should be recognised as one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial Government to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end". This

recommendation marked a further stage in the movement in the sense that Governments were definitely asked not to ignore the question but to recognise it as reasonable and to test public opinion on it.

After the publication of the Montford Report, the advocates of the linguistic provinces were not satisfied by merely holding public conferences, passing resolutions and by presenting memorials to officials. The method of making use of the legislatures for the advocacy of their cause was now felt necessary. As a result, the question of redistribution of provinces was brought before the legislature several times both in the form of resolutions and questions.

On February 16, 1918, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarna moved a resolution in the old Indian Legislative Council, recommending the redistribution of provincial areas, and the constitution of provinces, where necessary, to secure complete means for self-governing institutions; and the rearrangement of provincial areas on a language basis, wherever and to the extent possible, especially where the people speaking a distinct language and sufficiently large in numbers, desired such a change. Although the resolution was not opposed by any member on grounds of principles, it did not secure the approval of the house mainly on grounds of expediency.

In 1920, the Indian National Congress recognised the principle of formation of linguistic provinces and since then, so far as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces. Thus the soundness of the principle, for which the people in different parts of the country stood and fought, received the approval of the national movement, thereby demonstrating that the creation of linguistic provinces would foster the feeling of nationality among the Indian people as a whole instead of harping on it as apprehended by some.

In 1921, Mr. A. B. Latthe moved a resolution in the newly constituted Indian Legislative Assembly, recommending the reconstitution of provinces with a view to facilitate the constitutional development of the provinces. In moving his resolution, Mr. Latthe pointed out how the people of Orissa, Karnataka and Maharashtra were divided under different administrations. He also made a reference to the disabilities of the people of Sind. Although the resolution was formally defeated, it secured the support of the majority of the elected members of the Assembly, thereby showing that the real representatives of the people were in favour of his resolution.

In 1922, Mr. J. Ramayya, Pantalu moved a resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly, recommending that the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency be constituted into a separate province. Though the resolution was confined to Andhra, the mover in his speech advocated the general principle of linguistic provinces. As the object of the mover was only to elicit the sympathy of the Government towards the cause, the resolution was not pressed to vote.

In 1926, Dr. U. Rama Rao moved a resolution in the Council of State, recommending the appointment of a Committee to suggest ways and means for the formation of a separate Karnataka province. During the same session of the Council of State, Sir Sankaran Nair moved a resolution recommending the constitution of a separate province for the Tamil-speaking districts of the Madras Province. In 1927, Mr. V. Ramesh Pantalu moved a resolution in the Council of State, recommending that steps be taken to constitute all the Telugu-speaking districts of Madras province into a separate province. All these resolutions were defeated. It could not be otherwise due to the reactionary composition of the Council of State which contained a large element of nominated members.

Nehru Committee and After.

In 1928, the question of formation of linguistic

provinces was considered by the famous Nehru Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference to consider and determine the principles of the Constitution for India. The Nehru Committee discussed this question at great length in a separate chapter in their Report. They expressed their view in favour of formation of linguistic provinces wherever possible, and pointed out that demands had been made from time to time for the creation of new provinces for Andhra, Orissa, Karnataka, Kerala, Sind and the Hindi-speaking areas of the Central Provinces. The acceptance of the principle of linguistic units by the Nehru Committee marked an important stage in the history of the movement.

During 1928 and 1929 when the Simon Commission was touring India, the advocates of linguistic provinces submitted representations to the Commission pleading for their cause. Weighty representations from Orissa, Andhra, Karnataka and Sind were submitted and denutations waited upon the Commission. The Commission in their Report, which was published in 1930, admitted that there was "a considerable body of opinion in India" which called for readjustment of boundaries and redistribution of areas on linguistic lines and supported the principle underlying the peoples' demand. After pointing out that "Federation schemes usually start with a number of clearly defined states each already possessed of individuality and consciousness" and observing that no one of the Indian provinces had been "deliberately formed with a view to its suitability as a self-governing unit within a federated whole", the Simon Commission made a "definite recommendation for reviewing, and if possible resettling, the provincial boundaries of India at as early a date as possible. For the purpose of giving effect to this recommendation, the Commission suggested that the Government of India should set up, as a matter of urgent importance, a Boundaries Commission with a neutral chairman, to investigate the

main cases in which provincial readjustment seemed called for. The Commission gave special consideration to the claims put forward by the Oriyas and the Sindhis.

The Government of India, in their Dispatch on the proposals of the Simon Commission, while suggesting that two independent Boundaries Commissions should be set up to examine the cases of Orissa and Sind separately, held the view that "other possible readjustment of provincial boundaries" should be held over "until opinion has more clearly expressed itself". They concluded by saying that "It would be for the new administrations themselves to take up such cases as they arise". Though the Government of India admitted the "other possible readjustment of provincial boundaries", they did not want to adjust these boundaries except in the case of Orissa and Sind. The result was the creation of the two new provinces of Orissa and Sind in 1936. Although the formation of these two provinces marked a very important stage in the history of the movement for linguistic provinces, it was only a partial success in the sense that other national groups like the Kannadigas, Andhras, Tamils, Maharashtrais and the Malayalis had to carry on their agitation unabated.

The movement grew in strength particularly in Andhra and Karnataka. In 1938, the Madras provincial legislature adopted a resolution recommending the creation of linguistic provinces. A similar resolution about Karnataka was adopted in the Bombay provincial legislature in the same year. The passing of these resolutions clearly indicated that the people concerned were in favour of linguistic provinces. The movement became so strong that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress felt it necessary to pass the following resolution in 1938.

"Having heard the views of the deputation of the Andhra P.C.C., The Andhra Mahasabha, The Karnataka

Unification Committee, The Karnatak P.C.C. and the Kerala P.C.C. on the question of the redistribution of provinces in India on a linguistic basis for administrative purposes, this Committee declares that the Resolution of the Madras Legislature on linguistic Provinces and of the Bombay Legislature on the separation of the Karnatak province, were passed with the previous sanction of the parliamentary Sub-Committee and, the full approval of this Committee. This Committee desires to assure the people of the areas concerned that the solution of this question would be undertaken as a part of the future scheme of the Government of India, as soon as the Congress **has the power so to do, and calls upon the people of these areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf, which may direct the attention from the main issue now before the country**".

In pursuance of this resolution calling upon the people to desist from further agitation, which may direct attention from the main issue of winning the political freedom for the country, the movement lay dormant till the end of the war in 1945. With the cessation of the war and with the decision of the Indian National Congress to fight the general elections, the movement for linguistic provinces once again began to agitate the minds of the people. The Congress, therefore, felt it necessary to re-iterate its views on the question by inserting them in the Election Manifesto of 1945 and also that of 1946. Recognising the need for the formation of linguistic provinces, the Election Manifesto stated that the Congress "has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius; it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should

be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis".

By this time, the movement assumed a much wider significance than before and spread even to those areas ~~xxx~~ where the demand for linguistic provinces was not hitherto so pronounced. The latest instance in point is the demand of the Marathi-speaking people for a separate province. The formation of the United Maharashtra League in 1946 is meant to achieve this end in view.

India being now free from foreign domination and the Indian National Congress, which stands for linguistic provinces, being in power both at the centre and all the provinces, it is to be expected that the question of linguistic provinces will be satisfactorily solved, and the various units forming the new federation will be homogeneous and unilingual in character.

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Chapter III

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

Birth of the Movement

Although some references have been incidentally made to the Karnataka unification movement, a brief outline of the movement seems to be necessary as we are here mainly concerned with the problem of Karnataka. This we propose to do in this Chapter. It will be seen from what has been already narrated that the movement in Karnataka was very similar to that started by several other national groups. In fact, the Karnataka unification movement forms only one section of a much wider movement for the creation of linguistic provinces in different parts of the country.

The movement in Karnataka was born out of a natural desire on the part of the Kannada-speaking people to break down the main obstacle that came in their way of cultural development and economic progress. The pioneers of the movement rightly realised that the division of Karnataka under general Governmental law at the root cause of all the troubles of the Kannada people. The educated class, who had absorbed the new spirit and the new outlook generated by the great national movement, clearly saw that only a united Karnataka can play its proper role in the great national task of building a renovated India.

By the end of the last century associations were formed to revive Kannada literature and art and to develop the language. Books in Kannada on modern lines came to be written; old Kannada inscriptions were edited; and Kannada journalism had its successful beginning. As Prof. B.M. Srikantia, the father of Kannada Renaissance, writes: "By the turn of the century and within its first decade, all these forces played on the public and set up a ferment in men's hearts and roused a Kannada patriotism which could hold its own with the neighbouring provinces of Maharashtra,

Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala. The new national spirit, the ideals of social reform and economic progress, the Congress movement for political freedom and independence, the vision and the map of a Re-united Karnataka Province as a homogeneous unit in Free Indiamade the air full of new cries, new efforts. The struggle began for the unity and the greatness of the Karnataka people, and their right to self-expression in a rejuvenated mother-tongue moulded into a fit vehicle for modern interests and thought and a fresh, creative, progressive modern literature, drawing its strength from the Indian heart within and the widest horizon of the world's best culture without".

Organised Efforts

The foundation in 1915 of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat marks out as the culmination of the early efforts and aspirations of the Kannada people striving for unity. The Parishat was an all-Karnataka body embracing all the Kannada speaking tracts lying in different administrative areas. For 32 years now this academy of Kannada letters has worked for an all-Karnataka vision. Resolutions demanding the creation of a linguistic province of Karnataka have been adopted by this body from time to time.

The growing consciousness in the people took a more pronounced turn in the year 1917 when the Karnataka Sabha was started in Dharwar with the definite object of achieving the goal of a United Karnataka. This association, which was later on renamed as the Karnataka Unification Sabha, has been ceaselessly working for the attainment of its objective since its foundation. The Sabha in its early days held meetings in various places and created public opinion in favour of unification. Mr. Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, one of its founders, visited even the remotest corners of Karnataka with this object. The result was that memorials were sent from different districts to the then Secretary of State for

India, Mr. Montagu, who was touring India. The memorandum submitted to Mr. Montagu ~~was~~ to the following effect: "We sincerely pray that the provinces in India should be redistributed on the linguistic basis and the Kanarese parts of the Bombay and Madras presidencies together with Coorg should form a separate administrative unit. We respectfully submit that the present provinces are not the natural divisions of India".

In 1918, the Sabha turned its attention to the Indian National Congress and the delegates from Karnataka submitted a statement wherein they asserted their desire to secure the reorganisation of Congress Circles on a linguistic basis. The statement added that Kannada-speaking tracts in the provinces of Bombay and Madras and Coorg should be given a separate circle. As this request was not then granted by the Congress, agitation was started all over Karnataka. As a result of their agitation, as many as 800 delegates from Karnataka mustered strong at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress and demanded a separate administrative unit for Karnataka for Congress purposes. The demand received due consideration and the Congress accepted the principle of linguistic provinces and divided the country into 21 linguistic Congress Circles. Since then Karnataka, which was a part of the jurisdiction of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, has been functioning independently.

It was creditable to the leaders of the movement that they did not stop short with making representations to others, but were all along doing what constructive work they could to march onwards to their destined goal. In 1920, even before the Congress granted a separate circle for Karnataka they held the first Karnataka Conference at Dharwar under the presidency of Sir V.P. Madhav Rao. The Conference was attended by representatives from every part of the province. This Conference passed, without a single

dissentient voice, the resolution demanding the formation of a separate Karnataka Province.

The years 1921-1924 were the years of non-cooperation and the Karnataka leaders had little time to devote to the unification movement as such. But real solid work was done during those days in so far as the scattered parts of Karnataka worked as one man and felt and suffered as one man. The efforts of all the Kannadigas for combining together in national work, inspite of their being divided, may be said to have culminated in the grand success of the Indian National Congress session held at Belgaum in 1924.

In the same year, the first Karnataka unification Conference was held. Since then the Karnataka Unification Sabha has been organising similar conferences from time to time. The last conference which was the tenth of its kind was held in the City of Bombay in January 1946 under the presidentship of Mr. B.G. Kher, who is now the Prime Minister in the Government of Bombay. This Conference was inaugurated by no less a person than Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

In 1927 due to the efforts of the Sabha, the A.I.C.C. which met in Bombay passed a resolution which said that the "readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind, and Karnataka into separate provinces".

In 1928, a joint representation by the Karnataka Unification Sabha and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was made to the Committee appointed by the All-Indias Conference held at Delhi. This Committee which was presided over by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, is popularly known as the Nehru Committee. Mr. R.R. Diwakar, on behalf of

the Sabha and the K.P.C.C. presented the case of Karnataka before this Committee at its meetings held at Allahabad. The Nehru Committee in its Report discussed at some length the case of Karnataka and recommended that a separate province should be created out of the Kannada-speaking areas in the provinces of Bombay and Madras and the small province of Coorg.

Dealing with Karnataka, the Nehru Committee wrote:

"The case for the Karnataka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. It has been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical.

All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnataka as a separate province was made".

Referring to the financial position, they stated: "Financially the position of Karnataka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of the Karnatak". The All Parties Conference, which was held at Lucknow in 1928 endorsed the recommendation of the Nehru Committee relating to Karnataka.

As stated in the last chapter, the case for Karnataka was placed before the Simon Commission when it was touring India in 1928-29. The Commission which accepted the principle of linguistic provinces, made a reference to the Kannada people and recognised that they possessed a distinct culture of their own. The inhabitants of Bombay Karnataka, wrote the Simon Commission, "are racially allied to peoples, further south, and particularly to those who speak the same language of Kanarese..... The Kanarese-speaking people have memories of the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Kanarese dynasties which preceded it, and take a jealous pride in their distinctive culture".

Movement since 1930

Since 1930 the cry for a united Karnataka has become universal all over the Kannada country including the States. The movement has spread even to the remotest corners of the Karnataka territory. The demand for unification is voiced not only in Unification Conferences which are called specially for this purpose, but also in other conferences such as literacy, cultural or political. The Karnatak Sahitya Parishat goes up and down the country every year with a missionary zeal to advance the cause of the Kannada movement. "The Annual Conference of the Parishat meets in some big centre, usually near the border where enthusiasm has to be roused, the dying flame of Kannada has to be fanned, tract swallowed up or about to be swallowed up has to be reclaimed, and the feeling of a United Karnataka has to be planted never to be rooted out again".

Numerous Kannada Sanghas which have sprung up in various parts of the country are daily spreading the gospel of unification and are holding before the people the vision of a united Karnataka. Festivities like Nadahabba (national festival of Dasara), anniversaries and other functions are affording further opportunities to voice the feeling of the people for a united existence. Every journal in Karnataka stands for unification. In fact, the movement has become so strong and universal that Mahatma Gandhi admitted ten years ago that "the creation of Karnataka as a separate province cannot be resisted". As recently as January 1946 Sardar Vallabhai Patel had to give an assurance to the Kannada people saying that they "will not have to wait long to see a United Karnataka raising out of the scattered Kannada-speaking areas with a provincial government, an University and a proud provincial life of its own". He concluded by saying that one of the first acts of free India will be to remove the handicaps of disintegration

disintegration which the British have imposed upon linguistic areas in this country".

In August 1946, the Karnataka Unification Sabha and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee jointly called an All-Karnataka Convention at Davanagere in Mysore State. The Convention was inaugurated by Mr. K.R. Karant, the then Revenue Minister in the Government of Madras, and was presided over by Mr. M.P. Patil, Minister of Forests and Agriculture in the Government of Bombay. The Convention, which was fully representative of the Kannada people as a whole, was attended by the Karnataka members of the provincial legislatures of Bombay, Madras, Coorg, Mysore and smaller states; by office-bearers of states peoples' organisations; by representatives of literacy and cultural and local self-government institutions; and by representatives of various political parties and communities. The Convention adopted, with one voice, a resolution urging the Indian Constituent Assembly to take up the important question of the formation of provinces on linguistic basis and to take immediate steps to constitute Karnataka into a separate province.

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Chapter IV

Plight of the Kannada People

Inroads on the Language.

The Kannada country has been cut into several fragments. Even excluding States, Karnataka is divided into three administrative units, namely, Bombay, Madras and Coorg. The districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara with portions of Sholapur and Satara districts form the tail-end of the Bombay province. Similarly, the district of Bellary with the adjoining Kannada tract in Anantpur forms the north-west tail-end of Madras province, while the districts of South Kanara and Nilgiris with the adjoining Kannada portions of Coimbatore and Selam form another tail-end of the same province. Thus, the two Kannada-speaking areas in the province of Madras are not only non-contiguous but are separated from each other. In other words, there exists separation within separation. Again, Coorg with a separate administration, is struggling hard with the semblance of a provincial government. This dismemberment of the Kannada country has resulted into great hardships and gross injustice to the Kannada people in every field of human activity.

When people speaking a different language are in a small minority in an administrative unit such as a district, division or even a province, they are likely to lose in course of time their mother tongue unless special efforts are made to prevent this process. A typical example of this is cited by the Orissa Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in 1931. Referring to the district of Midnapur in Bengal, the Committee stated that "it is inevitable that the Schools and the law courts and long association with Bengal should affect the speech of the Oriya element and that the mixed dialect described by Dr. Grierson should become progressively Bengalised. Bengali is now not only the dominant language of the district as a whole; in all areas the

language of the majority is either Bengali or a dialect which is or is rapidly becoming more Bengali than Oriya".

As a result of a similar process that has been going on in the border regions of Karnataka, Kannada is losing ground to the neighbouring languages which have acquired a dominant position. In the northern border regions of Karnataka, particularly in Satara and Sholapur districts and in Kolhapur and Sangli States, Kannada has been replaced by Marathi to a very considerable extent. This was long ago noticed by Dr. Fleet who wrote as follows in 1882: "In the present day, the people and the language of the British districts are Kanarese; and the Kanarese people and language have been displaced to a certain extent, by the Marathi people and language in the Native States, only because those States were established by the aggressions of Marathas from the north, whose local influence proved to be greater than that of the native rulers whom they dispossessed".

The position on the southern frontier of Karnataka, where it meets Tamil is equally distressing. The Salem District Gazetteer, referring to Hosur Taluk, admits this fact when it says that the "British occupation, in the course of the century, has had the effect of advancing the Tamil at the expense of the Kanarese". Speaking about Dharampuri Taluk, the Gazetteer records: "Donnakuttahalli itself is a settlement of Vakkaligas, an interesting remnant of a Kanarese population which, if place-names have any significance, appears at one time to have permeated the whole of Dharampuri Taluka and southern Uttankarai as well". The Kannada tracts in Coimbatore district have suffered in the same way as those in Salem. But the worst sufferer is the district of Nilgiris where Tamil has made serious inroads on Kannada and its dialect Badaga. What is true of the northern and southern borders of Karnataka is equally true of its eastern border where the Kannada-speaking tracts, isolated as they remain, are losing

ground to Telugu.

Administrative Inefficiency

Kannada being a small minority language in the provinces of both Madras and Bombay and consequently most of the high official being non-kannadigas, Kannada people are at a great disadvantage in the matter of administration. As it is not possible for a provincial government to give adequate importance to a language which is spoken by a small minority of its population, the efficiency of the administration is bound to suffer; and the people speaking the minority language are the worst sufferers. Attention was drawn to this unsatisfactory position as early as 1903 by no less a person than the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department. Referring to the Presidency of Madras, he wrote; "The Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon their administration, or the great diversity of languages Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Canarese with which Madras civilians are called upon to cope and which render the transfer of officers from one part of the presidency to another a matter in any case of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. These disadvantages exercise an injurious effect not only upon the administration, but still more upon the people. Where the population speaking a district language and the area over which it is spoken are too small to constitute a substantial portion of a province, the foreign unit is of necessity neglected. Under ordinary circumstances, the Government is unable to retain in it a superior staff who have become acquainted with the language, and with the local customs which invariably accompany it. It is often impossible to officer, the subordinate staff, from local sources, and foreigners have to be brought in who are ignorant alike of the people, their language, and their ways. The Government may order that the

vernacular shall be the language of the Government offices and courts, but since officers nor clerks know this vernacular properly, compliance with the order is often impracticable and almost always incomplete Hence in dealing with a question of this kind, it may be that the true criterion of territorial redistribution should be sought not in race but in language".

Denial of self-Government

The Kannada people have been ungenerally yoked with the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis in Bombay, and with the Telugus and Tamilians in Madras. In Bombay province they are less than 20 per cent of the total population, while in Madras they form only about six per cent. Consequently, in the legislatures of both these provinces they stand themselves in a small minority. In the Bombay Legislative Assembly consisting of 175 members, representatives from the Karnatak number 28; while in the Madras Legislative Assembly they are only twelve in a house of 215. As matters now stand, the Kannada people can never exercise in either province that influence to which they rightly consider themselves entitled to by reason of their district culture, glorious traditions and economic importance. This grievance will be all the more keenly felt hereafter when a more democratic form of government based on adult franchise and fully responsible to the people comes into existence. Unless Karnataka is constituted into a separate province, self Government for the Kannadigas will be difficult of realisation.

Confining ourself to areas outside the Indian States, we find that no other people in India are placed in such a bad plight as the Kannadigas. The Maharashtrians, though divided under two administrations, do not form a small minority in either of the provinces. On the contrary, they constitute a majority in Bombay province, while in the C.P.

and Berar they are nearly forty per cent of the total population. The Andhras are not at all divided and form nearly one-half of the total population in Madras province. The Tamilians are in a very similar position. The Gujaratis and the Malayalees, though each of them form a minority in the respective provinces of Bombay and Madras, are not divided under different administrations. These comparisons clearly show that the Kannadigas are the worst sufferers under the existing arrangement of territorial distribution. Another significant fact to be noted regarding Kannadigas, which makes their position still worse, is that those among them who are in Bombay province are grouped with people speaking Indo-Aryan languages which are basically different from Kannada which is a Dravidian tongue. The case is different in respect of the Andhras, the Tamilians and the Malayalees all of whom speak Dravidian languages.

Neglected people.

As the Kannada districts form the tail-ends of the provinces of Bombay and Madras, they are neglected in almost every respect. In the first place, they are inconveniently situated at great distances from the respective provincial headquarters. Thus the distance between Bombay and the district headquarter towns of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Kerwar is 350 miles, 359 miles, 440 miles and 555 miles respectively. Similarly, the distance between Madras and the district headquarter towns of Bellary, Ootacamund and Mangalore is 306, 356 and 551 miles respectively. There are no proper transport or communication facilities between various parts of Karnatak ~~itx~~ itself. Thus, for instance, the distance by rail between Mangalore and Bellary is 814 miles, although both these towns ~~both these~~ are in the same province of Madras. This is due to the absence of a direct railway line between these towns through the Kannada country itself. A direct line would have shortened the distance by more than 500 miles. The

existing railway route between Mangalore and Bellary takes a round of nearly three-fourths of the Mysore State through the Tamilnad and Andhra Desha. A more absurd situation than this cannot be imagined. A glance at the railway map would show that the various parts of Karnatak, lying as they are in different administrative units, are left unconnected with one another although linking them up would not involve great distances.

Even inter-district transport and communication facilities within the boundaries of the same province are greatly lacking. As the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee observes: "while Gujarat and the Deccan are more or less well served with railways, Karnatak is not equally fortunate". Referring to North Kanara, the Committee says: "The injurious effects of inadequate transport facilities can find no better illustration than the district of North Kanara, which inspite of resources of raw materials and of power, remains a backward area with a declining population". Similarly, the district of South Kanara and Coorg are notoriously lacking in proper transport facilities.

The development of natural resources of Karnatak and the growth of its industry are all checked by the existing order of things. To cite only one instance, there are only four textile mills in the whole of Bombay Karnatak inspite of the fact that the Kannada districts grow as much as one-third of the total quantity of cotton in Bombay province; The situation becomes more clear when it is remembered that there are as many as 203 textile mills in the Bombay province; and the injustice to Karnatak becomes more glaring when it can be pointed out that Karnatak grows one of the best types of cotton in the whole of India.

The Karnatak districts in Bombay province are also neglected in the matter of irrigation. Not a single irrigation work has been undertaken by Government for the benefit of Bijapur district, inspite of the fact that four big rivers,

namely, the Bhima, the Krishna, the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha, flow through the district. Considerable portions of the non-Kannada districts of Sholapur and Ahmednagar, which are liable to famine like Bijapur, have been brought under canal irrigation, while Bijapur has been neglected all along. That Karnatak has been neglected in respect of irrigation was admitted by the Irrigation Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1939. Referring to Karnatak, the Committee wrote: "Cultivators in this Division also consider themselves to have been neglected in regard to irrigation projects although the physical features of the tract are more favourable for irrigation schemes than those in the North Division" (Gujarath).

The Karnatak districts are also neglected in the matter of education. In the words of the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee, "the Southern Division of the Province is the poorest in the matter of schools imparting vocational training". The position is equally unsatisfactory with regard to professional colleges or institutions. Figures of literacy also indicate the backwardness of the Kannada districts. In the field of social services provided by the state, Karnatak does not receive its proper share. For instance, the provision for medical facilities, sanitation and drainage is very inadequate in Karnatak in comparison with other parts of the Bombay province.

We need not stretch the point further by giving more instances, to show how the Kannada people have suffered by the division of their country. What has been stated above is sufficient to indicate that the Kannadigas are labouring under a real sense of injustice. In addition to economic and social disadvantages, the Kannada people stand the greatest danger of losing their very individuality as a national group. The formation of Karnataka ~~afford~~ into a separate province alone will avert this calamity and afford them fullest opportunities for national self-expression.

Chapter V.

The Proposed Province of Karnatak

Karnatak and the Proposed Province

Before we indicate the exact boundaries, the extent and population of the proposed province of Karnatak, it is necessary to give an idea of the Kannada country as a whole including those tracts which lie within the States. A glance at the map of India ~~which~~ would show that the land of Karnataka, where Kannada with its dialects, is the predominant language, covers the western half of the central portion of the Peninsular India. Its greatest length north to south is about 450 miles and that from east to west is about 225 miles. It covers an area of about 70,000 square miles. The northern boundary runs through the Marathi -speaking districts of Satara and Sholapur in Bombay province and through the Bidar and Osmanabad districts in the Nizam's dominions. A little curved line starting from Bidar district and running southwards almost in a straight line, then crossing the Madras territory on the east of Bellary and running along the eastern border of Mysore State almost upto the Kaveri river, forms the eastern boundary. The southern boundary runs through the districts of Salem and Coimbatore along the mountain range which eventually merges in the Nilgiris. The western boundary is the Arabian Sea, the Karnataka sea-coast extending from Goa in the North to Malabar in the south.

The Kannada territory lying within the boundaries described above is politically divided into the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Coorg and into as many as 16 States including Mysore and Hyderabad. In Bombay province, it includes the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara, with a small portion of Sholapur and a few villages of Satara. In Madras, it comprises the districts of Bellary, South Kanara and the Nilgiris, with considerable portions of Salem,

Coimbatore and Anantpur. The Mysore State and the districts Of Raichur, Culbarga and parts of Bidar in Hyderabad form most of the Kannada territory lying with the States. A large number of small States account for the remaining portions of Karnataka. The States of Jankhindi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Savanur and Sondur are wholly Kannada; while Kolhapur, Sangli, Aundh, Akalkot, Kurandwad (Senior), Kurandwad (Junior), Miraj (Senior), Miraj, (Junior), and Jath are partly Kannada and partly Marathi in the composition of their population.

The total population of the Kannada country is about 175 lakhs which is distributed as follows: (1) The areas in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Coorg contain about 68 lakhs; (2) the Mysore State has a population of about 73 lakhs; (3) The Hyderabad Karnatak accounts for nearly 26 lakhs; and (4) the smaller states together make up the balance of 8 lakhs. It is significant that as much as 61 per cent of the total population of Karnataka belongs to the States.

Linguistically, the Kannada country is bounded on the north by Marathi, on the north-west by Konkani, on the east by Telugu and on the south by Tamil and Malayalam. Thus except in the north and the north-west it is surrounded by people speaking one or the other of the Dravidian languages to which group Kannada also belongs. The principal dialects of Kannada prevalent in Coorg, and Badaga which prevails in the Nilgiris.

Karnataka divides itself into three natural regions each of which has well-marked and distinct features. Starting from west to east, first comes the West Coast region, then comes the central forest belt and finally the eastern plateau which by far forms the greater portion of the Kannada country. The coastal region is known as 'Karavali', the central forest belt as 'Malnad' and the eastern plateau as 'Bailuseeme' or 'Maidan',.

The west coast region is the narrow strip between the crest of the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. This strip is very narrow, particularly in North Kanara district. The region is indented by numerous creeks and bays formed by the estuaries of rivers. The flat alluvial land forms the most important part of the west coast region. The banks of the lagoons are often lined with coconut plantations. Here also lie the numerous villages, and every possible piece of land is sown with paddy, interrupted at intervals by groves of areca nuts. Rice is the staple food of the people in this region which is densely populated.

The central forest region is confined to the tracts bordering or resting on the Western Ghats. "It is a land of magnificent hill and forest, presenting alterations of the most diversified and charming scenery. A fertile soil and perennial streams clothe the valleys with verdant cultivation. The sheltered hillsides are beautiful with waving woods which give shade to numerous plantations of coffee. The rainfall is heavy often exceeding 150 inches. In addition to rich coffee plantations, betel-nuts, pepper and cardamoms are the main money crops. Rice which forms the staple food of the people is the principal cereal grown. The region is very rich in forest wealth, the most valuable timber being teak. The tract is very sparsely populated.

The eastern plateau region, which contains alluvial black soil, as in the north, grows cotton, wheat, jawar and oil-seeds. In the south, the black soil is replaced red soil where raji is grown instead of jowar and wheat. In the south and west of this region, paddy and sugarcane also form important crops. Numerous tanks, varying in size from small ponds to extensive lakes, are found dispersed throughout this region. In some parts the lands under tanks are planted with coconut and areca palms.

There are two water-sheds in Karnataka, namely, the Western Ghats and the hills of Nandidurg in Mysore. All the big rivers which rise from the Western Ghats find their way to the Bay of Bengal. They are the Krishna, the Kaveri, the Bhima, and the Tungabhadra. The Krishna which rises near Mahabaleshwar enters Karnataka near Sangli. It is the biggest river in the Karnataka. It receives during its course the Malaprabha, the Ghataprabha and the Bhima and finally the Tungabhadra. Three other rivers, namely, the North Pennar, the South Pennar and Palar rise in the high grounds near Nandidurg. All of them enter the Bay of Bengal. The Kaveri, which rises in Coorg, flows south-east across Mysore. A large number of comparatively small rivers, which flow into the Arabian sea, rise in the Western Ghats. The more important of these are the Kali, the Gangavali, the Aghanashini and the Sheravati in North Kanara; and the Gongoli, the Suvarnanadi, the Netravati and the Chandragiri in South Kanara.

The Proposed Province and the States

How the formation of the proposed province of Karnatak will help the solution of the States problem, may be indicated here. It is no doubt true that the ultimate aim of the unification movement, as expressed in the Davanagere Resolution, is to unify all the parts of Karnatak, including those in States, into one administrative unit. But the immediate objective of the movement is the formation of a Karnatak province comprising only those tracts which are outside the States. This point should be particularly noted in order to avoid confusion.

The formation of a Karnatak province on the proposed line will greatly facilitate the solution of the States problem as well. In fact, it constitutes the first concrete step in the attainment of the final objective of an All Karnatak Province. When the proposed province comes into existence, it will be easy for the people of that

province to come to some arrangement with the States, under which the latter will merge themselves into the All-Karnatak Province of the future. The attainment of responsible Government in the States will make this task easy.

As regards Mysore, it may be possible in the near future to mutually agree to such an arrangement. It is even suggested in certain quarters that immediately after the establishment of full responsible government in Mysore, a scheme may be drawn up under which the Mysore State and the Karnatak province to be newly formed may be enabled to merge themselves into one another and thus together constitute a greater administrative unit, with the Maharaja as the Constitutional Head like the kind of England. Whether such a merger scheme will be acceptable to the people or not, time alone will show. But it cannot be denied that the formation of a Karnatak province will bring the possibility of such a merger within the range of practical politics.

Similarly, the formation of the proposed province will also facilitate the solution of the problem relating to the small States. As each one of these States is too small in size and population to form an independent unit in the Indian Federation, they will have to be merged into a larger unit in course of time. When the time comes for this merger, the only rational solution would be to incorporate them in the appropriate linguistic units forming the Federation. In the case of border States, the area in each will have to be divided linguistically and merged in the appropriate unit. In order to make this feasible, linguistic provinces will have to be created both for Karnatak and Maharashtra. This alone will **finally solve the problem of all the Deccan States, particularly of those which are partly Kannada and partly Marathi.**

The problem of Nizam Karnatak is much more complicated. This is mainly due to the fact that the Hyderabad State is

is in a position to continue its existence as an independent unit in the Indian Federation. The problem will be further complicated if the Nizam finally decides not to join the Indian Union. In fact, the problem of Hyderabad is an all-India issue. Not much useful purpose will, therefore, be served by discussing it here on a provincial plans.

Size of the Proposed Province.

Having shown how the movement for the unification of Karnatak originated and developed during the last 30 years, how the Kannada people have suffered due to the dismemberment of their province, and how the creation of the new province will help the solution of the Karnatak problem, including that of the States, we now propose to acquaint the reader with the size and population of the proposed province and also other vital matters pertaining to it.

The proposed province of Karnatak will contain the following seven districts and also Coorg:

| District. | Area in Sq.Miles. | No. of towns. | No. of villages. | Total Population (1941 census) |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Bijapur | 5,704 | 8 | 1,117 | 9,78,982 |
| 2. Belgaum | 4,527 | 9 | 1,063 | 12,25,428 |
| 3. Dharwar | 4,576 | 14 | 1,239 | 12,01,016 |
| 4. North Kanara | 3,961 | 7 | 1,244 | 4,41,157 |
| 5. South Kanara | 4,045 | 8 | 806 | 15,23,516 |
| 6. Bellary | 5,714 | 12 | 938 | 10,51,235 |
| 7. Nilgiris | 989 | 4 | 54 | 2,09,709 |
| 8. Coorg | 1,593 | 2 | 301 | 1,68,726 |
| Total | 31,109 | 64 | 6,762 | 67,96,779 |

The first four districts are from Bombay province and the next three are from Madras. It will be seen that the total area is 31,109 Sq. miles and the total population is 67,96,779.

It may be necessary from the linguistic point of view

to have a few adjustments made in the boundaries of some of the districts. Starting from the north, the Bijapur district will have to be a little extended by the inclusion of the south Sholapur Taluka, while the Belgaum district will gain a few villages from the Tasgaon Taluka of Satara district. In the case of Bellary, that district may lose the eastern portions of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg talukas. But this loss will be compensated for by the inclusion of the Madakasira taluka and the western portions of Kalyandurg and Hindupur from the Anantpur district. The district of the Nilgiris will be more than double its present size and population by the inclusion of the Kannada-speaking tracts including Kollegal and Hosur talukas, from the Coimbatore and Salem districts, which are contiguous to the Nilgiris. In South Kanara, that portion of the Kasargod taluk which is Malayali speaking may be lost to Karnataka. These adjustments, however, will not result in any appreciable loss to the proposed province. On the contrary, the province may slightly gain both in area and population by the necessary adjustment of boundaries. We shall deal with this question at some length in the next chapter when considering the details of each of the districts. It is sufficient to note here that the total population of the proposed province will be in the neighbourhood of 70 lakhs, and the area will be about 31,000 square miles.

Thus the Karnatak province will be almost equal, both in size and population, to Mysore State which has an area of 29,458 square miles with a population of 73 lakhs. The Karnatak province will have more population than either Sind or N.W.F. Province is only 50 lakhs. Assam, after the recent adjustment of its boundaries, has a population which is almost equal to that of the proposed Karnatak province. In area, Karnatak is about the size of Orissa and is more than double the size of the N.W.F. Province.

A comparison with some countries in Asia may be found more interesting and instructive. The Karnatak province will be much larger, both in area and population, in comparison with Ceylon. It will be more extensive in area and more than treble in population when compared to the Federated Malay States. Again its population will be more than double than that of Syria, and will exceed that of Nepal by nearly 14 lakhs.

A few comparisons with European countries may also be useful. Karnatak province will be almost the size of Portugal both in area and population, and will be equal to Greece in population. Denmark is about half the size of the proposed Karnatak province both in area and population. The population of the Irish Free State is less than half of that of Karnatak province, while in area also Karnatak is much bigger. Norway is in the same position as Ireland in so far as population is concerned. Sweden, Scotland and Finland have each much less population than the Karnatak province. These comparisons would show that the proposed province will not be inadequately small either in area or population.

The Karnatak province will also form a compact area. All the districts which are proposed to be included in it are contiguous to one another, except the Nilgiris. But the distance separating the Nilgiris from the rest of the province is about 50 miles. The proposed province will be much more compact than the Bombay province. It may be noted that the territory comprising the Gujrat districts, except the southern and eastern parts of Surat, are not contiguous to the rest of the Bombay Province. Again, the talukas of Jhalod and Dohad in Panch Mahals, the taluk of Jamkhed in Ahmednagar and the taluka of Barsi in Sholapur are separated from the Bombay province by the intervening States territories. Similarly, the Sambalpur district and the Angul

tract in Orissa are not contiguous to the rest of the province. In West Bengal, the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are similarly separated from the rest of the province. These comparisons, along with a glance at the map of India, would show that the proposed province of Karnatak will be much more compact than some of the existing provinces.

As shown in the table, the Karnatak province will have 6,712 villages and 64 towns. It is remarkable that, inspite of poor transport facilities and other drawbacks, the population of urban to the total population is comparatively high in the districts of the proposed province. Thus this proportion is 32 per cent in the Nilgiris, 25.5 per cent in Dharwar, 17.2 per cent in Bellary, 16.5 per cent in North Kanara, 12.6 per cent in Bijapur, 11.8 per cent in Belgaum, 9.1 per cent in South Kanara and 6.2 per cent in Coorg. This proportion for the whole of India is 11.5 per cent. Thus as many as six districts out of eight exceed the all-India average. In fact, figures show that the Karnatak province is more urbanised than Assam, Orissa, Bengal, the N.W.F. Provinces, C.P. and Berar, and Bihar. Although urbanisation is not to be confused with industrialisation, it generally indicates the economic position of the region concerned. A proper balance between the town and country facilitates the growth of industry and economic progress. Considered from this point of view, the position of the proposed province is quite satisfactory.

Chapter VI.

Districts of the Proposed Province

The Plateau Districts.

The four districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Bellary lie in the plateau region which by far forms the greater portion of the proposed province.

Bijapur District: This district, which will cover the north-east portion of the province, will be the largest district in area. The taluka of South Sholapur which is predominantly Kannada and which is contiguous, should be added to this district. A Settlement Report written as recently as 1943 admits the fact that the language of this taluka is Kannada.

No other district in the Bombay Province has as large an area under crops as Bijapur. The main products are jowar, bajri and wheat, while the principal money crops are cotton, ground nuts and other oil seeds. The acreage under jowar, bajri and wheat is about 13,25,000 acres, 5,75,000 acres and 2,00,000 acres respectively. In point of acreage under jowar, Bijapur stands first, while its acreage under wheat is the third largest in the Bombay Province. It stands second in the Bombay province in point of acreage both under cotton and oil seeds, the area under these crops being about 3,60,000 acres and 2,30,000 acres respectively. Handloom industry is extensively carried on, the district having as many as 18,000 looms, a figure which is not exceeded by any other district in the Bombay Province. If the resources of this District are developed and large-scale irrigation works are carried out, Bijapur district will be a great asset to the new province.

Belgaum District: This district will form the north-western part of the proposed province. The few Kannada speaking villages in Tasgaon taluka of the Satara district should be added to Belgaum. These villages, which are separated from the rest of the Satara district by the

intervening States territory, are predominantly Kannada. The Linguistic Survey of India by Dr. Grierson admits this fact.

The district has a large cultivated area of about 20 lakhs. ^{over} The principal food crops are jowar, wheat, rice and ragi. Pulses are also largely grown. The important commercial crops are cotton, tobacco and groundnuts. The area under tobacco is about 57,000 acres. More than one-third of the total area under tobacco cultivation in the Bombay Province is in this one district. To quote from an official report, Nipani in Belgaum district "is one of the most important tobacco markets in India". The district contains some very good grazing grounds. Handloom weaving is an important industry, the total number of looms in the District being 7,500.

Dharwar District: This district will cover the central portion of the proposed province. This is a very important district in various respects. It will be the most urbanised district of the Karnatak province. The main food crops are jowar, wheat, rice and pulses and the principal commercial crops are cotton, chillies and ground nuts. Its area under wheat, which is about 2 lakhs acres, is the second largest in Bombay Province, while its acreage under cotton amounting to nearly 5,65,000 acres exceeds that of any other district in Bombay. The district is famous for its superior quality of cotton. As the Imperial gazetter says, it "stands first in the Presidency for its cotton, which is highly esteemed." The area under chillies is about 75,000 acres. Nearly half of the total area in Bombay Province under phillies is to be found in this one district. The district is remarkable for its small irrigation tanks and wells. These tanks are about 3,000 in number neraly two-thirds of which are in the south-west portion of the district. These ancient tanks irrigate a total area of nearly a lakh of acres. Handloom weaving is the most

most important cottage industry in the district. In the number of looms the district stands second in Bombay province. There are as many as 16,500 looms in the district.

Bellary District. This will cover the eastern portion of the central part of Karnatak. The present boundaries of the district will have to be adjusted considerably to make it linguistically homogeneous. But the claim of the Andhra that the whole area comprising the eastern talukas of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg are Telugu cannot be maintained. The census details and the village names would show that nearly half of Alur and Rayadurg and nearly one-third of Adoni are predominant Kannada. The western villages of Kalyandurg and Hindapur talukas and the whole of Madakasira in Anantapur district will have to be added to the Bellary district as the language of this tract is Kannada. This is fact admitted by various official publications such as the Gazetteer and Census Reports.

Geographically also, the talukas of Madakasira and Hindapur form parts of the Mysore State. As the District Gazetteer says: "Both these talukas are a part of the Mysore plateau and share its higher elevation and cooler climate." We may add by saying that linguistically also most of this tract forms a part of the Kannada country which includes the Mysore plateau. The inclusion of Malakasira taluka in the Bellary district will be a great gain to Karnatak, as this taluka is the most favoured by nature in the whole of Anantapur district. To quote from the District Gazetteer, "the taluk is more favoured by nature than the rest of the district, lying at a higher elevation, receiving an ampler rainfall, possessing thicker vegetation, having a soil of superior fertility, containing a wider irrigated area, being less sparsely populated, and maintaining a higher rate of increase in its population than its northern -

neighbours. It has been called "the garden of the district". According to 1941 census, the population of this taluka is 1,07,166 and the area is 446 square miles.

In Bellary district jowar is the most important foodcrop which occupies more than seven lakhs of acres. In fact, no other district in Madras has such a large area under this crop. The millet "korra" comes next, occupying an area of more than five lakhs of acres. Again, no other district in Madras contains such a large area under this millet. It may also be noted that Bellary stands first in Madras province in having the largest area under cereals. Sugarcane is an important money crop, occupying more than 10,000 acres. But the most important commercial crop is cotton. In cotton acreage, Bellary again stands first in Madras, the total area under this crop being more than five lakhs.

Coastal Districts.

North Kanara which is in Bombay province and South Kanara which is in Madras province together form the coastal region of Karnatak. This coast is popularly known as the Kanara coast.

North Kanara District. This is a remarkable district in many respects. It contains the famous spice gardens yielding betel-nuts, pepper and cardamoms. In fact, North Kanara holds a monopoly of these crops in so far as Bombay province is concerned. Its forest wealth is richer both in quantity and variety than that of any other district in Bombay province. In fact, it is essentially a forest district, more than two million acres being under forests. The most important produce forest/is timber. Teak and sisam are the common varieties of wood, from which timber is prepared. A press note issued by the Bombay Government in 1942 says that "Kanara teak is superior to all other teak in India". Soft woods suitable for manufacturing matches, plywood etc., are also available.

Bamboos can be had in large quantities. According to the figures given in the Tariff Board Report on paper and paper pulp industries, North Kanara is the richest district in bamboo production in the whole of India. As an official report says, "Of all the districts in this Province (Bombay), Kanara is extraordinarily rich in all kinds of forests".

The District is also rich in marine fisheries. North Kanara contributes about 16 per cent of the total annual catch of fish in Bombay Province. The district has immense possibilities for producing hydro-electric power on a large scale. A scheme recently sanctioned by Government proposes to produce 80,000 K.W. of power from the Kali river. This is only one of the several schemes that may be undertaken. The district possesses the fine natural harbours of Karwar and Bhatkal. If properly developed, North Kanara would be a great asset to the new province.

South Kanara District. This district is similar to North Kanara in many respects. Its forest wealth is very considerable, the total area under reserved forests being more than half a million acres. The gardens of areca, pepper and cardamoms are to be found mostly in Puttur Taluka. The district has a large area under nuts and fruits. South Kanara produces more cashew nuts than any other district in the whole of India. Its annual production is estimated at 2,50,000 maunds which is equal to about 40 per cent of the total production in Madras province. The district has nearly 50,000 acres under coconut cultivation. This area is exceeded only by two other districts in Madras, namely, Malabar and East Godavari. It may be noted that South Kanara has 45,000 acres under mangoes. No other district in Madras has such a large acreage, the next district in importance being East Godavari with 31,000 acres. Sugarcane is also an important money crop occupying

6,000 acres.

The district is famous for its tiles known as 'Mangalore' tiles. Handloom weaving is also an important industry. Development of hydro-electric power, for which there are considerable possibilities, will greatly help the industrialisation of the district.

Coorg and the Nilgiris.

While Coorg, which is situated on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats, is essentially a malnad region, the Nilgiris is a class by itself.

Coorg:- To-day Coorg is not a district but is a minor province under the direct charge of the Government of India. It is a very small province with an area of 1,580 square miles and a population of 1,68,726. It is proposed that, with the formation of the Karnatak province, Coorg should be included in it as a separate district. Coorg is too small to have an independent existence as a province under the normal functioning of democracy. The Simon Commission had realised this difficulty when it wrote "A separate legislature for a province of the size of Coorg is clearly anomalous. . . . The day when a separate Coorg will be able to sustain the full paraphernalia of responsible government must lie far ahead". The merger of Coorg as a district in the future province of Karnatak is in the interest of all concerned. The people of Coorg themselves desire such a change.

Coorg is rich in agricultural and forest wealth. It is one of the important coffee producing regions in India. Nearly 20 per cent of the total acreage under coffee in India is in Coorg. It may be mentioned here that about 95 per cent of the total coffee in India is grown in the Kannada country, these coffee regions being distributed over the Mysore State, the Nilgiris and Coorg.

Coorg grows more rice than it can consume.

The land being fertile, the average production per acre is high. To quote from an official report: "It will be observed that the reported average yield per acre is much greater in Coorg than in any other part of India". Oranges form an important money crop of Coorg. About 2 per cent of the total area is under oranges. Pepper and cardamon are also important as commercial crops. The forest wealth of Coorg is very considerable. Hydro-electric power could be produced on a large scale and utilised for the development of industries allied to forestry and Agriculture.

Nilgiris: This beautiful district, which is situated at an elevation of about 6,500 feet, will be the most southernly district of the Karnatak province. The area of this district can be greatly extended towards the east by the inclusion of the Kannad-speaking tracts of Coimbatore and Salem districts. Thus, the taluka of Kollegal and portions of Gopichattipalayam, Avanashi and Bhavani in Coimbatore, the taluka of Hosure and portions of Dharampuri and Krishanagiri in Salem will have to be added to the Nilgiri district. The whole of this tract is contiguous. Geographically also, this tract forms a part of Karnatak. It is, in fact, a continuation of the Mysore plateau and is known as the Balaghat (upland) country. The following observation from the Salem District Gazetteer will be found interesting. "Tamil is understood throughout the District," says the Gazetteer, "except in certain parts of the Balaghat where Kanarese predominates". The Gazetteer further says that nine-tenth of the Dharampuri records and three-fourths of the accounts in Hosur taluka are in Kanarese.

Although it is not possible to give here the exact population and area of this tract, it may be said that the area of the tract will be more than 2,000 square miles, while the population will be more than five lakhs. The Kollegal taluk has a population of 1,13,591

and extends over 1,076 square miles. The Hosur taluk, which has an area of 1,181 square miles supports a population of 2,24,240. With the addition of this tract the Nilgiris district will have a decent size and population; and also many economic advantages. Kollegal and Hosur, which together monopolise the sericulture industry of the Madras province, will considerably add to the economic wealth of the new province. The extent of land under mulberry cultivation in this tract is about 15,000 acres.

The main commercial crops of the Nilgiris are coffee and tea. The Nilgiris is the home of some of the best types of coffee "in the world" as pointed out in an official report. The potato crop is equally important. Out of 15,000 acres under potatoes in Madras Province, the Nilgiris alone account for as much as 14,000 acres. The Nilgiris produce the best type of potatoes, both for seed and consumption purposes, in the whole of India. The manufacture of eucalyptus oil is carried on extensively in the Nilgiris. As the demand for eucalyptus oil is great, there are possibilities of developing this industry on modern lines.

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Chapter VII

Industrial Possibilities of Karnatak Province

Government and Industry.

The Karnatak districts are industrially backward as compared to many other parts of India. This backwardness is not, however, due to the absence of adequate economic resources as we shall presently see. The Mysore State, which is more or less similarly situated as the rest of Karnatak in economic resources, has already made very considerable progress industrially. The main reason why this happened in the case of Mysore lies in the fact that Mysore had a separate administration properly to look after its interest in the industrial field. In the case of other parts of Karnatak this was not so. As the Kannada districts outside Mysore were divided into different provinces and formed their respective chief-camps, the region remained backward.

As there are few big capitalists in Karnatak, the industrial development of the region on an adequate scale may not be possible unless the administration itself, following in the footsteps of the Mysore Government, starts industries with its own capital at least in the earlier stages. In Mysore, some of the industries are entirely Government-owned; in some the Government own shares; and to others Government have afforded active assistance. Crores of rupees have been invested by the Mysore Government on various industries and they annually yield a substantial revenue which accrues to the benefit of the general tax payer. Again, the pioneer work in new fields of industrial enterprise and the risk involved in it may not induce private capitalists to undertake such ventures. In such cases, the Government themselves should start the new industry with their own capital. This is what the Government of Mysore does. A similar industrial policy will have to be followed in the case of Karnatak also. In order to

to make this possible, the Kannada people should have their own provincial administration run by themselves.

Agriculture and Industry

Having shown how the formation of the new province is extremely desirable for the industrial progress of Karnatak, let us proceed to examine in brief the economic resources of the region. In the absence of a complete geological survey and of full enquiries and investigations in various fields, it is not possible to have a complete picture of our natural resources. Even then, the information that is already available tends to show that the resources of Karnatak are rich and varied.

We may take up agriculture first. Industry and agriculture are inter-dependent. Besides supplying the industrial population with food, agriculture can feed industry by providing such industrial crops as cotton, oil-seeds, tobacco and sugarcane. Karnatak province will be self-sufficient in food. The total area under cereals, including millets, is about 7 million acres, with an estimated annual yield of over 12,50,000 tons of grain. This gives an average of 470 pounds of cereals per adult per year, after making provision for seed. This average is higher than the All-India average which works out at less than 361 pounds per adult per year. The position with regard to pulses is equally satisfactory. The total area under pulses is about a million acres which amounts to one-seventh of the acreage under cereals.

Expansion of irrigation will greatly increase our food supply. There are immense possibilities for large scale river-irrigation in Karnatak. Apart from the fact that the investigations on this subject are not complete, certain surveys already undertaken prove this. The famous Daddi project on the Ghataprabha, for instance, will command more than a million acres in Belgaum and Bijapur districts and the

adjoining States. To quote Mr. Beale who conducted the survey: "The land commanded is very subject to famine, and hence the project with its super-abundant water supply is one of the most important in the Deccan These two canals, the Gokak Canal on the Left Bank commanding 497,000 acres and the Right Bank Canal commanding over 8,25,000 acres, together command an area of 1,322,000 acres, or a probable cultivable area of over a million acres. The water supply available in normal years is over 100,000 million (cubic feet) and is more than sufficient to irrigate the whole cultivable area with cereal crops The system is the greatest in the Deccan". Again, the Asoga project on the Malaprabha in Belgaum district is estimated to irrigate about 1,15,480 acres. The famous Tungabhadra project, which is to be jointly operated by the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad, will irrigate a large area in Bellary district.

There is also considerable scope for lift-irrigation by means of electrically driven power pumps. It is estimated that the lift-irrigation schemes on the Krishna and the Bhima will irrigate about two lakhs of acres in Bijapur district. The power for pumping out the water can be supplied by the Koyana Hydro-Electric project.

Besides irrigating cereal and leguminous crops, these projects are expected to grow sugarcane on large areas covering more than 70,000 acres. This will make Karnatak more than self-sufficient in gur and sugar. Assuming that the average production per acre is four tons, the total annual production of sugar will be 280,000 tons. This will bring in a sugar excise duty of 168 lakhs of rupees at the present rate of Rs.60/- per ton. It has been found that irrigation will not have any deleterious effects on the black cotton soils of the Karnatak districts. Dry crops like jowar and bajri, cotton and groundnut yield when irrigated three to four times the quantity obtained when unirrigated. The areas commanded by these irrigation projects will also be saved

permanently from famine. It may be noted here that the areas to be benefitted by these projects in Bijapur, Belgaum and Bellary districts, are liable to be afflicted with famines frequently. Irrigation alone will banish famine from these tracts once for all.

Raw Materials for Industry

It is necessary to give a very brief account of raw materials that are available in Karnatak. Taking agricultural products first, we find that the new province will be particularly rich in cotton. The total area under this crop would come to more than 2.1 million acres. The execution of the irrigation projects already referred to will not only increase cotton production, but will also make it possible to grow long staple cotton. With occasional irrigation, long staple cotton will yield 1,200 lb. per acre. The existing large area under cotton, coupled with the increased production after irrigation, will enable Karnatak to develop textile industry on a large scale. As observed by the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee, "the central position which Dharwar and Hubli occupy, make them ideal centres for supplying cloth to the whole of the Karnatak". The availability of oil-seeds, which are grown over a large area of 1.3 million acres, will help the establishment of oil-mills on modern lines. As pointed out earlier, the irrigation projects will bring under sugarcane cultivation about 70,000 acres. Even now the Karnatak districts possess 37,000 acres under this crop. Thus there will be sufficient sugarcane to establish sugar factories in considerable numbers.

The rich forests of Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris can provide a variety of raw materials in large quantities for the development of forest industries. The Karnatak province will have more than 4.5 million acres under reserved forests, an area which will be exceeded only by the provinces of C.P. and Madras. In the absence of a comprehensive economic survey of the forest products and due to inadequate research,

we are not in a position to give a complete picture of the forest industries. However, we may mention that there is scope for profitable establishments like plywood, match making and paper making factories, Of the average annual extraction of bamboos in Bombay province amounting to 2,788,300 culms, no less than 2,045,300 culms are claimed by the Karnatak districts. It is estimated that nearly 2,00,000 tons of bamboos per year are available in the northern portion of North Kanara district alone. This would be sufficient to feed several pulp-producing factories. It is said that bobins, which are at present imported from Sweden, can be manufactured from bamboo woods. With the vast forest resources, we should have large varieties of indigenous medicinal herbs and seeds for establishing a drugs industry.

Karnatak province will have a coast line of considerable length. The sea fisheries resources can be exploited to the full by using modern methods of fishing and fish curing. The resulting increase in the supplies of fish will become the basis of industries like the manufacture of fish manure, fish guano, fish meal, fish oil, fish maws, etc.

Although Kannatak cannot boast of certain basic minerals like coal, the geological surveys so far carried out show that it contains some useful minerals like manganese, bauxite, iron, ore, limestone, white clay and building-stones of various types. Manganese is found in large quantities in the western talukas of Belgaum and the up-ghat talukas of North Kanara and also in Dharwar district. The white clay found in Khanapur taluka in Belgaum is said to be of high quality. The Bijapur district, owing to the variety of its strata, makes the region "rank high in mineral wealth". The district is rich in iron ore in the sense that the ore is found in various parts of the district. In fact, the smelting of iron ore and the making of agricultural implements from the same were followed as subsidiary occupation by some rural

artisans. The district is particularly rich in building-stones of various types and colours. Clay slate is also found. In Honavar taluka in North Kanara, sand which is useful for the preparation of glass can be had. China clay is available in Bellary, North Kanara and Belgaum districts. Corundum is found at a number of localities in South Kanara, while ochres are available in Bellary and Dharwar. Soapstone can be had in south Kanara and Bellary.

A comprehensive geological survey of all parts of the proposed province from an industrial point of view is necessary. It is stated that some regions contain useful minerals in large quantities. For instance, the Supa Petha as pointed out by an official report, "is believed to be rich in different kinds of minerals though no geological survey of the tract has yet been undertaken".

Power and Transport

Although Karnatak has no coal deposits, this deficiency can be made up by developing hydro-electric power and thus producing "the white coal". Fortunately for us, there are immense possibilities in this direction. The irrigation projects already mentioned may also be made to produce electric power. This is particularly so in the case of the Daddi and the Tungbilla projects. In addition, there are a number of sites, particularly in Kanara and Coorg, which are well suited for developing hydro-electric energy. Up to now, no comprehensive hydro-electric survey has been carried out. Even then, whatever investigations have been carried out made indicate that Karnat is rich in hydro-electric resources.

The Hydro-electric survey of India mentions the following sites: (1) Kalinadi River:- Site near Khoda village in Supa petha of the North Kanara District. (2) Baddi River:-

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on the Sirsi Kumbha road in N. Canara (4) Kaveri River Site about ten miles from Kumbharwada in North Kanara, (5) Hiran-yakshi River: Site about 38 miles from Belgaum; (6) Mahadev River: Site at 17 miles from Khanapur in the Belgaum district.

A similar list can be made indicating sites in the Madras portion of Karnatak. The recent progress that has been made in the development of hydro-electric methods of generating and distributing electric power has opened out new prospects. Making use of water power is the cheapest method of supplying energy to industrial establishments. With the full utilization of water power, the new province of Karnatak can take a big stride in the industrial field. Water power can also be utilized for electro-chemical industries, such as the extraction of aluminium from bauxite and the manufacture of nitrogen compounds from the air.

The economic aspects of forestry, in relation to the fuel supply has not received sufficient attention so far. Wood distillation as a method of obtaining charcoal gas has been neglected. There is ample scope for the production of charcoal gas in Karnatak. A well-developed sugar industry in Karnatak, to which we have already referred, will also produce power alcohol from molasses which is obtained as a by-product in sugar factories. In all progressive countries, where indigenous petrol is not available in sufficient quantities, it has been considered desirable to develop alcohol as a motor fuel.

Without adequate transport facilities, industrial development is not possible beyond a very limited extent. We have indicated in Chapter IV how Karnatak has suffered on account of inadequate transport. Karnatak has certain advantages in the matter of developing its transport and communications systems. The Kanara coast possesses some of the best natural harbours such as Karwar, Bhatkal and Malpe.

Karwar has been long recognised to be one of the finest ports on the West Coast, though it is sadly neglected. An expert like Sir Arthur Cotton, Commandant of Engineers, once wrote about Karwar as follows: "Upon the whole I think we may safely say there is scarcely a harbour in the world that has a more remarkable collection of advantages than this would have, considering its position in respect of the sea and the country, its security, its accessibility by sea, its improvability, its climate, its connection with internal communications, its sanatorium on the neighbouring hill and its freedom from any drawback. That such a harbour should be placed opposite to such an opening in the Ghats leading to such a country, with facilities for internal communications is most remarkable and it would seem to be madness to neglect such great advantages."

Bhatkal, which the Government of Mysore wants to develop is also a fine harbour. It can be easily connected with the Mysore Railway which is within a very short distance. The development of harbours on the Kanara Coast, coupled with a network of railway lines connecting the main centres of commercial and industrial importance, will greatly facilitate the industrialisation of the new province. Some of the more important railway lines which require early construction may be mentioned: (1) Line connecting Bhatkal with the Mysore Railway, (2) Line connecting Shimoga with Byadgi, (3) Line connecting Karwar with Hubli, (4) Line connecting Mangalore with Mysore via Mercara, (5) Line connecting Hosur with Bangalore, (6) Line connecting Kottur with Davanagere, (7) Line connecting Bijapur with Miraj.

Cottage Industries

The purpose of this section is not to take a survey of the cottage industries of Karnatak. What is sought to be done is to indicate very briefly the possibilities of developing some rural industries which need urgent attention. The

handloom industry has always occupied a premier position among the rural industries in Karnatak. The Fact Finding Committee (1941) estimated the number of looms in the districts of future Karnatak province at 59,000. The establishment of textile spinning mills in Karnatak will greatly assist the handloom industry. Yarn which is now imported from outside Karnatak can be manufactured in the province itself and supplied to looms at a cheaper rates.

There are great possibilities for developing the sericulture industry in Karnatak. The talukas of Belgaum, Gokak, Khanapur, Hukeri, Chikodi, Sampgaon and Parasgad in Belgaum district; and the talukas of Dharwar, Kalghatgi, Hangal, Kod, Bankapur, Hubli and Karajgi in Dharwar district are very well suited for introducing sericulture. This tract has a moderate rainfall, temperate climatic and a favourable soil retentive of moisture. These climate conditions are ideal for silk-worm rearings. Mulberry plants and trees grow here luxuriantly. The sericulturist to the Government of Mysore, who was invited in 1939 by the Bombay Government to investigate the possibilities of introducing sericulture in Bombay Province, reported that the tract referred to was "well-fitted to take up the industry and to capture the silk market". He recommended that a sericulture farm should be established at Belgaum which "has all the advantages to be an ideal research and experimental station guiding the various branches of the silk industry in the province".

Another important rural industry which has a bright future is bee-keeping. The whole of Kanara, both north and south, Coorg, the Nilgiris and the western parts of Dharwar and Belgaum districts are eminently suited for the development of this industry. "While the industry, says an official monograph, "does not make a heavy call on the bee-keeper's time and involves only little labour and capital, the income derived from the industry is greater than the income from several other cottage industries".

The vast groves of cocoanut trees on the Kanara coast should make possible the establishment of a good coir industry. The total area under coconut palm in Kanara is about 60,000 acres. It may be noted that the cocoanuts of Kanara are bigger than those of Malabar and have, therefore, a longer fibre.

This brief note on the industrial possibilities of the future province of Karnatak should not be considered as exhaustive. The list of industries mentioned is by no means complete. But what has been stated is sufficient to indicate that there are vast possibilities for the industrial and economic advancement of the region. "Just as Governments should recognise," wrote the Famine Inquiry Commission (1945), "their responsibility to provide food for all, so also they should recognise the responsibility of developing economic resources to the fullest extent." The Government of India who in our opinion, recognise this responsibility, would do well immediately to form Karnatak into a separate province, so that it may develop industrially under the fostering care of a Government which will be run by the people of the region themselves.

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Chapter VIII

Financial position of the Proposed Province

Income and Expenditure

The financial position of Karnatak is satisfactory in the sense that it will be a self-supporting province. The Nehru Committee which considered this question was aware of this fact when it wrote: "Financially the position of the Karnataka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of the Karnataka".

Coming to actual figures, we may take the "Provincial heads" of income and expenditure first. The total receipts under these heads for the Karnatak districts in Bombay province, as shown in the Budget Papers, come to Rs.357 lakhs. But this figure does not include receipts from the newly imposed sales tax for a full year. This tax was collected only for one quarter during 1946-47. It is officially estimated that a sum of Rs.15 lakhs will have to be added to cover the total collection of the sales tax for a full year in future. Similarly, in 1946-47, which was not a normal year, a sum of Rs.15 lakhs was not realised from the Karnatak districts in the form of land revenue on account of famine conditions then prevailing in certain parts. Thus, in calculating the total income for a normal year, this sum will have to be taken into consideration. We shall deal later on with the question of making provision for famine relief. By adding these two sums of Rs.15 lakhs each, we find that the total income for the Bombay districts would come to Rs.387 lakhs. The receipts under provincial heads for the Madras districts amount to Rs.252 lakhs. The combined income will be as follows:-

| <u>Income</u> | <u>Rs. in lakhs</u> |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Districts in Bombay Province | 387 |
| Districts in Madras Province | <u>252</u> |
| Total | 639 |

The figures for Bombay districts are for the year

1946-47, while those for Madras districts are for 1945-46. The Madras figures for 1946-47 could not be given as they are not yet available. But this will not make any appreciable difference in our calculations.

Turning to the expenditure side under "Provincial heads", we find that the total expenditure for Bombay districts was Rs.484 lakhs. But this figure is deceptive in the sense that during 1946-47 an extra expenditure was incurred as famine expenditure in Bijapur district and also for developing bunding operations as a part of post-war development schemes. These two items being unusual and not being a regular feature of the annual budget, they may be excluded from our consideration for the time being. The question of famine relief is dealt with later on. Thus, the real total expenditure for Bombay districts amounts to Rs.428 lakhs, after deducting the sum of Rs.56 lakhs which was incurred on the extra items. The total expenditure for Madras districts comes to Rs.177 lakhs. Thus we get the following results:

| | <u>Expenditure.</u> | <u>Rs. in lakhs.</u> |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Bombay districts | ... | 428 |
| Madras districts | ... | <u>177</u> |
| | Total | 605 |

To sum up, the total income comes to Rs.639 lakhs, while the total expenditure amounts to Rs.605 lakhs, thereby leaving a surplus of Rs.34 lakhs under Provincial heads alone.

As regards the "Central heads" of income and expenditure, we find that the Karnatak districts from Bombay receive Rs.71 lakhs from this source, including the Income Tax share allotment which is officially calculated to be about Rs.8 lakhs for the Karnatak districts. The total expenditure under "Central heads" amounts to Rs.31 lakhs, thus leaving a net surplus of Rs.40 lakhs.

As regards Madras districts, we are not in a position to give any figures under the "Central heads" as we could not secure them. But it would appear that the Madras districts will also show a surplus. This assumption is based on the obvious conclusion that the Central Government generally spends less than what it receives in a particular province or region. Even taking for granted that there will be no surplus from the Madras districts under "Central heads", the total combined surplus for all the districts, both under provincial and Central heads, comes to Rs.74 lakhs.

This surplus of Rs.74 lakhs, however, is not the final figure. The figures of expenditure so far given are the "treasury figures" which do not take into account separate overhead charges which each province must bear. For instance, there must be a Governor, Ministry, Legislature Secretariat, Heads of Departments, Printing and Stationery, etc. for each province. Again, the Debt charges in respect of debts which will be allocated to that province on separation from other provinces will have to be borne. The overhead charges is generally calculated, in the event of forming a new province, on the basis of proportionate population. Thus, out of the total overhead charges for the whole Bombay province, which amount to Rs.234 lakhs, the share of Bombay Karnatak would come to Rs.43 lakhs on the basis of population.

Similar calculation could not be made in the case of Madras districts as figures could not be had. It is not even necessary to make such a calculation in their case. This is because the Madras tract to be included in the new province will not need a separate Governor, Ministry, Legislature etc.

In regard to debt charges, it is officially calculated that the annual liability under this head will be Rs.7.2 lakhs in the case of Bombay Karnatak. Assuming that the liability in respect of the Madras districts would be

almost the same as that of Bombay Karnatak, the total debt charges for the future Karnatak province would roughly come to Rs.14 lakhs.

So far we have not taken into consideration the finances of Coorg. Since Coorg is under the direct charge of the Government of India, it stands on a different footing. The financial position of Coorg is entirely satisfactory. The total income for 1945-46 was Rs.32 lakhs and the total expenditure was Rs.18 lakhs, thus leaving a surplus of Rs.14 lakhs. Coorg is entirely free from debt charges. On the contrary, the closing balance on the 31st March 1946, exclusive of the sum of Rs.25 lakhs earmarked for specific purposes, was Rs.35 lakhs. Out of this balance, a sum of Rs.15 lakhs stands invested as a deposit with the Government of India.

The financial position of the future province of Karnatak as a whole may now be summarised as follows:

Income

| | |
|--|----------------|
| (1) Total income under "Provincial heads" for all districts total income of Coorg. | Rs.671 lakhs |
| (2) Total income under "Central heads" for Bombay districts. | Rs. 71 lakhs |
| (3) Total income under "Central heads" for Madras districts. | Not available. |
| Total income. | Rs.742 lakhs |

Expenditure

| | |
|---|----------------|
| (1) Total expenditure for all districts under "Provincial heads", taking only "Treasury figures", and also total expenditure for Coorg. | Rs.621 lakhs |
| (2) Total expenditure for Bombay districts under "Central heads". | Rs. 31 lakhs |
| (3) Total expenditure for Madras districts under "Central heads". | Not available. |
| (4) Overhead charges and debt charges for all districts and also for Coorg. | Rs. 57 lakhs |
| Total expenditure. | Rs.709 lakhs. |

It will thus be seen that there will be a decent surplus amounting to Rs.33 lakhs. This surplus may be even more, if the Madras districts have an excess of income over expenditure under "Central heads". Out of this surplus of Rs.33 lakhs, adequate provision can be made for famine relief. Since famines do not occur every year, this surplus will be more than sufficient for meeting this liability as and when it arises. Thus the financial position of Karnatak is quite sound.

Financial Self-Sufficiency

With the advent of national freedom, we should revise some of our old ideas. For instance, the one pet argument against the formation of linguistic provinces had always been the "financial insufficiency" of the regions concerned. This argument was strongly advanced both against Orissa and Sind. Today the picture has changed. India now is politically free. We have not won this freedom for the purpose of seeking spiritual satisfaction. The attainment of national freedom is only a means and not an end in itself. The ultimate aim is to bring about an all-round improvement in the condition of the people. This improvement, in its turn, cannot be secured without developing the natural resources of the country. If we still harp on the same old theory of financial insufficiency in the matter of creating linguistic provinces, the clear implication of this line of thinking would be that we are not serious about developing the economic resources of each and every linguistic region so as to make it financially self-supporting.

Even today the financial position of Karnatak province compares very favourably with that of Orissa and Assam, as is evident from the following table:

| <u>Province</u> | <u>Income</u> Rs. in lakhs. | <u>Expenditure</u> Rs. in lakhs. | <u>Surplus or Deficit</u> Rs. in lakhs. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Karnatak (Estimated) | 742 | 709 | + 33 |
| Assam (1946-47) | 515 | 505 | + 10 |
| Orissa (1946-47) | 405 | 455 | - 50 |

It will thus be seen that Karnatak will have a much larger income than either Assam or Orissa. While Assam has a small surplus of Rs.10 lakhs, Karnatak will have a decent surplus of Rs.33 lakhs. Orissa does not at all stand comparison with Karnatak. That province shows a deficit of about Rs.50 lakhs inspite of the subvention from the Centre amounting to Rs.40 lakhs. The real trouble with Orissa is that, due to permanent settlement, income from land revenue is comparatively small. The abolition of the system of permanent settlement is the only solution of this problem.

With the execution of the great irrigation projects referred to in the last chapter and with the industrial development of the region, the financial position of Karnatak province will be much more satisfactory than what it is today. The creation of more wealth would enable Government to increase its revenues by levying more taxes. Again, the position can be further improved by a redistribution of sources of revenue between the Centre and the provincial governments. It is necessary that such a redistribution should be made under the new Constitution which is now being framed. We may indicate the lines on which the revenues of the provinces could be augmented: (1) a share from export duty imposed by the Centre on cotton, coffee and tea on the lines similar to that given to Bengal in regard to jute; (2) an increased share from tobacco excise duty; (3) raising the distribution of the net proceeds from the income-tax upto 75 per cent; and (4) larger share in the import duty levied on spirit, motor vehicles

etc. by the Centre.

Even assuming for the sake of argument that Karnatak will not be financially self-supporting, the demand for unification cannot be resisted on this ground if the people concerned are willing to bear the burden of additional taxation. As the Nehru Committee declared "A denial of the right to self determination on purely financial grounds is bound to lead to great dissatisfaction". The Nehru Committee clinched the whole issue in the following words: "We who talk of self-determination on a larger scale cannot in reason deny it to a smaller area, provided of course this does not conflict with any other important principle or vital question. +The mere fact the people living in a particular area feel that they are a unit and desire to develop their culture is an important consideration even though there may be no sufficient historical or cultural justification for their demand. Sentiment in such matters is often more important than fact". We may observe that the demand of the Kannada people has more than sufficient justification not only on historical or cultural considerations, but also on financial grounds. It is not merely sentiment but solid facts of historical, cultural and economic importance that fully justify their claim for a united existence.

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