

*A CASE FOR*

# Andhra Province

A. P. C. C's - APPEAL TO CONSAMBLY

**A CASE FOR  
ANDHRA PROVINCE**

**( A. P. C. C.'S APPEAL TO CONSAMBLY )**

**BY**

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

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We have much pleasure in introducing this thesis to the members of the Constituent Assembly, the Nation's Sovereign body, now in session, busily engaged in the onerous task of framing a Constitution for Independent Republic of India. It is needless, now to remind that almost all the Political Parties have wedded to the principle of redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis; and we hope and trust that this longstanding unfulfilled desire of Andhras for a separate Andhra Province would be meted with equity and justice.

We owe our thanks to Dr. M. Rama Rao, for having complied with our request, and taken pains in preparing this thesis.

We are also very much indebted to Mr. G. V. SubbaRao, in rendering valuable suggestions at various stages in the preparation of this Brochure.

## *Andhra Provincial Congress Committee's*

### APPEAL TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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The Andhra movement for the formation of a separate linguistic province has by now become well known all over India and it has led the way for similar movements in many other provinces. It was started, on an all Andhra basis as long ago as 1911. Its great and veteran leader is Desabhakta Konda Venkappayya. Its stout exponent is Dr. Pattabhi. Its recent champion is the Maharaj Kumar of Vijayanagaram, Sri Vijaya. The Andhra Mahasabha has been its organisational champion. But it is no exaggeration to say that every public institution and movement, catering to the needs of any section of Andhras is diverted to this cause. The mass organisations of Kisans, Artisans, and Proletariat, are specially passionate about it because in the fruition of this movement, they see the biggest chance for themselves to take the most effective and greatest interest in political and other public activities and play their fullest role in our Public life without having to depend upon the microscopic minority of English knowing individuals and groups, as had been the case during the last 200 years.

All objections that once used to be raised for the formation of a separate Andhra Province are no longer there. The Tamilian people, who are the biggest section in the Madras Presidency are now themselves keen about a Tamilnad Province and have no objection to the formation of our Andhra Province.

The people of Rayalaseema (Ceded Districts) are now in favour of this proposal and their Kisan

masses have even become enthusiastic about it. The new sources of revenue, such as the highly remunerative sales tax bid fair to leave this prospective Province with a rising budgetary surplus and to give scope for the development of new social services by the state.

This movement has gained so much momentum during its long course of development in the last 36 years that the Andhra masses became very much devoted to the conception of a separate province and this conception has become an article of faith with them.

Every candidate, irrespective of his political party, who has stood for the Madras and the Central Legislative Assemblies or Councils since 1921 has had to give his unequivocal assurance to the Andhra masses to do his best for the achievement of this Province and so, the Andhra members of this Constituent Assembly are obliged to plead and work for its formation with all their might.

The Andhras are in favour of a powerful Central Government for India. Their idea of a separate Andhra Province is conceived only in harmony with the conception of a strong centre. They are agreeable to the present idea of leaving residuary powers with the provinces or even with the earlier conception of giving only specified powers and functions to the provinces. But they believe that the decentralisation of political power through democratic means and the closest possible association of the masses with their governmental institutions through their fullest democratic assemblies and responsible ministries, are most essential for the political and economic progress of the masses. Such an effective participation in the political and economic institutions of the country or any part of it can become possible only when the masses can deal with their local governmental agencies and representative assemblies in terms of their own lang-

uage and without the costly mediation of a narrow monopolistic section or sections of the people. Hence the passionate devotion of the Andhra masses for this proposal for the formation of a separate Andhra Province.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is itself a child of this progressive movement. It has been advocating, ever since its inception, the formation of our linguistic province.

All its veteran leaders and former office bearers, like Desodharaka, Desabhakta, T. Prakasam, Dr. Pattabhi, Sambamurti, and Sitarama Sastri, have been strong advocates of the formation of this province.

Therefore, on behalf of my self and in the name of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, I appeal to my fellowmembers of the Constituent Assembly to cause no more delay in this matter and to respond to the call of the Andhra masses and lead the way for their future progress by taking all possible and immediate steps for the formation of Andhra Province.

Bezwada, }  
25-4-47. }

**N. G. R A N G A ,**

President,

**Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.**

# A CASE FOR ANDHRA PROVINCE

## WHY LINGUISTIC PROVINCES?

The meeting of the Constituent Assembly at Delhi marks a turning point in the contemporary history of India. It is symbolic not only of the triumph of the Indian peoples' struggle for freedom but also of their right of self-determination. India is divided today into several provinces and numerous states which are the result of many historical accidents and administrative convenience. There are, however, other divisions more rational and more conducive to popular welfare cutting across these artificial compartments. The boundaries of these rational divisions follow the incidence of language and centuries of historical evolution. Though the people of India are held together by a common culture and a common purpose they live and function in several linguistic groups. It is necessary that these forces of unity and plurality must be harmoniously balanced. The logical extension of the principle of self-determination to these linguistic groups is the only effective way of concretising the freedom of India to the Indian people. Freedom and democracy can convey meaning and benefit to the man in the street only when he can control the government of his province and when the administration of the province is carried on in his own language. Independence is incompatible with the existence of incongruous administrative units in which many linguistic groups are huddled together. Moreover the

creation of stable, rational and contented units is a necessary pre-requisite to the formation of an Indian Union. These considerations amply justify the redistribution of the Indian provinces and the creation of linguistic units.

The Andhras are a homogeneous linguistic group with a hoary antiquity and a glorious past. They were the first to formulate the idea of linguistic provinces and have been struggling for the last thirty six years for the realisation of this dream.

### ANDHRAS AND ANDHRADESA.

Andhra denotes today a people, a country and a language and is synonymous with Telugu. The Andhras as a people are mentioned in the Rig Veda while the term indicative of the country is of a later date. Obviously Andhradesa came to be so called because it became the home of the Andhra people then as now. The Andhras were also known as Telingas and Vadugar while their country was alternately known as Telinga, Vadugaveli or Vadugu. The area and population of Andhradesa are today about 1/14 and 1/12 of those of India respectively. Telugu, which is the predominant language in this vast area, occupies the fourth place among the languages of India. Andhra is divided into various subdivisions known as Kalinga, Eastern Andhra, Telingana, Northern Andhra, Rayalaseema and Mysore Andhra.

### PEEPS INTO THE PAST

The Andhras are a people of hoary antiquity. They are mentioned in the Aitereyabrahmana of the Rig Veda and in Sanskrit and Pali works of subsequent times. They seem to have settled near the eastern spurs of the Vindhyan mountains and from there spread over eastern Deccan which became their homeland many centuries before the beginning of the Christian



Era. In the Mauryan times they were a mighty people possessing thirty walled towns and a strong contingent of infantry, cavalry and elephant force and constituted the second important power in India. After the death of Emperor Asoka, Simuka of the Satavahana clan of the Andhra tribe, conquered central and western Deccan and founded a dynasty which lasted for about five centuries. The empire, built by the rulers of this dynasty, embraced the entire Deccan and extended at times into Malva, Vidarbha, Kalinga and Dravida, while for a short time the Andhra-Satavahana rulers exercised their sway over Pataliputra, the ancient imperial capital. This family produced illustrious conquerors like Simuka, Satakarni, Gautamiputra and Yajnasri. It conferred peace and prosperity on the country, and promoted the all round progress of its people. After the fall of this family the Deccan was parcelled into a number of independent states. The Ikshvakus, a family of Andhra stock, held sway for some time over central and eastern Deccan while the Cutus, another family of Andhra extraction, ruled over the whole of modern Mysore and southern Maharashtra. By the middle of the third century A. D. the Vakatakas occupied central Deccan while Andhra proper was divided into three parts-Kalinga, ruled by a number of minor chieftains, Vengi, ruled by the Salankayanas and Vishnukundins in succession and Andhrapatha, south of the Krishna, ruled by the great Pallavas. About the beginning of the first quarter of the seventh century the Pallavas retired to the south carrying with them the northern culture and yielded place to the Chalukyas of Vengi, who soon became masters of eastern Andhra. These Chalukyas were powerful rulers who withstood successive onslaughts from the rulers of central Deccan and South India and maintained the integrity of their dominion in the face of external aggression and internal dissensions. Rajaraja of this dynasty was the patron of the Andhra Mahabharata,

the first available literary work in the Telugu language. This dynasty lasted for over four centuries and played a prominent part in the Deccan and south Indian politics of the time. Northern Andhra, known as Kalinga, was ruled by the Gangas for about nine centuries beginning from the sixth century. The eleventh century saw the rise of an illustrious Andhra ruling family, the Kakatiyas, in the neighbourhood of Warangal. They freed the whole of modern Telingana from western Chalukyan yoke under the lead of Rudradeva and expanded to the east coast. Ganapati-deva, the greatest of the rulers of this line, conquered northern, eastern and south-western Andhra and established a vast empire which embraced the entire Telugu speaking area of today. He held at bay the Yadavas of Devagiri in the north and vanquished many rulers of South India. His illustrious daughter Rudramba, the only example of a woman exercising sovereign power over a vast empire, maintained this empire intact and handed over it to her grandson Prataparudradeva. This monarch extended his sway up to Kanchi in South India and promoted prosperity of the people. Andhradesa of the time was teeming with wealth and plenty and constituted an eye-sore to the distant Sultans of Delhi. This great emperor successfully withstood repeated invasions of the Sultans of Delhi and sacrificed his everything for the defence of independence and Hindu dharma. The Kakatiya empire fell in 1323 A. D. and part of Telingana was conquered by the Sultans. But the spirit of the Andhra people was not dead. Kapaya Nayaka, a Telugu chief consolidated part of the remaining territory and organised stiff resistance in Telingana.

The Reddis, former subordinates of the Kakatiya empire, established themselves at Kondavidu and Rajahmundry and kept up the independence of eastern Andhra for well over a century. Two brothers, formerly

officials in the treasury of the Kakatiyas, fled to the South and established the famous city of Vijayanagara with the avowed intention of safeguarding Hindu dharma. This city soon blossomed into a kingdom and an empire embracing the entire South India. Meanwhile the Bahamani kingdom, an independent Sultanate, was founded in the Deccan in 1347 and flourished till the last quarter of the fifteenth century. On the ashes of this kingdom rose five independent Sultanates of whom those of Golconda and Bijapur were very powerful. Krishnaraya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers, extended his dominion far along the east coast and into the Raichur doab. Andhra glory reached the climax during his reign. It was the Augustean age of Telugu literature. The court of Vijayanagara surpassed in splendour and glory the best known courts of contemporary Europe.

This great Vijayanagara empire fell in 1565. The subordinates of the empire declared their independence and founded separate principalities like the Nayaka kingdoms of Tanjore, Madura, Jinji and Ikkeri, and ruled over South India for about a century. The Sultans of Golconda consolidated their sway over Telingana and Eastern Andhra. The Vijayanagara emperors of the Aravidu dynasty exercised wavering control over varying parts of southern and south-western Andhra like the later Mogul emperors of northern India. One of them confirmed the grant, by a subordinate of his, of a small site on the coast to the English East India Company on which was built the Fort St. George (Madras). With the conquest of the Deccan Sultanates by emperor Aurangzeb, Andhra came to be incorporated into the Mogul empire and when in 1733, the subedar of the Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk threw off the Mogul yoke and established his independence at Hyderabad, and Andhradesa with the exception of the extreme south-western part, passed into the Nizam's Dominions.

## RECENT DISMEMBERMENT OF ANDHRA

The East India Company gradually expanded its influence and acquired considerable territory in the South as a result of the Karnatic wars. Being hard put to find a land route from Madras to Bengal, it prevailed upon the Nizam in 1768 to cede the Northern Circars or Eastern Andhra. At the conclusion of the Mysore wars the Company gave Anantapur and Bellary to the Nizam, but the latter ceded these tracts in 1800 to the Company along with others when he entered the subsidiary system. The Maratha wars and subsequent transactions leading to the formation of the Central Provinces resulted in the inclusion of the Chanda district and other northern tracts in that province. Similarly the area in the extreme South and south-west came to be included in the state of Mysore. When the new province of Orissa was created in 1935 the Telugu parts of the Ganjam and Vizag districts were unjustly included in that province. And the bulk of Andhradesa was incorporated into the presidency of Madras.

## WEALTH OF ANDHRADESA

Andhra enjoyed great wealth and unbroken prosperity for centuries. Even as early as the second century B. C. her material progress was remarkable. Artisans founded and developed numerous craft guilds and produced articles of high quality. The muslins, as fine as the tissue of the spider's web, woven by the Andhra weavers of the time, were in great demand in western countries. Trade was similarly regulated by autonomous guilds of merchants who traded with distant countries in the east and west. A large variety of vessels used for coastal and distant sailing ploughed the seas laden with valuable merchandise of the marts of Andhradesa. There was a net work of highways and bye-ways covering the entire Deccan and a large num-

ber of ports flourished on both the coasts as well as on the rivers, Godavary and Kristna. The country exported mostly finished goods and enjoyed a favourable balance of trade. The imports mainly consisted of articles of luxury like pearls, silks, musk and camphor. Marco Polo of the 13th century paid a glowing tribute to the material well being and wealth of the contemporary Andhra people and made special mention of diamond gathering as a popular industry. Malik Kafur, the Khilji general, left warangal, the then Andhra capital, accompanied by numbers of camels groaning under the weight of maunds of gold and precious stones.

### CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Being situated midway between the Aryan North and the Dravidian South, Andhra is peculiarly suited for the evolution of a harmonious synthesis of two great cultures and the emergence of a new culture containing the salient features of both of them. The Andhras have made valuable contributions to various cultural movements in ancient and medieval times. They were among the early converts to Buddhism and the Andhra or Andhaka school of monks was very famous even in such distant places as Sravasti. Nowhere in India have such large numbers of Buddhist monuments been discovered as in such a limited area covered by the two adjacent districts of Kistna and Guntur. Dhanyakataka and Vijayapuri (Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda) were two celebrated Buddhist centres with stupas erected over the corporeal remains of the Great Master. They were visited by pilgrims from very distant countries like Ceylon and China. Acharya Nagarjuna lived in these centres and added a new glory to Andhra Buddhism. The great cave temples and monasteries at Nasik, Nanaghat and Bara are standing monuments of Andhra patronage of Buddhism. The Caityaka school and the Madhyamika doctrine were the particular contributions of

the Andhra people. Brahmanical Hinduism also found active support in Andhradesa. Apastambha, one of the early law givers was an Andhra. Satakarni, the third ruler of the famous Satavahana dynasty, in the second century B. C. performed Asvamedha, Rajasuya and other vedic sacrifices, while his distant successor Gautamiputra was an Ekabrahmana and the protector of Varnasramadharma. A wave of Brahmanical Hindu revival swept over Andhra and Kalinga in the third century A. D. and rulers of successive dynasties like the Ikshvakus, the Salankayanas, the Pallavas and the Vishnukundins were all performers of Asvamedha and Paramabrahmanyas and patrons of numerous scholars and philosophers. In the middle ages the imperial Kakatiyas were great patrons of Hindudharma and sacrificed their everything for its protection and preservation. Their mantle fell upon their successors, the rulers of Vijayanagara under whose patronage Hindu culture reached the climax of its glory in the South. Vallabhacharya, the great religious teacher, Kumarila, the great philosopher, Vidyaranya, the famous Vedic commentator, and Naraharibirtha, the Madhva saint who founded the Dasakuta, all hailed from Andhra. The Golagi school of Saivism found active support in the Kakatiya period while Virasaiva, founded by Basava, found ready response in Andhra and stalwarts like Palkuriki Somanatha propagated the faith in both Andhra and Karnataka. Srissailam in south-west Andhra became the chief Saivite centre. The Viravaishnava of Ramanuja was propagated in this country by Brahmanayadu, the celebrated hero of the Palnadu war (eleventh century) in which the kisan clans played the leading role and through which they realised and proved their mettle in warfare and statecraft and founded the Veera (Heroes) cult.

The contributions of Andhradesa to various literatures are equally remarkable. Bhavabhuti, the eminent Sanskrit poet hailed from this country while

Dandin, the prince of prose writers, lived for some time at the Chalukyan court at Vengi. Vidyanatha, Narasimha, Agastya and Visvanatha were famous poets of the Kakatiya court. Mallinatha and Katyavema were famous Andhra commentators. Hala, Madhavarman, Prataparudradeva, Komataveina, Kumaragiri, Krishnaraya and Raghunathawayaka were illustrious poet-princes of Andhradesa. Annambhatta, the famous logician and Panditaraja Jagannatha were both Andhars. Gathasaptasati of the emperor Hala and Brihatktha of Gunadhya are unique contributions of Andhra to Prakrit literature. Among the early Kannada poets Ranna, Honna and Pampa hailed from Andhra while many Telugu poets of the middle ages also wrote in Kannada. Telugu literature is of unique value among the literatures of India and Telugu poets like Nannaya Tikkana, who rendered Mahabharata into free Telugu poetry, Putana who translated Mahabharatam, Srinatha and Peddana occupy places of honour in the galaxy of Indian poets.

Ancient and medieval Andhra was the home of intense artistic activity. Andhra artists of the early centuries excavated the famous cave monuments of Nasik, Nanaghat, Karla, and Ajanta in the west and of Ramatirtham, Sangharama and Guntupalli in the east. The famous gateway of Sanchi, constructed by Satakarni, an early Andhra king and the four gateways in the fort of Warangal are unique examples of artistic and engineering skill of Andhras. Amaravati became the centre of a new indigenous school of sculpture characterised by a harmonious balancing of realism, idealism and dynamic force. Beautiful marbles executed in the Amaravati style and terracotta figurines have been found over long distances on either bank of the Krishna along its lower course. This style travelled to distant countries in eastern Asia and reached its perfection at Borobudur in Java. The

Post-Satavahana period witnessed the continuation and development of cave architecture, now under the influence and inspiration of Hinduism and also execution of remarkable monuments at Bezwada, Mogalrajapuram, Undavalli and Mahabalipuram. In the middle ages there was a definite preference for structural architecture and the Andhra artist created beautiful and inspiring temples at Warangal, Ramappa, Pillalamarri, Lepakshi and Tadipatri.

Music and dance attracted attention of the Andhra people from the very early times. The famous sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda contain several dance scenes and numerous musical instruments. With the advent of Saiva and Vaisnava, dance and music became their necessary accompaniments. The courts of Vengi, Warangal and Vijayanagara patronised numerous artists. Jayasenapati's *Nrittaratnavalli*, Kumaragiri's *Vasantarajya*, Venkatamakhi's *Chaturdandiprakashika* and Raghunatha's *Buaratasudha* and *Sangitasudha* are standard works on these twin arts. Tyagaraja, the great musician saint has immortalised Andhra's genius for music, while Kshetrayya and Ramadas shed additional lustre on the world of south Indian music. They are the most celebrated of Vaggeyakaras.

It is now a matter of common knowledge that for centuries India enjoyed an intimate intellectual and cultural comradery with the other nations of Asia. Indian culture spread to distant countries while in many, there were Indian colonies and kingdoms. The Andhras played a prominent part in the building of this Greater India. The occurrence of place names like those of Amaravati, Kakulam and Kalinga, the discovery of inscriptions written in the Vengi script, the use of the Salivahana era, numerous local traditions and the close resemblance between the Hindu and Buddhist monuments of countries like Java, Malay and



Burma and those in coastal Andhra, all these prove that there was a greater Andhra in Eastern Asia.

### PRESENT POSITION

The Andhras are thus an ancient people with a glorious past and a remarkable cultural heritage. Passing through a strange vicissitude of fortune, both the country and its people have ultimately lost their independence and integrity. Andhradesa is cut up today and is included in the three British Indian provinces of Madras, Orissa and C. P. of Nagpur and Berar and four Indian states of Bangarapalli, Bastur, Mysore and Hyderabad. Of the Andhra people, about two crores live in the Telugu Districts of the Madras Presidency while a crore and a half nearly are to be found scattered all over India and outside. Even the Telugu Districts have lost their individuality because they are included in multilingual presidency.

### AGITATION FOR AN ANDHRA PROVINCE

The first decade of the present century ushered in the dawn of a new era in the history of the Andhra people. The ill-advised partition of Bengal in the time of Lord Curzon and the serious agitation carried on against it in the interests of maintaining the unity and integrity of Bengal and the Bengalee speaking people created new hopes and new visions all over the country. A group of friends, members of the Young Men's Literary Association, Guntur, hit upon the idea in 1910 for the redistribution of the provinces of India on a linguistic basis and constituting a separate province for the Andhra area. This was the genesis of the Andhra movement, which inspired new enthusiasm in the country. The Andhra Mahasabha was founded in 1913 and soon a number of auxiliary movements came into existence. The linguistic-province movement gained strength day by day. The Indian National Congress appreciated the rationale of this

demand and created, at its Calcutta session in 1916, an autonomous Andhra unit within its own organisation. When constitutional reform was in the air and the Montague Chelmsford Mission came, the Andhra Mahasabha submitted a memorandum urging the creation of an Andhra Province and sent a deputation to the Joint-Parliamentary Committee while the Government of India Act was on the anvil. Meanwhile in India, the Imperial Legislative Council passed a resolution favouring the constitution of the new province. But the Government of India Act of 1919 did not concede this demand though it made a provision, under section 52 A, for creation of new provinces.

Undaunted by this initial failure, the Andhras continued their agitation for a separate province. A fresh resolution was approved by the Central Legislature in 1922. Another serious effort was made in 1927-28 when enquiries about the revision of the Indian constitution were being made. An elaborate memorandum demanding the constitution of the Telugu speaking districts of the Madras Presidency into a separate province was presented to the Simon Commission. A resolution to this effect was passed in the Madras Legislature in 1927 and identical resolutions were passed by both houses of the Central Legislature. The All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow in the same year and the Indian National Convention held at Calcutta in 1928 both advocated the immediate creation of the province. Pandit Motilal Nehru's report, also published in the same year, endorsed this view. The Simon Commission however set at naught this serious and reasonable demand of the Andhra people, possibly because most of the prominent Andhras boycotted the Commission and Andhra masses went over to the Congress movement and the British feared a Congress-minded Andhra Province.

Fresh attempts were made on the eve of the reforms of 1935. Memoranda urging the creation of the

province were submitted to the Second Round Table Conference (1932) by the Andhra delegates present and intense propaganda was carried on in England. This produced strange results. Instead of the materialisation of an Andhra Province the conference brought forth two new provinces of Sindh and Orissa with the potent danger of the latter swallowing the northern portions of Ganjam and Vizag districts of the Andhra territory. Reasonable attempts were made to avert this calamity and a new resolution was passed in the Madras Legislature in favour of the creation of an Andhra Province in 1933. These attempts were however of no avail. The Government of India Act of 1955 sliced off Andhra and ceded its northern parts to the new province of Orissa and dismissed the claims of the Andhras for their own province.

The advent of popular ministries of the Congress Party infused fresh hope among the Andhras and a resolution was passed in the Madras Assembly in 1933 urging creation of linguistic provinces and incidentally of an Andhra Province. Nothing came out of this. In 1945 again a similar resolution was passed in the Council of State but the Government spokesman, replied that the question could be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Again just a few days back the Madras Assembly passed a resolution recommending the Government to convey its desire to the Constituent Assembly to create linguistic provinces, especially, Andhra, Tamilnad, Karnataka and Kerala. The Assembly has met and is now at work and it is hoped that in it atleast justice will be done to the Andhra people and that their 25 year old dream will come to fruition and become a reality.

### THE ANDHRA PROVINCE.

The Andhras have been agitating for the past thirty six years for the constitution of Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency into a separate pro-

vince. The principle of linguistic provinces has been accepted by all the major parties and our demand is in tune with it. The area is almost entirely situated within the Madras Presidency (parts of the two districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, recently added to Orissa, excepted) and so the new province can easily be formed. The problem of an Andhra province is the problem of separation unlike that of the proposed Karnataka and Maharashtra Provinces which will be formed only by cutting out portions from several provinces and then reuniting them in a new pattern. The Tamils and the Malayalees, who are two of the other linguistic groups in the Madras Presidency, have expressed themselves definitely and unequivocally in favour of separate linguistic provinces for themselves. The Andhra Province-demand thus fits in admirably with the aspirations of the other linguistic groups within the present presidency of Madras.

The proposed Andhra Province consists of the following districts and areas:—

The districts of Vizagapatam, East Godavary, West Godavary, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Cadapah, Chittoor and Anantapur; part of Chergalput District from the borders of Nellore District upto the city of Madras; the taluks of Rayadrug, Adoni and Alur in Bellary District; parts of N. Arcot District; Hecsur Taluk of Salem District which are contiguous; the city of Madras and the town of Bellary which are commonly claimed by people of other linguistic groups and the predominantly Telugu tracts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts, now included in the Orissa Province.

It is generally agreed that a new province must satisfy certain conditions in justification of its creation, viz, geographical contiguity, uniformity of language, common culture, administrative convenience, financial stability and scope of future expansion. The proposed Andhra Province satisfies all these conditions.

**Contiguity:**-The districts and areas proposed to be included in it are situated close to each other and form a compact and homogenous whole.

**Uniform Language:** Telugu is the predominant language of this area. There is a negligible admixture of Oriya in the extreme north and of Canarese in the extreme south-west. From Barhampore in the north to Madras in the south, and from Masulipatam in the east to Bellary in the west, it is all one country, one people and one language.

**Common Culture:**-This area has been under common dynasties for hundreds of years and inherited a common language and literature, common customs and manners and developed common institutions and traditions. The people of this linguistic area are easily distinguishable from those of other linguistic areas by their dress, language and customs.

**Administrative Convenience:**-The proposed Andhra Province can be organised into fourteen districts and constitutes more than half of the present presidency of Madras in point of area. It thus becomes a compact administrative unit. It will be very much bigger than the present provinces of Orissa and S. N. I. and thus more than justifies its creation.

**Financial Stability:**-According to the budget estimates for the year 1932-33 the income of the ten pure Telugu districts with the bilingual district of Bellary was estimated to be about Rs. 53.33 lakhs and its expenditure at Rs. 417.1 lakhs leaving a surplus of Rs. 133 lakhs. Even according to a recent estimate by a competent authority the income from the ten purely Telugu Districts in the year 1935-36 (as shown in the appendix) was

Rs. 1190 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 809 lakhs, thus leaving a surplus of 331 lakhs. Besides Andhra share of the common income and income from the contiguous Telugu parts of the bilingual districts of the present Madras Presidency and the province of Orissa was calculated to be not less than Rs. 710 lakhs; thus the income of the proposed Andhra Province in 1945-46 was calculated to be Rs. 1900 lakhs and this income would be still greater now as the revenues of the Madras Presidency and Orissa have been increasing from that time. The revenues of the proposed Andhra Province are progressively improving with a fourth of its income as surplus and it thus proves beyond doubt that it is more than a self-supporting province.

There are serious proposals for the abolition of the Zamindaries and in the event of these proposals materialising, the Telugu Districts will yield more than a crore of rupees. Land revenue would also be augmented when the Ttungabhadra and Ramapadasagar projects materialise. The sale-taxes yield quite an appreciable amount, much more than what is likely to be lost by the introduction of prohibition.

**Future Expansion:-** There is immense scope for expansion in the future. The agricultural and industrial possibilities of Andhra have not been explored at all and this is one of the reasons why the Andhras are anxious to have their own province. The area sown at present measures nearly two-thirds of the land available for cultivation excluding forest areas and uncultivable lands. With the availability of additional facilities for irrigation through the materialisation of new projects, more and more area can be brought under cultivation. The Andhra Province would also become a surplus area

In regard to food supply even long before the Tungabhadra, Kamapadasagar and Duduma projects irrigate more than two millions of acres. The Andhra area abounds in mineral wealth and contains rich mines of manganese, mica, barium, sulphite, statite, asbestos, graphite, marble, gold, iron, coal and copper. It is one of the biggest tobacco centres in India; and jute, industries utilising cur oil seeds, cement, paper, sugar and porcelain have immense possibilities. Two projects known as the Saiture and Duduma projects are under consideration and if they are worked out, plenty of electric power would be available. The country is at present served nearly by 2500 miles of railways and some important tracts have yet to be connected. The extension of railways would facilitate transport and promote trade. The coast line extends over 700 miles but there are only six ports. There are a number of places on the coast which were for centuries emporia of foreign trade and with proper improvements, they can be reconstructed so as to suit modern conditions. The number of ports can thus be increased. When this is done the cost of the total merchandise conveyed both through canals and ports would easily exceed the present figure of Rs. 51, 39, 88, 276.

*Fruits of Andhra Movement:*—The Andhra movement has borne rich fruits in some directions, such as the establishment of a first class Andhra University with faculties of Arts, Science, Technology, Commerce, Law, Medicine, Agriculture, Engineering and Education. Besides, there is a college of Aeronautics and Shipbuilding. Nearly thirty colleges spread over the coastal districts of Andhra are affiliated to this University. Besides, there are a good number of colleges affiliated

to the Madras University. Further there are colleges of Music and Oriental Colleges of Telugu and Sanskrit. We have six dailies in Telugu, two published from Madras, two from Bezwada and two from Hyderabad. Three research institutes are now functioning in Andhra Desa - the Telugu Acedemy at Cocanada, the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajshundry and the Andhra Ithihasa Samsodhaka Mandali at Guntur.

The Modern Andhra has taken the lead in a number of progressive movements. For instance, the Andhra Rural Library Movement was started in 1912 and today we have rural libraries in more than 2000 villages. The Andhra movements for Ayurvedic, Naturopathic, and Ayurvedic. Veterinary treatment, colleges, schools and dispensaries were the first in the country and have made great progress. Andhra is the birth-place of modern Indian peasant movement and even today the Andhra Peasant Congress is the strongest in the country. Agricultural labour is well organised in Andhra. The Andhra Women's movement is very strong with a number of special monthlies to expound the Women's cause. The Andhra Handloom Weavers' Congress is the strongest provincial unit in the All India Weavers' Congress. The Adult Education Movement as well as the movement for the reorganisation of village industries have found great support in Andhra. There are a number of commercial museums and an Art Gallery in Rajshundry. Regarding the Cooperative Movement too, Andhra has forged ahead, every district has atleast one Central Bank besides a number of Cooperative Loan and Sale Societies. A number of districts have their cooperative Marketing Federations. The number of Co-operative stores has increased rapidly and recently the Co-operative Producers - Cum - Consumers' Societies and Weavers'



Societies have made much progress. More than 2500 villages have their self-governing village Panchayats and the District Boards, based on very wide franchise are fully self-governing and very effective in drawing the co-operation of the public.

In short modern Andhra is pulsating with life and dynamic activity in every walk of life. But it is very regrettable that the most important of the objects of the agitation namely the formation of a separate Andhra Province still remains unfulfilled.

*Advantage to the Common man:-* It may be asked, what then are the advantages of a separate province. The answer is that in a separate Andhra Province, the first measure of reform which can be most usefully adopted, would be to make Telugu, not only the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, but also the language of administration. In all courts, civil and criminal, and in all public offices, transactions would be in Telugu, so that every man in the country could, if he chooses, be in living touch with all that transpires in them. The members in the Legislature would be free to make their speeches in Telugu and those who do not know English, would no longer suffer from any disadvantage on that account. Every Andhra would be able to take an intelligent part in the deliberations of these bodies, and would be able to make himself really serviceable to the country.

Again, in such a province, there will be increasing opportunities for the bestowal of closer attention on all branches of administration. Immediate measures to improve the economic condition of the country would be undertaken. All the natural resources of the districts would be eagerly explored and careful investigations of new and

important schemes for development of agricultural and industrial resources would be started. Speedier methods for the spread of education, would be adopted. Every available means would be employed for the expansion and enrichment of the Telugu language and literature. Strenuous efforts would be made to impart knowledge and to afford opportunities for the extension of civic life amongst the people so that they may fully realize the responsibilities of citizenship, and freely make their contribution to the upbuilding of the Indian Nation. In short, the highest endeavour of the new State would be to secure to the Andhras, in all possible and legitimate ways, their full measure of material and moral regeneration and to develop the province as a whole, into an efficient unit to play its own part in the great Indian Union.

**Conclusion:-** The Telugu districts are a contiguous compact and self-contained area of about 71,000 square miles with a population of nearly 21 millions speaking the same language and belonging to the same sub-race with the same beliefs and sentiments and with the same heritage of history and tradition. These districts have a long coast line, high water-ways and land routes, and facilities for communications between towns and villages. They are also able to support a separate province. They now contribute about half the revenue of the whole province of Madras, and they possess natural resources which, when developed will yield adequate revenue to the state. More than all, there has been a strong united and continuous agitation for the province for the last 36 years. Having regard therefore to the size, compactness, population, language, racial unity, financial efficiency and unanimity of public opinion the Telugu districts have the best

and the most immediate claim to be constituted into a separate province.

Suffice it is to say that the National Congress itself has recognised the principle of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis and has adopted it as the very first attempt to organise the Congress work in the country after Mahatma Gandhi assumed charge of the Congress affairs as stated above. The introduction of this measure of reform in the constitution of the Congress has been more than justified by results that followed it.

There has been unprecedented awakening amongst the masses. The Message of Swaraj was delivered to them in their mother tongue. Speeches and writings in Telugu roused their patriotic instinct and created in them boundless enthusiasm for the cause of the country. Thousands of men and women rushed into the movement and made marvellous sacrifices which staggered even our opponents.

Therefore the wisdom of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis particularly for Andhra at this opportune moment cannot be better illustrated.



## APPENDICES

### I. AREA and POPULATION of the PROPOSED ANDHRA PROVINCE (1941 Census)

District	Area in sq. m.	Population
Vizagapatam	9,107	8,45,944
East Godavary	6,322	21,61,863
West Godavary	2,434	13,80,088
Kistna	3,469	14,44,294
Guntur	5,795	22,77,283
Nellore	7,942	16,17,026
Cudapah	5,923	10,56,507
Kurnool	7,634	11,46,250
Anantapur	6,734	11,71,419
Chittoor	5,951	16,32,395
Bellary district :—		
Adoni taluk	765	2,01,200
Alur taluk	613	1,11,445
Rayadurg taluk	681	1,06,854
Part of Chengelpet district	1,161	4,90,136
Part of Salem district	1,192	1,96,062
Tracts of Bellary and N. Arcot districts and Madras City.	800	12,00,000
Andhra tracts included in Orissa.	4,000	12,00,000
Total	71,013	2,13,38,766

Note :- Figures opposite the last two items are approximate.  
The actual figures are likely to be higher.

In bilingual districts the figures of the areas and populations that are to be included in the proposed Andhra Province may be over-estimated or under-estimated as the concerned persons feel. But to an impartial judge who has no axe to grind upon, the figures and facts cannot be very much different from what they ought to be. It may be that a few sq miles of territories may be sliced off from the above Andhra Province and be added to Tamilnad, Karnataka, Orissa and vice-versa. But in any case and after all sorts of additions and subtractions of territories from one linguistic area to another, the area and population of the proposed Andhra Province cannot be less than, to put in round figures, 71,000 sq. miles and 2,00,00,000 persons.

### AREA AND POPULATION OF ANDHRADESA (1941 Census)

Region.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
Proposed Andhra Province.	71,013	2,12,38,766
Telingana (Hyderabad State) consisting of 8 full districts, parts of Adilabad and Raichur districts and cities of Hyderabad & Secundrabad.	41,502	87,11,766
Banganapalle (Madras state)	259	44,592
Mysore State.	6,000	11,50,704
Central Provinces (Including Baster State)	3,800	1,67,928
<b>TOTAL ...</b>	<b>1,22,574</b>	<b>3,12 13,756</b>

NOTE :- Figures opposite the last two items are approximate.  
The actual figures are likely to be higher.

### ANDHRAS LIVING OUTSIDE ANDHRA DESA (1931 Census)

Other districts and parts of the Madras Presidency.	20,32,297
Bombay Presidency and its States.	1,63,000
Bengal do.	31,206
Assam do.	30,776
Biñar & Orissa do.	22,107
Pudkkotah State do.	13,250
<b>Total.</b>	<b>22,92,636</b>
Outside India (especially Burma stands first with 160,640 and South Africa next)	3,00,000
<b>Total.</b>	<b>25 92,636</b>

**LANGUAGES IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE IN TERMS OF  
MOTHER TONGUE**

Hindi	7,94,14,744	Punjabi	1,58,39,254
Bengali	5,34,68,460	Rajastani	1,38,96,896
Bihari	2,79,29,559	Kanarese	1,12,06,380
Telugu	2,63,73,727	Oriya	1,11,94,265
Marathi	2,08,90,658	Gujarati	1,08,89,984
Tamil	2,04,12,652	Malayalam	91,37,615

**COMPARISON WITH PROVINCES**

Andhra Province can compare itself very favourably with many provinces of India, in area, population and finance.

i. IN AREA (71,013 sq. miles) the proposed Andhra Province will be nearly equal to those of Bombay (76,443 sq. miles) and Bengal (77,442 sq. miles) and larger than

Bihar	69,745	sq. miles
Assam	54,951	do
Sind	48,136	do
Orissa	32,198	do
North West Frontier	14,263	do

ii. IN POPULATION (21,238,766) it exceeds

Bombay	20,849,840
Central Provinces	16,813,584
Assam	10,204,733
Orissa	9,725,544
Sind	4,535,008
N. W. Frontier	3,038,067

iii. IN REVENUES (Over Rs. 19 crores) it exceeds

Estimated budgets of 1947-48

Bihar	16.58	crores
C. P.	13.04	do
Assam	9.43	do
Sind	9.24	do
Orissa	6.91	do
N. W. Frontier	4.20	do

## COMPARISION WITH COUNTRIES.

Andhra Province (71,013 sq. m.) is :-			sq. miles
Nearly	14 times	Ulster (Northen Ireland)	5,237
Nearly	6 ..	Belgium	11,795
More than	5 ..	Holland	13,514
"	4 ..	Denmark	16,570
"	4 ..	Switzerland	15,980
"	2 ..	Scotland	30,406
"	2 ..	Austria	32,000
Nearly	2 ..	Hungary	35,875
"	2 ..	Bulgaria	42,807
"	1½ ..	England	50,470
"	1½ ..	Greece	50,000
"	1½ ..	Czechoslovakia	54,000
Nearly equal to Great Britain			88,000

## OUR ELDERS SPEAK

Desabhakta KONDA VENKATAPPAIAH :—

"A study of the conditions of other provinces in India will disclose that they too were not formed on any rational grounds but, were shaped into what they are, by similar accidental and emperical reasons. If the people living in those provinces are to have an organic growth and development, they must be constituted into separate, handy, compact and homogeneous entities, so that the natural binding forces of society, such as language and literature, custom and tradition, culture and sentiment, may have free play and promote unity, tolerance and responsibility and other noble qualities characterising a race or community entitled to self-Government.

**DR. PATTABHI:-**

"The Constituent Assembly should take up the most important problem of Linguistic Provinces at the very outset. There is no meaning in framing a constitution for the country without first determining the provinces. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly should appoint a committee immediately to make proposals for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic and cultural basis, of course, in consonance with the principle of economic self-sufficiency.

Now that the Congress Working Committee have proposed division of Punjab, and thereby given momentum to the agitation for partition of Bengal. I hope and trust that there would be no more objection or obstruction for redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis".

**SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN :-**

"I do not think that it is necessary for me to make out a case here for the formation of an Andhra Province. It is now a part of the accepted policy of the Government and of nationalist opinion alike. I may just add that, having regard to the tendency towards decentralisation on territorial as well as administrative lines, which is so marked in all progressive democracies, it is desirable to split up a large area like the Madras Presidency into compact and strong units. A large homogeneous population inhabiting a contiguous country of vast dimensions knit together by close affinities of race, language and tradition with hopeful chances of industrial and economic development constitute, in my opinion a most formidable justification for the creation of a separate Province."

**SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI :-**

"There can be no other basis of division of provinces in India than the principle of language and cultural affinity, with Provincial Autonomy as an accepted basis of governmental structure, with the extension of franchise and the development of democratic institutions, unless the representatives of the people can voice their sentiments in the language of the people, there will not be that intimate touch between the legislature and the common mass of people which alone can be the surest foundation of a democratic State."



## DR C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :-

Speaking on the resolution for a separate Andhra Province on the floor of the Madras Legislative Assembly (1938) Rajaji made a reference to the conditions laid down in the Montague report and upheld the cause for a separate Andhra Province thus:

"Judged by every one of these tests, including the latter portion, judging the question on every one of these ideals separately and as a whole, the claim of the Andhras stands very good. There the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis. As regards the other tests, namely, race, religion, economic interests, geographical contiguity and due balance between country and town, on all these points there is no cause for opposing the claim for a separate Andhra Province."

N. B. :- Extract from the Montague report : "*For those who speak the same language, form a compact self-contained area so suited and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test. Race, religion, economic interests, geographical contiguity, due balance between country and town between coast and interior, may all have to be relevant. The most important of all principles for practical purposes is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of which is gaining and on the side, that is the area that is losing advantage.*"

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