THE
ANDHRA PROVINCE

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION

By :

Dr. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph. D (London),

Member, Indian Delegations to the General Assembly (1946) and the Human Rights Commission (1947) of the United Nations Organisation.

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PREFACE

The basic material incorporated in this Memorandum has been collected by me during the course of the past five years, and my journal COMMERCE & INDUSTRY, in its special supplement dated September 26, 1945, which was devoted to the first session of the Andhra Industrial Conference at Bezwada, made public summaries of this basic data. In more recent years, I had made attempts to further separate and bring upto date the statistics of the Madras Government, and the sum total of my investigations is contained in this Memorandum.

The statements which I had issued between February 19 and August 10, 1948, dealing with the controversies relating to the pledges of the Government of India spokesmen regarding the Andhra Province, are incorporated in Table XXII at the end of this Memorandum. I can modestly claim that I have been particularly "involved" in the steps of the Government of India leading to the appointment of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, as a perusal of these statements will amply demonstrate.

Not content with making these statements, I undertook a three months' tour of Andhra Desh, between April 29 and July 24, 1948. commencing my public contacts with a speech to the Andhra Association of Calcutta, and proceeding southwards, step by step down to Madras. I opened the special two-day session of the Rashtretara Andhra Mahasabha at Khargpur on May 8, and I interviewed the Premier of Orissa at Berhampur on May 10. Afterwards, I expounded the Andhra problem at almost all the principal towns in Andhra Desh, and discussed it with representative communists, socialists, and congressmen, and with Ministers of Madras Government. In between, I covered the Hyderabad border, in a tour of some 800 miles in all, including sorties into the Nizam's territory proper. I presided over a meeting on the Ramapadasagar Project at Rajahmundry and prepared the gound for the special conference there on to be held on August 28-29, 1948. I must have addressed more than a lakh of people in all these places, urging them and their leaders to unite and sumbit unanimous demands to the Commission, which was appointed nearly two months after I had started on this tour. That the Municipality of Bezwada, the premier Andhra city, gave me a Civic Address, as only one of the many tokens of public faith in my pleadings, is amply remembered by me, but I regert to say that the Andhra leaders continue to be at their old game of poise and counter-poise, mostly for personal gain. I am hoping for the day when universal adult suffrage, promised to us under the new Constitution, would wipe away this decrepit old leadership, and make available to the Andhra people their legitimate rights. I look forward to the day when a corporate Andhra State of some 4,00,00,000 people would come into being, and it is for this purpose that I venture to present this Memorandum to the Commission, wishing it goodspeed in its work. But I

do so with a prayer that it would not be influenced by evidence, however "eminent" the person tendering it might be in the councils of the country, *e.g.*, in the Madras Government, in the Provincial Congress Committee, or the Working Committee itself. The Commission is charged with the task of doing the right thing by the people of the Andhra Desh, by deciding their claim only on merits, and in the country's general interest. If the Commission neglects this, and gets swayed by the evidence of "eminent individuals", it would have sentenced the Andhra Desh to a protracted period of wranglings among these very same people, who have mortgaged its fortunes for their own personal benefit.

NEW DELHI,
August 15, 1948.

LANKA SUNDARAM.

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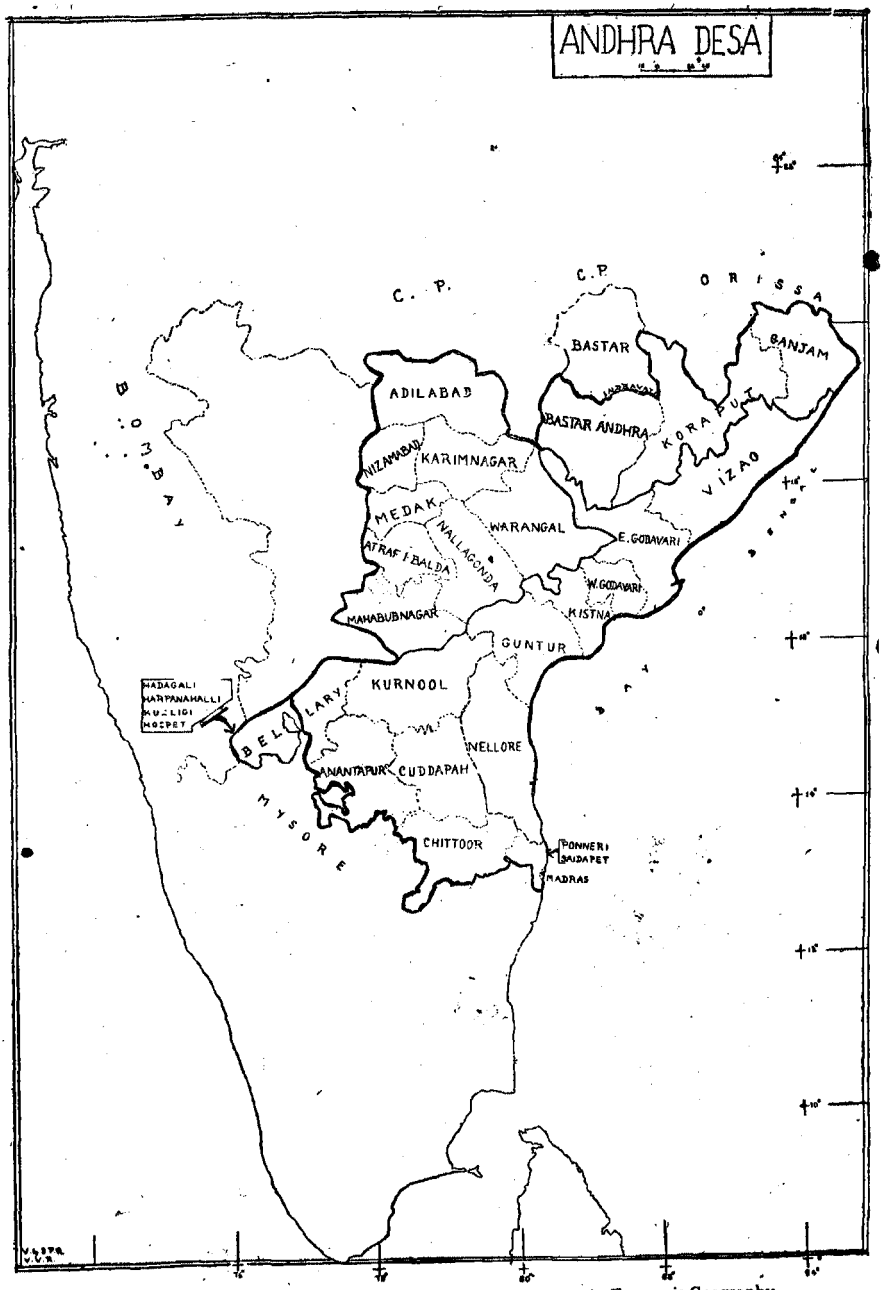

(This map was drawn to scale by V.L.S. Prakasa Rao, Lecturer in Economic Geography, Calcutta University, under the direction of Lanka Sundaram.)

1. This Memorandum deals with the eleven Andhra Districts of the Madras Province, *viz.*, Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor. There are certain areas, like some taluks of the Chingleput District, Madras City *etc.*, which have not been brought into the statistical determination of the proposed Andhra Province, as much as there are some disputed areas like those of the Ganjam and Koraput Districts which are presently in the Orissa Province. Likewise is the case of the eight Telingana Districts of Hyderabad *viz*, Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Atraf-i-Balda, Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar. To this category of contiguous territories belong the Andhra areas of South Bastar and Chanda in the C.P., and of Kolar and Bangalore in the Mysore State. On the other side of the ledger is the problem of rendition of four taluks of the Bellary District, *viz.*, Harpanahalli, Hadagali, Kudlagi and Hospet, to the Kannadigas. The first twenty of the twenty-two tables which are appended to this Memorandum are samples of statistical measurement from such of the Madras Government records as are available to me. While all canons of statistical determination of each of the specified economic and financial problems are observed, and while each of the statistical yardsticks in favour of the immediate creation of the Andhra Province are checked and counter-checked before it is brought into use, I should like to state that I am able only to map out the broad outlines of my thesis. It is for the Government of Madras, as it is for the Government of India, to obtain a comprehensive statistical apprisal of the economic and financial implications of the creation of the Andhra Province, but I am assured—and here I have the advantage of having prepared the wealth of statistics I have assembled in this Memorandum four years ago and got it publicly discussed from various angles—that my "sampling" of the problem runs on the most rigorously orthodox lines of investigation. If any, there is a considerable amount of understatement of the case of the Andhra people, and I am confident that the Commission will not miss this point.

2. The total area of the eleven Andhra Districts is 67,284 square miles. This is comparable to that of Bombay, Bihar, undivided Punjab and undivided Bengal, and is bigger than that of Assam, Orissa, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province. (Table II) Since the Punjab and Bengal are partitioned, and since Bombay might become partitioned if the Maharattas and the Kannadigas are to get their respective provinces, it becomes clear that Andhra areas of the Madras Province constitute a territory which is only exceeded in extent by that of the U.P. or Bihar I have left out of consideration the disputed area of 18,000 square miles comprised by Ganjam and Koraput, portions of territory which must naturally be incorporated in the proposed Andhra Province from the Chingleput District, the eight Telingana Districts of Hyderabad, some portions of Mysore, the Andhra areas of South Bastar and Chanda, and Madras City, which must be taken into account by virtue of the

preponderating proportion of Andhras in these areas, and their unbroken proximity to the proposed Andhra Province. I am bound to say that some portions of the Andhra Desh, *e.g.*, the four taluks of the Bellary District mentioned in the opening paragraph, must be handed over to the Kannadigas. As it is, however, the eleven Andhra Districts of the Madras Province constitute an area which is nearly as large as that of Italy, and infinitely larger than some European countries like Holland, Belgium, Greece *etc.* If these "claimed" areas and Madras City are taken into account, then Andhra Desh becomes the largest single provincial unit of the Indian Union.

3. The Andhra Districts of the Madras Province have a total population of 1,88,28,000. This is nearly equal to that of Bombay, and bigger than that of the C.P., Assam, Orissa, East Punjab, West Bengal, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and West Punjab. If the 15,00,000 Andhras of Ganjam and Koraput, the 1,00,00,000 Andhras of Telingana, the 20,00,000 Andhras of the contiguous Andhra areas in Mysore State, the Andhras of South Bastar and Chanda, and the Andhras of Chingleput District are taken into account, then statistically we arrive at a population which is bigger than that of any of the existing provinces of India, barring the U.P., *viz.*, some 4,00,00,000. The most distinguishing feature of the Andhra problem is that the language spoken by them belongs to a distinct race, which, for example, is not the case with the Hindi-speaking peoples of North India. The Commission would note that the "claimed" areas do not create any problem of transference of populations from one area to another. This is the reason why Andhras do not claim the 30,00,000 of their people who are settled in the southern Tamil Districts of the Madras Province, because of physical inaccessibility. The density of population in the Andhra Districts is 255 per square mile, which is bigger than that of Bombay and undivided Punjab, and a hundred more than that of the C.P. (Table I & II)

4. I must, however, state that these statistical measurements of area and population are partially vitiated by the recent merger schemes between Indian Provinces and States, particularly in the case of Orissa and the Chattisgarh States. But the broad picture remains correct, *viz.*, that the proposed Andhra Province, even without the "claimed" areas, is sufficiently large and populous to stand comparison with the biggest provinces in India today.

5. The number of municipalities in the Andhra Districts of the Madras Province is 29, Panchayat boards 140, taluks 113, towns 154, and villages 16,527. There are 1,647 miles of railway line, metre and broad gauges; 1,255 miles of canals, which are supported by three of the most important river basin systems of the land, *viz.*, Godavari, Krishna and Pennar, on which ply over 2,00,000 boats, with a carrying trade of over Rs. 12 crores a year; 13,194 miles of trunk roads; and some 600 miles of coast line, with several major and minor ports like those of Madras, Vizagapatam, Masulipatam, Cocanada, Bimlipatam, Kalingapatam and Baruva. If the Orissa tracts

claimed by the Andhras are included, then there is the fairly important port of Gopalpur to be added to this list of ports. (Tables I and VI) From now on, I will mainly deal with the resources of the existing Andhra Districts of the Madras Province.

6. The agricultural resources of the Andhra Districts of the Madras Province are considerable, and even more than comfortable. Barring occasional scarcities in Vizagapatam and the Rayalaseema, generally known as the Ceded Districts, Andhra had always been a combined surplus area, with two crops of rice in some districts as one of the chief features of agricultural production. There are 1,54,82,712 acres of land under cultivation, 72,37,774 acres under forest, 82,10,079 acres not available for cultivation, and 39,85,839 acres under current fallow. A statistical comparison with other parts of the country shows that in forest resources Andhra leads Orissa, Assam, West Bengal and Bihar, and that in the net area sown Andhra is more than twice as big as Orissa or Assam, while it is nearly equal to that of Bihar. An analysis of the crop position in the Andhra Districts reveals the following general percentages : paddy 30.5 per cent, cholam or bajra 15 per cent, and the rest given over to other crops. Food crops (including 67.45 per cent cereals) make up 79.5 per cent of the total agricultural production, and Andhra has really enormous resources (for its area, and in comparison with other provinces in the country) in tobacco, sugarcane, groundnut etc. (Tables I and III)

7. Special mention must be made here about Andhra irrigation, for in my view this is the biggest asset which the Andhra people have to their credit. Table IX is tell-tale in character. In 1936-37 there were 17 irrigation projects with a total investment of Rs. 9.7 crores in the non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province, as compared to 9 projects with an investment value of Rs. 5 2 crores in Andhra Districts. From the scrappy information incorporated in Table X, dealing with irrigation, navigation and drainage works for the Madras Province in 1947-48, for which capital accounts are kept, we derive considerable food for thought. The gross receipts under this head show that the greater portion of revenue is derived from the Godavari and Krishna anicut systems in the Andhra Districts, and from the Buckingham canal which runs from Bezwada to Madras, again only in the Andhra areas. On the question of the unproductive portion of irrigation works, only the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal, which is a small affair, is debited to the Andhras. The water supply system of Madras City, also a debit charge, is noted in the context of the dispute about its future, though Andhras rightly claim the City, and are prepared to pay for its costs, whatever they are today and may be tomorrow, from out of their overall revenues, which are always in surplus. Actually, on the basis of the financial results incorporated in this Memorandum (paragraph 9, 10 and 11), the Andhras should have had 13 projects and Rs. 7.5 crores of investment thereon, assuming that a general rule of three can be applied in these cases. Still, the Godavari and Krishna river systems, based on their existing

extensive anicut irrigation organisations, are an axis on which the future of Andhra irrigation, with numerous canals to support it, is bound to be based. The Tungabhadra Project, now under way, is expected to bring under cultivation vast areas awaiting development in the Rayalaseema. This project might easily cost some Rs. 50 crores when completed, and in the current year's voted grants a provision of Rs. 2,54,19,500 was made towards its cost. (*Vide* Madras *Demand for Grants, 1947-48,* pp. 566-8). The Ramapadasagar Project (Table XXI) is perhaps the most ambitious multi-purpose scheme undertaken by the Government of India for the country as a whole. It compares favourably with the Boulder Dam of the U. S. A., and is expected to cost some Rs. 150 crores, over a period ranging anything between nine to twelve years. The total area sought to be irrigated under this project is 23,00,000 acres, of which 10,00,000 acres are to be under rice. The net revenue to government as estimated in 1945 is to be Rs. 2.42 crores a year, but more recent investigations show that it might be some Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 4 crores a year. I consider that this important project will become the sheet-anchor of agricultural and financial policies in the future Andhra Province, both in respect of additional food crops grown and electricity generated and distributed. I have already seen evidence of revenue officials of the Madras Government collecting formal pledges from villagers in the Andhra Districts concerned, that they would pay an enhanced revenue assessment in case the Ramapadasagar Project is completed. Here is a source of good revenue, whose potentialities cannot be at all minimised. In the revised estimates for 1947-48, the Madras Government allotted for this project a sum of Rs. 18,80,600, and in the current financial year a sum of Rs. 2,00,200 was voted. (Madras *Demand for Grants, 1947-48,* p. 57) In addition, there are the Krishna-Pennar and Machkhand Projects, which are bound to bring freshness and colour to Andhra irrigation and agriculture. All these Projects, which are either under way or are contemplated, in addition to the existing irrigation systems of the Andhra Districts, are bound to make the future Andhra Province a greater granary of the country than what she is today.

8. Tables IV and V indicate the industrial wealth, both actual and potential, of the Andhra Districts. Antimony, asbestos, barytes, bauxite, building materials, coal, copper, corundum, gem stones, graphite, gypsum, iron, lead and silver, manganese, mica, steatite and potstone, zinc, phosphates, kyanite and garnet widely occur in these areas, and are currently exploited on a commercial basis. If only there was not the step-motherly treatment so far meted out to the Andhra Districts by the Tamil-dominated Madras Government, the Andhra Desh would have been in the front line of industrial development. Even with all these handicaps, the Andhra Districts have forged ahead with industrial production, and a glance at Table V shows the existing position of Andhra industry. For the 1,363 perennial factories in the Madras province in 1940 the Andhra Districts had 565, and for the seasonal factories of the province numbering 528 the Andhra Districts had 276. Five

sugar factories; one paper factory; four jute mills; two cement factories; six textile mills; two silk industries; two chemical factories; two pharmaceutical industries; one steel plant; one factory specialising in the manufacture of engineering and precision instruments on a large-scale; one ceramics industry; two large-scale modern potteries; one matches factory; two ice factories; and two canning industries—these are some of the visible indications of the industrial production of the Andhra Districts. Andhras are proud of their handloom industry, and of the estimated 3,00,000 handlooms in the Madras Province 1,33,000 are in the Andhra Districts. Table VII shows the wide-spread use of electricity, both thermal and otherwise, in the Andhra Districts. Still, it will be seen (Table VIII) that the Andhra electrification schemes are not only of recent origin, bnt are also of a puny nature, as compared to those of the non-Andhra areas of the Madras province. The revenue from three non-Andhra schemes of the Madras Province, *viz.*, Pyakara, Mettur and Papanasam, was Rs. 52.45 lakhs a year, and that from four Andhra schemes, *viz.*, Vizagapatam, Cocanada, Bezwada, and Kurnool, was only Rs. 15.37 lakhs in a year. In 1946-47 and 1947-48 the Madras Government provided only Rs. 7,000 and Rs. 8,000 respectively for the entire West Godavari District Electrification scheme !

9. Very naturally the question arises as to whether the proposed Andhra Province is financially feasible. The answer is supplied conclusively by Table XIII dealing with the financial results for 1932-33. I have taken the greatest possible care to compute the figures for each of the Districts, and to compare the cumulative total for the Andhra Districts with the totals of other Provinces in India. According to the estimates for 1938-39, the Andhra Districts had a revenue of Rs. 7.6 crores. (Table XII) This was infinitely bigger than that of Bihar or C.P., nearly twice that of Sind, over three times that of Assam, and more than five times that of Orissa or the North-West Frontier Province in that year. For 1947-48, I reckon the revenue of the Andhra Districts at Rs. 25 crores, out of a total revenue budget of the Madras Province of over Rs. 50 crores. This is an under-estimate, but it shows that it is nearly Rs 10 crores more than that of Bihar, nearly twice as much as that of the C.P,, over two times that of Sind or Assam, over four times that of Orissa, and nearly six times that of the North-West Frontier Province in that year. If we remember that Bengal and the Punjab are partitioned, and that Madras and Bombay are to be partitioned, if, for example, the Andhras, the Kannadigas and the Maharashtrians are to have their separate provinces, then the revenues of the Andhra Districts of the Madras Province will only yield in volume to those of the U.P. alone among all the provinces of the Indian Union. Tables XIII and XV are extremely illustrative, for they deal with each of the Districts of the Andhra area of the Madras Province at the peak of the Great Depression, *i. e.* 1932-33. I exclude Ganjam from the present analysis, for Andhras only lay claim to certain portions thereof for the purpose of the proposed province. Even then,

Ganjam had a deficit of over Rs. 50,000 in that year. Otherwise, only Vizagapatam and Chittoor registered deficits for that year. Even with these three deficits according to districts, the gross figure for all the Andhra Districts was one of a combined surplus of Rs. 160 lakhs, which must be rightly presumed to have gone for the benefit of the non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province, which in that year had an overall deficit of Rs. 63 lakhs. I have waded through the figures of the Madras Government to pursue this point, *viz.*, that the Andhra Districts had always been the milch cow, and my analysis is an aggregate of the samples of revenue and expenditure on various dates during the past decade and a half. I consider that the overall picture of financial benefit which non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province derive from the surpluses of their Andhra counterparts, varied anything between Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 8 crores a year during the past decade or so. If there are any doubts on this point, I would draw attention to Table XV, which shows, almost item by item, how the Andhra revenues had been spent to a preponderating extent for the benefit of the non-Andhra areas of the Province in 1932-33. I am convinced that all canons of economic inquiry are satisfied by these figures for a particularly bad financial year, at any rate as compared to the phenomenally prosperous war years. Some of the Tables I have appended to this Memorandum, *e.g.*, Tables VIII, IX and X, conclusively prove that even in 1947-48 the Madras Government, despite repeated and even provocative prodding by Andhra spokesmen, did not swerve from the approved path of starving Andhra interests and projects, if only for the reason that non-Andhra control of Government was operative in the Administration. It is, however, demonstrated that the creation of the existing Andhra Districts into a separate Province is not merely a financial possibility, but becomes immediately a surplus proposition. Whatever the yardsticks applied, the case for the Andhra Province becomes iron-tight, with tremendous scope for improvement in the coming years, under a purely Andhra Administration weded to the salvage of the past and the planning of the future of the Andhra people.

10. Some miscellaneous financial problems must assail the Commission when they assess the evidence relating to the financial feasibility of the Andhra Province. I have attempted to arrive at a consolidated figure for expenditure in the voted grants of the Madras Government for the year 1948-49 (*Vide* Madras *Demand for Grants*, 1948-49, pp. 66-68, 79, 105, 141-2, and 101-2 respectively), in respect of expenditure on a Governor and his staff (including touring and other expenditure), Ministers (13 in number), Legislative Assembly, Legislative Council and the Legislative Department (including salaries and allowances of members), High Court (14 judges, including the Chief Justice), and Board of Revenue (3 commissioners of land revenue and their staffs), and this is under Rs. 39 lakhs a year for the Province as a whole. There is already in existence the Andhra University since 1925, and there are Andhra administrative

personnel in the Madras cadres which can take over the proposed Province without much appreciable additional cost. It is not necessary for me to answer all the specific posers of the Commission in the *questionnaire* issued to the public, on the items individually, if only for the reason that no one can anticipate how many ministers there will be in the future Andhra Cabinet, how many judges, how many members of the Legislature, and how many members of the Board of Revenue, and their salaries and emoluments, particularly under adult suffrage in the free Constitution of India of the immediate future. But I am prepared to accept the total Madras figures for these items, and to argue that, at the outside, the expenditure on these items for the proposed Andhra Province, on the basis of the figures for the current financial year, need not be more than Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 lakhs a year. Even assuming that revenues fall in the future, while expenditure on these items remains constant, I have the assurance that the "luxury" of a separate province will not be outside the means of the Andhra people. Even if the Andhra Province has at any time in the future only the revenues of 1932-33 (Table XIII), the proposed expenditure for separate statehood within the framework of Free India would be one-twentysecondth portion of revenue. If it is on the 1938-39 basis, it would be one-thirtieth. (Tabe XII) If the 1947-48 estimates are taken, then this additional cost for the Andhras would be about one-hundredth portion of their revenues. Surely, this is an absurd yardstick to frighten away the Andhras from their legitimate and financially sound proposition of a separate Province for themselves, as some of their opponents seek to employ !

11. An examination of the financial prospects for the Andhra Province must be made in considerable detail. Table XVI shows that if a separation of assets and liabilities is made, as it must be made on the creation of the Andhra Province (very much as assets and liabilities were separated when Sind and Orissa were created into separate provinces, or when Pakistan was separated from India), the Andhras are bound to obtain more or less a cash balance, which is the estimate of the Andhra share of the excess over liabilities of the assets of the Government of Madras, as at present constituted, of some Rs. 10 crores. This is good enough as a beginning, to meet expenditure on the Capital, buildings for the legislature, governor's residence, residences for ministers *etc.*, which become matters for the highest priority the moment the Province is created. In other words, the Andhra Province need not go to the Government of India for a non-recurring subvention to start off on its career, nor to the public with a sizeable scrip in its pocket for immediate sale. Excise revenue had always been the second biggest item in the revenues of the Andhra Districts (Table XV), and with the progressive imposition of total prohibition, which is now under way in the Madras Province, a great moiety of revenues will disappear. I consider that, at Rs. 25 crores a year of current revenue, the effect of total prohibition might mean a

difference of anything between Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 6 crores a year to the revenues of the new Province. This is a feature which is common to all the units of the Indian Union today, and must be treated as such. Still, there are numerous alternate sources of revenue awaiting tapping. I would illustrate some here: the extension of the sales tax, the further steepening of the entertainment tax, increased revenues from irrigation projects, enlarged revenues from the abolition, after suitable compensation is paid for them, of zamindaries*, a moiety of central death duties, and a host of other expedients available to any modern state which is faced with problems of nation-building and self-expression. A mere enumeration of these possible future sources of additional revenue will not be helpful, but only vision and faith in the possibilities of the Andhra people, who have long been neglected by a step-motherly Government of of Madras; can meet some of the postulates in the *questionnaire* of the Commission. Once multi-purpose irrigation schemes are taken in hand and completed, as some of them are being taken in hand and completed, and industry and commerce improved and extended, the revenue resources of the Andhra Province become automatically enlarged, to an extent which its traducers dare not admit now, and which its friends themselves cannot foresee.

12. I had earlier shown that the Andhra people have a heritage which is capable of immense dividends. Local Self-government is one of these items in the budget for the new Province. With good literacy in the Andhra Districts, which jumped from 10.8 per ceut in 1931 to nearly 13 per cent in 1941, and with a Hindi-knowing Andhra population which is admitted to be the highest proportion for any linguistic group south of the Vindhyas, Local Self-government is bound to have greater strides than in the past. Tables XVIII and XIX, which deal with the financial results of the Andhra Municipalities and District Boards, have their own tale to tell. Of the thirty Municipalities listed in Table XVIII, only seven showed deficits in 1939-40, but all the Municipalities listed put together showed a combined surplus of Rs. 2,82,552. This, certainly, is a record which any province in India might feel legitimately proud about. Table XIX, dealing with the financial position of District Boards, shows, from another angle, how expenditure on communications, education and public health was placed during the same year. This analysis of Local Self-government in Andhra Desh proves beyond doubt that it is an asset to the proposed Province.

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* Zamindari abolition is an All-India problem, and must be treated as such, *e.g.*, in regard to compensation to be paid, and the amortisation thereof, perhaps through a central subvention. In 1936-37, the Andhra Districts accounted for Rs. 36,37,315 of the total *zamindari peshkash* for the whole Province of Rs. 46,81,518. (Table XIV) Once these areas are turned over to cultivating ryots, something like a five-fold revenue is expected to accrue to the State. Currently, the Andhra Zamindars are deriving Rs. 220 lakhs from their estates each year.

13. The Commission would naturally devote its attention to the boundaries of the proposed Andhra Province, though a separate Boundaries Commission is designated to decide the issues, once the creation of the Province is decided upon in principle. I have, I am sure, clearly demonstrated that the existing Andhra Districts of the Madras Province are sufficient, to begin with, for the formation of a Province. One can speak with considerable passion on the problem of boundaries, for they are the creations of an unkind History, and the Andhras are prepared to reckon with the opposite viewpoints of the Oriyas, the C. P. people, the Nizam, the Kannadigas and the Tamils on the various issues involved. As I have broadly indicated in the opening paragraphs of this Memorandum, the Andhra case for these disputed or claimed territories rests upon unassailable linguistic, geographical, historical and economic grounds. Not one of these territories, when added to the proposed Andhra Province, would involve transference of populations and the consequent hardship to innocent people. This is a point which the Commission cannot ignore, and I have the confidence that, when the Boundaries Commission is appointed, its evidence, based if necessary on a plebescite or plebescites in the areas concerned, would be accepted as binding upon the Andhra people. I desire to re-emphasise the point that the 30,00,000 of Andhras resident in the deep South of Tamilnad, or, for that matter, the Andhras of Burma, Bombay, Nagpur or Khargpur, would not be forced to migrate into the future Andhra Province, and that their present habitats would not be claimed and linked to the proposed Province, like East Bengal to Jinnah's West Pakistan.

14. The areas of Ganjam and Koraput in the Orissa Province must obtain priority of treatment, for their transference, without any consultation of the Andhras therein, was contrived at in 1937, as a result of the decision of the O'Donnel Commission, *in order that Orissa should become a sizeable province*, and this was officially declared as such. The Orissa Andhra Mahasabha had always reserved its right to claim these areas for the future Andhra Province, and I would, after having investigated the problem locally, strongly urge the holding of a plebescite to decide the issue. Then, there is the question of Madras City. Historically, culturally, economically and geographically, this is an Andhra City, though today there is perhaps an excess of some 30,000 Tamils over the Andhra population. As I have repeatedly pointed out in this Memorandum, this was due only to the fact that the Madras Government had become the hunting-ground of the Tamils. It was only recently that this small preponderance of Tamil over the Andhra population had come to be the undetermined claim of the Tamils. The fact to be remembered is that the Tamils do not even constitute a third of the population of the city today, and that, in addition to the Andhras, there are hundreds of thousands of Kannadigas, Hindustanis and Malayalees, who have made this City their home. There is no question that the Andhras could ever surrender their

rights to the City, and if, by any chance, Madras is handed over to the Tamils, I for one, without in any sense rattling the sword, would assure the country that "blood will flow" to a more certain extent than what the present Governor-General of India, C. Rajagopalachari, when Premier of Madras, told the Secretary of State for India, arguing personally the case against the creation of the Andhra Province, though the Madras Legislature and his own Cabinet "unanimously" voted for such creation. I have quoted C. R's own phrasing above. Certain areas of the Chingleput District must also be added to the proposed Andhra Province. Recent activities of the Education Minister of Madras, T. Avinashilingam Chetti, have shown up the deep-laid conspiracy of the Tamils to deny the Andhras their right to instruction in the mother-tongue in the schools of the City and its environs, and the present Cabinet has already received the blows of the boomerang thus released. I refer to the agitation of the Dravida Khazagam against the teaching of Hindi in the City and in Tamilnad. Here, again, a plebescite is the only way of solving the problem, and the Andhras would abide by it. Andhras have certain claims in the Mysore State, such as for Kolar and Bangalore, and I have already indicated that they would abide by the Kelkar Award for the rendition of the four taluks in question to the Kannadigas. But the future of Mysore, as much as the future of Hyderabad, must be decided upon in the context of the Indian march towards complete and egalitarian freedom, and the Andhra claim for Telingana, whose Warangal had always been the fountain-head of Andhra culture and aspirations through the ages, would be substantiated with an ease which will surprise friend and foe alike of the Andhra people.

15. The Capital of the proposed province is a matter of immediate urgency even for this Commission. The Andhras do remember that Washington to San Francisco, and Moscow to Viladivostock, is some four thousand miles each, and that yet the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are able to run their administrations from these cities without any difficulty at all. There might be an argument in favour of the retention of Madras as the Capital of the Andhra Province, and I can certainly recount here several considerations in its favour But I am, as every reasonable-minded Andhra is, looking to the future of the presently-dismembered 4,00,00,000 of Andhra people. Once the Nizam is liquidated, then Tenlingana becomes merged into the Andhra Province, and the impact of this possible merger gives added importance to the question of the Capital. Today some leaders of Rayalaseema are trading in the defunct Sri Baugh Pact (Table XXI), and claim that they have the right to decide which city should be the Capital. I would have liked to concede willingly this claim of the Andhras of Rayalaseema, but I regret to say that during the past eleven years, ever since this Pact was signed, not an inkling of their desire to determine the Capital and the seat of the High Court has been given by these arbiters of the fortunes of the Andhra people. There is no question that Andhras would further submit to this blackmail of

certain leaders from Rayalaseema, who want to dominate the politics of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and of the present composite Madras Cabinet with their considerable and crucially important group-voting strength. I would suggest, and I am sure that every sane Andhra would endorse this statement of mine, that Bezwada be made the winter Capital, with the provision that the Rayalaseema should be given the summer seat. The Government of India have not abandoned New Delhi in summer, and Bezwada's summer, to my certain and long personal knowledge of both the cities, is not any more infernal than that of New Delhi. I suggest this as a token of the people of Andhra Desh as a whole that they agree to satisfy the emotions of the Rayalaseema people, if they have really any on the question of the Capital. I would also suggest the location of the High Court in Bezwada. My reasons are that Bezwada is equidistant from the farthest points in Ganjam and Koraput, the Telingana Districts of Hyderabad, Bellary and Bangalore, and Madras City itself, and has, converging on it, all the important railway and canal systems of the Andhra Desh. If concessions are to be given to pressure groups, there would be no end to them at all, and, in consequence, no Andhra Province. The Capital must be the fulcrum of the proposed Province, which, for the first time in the long and chequered history of the Andhras, is to bring, as much as possible, into one linguistic, economical and political fold the scattered remnants of the Andhra people which are located all over the country. No hurried decision in favour of any other arrangement would be accepted by the Andhras of the present generation, and more so of the future generations. History has been unkind to the Andhras, and let it not be said that the present Andhra leadership, as much as the Government of India, have further contributed to the dismemberment of the Andhra race.

16. I am sure that the Commission must have been flooded with thousands of representations from all sorts of people in the Andhra Desh on the problem of the creation of the new Province. This is an index of the virility of sentiment in its favour. I am also certain that the Commission is bewildered by the contradictions inherent in the fixed positions of some of the Andhra leaders on this question. I would be failing in my duty to myself as a nor-party man, as one who has not surrendered himself to personal loyalties, however eminent they might be, and as one who recently came face to face with the Andhra problems from Calcutta to Madras, if I do not mention a few salient points about the "politics" which might threaten to engulf the proposed Province. Once T. Prakasam was thrown out of the Premiership of the Madras Province, Andhra politics had gone down the hill, with a greater rapidity than what even the most optimistic observers could not anticipate. The axis between B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya and Kala Venkatarao is now keeping the Madras Cabinet in power, mostly as a subservient tool in the hands of the Tamils. N. G. Ranga, the political orphan of yesterday,

who had changed from the Justice Party successively into a Communist, Socialist, Congressman, Forward Blockist, Socialist Nationalist, and a Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja exponent, within a period of hardly over a decade, is now ruling the roost, thanks to the inveterate hatred which exists between Pattabhi and Prakasam, who threaten to take their differences beyond the grave. Even Ranga is skating on thin ice, for political majorities in the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee had always been something like quicksands, which greater men than Pattabhi and Prakasam had, to their bitter cost, tasted in previous years. So, Ranga is splitting the Rayalaseema voters, first by giving them fantastic and anti-Andhra promises, *e. g.*, his recent Cocanada speech urging the abandonment of the Ramapadasagar Project, and then by taking as many Reddis as possible from Rayalaseema into the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. In fact, this Committee this year had more Reddis from this region than ever before in its history! The Commission must not be misled into vetoing the right of the Andhras for a separate Province, because some of their leaders, however eminent they might be, are at cross-purposes. I know each one of these leaders, and have had opportunities to understand their respective viewpoints and strategy, and I am bound to place my analysis before the Commission. The Andhra members of the Madras Cabinet are unanxious for an Andhra Province, for once it is created their chances for election even to the new Andhra Legislature are completely jeopardised, for the "crime" they had committed against Prakasam is not, and will not be, forgotten by the Andhra people. Ranga, who recently told me that the Andhra Province is a mirage, would continue to pursue his communalistic proclivities, by making the Kamma-Reddi platform his very own*, and will go on signing away the fortunes of the Andhra Desh to secure for himself the Reddi support from Rayalaseema. If Prakasam withdraws his support to Ranga, the latter will politically kiss the earth. The elections to the Presidentship of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee at Chirala on June 13, 1948 showed that for the 72 votes polled against him by Venkatarao's party, Ranga had only 110, of which Prakasam had some 40, and it was Prakasam who proposed Ranga's name. Prakasam would fight to the last ditch both Pattabhi and Venkatarao, and though today he is, on indisputable evidence, very much regretting his support to Ranga, he is afraid to face up to the real situation of Andhra politics by re-asserting his leadership as the uncrowned king of the Andhra Desh, but is prepared to squander away the trust reposed in him into these group politics. I feel I have done my duty by giving the Commission the most unbiassed and yet brutally frank analysis of the politics of the Andhra Desh.

17. It is, however, not for the Commission to be frightened away with the Andhra politics of the present, which are undoubtedly gloomy.

* Kammas and Reddis are the richest sections of the Andhra people, and Ranga is a Kamma.

Politics in India are not the gloomiest in the world, and I have had the advantage, once again in my life, of sampling the politics of a dozen countries in the world, only a year ago. Andhra politics are not any gloomier than those of East Punjab, for example. West Bengal, the C. P. and Bihar give further examples of this tragic fact, which is not unconnected with the teething troubles of a nation which has just risen to her Freedom. Actually, the politics of the Andhra Desh are subject to the inescapable grip of the politics of the multi-lingual Province of Madras, where the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayalees and the Kannadigas are compelled to jostle together and forge, even for temporary periods, some sort of a precarious system of group or pressure politics. From 1921 onwards, Andhra legislators and Chief or Prime Ministers had succumbed to these tactics. I record here the heart-pangs of former Chief or Prime Ministers, like P. T. Thyagaraya Chetti, the Raja of Panagal, B. Muniswami Naidu, the Raja of Bobbili, and Prakasam himself, when they were compelled to swerve from the path of duty, and resort to the cheap tactics of netting in temporary political majorities, by subservience to pressure groups in a multi-lingual Province. On the other side, C. Rajgopalachari was hounded out of Madras politics, surrendering in the process his four-anna membership of the Congress, if only for the reason that he had over-reached himself in this game of group politics. I daresay that Prakasam, Pattabhi and Ranga would not have any better fortunes than those of this illustrious son of South India! This is the recorded history of the Madras Province during the past few years, and I would urge the Commission to remember that new linguistic, as much as the existing, Provinces are not for leaders, but are for the people concerned. Very soon, universal adult suffrage is to become the acid test of politics and personalities in this country, under the new Constitution. Personalities will go, and once the inducement for pressure and group politics is taken away, as in the present composite Madras Province, the Andhra people will settle down to the shaping of their Province on the most progressive and stable lines. It is for the Commission to cut across the "influences" which will be brought to bear upon its investigations from the most eminent quarters in Andhra public life, and it is for the Commission to refuse to mistake the wood for the tree. Once the Andhra Province, as history, geography, economics and language unitedly demand, comes into existence *for the benefit of the people*, then the very same leaders, who are unashamedly pursuing the discredited policy of dog eating dog, will come together and work for the benefit of the common man. For, they have to fall back upon the people, and not, as at present, upon the Tamils, or upon Nehru, Patel or Rajendra Prasad.

18. The Andhras are a compact people, with a language and a culture which are two thousand years old. They have the biggest territory of any people or race in India. They are patriotic, and have fought for India's Freedom with a consistency and fervour which no other

linguistic group can show. They want their Province, not as a linguistic *Pakistan* in India but as an instrument for securing their right to order their life as a component unit of the free people of India, and for strengthening the polity of the country, which they, dismembered and scattered about as they are at present, cannot hope to do without such idunfie and collective existence. Let not a few Andhra leaders be permitted to thwart this legitimate and just demand for a separate Province. Let not Nehru get away with the impression that the Andhras are "hysterical", as he more than once publicly stated, simply because some Andhra leaders are. The Andhras are a peace-loving and progressive people. Let them not be smothered in their emotions, which are dedicated for the creation of an Andhra Province, ever since the Andhra Mahasabha made its first demand in this respect at Bapatla in 1913. . .

TABLE I

Statistical Description of Andhra Desh

Number of Districts : 11. Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantpur, Cuddapah, Nellore and Chittoor, and Madras City. In addition, 1,000 square miles of territory in the Chingleput District, including the Ponneri and Tiruvellore Taluks, lying between the southern boundary of Nellore and Madras, must be included. In the Bellary district, Harpanahalli, Hadagali, Kudlagi and Hospet are to be given to the Kannadigas under the Kelkar Award of 1921. The Ganjam and Koraput areas, presently in Orissa Province, comprising 18,000 square miles of territory and 15,00,000 of Andhra people, must be added to these estimates. The eight districts of Teligana, *viz*,. Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Atraf-i-Balda, Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar, with an Andhra population of some 1,00,00,000, must also be remembered in the context of the future Andhra Province. Andhra areas of South Bastar and of Chanda, both presently in the C. P., and of Mysore, belong to this catagory of contiguous and fundamentally Andhra populated areas, which must presently be added to the Andhra Districts of the Madras Province.

District	*Number of Taluks*	*Number of Towns*	*Number of Villages*
Vizagapatam	19	24	4,459
East Godavari	13	16	1,913
West Godavari	7	16	712
Kistna	9	10	991
Guntur	9	21	923
Nellore	13	11	1,562
Kurnool	9	13	795
Bellary	5	7	472
Anantpur	9	12	844
Cuddapah	9	9	916
Chittoor	9	8	2,217
Chingleput	2	6	723
Madras	...	...	...
Total	113	154	16,527

Total area of 11 districts : 67,284 sq. miles.
Total population : 1,88,28,000.
Literacy : 10.8 per cent in 1931 and nearly 13 per cent in 1941.
Density of population : 255 per sq. mile.
Total number of Municipalities : 29.
Total number of Panchayat Boards : 140.
Area of land under forests : 72,37,774 acres.
Area of land under cultivation : 1,54,82,712 acres.
Area not available for cultivation : 82,10,079 acres.
Uncultivated area : 63,40,545 acres.
Area under current fallow : 39,85,839 acres.
Total area under irrigation : 18,48,428 acres.

MAIN CROPS

Paddy	30.5 per cent	Cereals	67.45 per cent
Cholam (Bajra)	15.0 „ „	Pulses	3.75 „ „
Cumbu	6.6 „ „	Food crops	79.5 „ „
Ragi	4.8 „ „	Non-food crops	20.5 „ „
Korra	6.4 „ „		

TABLE II

Area and Population

Name	*Area in square miles.*	*Population*	*Name*	*Area in square miles.*	*Population*
Bombay	76,443	2,08,50,000	C. P.	98,575	1,68,14,000
Madras	1,26,166	4,93,42,000	Sind	48,136	45,35,000
Bengal	71,442	6,03,07,000	Assam	54,951	1,02,05,000
Punjab	99,089	2,84,19,000	Orissa	32,198	87,29,000
U. P.	1,06,247	5,50,21,000	N.W.F.P.	14,263	30,38,000
Bihar	69,745	3,63,40,000	ANDHRA	67,284	1,88,28,000

N. B.—Putting in juxtaposition the figures for each of the Provinces of undivided India with those for Andhra Desh, both in respect of area and population, it will be seen the position of the latter is extremely satisfactory. The figures for Andhra do not include those for disputed areas, eg. Ganjam and Koraput, presently in the Orissa Province. Madras city is not included in these figures, as is the case also the Andhra districts of Hyderabad, otherwise, known as Telingana, which is incorporated in the map appended to this memorandum. Similor is the case of thr Andhra *taluks* in Chingleput, and certain areas in Mysore State.

One thing to be noted in the above figures is that without Andhra districts the present Madras Province will become a puny affair, and that after division both Bengal and the Punjab have become diminuted to a very significant extent.

TABLE III

Area under Crops in 1943-44

Crop	ANDHRA TOTAL *Normal*	*1943-44*	MADRAS TOTAL *Normal*	*1943-44*
Paddy	47,47,300	49,60,221	1,01,74,060	1,09,25,131
Cholam	32,14,830	33,27,144	48,66,990	49,90,125
Cumbu	11,67,240	12,11,356	26,37,640	26,85,037
Ragi	8,45,710	9,50,869	17,23,010	17,48,891
Korra	14,04,630	16,00,932	14,57,900	16,65,791
Varagu	3,04,810	3,55,690	9,47,870	9,50,703
Samai	1,31,700	1,29,270	5,66,900	5,59,271
Maize	56,120	23,294	69,020	63,213
Other cereals	4,04,020	3,86,503	5,72,730	5,40,856
Greengram	2,96,590	3,48,506	4,05,140	5,16,166
Redgram	1,63,190	2,05,579	2,92,010	3,38,763
Blackgram	96,560	1,58,419	1,97,970	2,91,355
Horsegram	9,69,480	9,51,323	16,36,920	10,50,076
Bengalgram	57,670	60,216	65,070	65,543
Other pulses	53,430	49,957	2,40,570	2,47,420
Chillies	1,80,240	2,22,612	2,89,100	3,39,797
Sugarcane	99,400	96,219	2,16,140	2,41,436
Fruits and vegetables	2,81,020	2,73,983	7,21,350	7,35,543
Groundnut	20,36,850	17,15,571	36,95,410	35,50,013
Cotton	11,34,860	10,04,407	24,36,370	21,87,278
Tobacco	2,46,410	1,90,542	2,99,460	2,38,219
Fodder crops	2,86,270	2,69,061	4,52,710	4,30,705

TABLE IV

Mineral Wealth

Name of the Mineral	*Names of districts where the mineral occurs*	*Actual place of the deposits and further remarks*
ANTIMONY	Bellary, Cuddapah, Vizagapatam	Crystals of sulphide of antimony are disseminated among Sandur hills near Ramandrug. Antimony is found in the Nallamalai hills near Jangamrajapalli. Kodur.
ASBESTOS	Cuddapah	Pulivendla taluq :— Brahmanapalle and Lopatanubulu area, Kamalapuram Taluq :— Rajupalem.
	Kurnool	Dhone Taluk :—Chandrapalle, Kochcheruvu, Kamalapuram, Chinna Malkapuram, Kotapalle, Mudduletiswami, Betemcherla. Kurnool Taluk :— Jajarapuram,
BARYTES	Nellore	Narravada (about 3 miles east of this village, and amidst the mica schists.) Barytes occur in the ceded districts, generally in association with Vaimpalli slates and limestones and interbedded basic rocks.
BAUXITE	Vizagapatam	Large areas in the Vizagapatam hill tracts and Jeypore are occupied by Khondalites, known to give rise to bauxite and aluminous laterite.
BUILDING MATERIAL	Bellary	Damur, Torangal Hill, Kurikuppa Hill, Kapgal Hill, Hurlihal, Timappagarh in the Sandur Hills. Nemkal, Metra } Green quartzite. Nilgunta Hill, Angur, Harpanahalli } Potstone. Huvina Hadagalli, Tallur } Grey or white crystalline limestone.
	Cuddapah	Nerji Limestone formation (used in the Madras University buildings).
	Godavari	Sandstones occur in the low hills at Peddapuram.
	Guntur	Granitoid gneiss variety in Kondavidu Hills. Limestones are found on the banks of the Kistna river, between Waranalli and Amaravati.
	Kistna	Sandstone group is found at Tundakalpudi. Redstone noted in Janampet and Peddavegi.
	Kurnool	Nerji hills.
	Nellore	Granitoid gneiss is quarried at Kuchipudi hill.
	Vizagapatam	Kondajori in the Jeypore Zamindari. White dolomitic limestone in the neighbourhood of Borra (for statuary and decorative purposes).

Name of the Mineral	*Names of districts where the mineral occurs*	*Actual place of the deposits and further remarks*
		Potstone near Ontagaon to the west of Jeypore.
		Charnockite occurs in the ghats of Vizianagaram, Vizagapatam Agency and Godavari. Light grey and dark grey varieties are found near Anantagiri and Sunkarimetta.
		Khondalite in the Vizagapatam, Godavari, and Kistna districts.
COAL	Godavari	Lingala field 5 sq. miles
		Totapalle field 16 sq. miles, of which 10 sq. miles may contain workable coal.
		A pit near Rajahrompalli showed a seam of 5 ft. 6 in. thick. Estimate is 24 million tons of fairly good coal.
		Bedadanuru 5.5 sq. miles.
		Coal bearing rocks exist under Chintalapudi sandstones.
COPPER	Bellary	Copper mountain, 3 miles to the west of Bellary. Harpanahalli and Siddapah Konda.
	Cuddapah	Jangamrajpalli or Baswapur in the Nallamalai hills of the Cuddapah district.
	Guntur	Guntapalem and Agnigundala
	Kurnool	Gumankonda, Somadalpalli, neighbourhood of Gujjalakonda and Kommemarri.
	Nellore	Three groups of occurrences around Garimanipenta, viz., Garimanipenta, Kovaripalli and Nilghenny.
		Pamur Taluq in Kalahasti Zamindari, Narasimhapuram in Udayagiri Taluq and near Gogulapalli.
CORUNDUM	Anantapur	Chief occurrences are in Anantapur district.
GEM STONES	Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddapah, Godavari	Wakra Karur. Huvin Hadagalli in Bellary, Chennur, Kanuparti or Kondapeta. Woblapalli in Cuddapah district, Bhadrachalam.
	Guntur	Kollur (Great Moghul), Madagula, Malavaram or Damarapad and Pulichinta on the right bank of the river Kistna.
	Kistna	Kolapalli, Malavilli, Parital, Ustapalli.
GRAPHITE	Godavari	Occurs in the Bhadrachalam Taluk at Pedakonda, Pulikonda, Sutrukonda and Rachakonda. Also recorded near Velagapalli and Yerrametla in the Chodavaram Division, and at Gullapudi in the Polavaram Division. About 140 tons has been recorded from the Bhadrachalam occurrences between 1904-1905.
	Kistna	Neighbourhood of Bezwada.
	Vizagapatam	Near Salur and Kasipuram in the Khondalites. The district produced 259 tons of graphite in 1904 and 54 tons in 1911.
GYPSUM	Nellore	Occurs abundantly in the marine clays at Santaravur on the Buckingham Canal.
IRON	Bellary	Formerly production from this district amounted to 600 tons. Silicious haematite occurs in the Sandur hills near Bellary, and on the Malappan Gudda near Kammakaravu. Softer ores occur near Kannervihalli.

Name of the Mineral	*Names of districts where the Mineral occurs*	*Actual place of the deposits and further remarks*
	Cuddapah	Yerraguntalakota, and Chintakunta.
	Godavari	Neighbourhood of Polavaram.
	Kistna	Occurs in sandstone formations.
	Kurnool	Kurnool and Cuddapah systems. Mainly in the latter one. Near about Nandyal ore has been won and smelted.
	Nellore	Two groups. One near Ongole and the other near Gunelakamma. Some bands of ore are found in the Konijedu hill and Parnameta hill near Ongole. Burapalle, Manikesavaram, Singaraikonda and Vemparala. Also occurs in the valley of Swarnamukhi river between Ircola and Tresalmare.
	Vizagapatam	Modopodor, brown haematite near Chitra, limonitic near Narainapatam, and steel at Madgul.
LEAD AND SILVER	Cuddapah	Jangamarajapalli, Lankamalai hills east of Nandialampet and also to the south-east of Nagasanipalli.
	Guntur	Karampudi.
	Kurnool	Basavapuram.
MANGANESE		Mainly in Bellary, Sandur State, and Vizagapatam districts. Also in Kurnool district at Rudravaram, Nandavaram, Banganapalli and Nagireddypalli.
MICA	Nellore Vizagapatam	Mainly in Nellore and Vizagapatam districts. Four main areas around Gudur, Rapur, Atmakur and Kavali.
STEATITE & POTSTONE		In Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool, Nellore and Vizagapatam.
ZINC		In Kurnool district near Basavapuram.
PHOSPHATES		In Nellore, Vizagapatam at Garbham, Ramabhadrapuram, Devada and other places. Vizianagaram near Sitaramapuram.
		PRODUCTION STATISTICS, 1941-42
MANGANESE		Total production in 1941-42 was 14,625 tons. Exports of Manganese ore were 2,11,060 tons in the whole province.
MICA		Dressed Mica in Nellore District was 711 tons. Waste Mica in Nellore District was 1,036 tons. No production in Vizagapatam and Anantpur.
BARYTES		Production in Anantpur was ... ... 7,445.5 tons. Production in Cuddapah was ... ... 8,152.0 tons. Production in Kurnool was ... ... 1,450.0 tons. Total ... 17,047.5 tons.
ASBESTOS		Production of Asbestos in Cuddapah district was 29 tons.
STEATITE		Production of Steatite in Cuddapah district was 36 tons.
KYANITE		Production of Kyanite in Nellore district was 110 tons.
GARNET		Production of Garnet in Nellore District was 4 tons.

TABLE V

Industrial Wealth

1. SUGAR MILLS : Bobbili, Tummapala, Kirlampudi, Vuyyuru, and Samalkot.
2. PAPER MILLS : Rajahmundry.
3. JUTE MILLS : Nellimarla, Chittivalasa, Ellore and Guntur.
4. CEMENT COMPANIES : Bezwada and Tadepalle.
5. TEXTILE MILLS : Adoni, Bellary, Pandalapaka (two units), Rajahmundry and Tadepalle.
6. HANDLOOMS :

Vizagapatam :	16,000	Kurnool :	12,000
East Godavari :	5,000	Bellary :	13,000
West Godavari :	13,000	Anantapur :	11,000
Kistna :	6,000	Cuddapah :	11,000
Guntur :	26,000	Chittoor :	8,000
Nellore :	10,000	Madras :	2,000

Total Madras : 3,00,000 handlooms.
Total Andhra : 1,33,000 ...

7. SILK : Peddapuram and Rayadrug.
8. CHEMICALS : Nidadavole and Masulipatam.
9. PHARMACEUTICALS : Bezwada and Rajahmundry.
10. STEEL ROLLING : Bezwada.
11. SCIENTIFIC AND MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS : Masulipatam.
12. CERAMICS : Rajahmundry.
13. POTTERIES : Tadepalle and Nellore.
14. MATCHES : Mangalagiri.
15. ICE : Rajahmundry and Bezwada.
16. CANNING : Kadiam and Bezwada.

LIST OF SEASONAL AND PERENNIAL FACTORIES OF ALL KINDS

District	Perennial	Seasonal	District	Perennial	Seasonal
Vizagapatam	98	9	Kurnool	27	40
East Godavari	69	5	Bellary	23	89
West Godavari	86	0	Anantpur	19	48
Kistna	97	21	Cuddapah	14	23
Guntur	87	35	Chittor	20	4
Nellore	25	2	Total	565	276

N. B:—The number of factories of all kinds in Madras Province in 1940 was 1,891, of which 528 were seasonal and 1,363 perennial. The average number of workers working in perennial factories were 36,820 and in seasonal factories 14,410. Fifty percent of the factories of the Province are in Andhra Districts, and the percentage of workers is 20.

During the past seven or eight years, there was not any appreciable addition to the number of factories or personnel. But important additional industries, like *vanaspati*, textiles, paints, glass etc., were projected and started in a small way, with the result that the immediate industrial position of Andhra Desh is not only fully variegated, but is actually self-sufficient.

TABLE VI

Communications System

RAILWAYS

Broad Gauge :	Miles
Madras to Berhampur : 486 plus 173	659
Guntur to Repalle	37
Nidadavole to Narsapur	48
Samalkot to Cocanada	10
Metre Gauge :	
Bellary to Masulipatam	360
Guntakal to Hindupur	113
Bellary to Rayadrug	34
Guntur to Macherla	80
Gudivada to Bhimavaram	41
Dharmavaram to Pakala	142
Katpadi to Gudur	123
Total	1,647

CANALS

Total mileage : 1,255 miles.
Total number of boats plying : 2,01,148.
Value of goods carried by boats : Rs. 12,07,88,276 (annual).

TRUNK ROADS

Total mileage ; 13,194.
Number of buses and lorries plying ; over 4,000.

PORTS

Madras, Masulipatam, Cocanada, Vizagapatam, Bimlipatam, Kalingapatam, Baruva. (Gopalpur, presently in Orissa, belongs to the Andhra Desh).

TABLE VII

Electric Supply Corporations

	Name of Company	*Place and area of distribution*
1.	Berhampore Electric Supply Company Ltd.,	Berhampore, Gopalpur and Chatrapur.
2.	East Coast	Ichchapore and Sompeta.
3.	Chicacole	Chicacole and Narasannapet.
4.	Salur and Parvatipur	Salur and Parvatipur.
5.	Bobbili	Bobbili.
6.	Vizagapatam	Govt. Thermal Station.
7.	Vizianagaram	Govt. Thermal Station.
8.	Anakapalle	Anakapalle.
9.	Cocanada	Govt. Thermal Station. Cocanada, Samalkot, Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Mandapeta and Ramachandrapuram.
10.	Rajahmundry	Rajahmundry.
11.	Ellore	Ellore.
12.	West Godavari (half finished—Attilli Power house)	Palacole, Nidadavole, Narasapuram, and Bhimavaram.
13.	Gudivada	Gudivada and Gudlavalleru.
14.	Masulipatam	Masulipatam (municipal).
15.	Bezwada	Govt. Thermal Station.
16.	Guntur Power and Light Ltd.,	Whole of Guntur District, except Narasaraopet, Sattenapalle and Palnad.
17.	Ongole Electric Supply Company Ltd.,	Ongole.
18.	Narasaraopet	Narasaraopet (town).
19.	Nellore	Nellore and Bitragunta.
20.	Kalahasti	Purchases power from Mettur.
21.	Tirupati	
22.	Chittoor	
23.	Cuddapah Power and Light Ltd.	Cuddapah (town).
24.	Proddatur	Proddatur.
25.	Adoni	Adoni.
26.	Bellary	Bellary (municipal)
27.	Hospet	Hospet (municipal).
28.	Kurnool	Kurnool (municipal).
29.	Anantapur	Anantapur (municipal).
30.	Nandyal	Contemplated one.
31.	Tadapatri	

TABLE VIII

Capital Outlay on Electrical Schemes

	Accounts 1945-46	B. E. 1946-47	R. E. 1946-47	B. E. 1947-48
(Non-Andhra areas, in Lakhs of Rupees)				
Pyakara Hydro-Electric Scheme ...	39·19	53·59	57·49	1,08·36
Mettur Hydro-Electric Scheme ...	8·69	61·47	22·55	1,00·09
Papanasam Hydro-Electric Scheme ...	17·46	67·76	43·28	62·11
Kollegal Hydro-Electric Scheme ...	...	...	1·00	·71
Total ...	65·34	1,82·82	1,24·32	2,71·27
(Andhra areas, in Lakhs of Rupees)				
Machkund Hydro-Electric Scheme ...	·04	13·25	7·83	61·12
Ceded Districts Scheme	...	...	1·07	29·75
Vizagapatam Thermal Scheme ...	1·66	9·69	6·73	28·12
Bezwada Thermal Scheme	·69	5·80	9·28	15·66
Cocanada Thermal Scheme	·06	·02	·21	4·77
West Godavari District Electrification Scheme	·07	·07	·07	·08
Kurnool Thermal Scheme	...	...	3·21	3·99
Rajahmundry-Samalkot Extension Scheme	1·36	42·38	17·59	33·40
Total ...	3·88	75·21	45·99	1,76·89
(Madras Power Station Extension)				
	...	9·00	28·22	49·32

(Source : Madras Budget Memorandum, 1947-48, p. 121)

N. B:—The above table is tell-tale in character. Even assuming that the figures for Madras city are added to those for Andhra areas, the manner in which step-motherly treatment is given to the latter, as compared to non-Andhra areas, becomes abundantly clear. In 1947-48 there seems to be a waking up on the part of the Madras Government to the clamant demands of the Andhra people, and yet the original provision for the last item on the Andhra list above is completely watered down. The provision of a mere seven or eight thousand rupees for the entire west Godavari district electrification scheme is significant !

A revealing commentary is supplied on the revenue yield from these electrification schemes, which is related to the quantum of capital outlay and development thereof. According to the *Memorandum*, p. 107, the three non-Andhra schemes of Payakara, Mettur and Papanasam have in 1947-48 been shown as yielding a revenue of Rs. 52.45 lakhs, while the four Andhra schemes of Vizagapatam, Bezwada, Cocanada and Kurnool yielded only Rs. 15.37 lakhs.

TABLE IX.

Irrigation

Investment On Irrigation Works till the Year Ending 1936–37.

Category	Investment Rs.	Revenue Rs.	percentage on principal	No of Projects
Productive Works	15,00,00,000	1,20,00,000	7	26
Unproductive	4,00,00,000	4,20,000	1	
Total	19,00,00,000	1,24,20,000		

The surplus revenue of the irrigation projects in the Andhra areas was spent on the projects in southern Districts, and to a little extent on the works in Rayalaseema.

Project	Capital Outlay Rs.	Total Revenue Rs.	Annual Profit
Mettur	6,50,00,000	(a)	
Godavari Anicut	1,90,00,000	14,00,00,000	13%
Kistna Anicut	2,30,00,000	11,00,00,000	13%

(a) Interest payable at 4½% per year. The amount that is being paid every year in part payment of the above in annual instalments is Rs. 30,36,000 from the revenues on irrigation works.

Capital Outlay On Productive Irrigation Works In the Province Of Madras.

Name	Andhra Rs.	Non-Andhra Rs.
Cauvery Delta System		80,15,290
Srivaikuntam Anicut		16,67,459
Godavari Delta System	1,69,75,211	———
Mettur Anicut	——	85,09
Tadepalli Channel	1,66,383	———
Kalingarayan Channel	1,75,980	
Vruddhachalam Anicut		1,04,114
Chembrambakam tank		6,51,348
Marudar anicut		58,721
Pennar channels	60,31,960	Nil
Arkancot channel		1,40,769
Tirukkoilur anicut		3,89,189
Shantiatope anicut		19,29,886
Cheyyar anicut		5,24,798
Cumbum tank	83,985	Nil
Poiney anicut		2,95.106
Periyar project		1,04,64,627
Kistna Delta	2,09,37,162	Nil
Nandiyar channel		63,231
Chicacole Minor Rivers	2,78,196	Nil
Lower Colaroon anicut		29,13,423
Kistna East Bank Canal	57,22,676	Nil
Toludur Reservoir		23,71,023
Polavaram Island project	16,69,109	Nil
Cauvery-Mettur project		6,46,40,240
Kattalai scheme		39,62,502
Total ...	5,20,40,662	9,73,76,847

TABLE X

Irrigation Capital Accounts

XVII. IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE WORKS, FOR WHICH CAPITAL ACCOUNTS ARE KEPT : GROSS RECEIPTS.

	Accounts 1945-46.	B. E. 1946-47	R. E. 1946-47	B. E. 1947-48
Irrigation works :				
Productive	9·52	7·82	9·61	8·97
Unproductive	·83	·72	·81	·77
Portion of land revenue due to irrigation (productive and unproductive)	167·08	180·11	189·38	188·07
Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works—				
Unproductive	1·38	1·36	1·68	1·36
Total ...	178·81	190·01	201·48	199·17

N.B.— 1. "Irrigation works : productive : The major portion of the receipts accrues from the Godavari, Kistna, Cauveri delta systems, the Cauveri-Mettur Project areas, the Periyar system and the Lower Coleroon Anicut System."

2. "Unproductive : The most important works under this head are Madras Water Supply and Irrigation System, the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal and the Palal Anicut System."

3. "Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works : Nearly the whole of the revenue accrues from the Buckingham Canal. The revenue from the Vedaranniyam canal is small."

XVIII. IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS, FOR WHICH NO CAPITAL ACCOUNTS ARE KEPT.

	Accounts 1945-46	B. E. 1946-47	R. E. 1946-47	B. E. 1947-48
Irrigation Works :				
Public Works Department ...	·81	·70	·73	·66
Minor Irrigation	·72	·66	·69	·56
Portion of Land Revenue due to irrigation	106·66	97·88	100·29	101·60
Navigation, Embankment and Drainage works	1·27	1·11	1·23	1·16
Total ...	109·46	100·35	102·94	103·98

(Source : Madras Budget Memorandum, 1947-48, p. 41)

TABLE XI

Cumulative Capital Outlay

(To end of Financial Year, in Lakhs of Rupees.)

	Accounts 1945-46	R. E. 1946-47	B. E. 1946-47	Accounts 1947-48
Irrigation etc. Works :				
Productive	14,88·02	19·48	32·40	15,39·90
Unproductive	4,23·20	1,07·11	2,09·14	7,39·54
Navigation works	92·82	·16	...	92·66
Total—Irrigation etc. works ..	20,04·13	1,26·43	2,41·54	23,72·10
Industries :				
Cinchona	52·07	22·11	31·63	1,05·81
Kerala Soap Institute	2·85	1·46	·97	·42
Industrial Engineering Workshops ...	1·28	·64	·28	2·20
Hydrogenation Factory	·35	3·44	8·84	12·63
Total—Industries ...	56·55	24·73	39·78	1,21·06
Electricity Systems : ...	8,44·23	1,98·53	4,72·61	15,15·37
Grand Total : ...	29,04·91	3,49·69	7,53·93	40,08·53

(Source : Madras Budget Memorandum, 1947-48, p. 76.)

N. B:—This table amply illustrates the need for the division assets between the proposed Andhra Province and the rest of the Madras Presidency, whose accounts have so far been managed on joint account. The table is only illustrative of the types of work involved in the proposed separation of assets and liabilities, from which the Andhra Province is bound to emerge as a beneficiary.

It will be seen from this table that almost all the expenditure on industries has been placed in non-Andhra areas, which only goes to prove the manner in which Andhra districts have been starved of developmental expenditure.

A detailed examination of expenditure on the electricity systems, as illustrated in official records, shows that, while the Andhra Electrical System has been taken in hand by the Madras Government as it exists at present, the Andhra areas have been given step-motherly treatment, since the non-Andhra areas have had the full benefit of treatment which befits a favourite child. (See also Table VIII.)

TABLE XII

Provincial Budgets—Revenues

(In Crores of Rupees)

Province	*1938-39*	*39-40*	*40-41*	*41-42*	*42-43*	*43-44*	*44-45*	*45-46*	*46-47 R. E.*	*47-48 B. E.*
Madras	16.1	16.7	18.1	19.5	22.0	29.8	41.2	48.0	60.0	49.7
Bombay	12.4	13.1	14.5	16.9	19.8	25.2	33.7	35.0	36.1	38.9
Bengal	12.8	14.3	13.6	15.0	16.5	23.5	39.4	45.6	38.7	47.7
U. P.	12.8	13.6	14.7	16.4	20.5	24.3	27.5	30.0	34.2	40.1
Punjab	11.4	12.1	13.8	15.4	18.5	26.3	28 9	28.0	29.4	30.8
Bihar	5.2	5.5	6.1	6.6	7.5	10.3	12.8	15.2	15.9	16.6
C. P. ...	4.3	5.1	5.2	5.3	6.7	8.6	9.6	10.6	11.4	13.0
Assam	2.6	3 0	3.3	3.3	3.9	5.6	6.2	6.5	6.8	9.4
N.-W. F. P. ...	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.8	3.0	3.2	4.2
Orissa	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.4	2.2	2.6	3.2	3.6	4.4	6.1
Sind ...	3.7	4.3	5.2	5.8	6.6	9.9	8.8	8.6	8.5	9.2
ANDHRA ...	7.6	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	25.0

N. B :—The estimates for Andhra revenues are necessarily *ad hoc*, but they conform to a rigorous analysis of official figures from time to time. Table XIII shows that Andhra Districts supplied more than fifty per cent of the revenues of the Madras Province in 1932-33. The figure for 1938-39 given above is a tested figure, and that for 1947-48 is also tested, according to accepted canons of separation of financial figures. If any, the margin of error will be an underestimate, because of the substantial character of Andhra resources—economic, irrigation, etc.—as compared with the non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province.

TABLE XIII

Revenue and Expenditure, 1932-33

(In lakhs of rupees).

District	*Revenue*	*Expenditure*
Ganjam	39.00	39.59
Vizagapatam	52.46	67.07
Godavari East	89.07	53.09
Godavari West	65.20	28.11
Kistna	65.55	37.99
Guntur	83.38	45.63
Nellore	27.27	24.01
Bellary	41.72	31.82
Anantapur	33.66	26.72
Kurnool	42.42	21.74
Chittoor	23.58	27.67
Andhra Districts Total	5,63.40	4,03.44
Madras Province Total	10,70.93	11,33.89

TABLE XIV

Analysis of Revenue

(1936-37 figures)

Head	*Andhra Districts*	*Total Madras Province*
	Rs.	*Rs.*
Land Revenue	3,94,98,096	8,93,81,830
Irrigation	1,14,21,533	2,14,42,624
Stamp Revenue	43,29,301	1,18 07,709
Zamindari	36,37,315	46,81,518
Excise	2,40,28,437	...
Forest	21,48,362	...
Total ...	7,60,92,404	15,90,00,000

N. B :—This analysis of revenue is illustrative of the general position. Land revenue and irrigation, even when re-valued in terms of the latest financial results, remain the mainstay of the Andhra Desh, and show comfortable superiority as compared with non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province. The *zamindari peshkash* of the Andhra areas, which is really substantial, is to be lost, in view of the abolition of the *zamindari* system, to which the Provincial Government is committed. Again, excise revenue for the Andhra districts, as in the case of other areas in India today, will, over a period of years, also vanish. There are, however, alternate sources of revenue already available, e.g., sales tax, which is to make up this deficit, and increased revenue from irrigation, and multi-purposes projects like Tungabhadra, Ramapadasagar etc. will also become available in the near future to off-set this loss. On an overall appreciation of the present and prospective positions of revenues, I come to the conclusion that Andhra revenues will be substantially good.

TABLE XV

Andhra Portions of Revenue and Expenditure

(1932-33 figures, in lakhs of rupees)

REVENUE

	Total Madras	*Total Andhra*
Land Revenue	748.73	340.97
Excise	426.97	155.41
Stamps	241.58	76.77
Forest	49.71	1.59
Registration	33.49	10.19
Irrigation etc., (for which capital a/cs are kept) ...	39.23	0.07
Irrigation etc., (for which no capital a/cs are kept) ...	2.15	0.12
Interest	29.66	5.80
Administration of Justice ...	16.75	4.68
Jails and Convict Settlements	5.51	0.50
Police	5.43	0.28
Education	8.69	1.65
Medical	8.41	1.47
Public Health	1.91	0.37
Agriculture	3.02	0.76
Industries	7.50	0.76
Miscellaneous Departments ...	51.04	12.33
Civil Works	20.64	1.48
Receipts in aid of superannuation	2.99	0.73
Stationery and Printing ...	5.28	0.67
Miscellaneous ...	10.01	2.07
Taxes on income other than Corporation Tax ...	...	...
Receipts under Motor Vehicles Act	...	...
Other taxes and duties ...	...	...
Receipts from Electrical Schemes	...	...
Total	16,40.24	6,18.67

EXPENDITURE

	Total Madras	*Total Andhra*
Land Revenue	20.15	4.72
Excise	33.57	16.41
Stamps	6.68	2.24
Forest	46.61	..
Registration	26.78	7.16
Irrigation : (other than revenue expenditure financed from ordinary revenues ...	46.76	6.68
General Administration ...	262.93	104.56
Administration of Justice ...	90.72	26.76
Jails	22.62	5.56
Police	164.03	59.76
Education	243.34	87.67
Medical	84.52	20.25
Public Health	23.35	5.74
Agriculture	36.33	9.79
Industries	15.27	1.87
Miscellaneous Departments...	54.67	14.75
Civil Works	154.77	55.70
Famine	2.84	1.68
Superannuation Allowances and pensions financed from ordinary revenues ...	95.19	14.05
Stationary and Printing ...	20.87	0.41
Miscellaneous	4.50	0.40
Payments of commuted value of pensions ...	7.07	1.62
Int. on works for which capital a/cs are kept ...	77.29	...
Construction of Irrigation Navigation works etc., ...	2.82	...
Int. on ordy. debt ...	16.25	...
Int. on other obligations ...	0.09	...
Reduction or avoidance of debt	27.72	...
Scientific Deptt. ...	2.05	...
Int. on capital outlay on Hydraulic works ...	5.74	...
Charges on a/c of Motor Vehicles Act	...	...
Other taxes and duties	...	...
Total	15,63.03	4,47.78

TABLE XVI

Liabilities and Assets of Madras Government

(On March 31, each year, in lakhs of rupees)

	1944	1945	1946	R. E. 1947	B. E. 1948
Interest-bearing liabilities	17,33.55	17,53.40	21,04.23	24,37.48	24,47.72
Liabilities free of interest	14,69.12	29,81.35	48,52.91	49,07.68	49,48.58
Total Liabilities	32,02.67	47,34.75	69,57.14	73,45.16	73,96.30
Revenue-producing Assets	27,66.05	28,06.19	29,37.06	33,17.07	40,35.30
Unproductive assets ...	4,98.10	5,02.97	5,16.11	6,23.06	8,32.20
Other assets :	15,21.49	31,31.17	52,19.50	51,49.84	42,94.98
Grand Total Assets : ...	48,85.64	64,40.33	86,72.67	90,89.97	91,62.48
Excess of Assets Over Liabilities	16,82.97	17,05.58	17,15.53	17,44.81	17,66.18

(Source : Madras Budget Memorandum, 1947-48, pp. 155-6)

N. B. On the broad estimate of over fifty per cent of revenues paid by the existing Andhra districts of the Madras Province, a proportion of divisible *net assets* of some Rs. 10 crores accrues to the proposed Andhra Province. This estimate is only illustrative, but is eminently suited to clinch the issue that, if an opening balance of *pluses* and *minuses* is arrived at, the Andhra people will start off with a comfortable financial beginning.

TABLE XVII

Government Investments

Particulars	*Andhra*	*Non-Andhra*	*Total*
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Irrigation Works : Productive	5,20,40,662	9,73,76,847	14,94,17,509
-Do- Unproductive	2,70,10,815	1,08,97,003	3,79,07,818
Canals and others			1,36,89,963
Industrial Works		15,64,272	15,64,272
Civil Buildings etc.			1,26,44,587
Electricity Works	50,64,791	5,54,07,592	6,04,72,383
Total ...	8,41,16,268	16,52,45,714	27,56,96,402

TABLE XVIII

Financial Position of Municipalities

(On March 31, 1940)

Name of the Municipality	*Govt. Grants*	*Net Receipts**	*Net Expenditure*	*Net Surplus Deficit*
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Anantapur	8,200	85,136	81,131	4,005
Hindupur	5,020	1,02,927	77,618	25,309
Tadpatri	4,870	55,969	51,819	4,150
Bellary	14,930	3,25,265	3,48,352	— 23,087
Adoni	12,480	94,951	1,04,049	— 9,098
Hospet	5,974	77,055	77,761	— 706
Chittoor	5,364	68,987	60,492	8,495
Tirupati		68,468	48,174	20,294
Cuddapah	18,679	1,05,916	98,224	7,692
Proddatur	4,499	67,918	65,937	1,981
Cocanada	...	2,93,047	2,66,227	26,820
Peddapuram	...	38,845	34,456	4,389
Rajahmundry	2,570	2,04,905	1,81,085	23,820
Ellore	3,885	1,66,266	1,66,425	— 159
Palacole	3,733	86,758	83,163	3,595
Guntur	2,410	2,11,748	1,75,889	35,859
Narasaraopet	6,353	58,504	56,559	1,945
Ongole	3,111	55,877	51,421	4,456
Tenali	...	1,09,230	97,233	11,997
Bezwada	12,402	4,69,732	4,30,655	39,077
Gudivada	...	41,219	44,879	3,660
Masulipatam	4,682	2,09,747	2,22,823	— 13,076
Kurnool	13,611	2,07,726	2,15,259	— 7,563
Nandyal	2,196	99,341	95,391	3,950
Nellore	10,260	1,65,492	1,54,103	11,389
Anakapalle	7,098	92,295	74,905	17,390
Bimlipatam	5,476	34,385	35,092	— 707
Chicacole	4,361	68,750	65,038	3,712
Vizagapatam	5,946	2,10,570	1,98,820	11,750
Vizianagaram	3,626	1,44,461	1,37,644	6,817
Total Andhra	1,70,736	40,20,490	38,01,454	2,82,552
Total Madras	3,50,846	1,25,07,938	1,19,18,358	...

* The net receipts (column 3) include goverment grants also.

TABLE XIX

Expenditure of District Boards

(1940-41 figures)

District	*Engineering establishment*	*Roads: Trunk and other*	*Total Communications*	*Education other than elementary*	*Public Health*
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Anantpur	41,692	1,81,218	2,26,096	64,053	75,139
Bellary	55,028	1,76,123	2,34,020	79,052	79,634
Chittoor	53,259	2,27,732	2,88,211	1,09,637	60,990
Cuddapah	47,792	1,59,779	2,14,399	66,127	67,696
East Godavari ...	1,00,687	4,40,011	5,98,905	1,96,882	1,50,313
West Godavari ...	1,18,763	2,67,636	3,98,278	1,92,892	91,993
Guntur	1,11,477	4,66,892	5,91,072	2,42,831	1,77,027
Kistna	1,15,815	2,51,694	3,97,008	2,63,009	1,43,070
Kurnool	52,793	2,16,853	2,84,826	87,454	1,03,190
Nellore	91,826	2,60,991	3,71,331	1,27,610	1,41,347
Vizagapatam	1,30,402	4,97,897	6,74,317	2,10,876	2,68,657
Total Andhra	9,19,534	31,46,826	42,78,463	16,40,423	13,59,056
Total Province ...	21,53,851	85,16,056	1,12,73,472	33,42,391	33,65,867

N. B :—This table, again, illustrates the general fifty per cent position of expenditure on Andhra and non-Andhra areas of the Madras Province in the sphere of local boards. This table has been incorporated in our statistics in order to show the extremely satisfactory character of expenditure on principal items of activity in local self-government.

TABLE XX

Ramapadasagar Project

RAMAPADASAGAR COMPARED WITH OTHER DAMS

Name of Dam		*Length in feet*	*Height in feet*	*Net capacity in M. Cft.*	*Cost per M. Cft. of storage*
					Rs. Lakhs
Periyar	(Madras)	1,241	176	9,300	538
Krishnarajasagar	(Mysore)	8,600	130	43,934	569
Nizamsagar	(Hyderabad)	15,992	116	25,446	1,437
Mettur	(Madras)	5,300	214	93,500	513
Poondi	(Near Madras)	770	40	2,730	2,416
Aswan	(Egypt)	6,900	170	37,600	977
Norris	(U. S. A.)	1,860	265	93,300	1,110
Boulder	(U. S. A.)	1,282	726	14,07,000	660
Tungabhadra	(Madras)	8,000	160	1,13,000	650 (app.)
Ramapadasagar	(Madras)	6,600	428	6,20,000	760 (app.)

This Project consists of a dam across the Godavari, 20 miles above the Rajahmundry station, on the Madras-Calcutta Railway Line, and a canal from either flank and a Power-house to generate electricity.

Following are the technical details :

Catchment area of the Godavari 1,21,500 million c. ft.

Average total annual flow of the Godavari 3,500,000 million c. ft.

Maximum Flood Discharge 2 million second feet.

Full Reservoir Level of the proposed Dam plus 198.

Level of Roadway over the Dam plus 238.

Level of deepest foundation X—190.

Height of dam from deepest level 428 ft.

Length af dam at road level 6.600 feet.

Number of sand sluices (10' x 20') 160.

Reservoir Waterspread—Total 527 sq. miles.

Reservoir Waterspread in Madras 316 sq. miles.

Reservoir Waterspread Hyderabad 181 sq. miles.

Reservoir Waterspread Bastar 16 sq. miles.

Reservoir Waterspread Jeypore 14 sq. miles.

Cross Capacity of the Reservoir 6,80,000 million c. ft.

(The Reservoir Capacity will be second only to that of Boulder.)

Head Sluices for the canals : Right 10 vents of 10-1/2 x 16' left 5 vents of 10-1/2 x 16'.

Length of canals: Left side up to Vizagapatam harbour, 131 miles.

Right side up to the Kistna 110 miles.

Right side beyond the Kistna 105 miles.

Area of Irrigation proposed : First crop in uplands 9 lakhs acres.

Second crop in uplands 4 lakhs acres.

Second crop extension in Godavari delta 3.2 lakhs acres.

Second crop new in Kistna Delta 6.4 lakhs acres.

Single crop— Collair lake area 0.6 lakhs acres.

Total area of irrigation proposed : 23 lakhs acres.

Firm power developed: 1-1/2 lakhs acres.

Annual Food Production (Rice): 10 lakhs acres.

Locks and navigation facilities between Central Provinces, Hyderabad, Vizagapatam and Cocanada harbours and Madras will be established.

Approximate cost of the Project: Rs. 86 crores (as made in 1945).

Approximate Net Revenue per year Rs. 242 lakhs (based on E. Godavari Collector's estimate: undergoing detailed examination by the Revenue Department).

Source : Statement made on October 17, 1947 to the members of the Madras Legislature by N. Govindaraja Ayyangar, Chief Engineer, Government of Madras.

Note :—Current estimates of the Project are that it might cost some Rs. 150 crores, within a period of nine years—the latest projection of the Madras Government into the time to be taken for the completion of the project.

TABLE XXI

Sri Baugh Pact, 1937

(Text of the pact between the leaders of the coastal Andhra Districts and of the Rayalaseema, otherwise known as the Ceded Districts, at the residence of the late K. Nageswararao Pantulu, Madras, on November 16, 1937. This was later approved by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.)

UNIVERSITY : This Committee is of opinion that two University Centres are to be developed under the Andhra University, one at Waltair and the other at Anantapur, so as todistribute the centres of culture over the Andhradesa, and create opportunities for social and cultural intercourse amongst the Andhras, and locate colleges in areas favourable to the subjects dealt with.

IRRIGATION : That, to ensure the rapid development of the agricultural and economic interests of Rayalaseema and Nellore to the level of those in the coastal districts, schemes of irrigation should, for a period of ten years, or such longer period as conditions may necessitate, be given a preferential claim, specially in respect of the utilisation of the waters of Tungabhadra, Krishna and Pennar, giving for ten years exclusive attention in respect of major projects beneficial to those areas.

That whenever the question of sharing waters arises, the needs of the aforesaid areas be first met, and that this policy be implemented as from today in the administration of the Province.

LEGISLATURE : That in the matter of general seats in the Legislature, the distribution shall be generally on an equal district basis.

It is agreed that the location of the University, the Headquarters and the High Court may advantageously be in different places, so as not to concentrate all civil importance at the same centre.

Accordingly, it is agreed that while the University may continue to be where it is, the High Court and the Metropolis be located in suitable places in the coastal districts and the Rayalaseema, the choice being given to the Rayalaseema.

It shall, however, be open to vary these terms by common consent.

TABLE XXII

Lanka Sundaram's Statements on Andhra Province

(February 19 to August 10, 1948)

FEBRUARY 19, 1948

Consternation has been created in New Delhi Andhra circles at the reported directive from the Prime Minister to delete Andhra from the list of provinces scheduled to the draft constitution, which is to be finalized by the Constituent Assembly in the coming weeks*.

This reported directive comes in bewildering contrast to the widely-held belief that the constitution drafting sub-committee had included it in schedule to draft constitution.

This obvious government decision cuts right across the numerous repeated promises made by Nehru and his colleagues, that as far as Andhra Province was concerned it would come into existence alongside of the new constitution.

At a time when four crores of Andhras are anxiously awaiting the boundary commission's announcement, this news will be taken with perturbation, if only for the reason that the deletion of Andhra from the schedule of provinces would foreclose for ever all constitutional opportunities for raising discussion on the need for creation of this province during the lifetime of the Constituent Assembly.

It will be a betrayal of the plighted word on the part of the trusted national leadership, which also happens to be today's government, if after persuading Andhra members of the Constituent Assembly not to move resolutions, specifically or generally urging the creation of Andhra Province, this decision is foisted on the country.

Unless Andhra members of the Constituent Assembly and Provincial Legislature demonstrate their solidarity by resigning *en bloc*, protesting against this reported decision, it is just as well that Andhras give up their cherished ideal.

I would urge Andhras in general, and their legislative and other spokesmen in particular, to rise as one man and resist even at this late hour this certain catastrophe.

FEBRUARY 24, 1948

Now that the deletion of Andhra Province from the Provinces Schedule to draft constitution has been established, high-level conversations seem to have brought into the field a fresh formula, which is the vaguest imaginable†. Based on a rider to the constitution drafting committee's report, whose substance is that the formation of the Andhra Province involves delimitation of many involved points, it is proposed to appoint commission for investigation thereof and report to the Constituent Assembly before the constitution has actually been approved of.

This vague formula gives rise to several relevant questions, *e.g.*, when and by whom will this Commission be appointed ? Can India Government appoint it before the Constituent Assembly becomes actually seized of the draft constitution, either in April or June when it commences its drafting session ? Can the Constituent Assembly take up this codicil to provinces schedule, recommending the appointment of Commission, before all the hundreds of clauses of the draft constitution involving principles of constitution have actually been disposed of ? In other words, what is the exact time-table proposed for the Commission ?

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* The Draft Constitution Report was announced to be published on February 24 1948. Lanka Sundaram's telegraphic statements from New Delhi, which were printed in all the Andhra papers are reproduced in this section.

† After his exposure of February 18, the date for the publication of the Draft Constitution was shifted from February 24 to February 26.

If appointment of the Commission arises only when the provinces schedule and its rider have actually been taken up, where is the time for the Commission to investigate, on the lines of the O'Donnel Commission on Orissa boundaries over a decade ago, and report in time for the Constituent Assembly to take it up and dispose of the Andhra question? Actually, the intention of the drafting committee and the Government seems to be to leave the door surprisingly open to other linguistic groups to press their claims for their separate provincial existence. On this, the proposed formula is stated to be conclusive. If this is so, how does the government obviate complications from other linguistic groups, to av[illegible] which earlier solemn promises for the creation of the Andhra Province by order-in-council, or by inclusion in the provinces schedule to constitution, have now been repudiated.

This means that the earlier anticipations based on assurances that the Andhra Province comes automatically into existence on the day the new constitution is inaugurated evaporate into thin air

With Pattabhi gone yesterday to Bharatpur, and Prakasam gone to Madras this morning, and Ranga left in Delhi, admirable opportunity for Andhra leadership to make joint representations to Government is completely lost, though each leader is stated to have moved in this matter.

I had hoped for the miracle of solidarity in Andhra leadership in this present emergency. Andhras expect this unity of approach, for they are entitled to this square and fair deal from their leaders. I still hope that this becomes possible in the immediate future, so that in the battle of time-tables, and with the merits of the Andhra Province still kept open, we would not be left high and dry when Constituent Assembly actually finalises the constitution.

FEBRUARY 26, 1948

How long do the Government, the Constituent Assembly and the Andhra leadership hope to hoax people about the intentions and actualities relating to the creation of Andhra Province? Ranga's statement through Obulareddi, about Nehru's promises regarding the Andhra Province, can only be accepted as not taking us one inch further than the position in October 1946.

The draft constitution contains two references to Andhra Province. One is in paragraph 20 of the Chairman's introductory note, and the other in footnote to Part I of the First Schedule. These two must be taken side by side with Nehru's answers, given to N. B. Khare and Ramalingam Chettiar in the Constituent Assembly on November 27, 1947. These three official documents, however, constitute our present position.

Nehru said that any number of commissions could be appointed, but that 'right course is to proceed through constitution-making body'. Thus, it was proved beyond a shadow of doubt in my previous statements that, despite the note of Ambedkar and the footnote in the schedule, Government or even the President of the Constituent Assembly cannot appoint the proposed Commission before the draft constitution has actually been taken up by that body in April, May or July, according as the time-table becomes fixed.

As regards the proposed Commission itself, the footnote to the first schedule makes it amply clear that it should be appointed 'to work out or inquire into all the relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions'. Thus, Andhra Province is an open question. This position was reached after the Drafting Committee had stated, earlier in the footnote, that the Government once felt that Andhra Province could be created in advance of the new constitution, and that the drafting committee itself had once thought of including it in the provinces schedule.

The Chairman's introductory note creates other complications also. He holds that Government should take steps immediately to make Andhra and other areas into separate provinces under Section 290 of the 1935 Act, "before the draft constitution is finally passed".

The footnote to the first schedule, however, makes the proposed Commission, in the light of Nehru's statements of November 27, one for Constituent Assembly itself, to be charged with the question whether Andhra should or should not be one of the proposed member States of the Indian Union. In other words, if the Government want Andhra to be a province, Section 290 of 1935 Act is the source of action, and not the proposed Commission which will become utterly futile. Further, the proposed Commission is not a boundary commission. The footnote to the first schedule uses the word 'may', instead of the word 'shall', which is the actual language of every section of the draft constitution. I claim that we have not furthered our position since October 1946.

Actually, one does not know as to who our negotiators in this matter are ? Prakasam is holding conversations with the President of the Tamilnad P.C.C. What is his mandate ? Ranga is perambulating in the Ministerial circles in Delhi, with a loquacity which is amazing. Of course, he is the President of the Andhra P.C.C. and a member of the Working Committee. Pattabhi is also a member of the Working Committee, and happens to be the Nestor on Andhra matters. But even he does not work in unison with the above two leaders.

I, however, seriously suggest the holding of a plenary session of all the Andhra political bodies, for the appointment of plenipotentiaries to negotiate on Andhra Province. Otherwise, one individual would take into his head to negotiate with the opposite party on Madras city. Another on Orissa boundary. The third on Rayalseema. The fourth on Kelkar Award 1921, whether some Bellary taluks must go to Karnataka. The fifth on Bastar Andhras. Even Kaleswararao has raised the question of Mahatelingana, involving our relationships with the Nizam. This position is fantastic and must be obviated, for this leads to dog eating dog, and each leader posing as creator of Andhra Province, which, however, is receding from step to step to backward positions. Either we work in unsion, or perish.

MARCH 6, 1948

Let Andhra Desh conduct itself with dignity when Nehru visits Vizagapatam on the 14th instant to launch S. S. JALA USHA. If we did not get the Andhra Province, as we wanted it, it is not Nehru's fault. The fault lies in our leadership, which has now become one vast arena for personal jealousies, vendettas, axe-grinding and pressure groups. The Prime Minister must be received with goodwill, and no demonstrations should be staged against him.

I regret that Andhra leadership and public have, as expected, given themselves up only to fulminations against the possibility of postponement of the Andhra Province. Prakasam's statement from Rajahmundry, that the Andhra Province is coming in June, is in strange contrast to the earlier denials by him that he had mentioned April 1 as the original date for the inauguration of the Andhra Province, under the promises of the spokesmen of the Government of India.

I had never wanted to develop controversies about dates, nor was it my intention to create difficulties in the way of the creation of the Andhra Province. I am prepared to admit that the most solemn promises about our Province were made by Patel and Nehru, though I do not even today know when and how this Province will come into existence.

If the Province is to come under Section 290 of 1935 Act, I ask why does not the Government of India proceed with separation of secretariats, budgets, *etc.*, between the Andhra and other areas in the Madras Presidency ? Why does not the Government appoint a Boundary Commission to delimit our future State's boundaries ? Answer to these questions are not available either in New Delhi, or from Andhra leadership.

If it is the Constituent Assembly's proposed Commission which is to deal with these questions, then my previous challenge to leadership at the Centre and in Andhra Desh remains unanswered.

Whatever the position, our immediate task is clear. Let representatives of the

Andhra Provincial Congress, the Andhra Mahasabha, and prominent individual unattached leaders, from the coastal Andhra districts, Rayalaseema, Orissa Andhra areas, and other border territories, meet at Guntur, where the sage advice of Konda Venkatappayya will be available. Let them draw up maximum and minimum demands about these boundaries, on the basis of which let selected plenipotentiaries conduct negotiations with opposite parties. There is no other way in which the Andhra Province can come into existence.

I am prepared to organise 10,000 volunteers to do *satyagraha* round the house where these representative leaders foregather, and literally starve them into agreement on these maximum and minimum demands of the Andhra Desh. No coercion is meant in this proposal, but only a commonsense proposition which is to break the existing deadlock in Andhra leadership, which is demonstrably at cross-purposes. Without united demands, the Sri Baugh Pact, the Kelkar award, and many other understandings about Andhra Desh's boundaries, would be repudiated, and our leaders would continue to issue utterances, which would put the famed Babel of Tongues to shame.

APRIL 13, 1948

Once again, Nehru's Government have thrown responsibility for the creation of Andhra Province on the shoulders of the Andhra people. On the 10th and 11th of April, the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, while discussing the draft constitution, was told by Nehru that the next drafting session of the Constituent Assembly, when it is re-convened on May 18, would forthwith be called upon to pass a resolution setting up a commission on linguistic provinces, as envisaged in footnote to the schedule of the provinces to the draft constitution.

I am not clear yet why the Government itself do not bring forward the proposed resolution, instead of depending on some private member to do so, even on an assurance that such a resolution would be accepted by the Government.

There is reason for belief that Nehru reiterated the Government decision to create Andhra Province without delay, though neither Nehru nor the India Government inform the people as to why Andhra should be linked up with other linguistic provinces, for purposes of their creation, before the new constitution actually comes into being.

It would appear that the proposed commission is expected to go into all relevant issues relating to linguistic provinces, including Andhra, and complete its work before the end of June, by which time the draft constitution is expected to be finalised. These issues relate to future of Bombay and Madras as lieutenant governor's provinces, and to whether Kannadesh and Maharashtra should also be provinces. Nehru's impartiality about the new linguistic provinces and, if possible, their avoidance, is well known, but no one can measure the strength of feeling on the part of Vallabhbhai Patel about the future of Bombay.

Thus, I arrive at the position once again, on the basis of discussions reported to have taken place in the drafting committee, that Andhra Province is still an open question, to the extent, at any rate, that it is tied up with other linguistic areas. I also want to add that, despite Government whips and the stage-managing both in the proposed Commission and in the open House, we can depend upon both Kannadigas and Maharashtrians to do their utmost to see that Andhra Province is not created, without simultaneous creation of their own respective provinces.

Meanwhile, Andhra leadership is on trial. I heard that Prakasam had contacted Pattabhi and Ranga, and actually obtained appointment with Nehru for interview, which he, however, did not keep. This is a very sad thing, though I know that Prakasam is terribly busy with problems arising out of incidents in Telingana. Even now I make an earnest appeal that Andhra leaders should foregather at one place, and draw up their minimum demands on Andhra province and its boundaries. The proposed Constituent Assembly's

Commission would recommend creation of the boundaries commission for delimitation of boundaries, and for this Andhras should have material and spokesmen ready. I have a fear that without plenipotentiaries and carefully prepared evidence on boundaries, babel of tongues on behalf of Andhra Desh would invade Delhi and talk all sorts of nonsense before boundaries commission. This is fatal to our cause, and I exhort once again the people of Andhra Desh to compel their leaders to come together and work as a united team.

JUNE 19, 1948

The appointment by the President of the Constituent Assembly of the Commission on the formation of the new provinces of Andhra, Kerela, Karnataka and Maharashtra, is a direct challenge to the conscience of the people, and more so of the leaders of Andhra Desh‡. The announcement containing the appointment of this Commission gives a last-minute chance for Andhra leaders to come together and work for the creation of the long-awaited Andhra Province. With Ranga gone to San Francisco, with the Vice-President of the newly constituted Andhra Provincial Congress Committee framing his charge-sheet against the Andhra members of the Madras Ministry, which now goes before the President of the Indian National Congress, and with Prakasam pursuing his lone furrow with his Linguistic Andhra Provincial Conference at Vijayawada in the first week of July, I am disillusioned about the Andhra case being represented properly and squarely to the Commission.

There is no ground for optimism about the automatic formation of the Andhra Province, concerning which the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, in the footnote to part one of the first schedule of the Draft Constitution, shed so many crocodile tears. It is clear that Ambedkar's letter to the President of the Constituent Assembly (paragraph 20), in which he made a pointed reference to the need for the creation of Andhra and other Linguistic Provinces under section 290 of the Constitution Act, 1935, as amended, is the sheet-anchor for the investigations of the present Commission. In other words, the Commission must function on an *ad hoc* basis, though it is slightly different to the O'Donnel Commission which investigated the Orissa Province formation problems over a decade ago. The Constituent Assembly, which should have been the proper venue for the discussion of the problems arising out of the possible formation of linguistic provinces, is to accept or reject the recommendations of this Commission. The appeal I had been making during the past fourteen months to Andhra leaders, both personally and in public, to take the initiative, and to originate discussions in the Constituent Assembly itself on the formation of the Andhra Province, had fallen on deaf ears.

It is fantastic for Pattabhi to hold, as he does, that deputations and memoranda from Andhra Desh should flood this Commission. What we had lost by dropping the initiative in the Constituent Assembly, we should gain by submitting joint and united proposals to the Commission.

This Justice Dhar Commission is not dissimilar to the Simon Commission of 1927, and the assessors attached to it are not different from the ramshackle Central Committee of Sankaran Nair which was then attached to the Simon Commission. I have seen protests in various linguistic areas against the selection of these assessors, and I am not at all clear whether the majority of them command the confidence of the people in whose name they are appointed. This is all the more reason why we should put up united and unanimous demands on behalf of the Andhra people.

The Andhra Province, as I was not tired of pointing out since February 19 last, is an open question, within the meaning of the terms of reference to the Dhar Commission. Its formation is to be viewed in terms of what it might mean to the people of neighbouring

‡ The announcement about the Commission was made on June 17, 1948, and this statement was issued by Lanka Sundaram from Vizagapatam, during the course of his Andhra tour. All the other statements were issued by him from New Delhi.

areas, which, I must confess, is a very strange piece of political logic. Linguistic Provinces are to be formed in the names of people speaking a particular language, and *not* with a view to guaranteeing the perquisites and unlawful gains of neighbouring peoples. I urge the Andhra people and their leaders to speak with one voice, for otherwise there is the risk of the Andhra Province being not formed at all.

AUGUST 10, 1948

I regret I have to raise my voice once again and tell the Andhra people that the work of the Linguistic Provinces Commission is going to be straddled with obstruction, this time from two ends. Little by little the enthusiasm about the Commission is waning, and I am told by a reliable informant from Bombay that the Government of that Province formally apprised the Commission that it cannot compile the data demanded in the *questionnaire* of the latter. Surely, if there is obstruction to the demands of the Maharashtrians and the Kannadigas, it is nothing other than this deliberate decision of the Gujarati-dominated Congress High Command to defeat the purpose of the Commission, for Gujaratis cannot stomach the possible loss of Bombay City, or its creation into a centrally-administered area. I do not know what the composite Madras Government is doing in the matter of the separation of Andhra statistics, but I have a forethought that our evidence will become very much straddled, as in the case of the Maharashtrians in particular*.

As if this is not sufficient, the leaders in Andhra Desh are ruining their case by not taking united and definite decisions about the *questionnaire* of the Commission. The Maharashtrians had met at Bombay, and the Kannadigas at Hubli, and they took decisions to formulate unanimous demands, based on the largest measure of agreement among their spokesmen, as to how their case is to be presented to the Commission, which is commencing its tour of the country at the end of the current month. The Commission is expected to be in the Madras Province during the first week of September, and yet what is the record of the Andhras ?

I will answer this question by a citation of facts. The Andhra Mahasabha met in Madras on August 6, and Prakasam, Sambamurti, Venkatarao and Kaleswararao were present by special invitation. But Ranga was busy at Bezwada expelling his opponents from the Andhra Provincial Congress, and Pattabhi Seetharamayya was twiddling his thumbs in New Delhi. This is bad enough, but there is more evil in store for the Andhras Nilam Sanjiva Reddi, with his non-descript Standing Committee for Rayalaseema, came out with a statement that Andhras of Rayalaseema (as if he has taken *izara* of their fortunes) will not have any truck with those of the coastal districts in the demand for the Andhra Province, and that the Province can wait until normal conditions re-occur in the country. As if this Bedlam is not enough, Sami Venkatachalam Chetti said in Madras that there should be two Andhra Provinces, one for the coastal districts and another for Rayalaseema.

Surely, there cannot be any greater crime committed against a people by their so-called leaders, at a time when the Commission is embarking upon its tour. I understand that over 2,000 communications, the greater part of which must go into the waste-paper basket, have been hurled at the Commission, each one indicating the *idee fixe* of the individuals concerned, while the so-called prominent leaders of Andhra Desh have stuck to their respective pressure-group positions. The Andhra Province will not be lost because of lack of justification for its creation. It will be lost because of the cross-purposes of each of the pressure and political groups in the land. It will be lost because the evidence for the Commission is not properly collected and marshalled out, on the basis of the greatest possible measure of agreement among the so-called leaders of the Andhra people.

While this statement was sent to the press on August 10, 1948, without foreknowledge of what was happening in Madras, a very important development took place on the same day in that southern capital. Questioned by members, the Leader of the House told the Madras Legislative Assembly that the Government of Madras have no views to offer on the question of the formation of linguistic provinces Comment is needless, and this footnote might as well become the epitaph to the Andhra demand for a separate province.

Now that the enormity of defection in our ranks has been committed, may I once again appeal to the Andhra people, and more so to its leaders, that they must make a supreme effort to come together and present their oral evidence before the Linguistic Provinces Commission, when occasion for such arrives, as it must arrive during the course of the coming three or four weeks. Otherwise, it is just as well that we give up our demand for the Andhra Province, for the Commission cannot be riddled with conflicting claims and counter-claims of sections of self-seekers among the Andhra leaders, for which there is hardly any parallel in any of the Indian Provinces today. Let us take a leaf from the record of the Maharashtrians and the Kannadigas, and avert disaster.

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