
MEMORANDUM
FOR
United Karnataka State
SUBMITTED TO
The States Reorganisation Commission
BY
Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee
AS ADOPTED IN
The All Karnataka Representative Convention
HELD AT DAVANGERE
ON 28TH AND 29TH MAY, 1954

: "CONGRESS"

Telephone: 46

Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪ್ರದೇಶ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಮಿತಿ, ಹುಬ್ಬಳ್ಳಿ.

कर्नाटक प्रदेश कांग्रेस समिती, हुबलि.

President :

S. NIJALINGAPPA, M.P.

General Secretary :

G. V. HALLIKERI, M.L.A.

Camp :

BANGALORE

June 1, 1954

The Chairman,
The States Reorganisation Commission,
(Camp) BANGALORE.

Sir,

I have herewith submitted 12 copies of the Memorandum for United Karnataka State as adopted in the All Karnataka Representative Convention presided over by Sri S. Nijalingappa, President, K.P.C.C. and held at Davangere on the 28th and 29th May 1954. I am also enclosing for your kind information and necessary action the two resolutions adopted at the said convention.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) G. V. HALLIKERI

General Secretary
K.P.C.C.

(True Copy)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE DAVANGERE CONVENTION

1

This All Karnataka Representative Convention which is fully representative of all political parties in Karnataka and of Karnataka M.P.s, M.L.A.s, M.L.C.s of Mysore, Coorg, Madras, Andhra, Hyderabad and Bombay States, of District Local Boards and Municipal Boroughs and other Local Self-Government Institutions, of cultural and literary Associations and prominent men in the public life of Karnataka, unanimously adopts the Memorandum prepared by the Karnataka State Memorandum Committee and authorises Sri S. Nijalingappa, President, K.P.C.C. to make arrangements to submit the same to the States Re-organisation Commission.

Proposed by Sri B. Basavalingappa

Seconded by Sri K. Chennabasappa, Editor, "Ryot", Bellary.

Davangere,
29-5-1954.

2

This All Karnataka Representative Convention which is fully representative of all political parties in Karnataka and of Karnataka M.P.s, M.L.A.s, M.L.C.s of Mysore, Coorg, Madras, Andhra, Hyderabad and Bombay States, of District Local Boards and Municipal Boroughs and other local self-Government Institutions, of cultural and literary Associations and prominent men in the public life of Karnataka, feels deeply concerned over the statements reported in the Press and ascribed to the members of the States Re-organisation Commission in the matter of submitting an Interim Report in respect of States which are easy of formation especially Karnataka and having regard to the anxious expectation of Karnataka people based on the earlier assurances given by the Prime Minister and in view of the order of appointment of this High Power Commission concerning submission of an Interim Report and earnestly urges on the States Re-organisation Commission to kindly submit such Interim Report in respect of the formation of Karnataka State as early as possible.

Proposed by Sri G. V. Hallikeri, M.L.A., and General Secretary, K.P.C.C.

Seconded by Sri Tammanna Mirajkar.

Davangere,
29-5-1954.

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on behalf of
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MEMORANDUM

FOR

Formation of Karnataka State

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

1. The present distribution of States is not based on any rational lines. The boundaries were artificially drawn as a result of British conquest. As the authors of the Montford Report admitted, "the present map of British India was shaped by Military, Political or Administrative exigencies or conveniences of the moment with small regard to the actual affinities or wishes of the people". This fact was also pointed out by the Simon Commission. The Nehru Committee appointed by the ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE in 1928 held the view that there was a strong case for a re-distribution of provinces on linguistic lines. The report pointed out that the existing provinces had little to do with geographical, historical, economic or linguistic reasons and that even from the purely Administrative point of view, they were not a success. The Dar Commission which reported in 1948 has also pointed out that "the formation and growth of the existing provinces of India are a part of general history of the rise to power of British Dominion in this Country".

2. Since language is one of the most important factors indicating common traditions and a common way of thinking, a unilingual state would be the most appropriate unit in a federation. Homogeneity for purposes of political organisation based essentially on cultural and social homogeneity should be a prime factor in the creation of States. Such social and cultural homogeneity exists in India in the speakers of a common language. Common language, common social structure and culture constitute strong binding factors in a secular democratic state. We would like to point out that the expression of diverse regional cultures is consistent with and has been encouraged in the overall pattern of Indian cultural unit. This feature has been recognised in the acceptance of the federal democratic structure by the Indian Constitution.

3. The above reasoning leads to the conclusion that the re-organisation of States must be based on the objective of creating linguistically, socially and culturally homogeneous units. Considered from this point of view, it is urged that Karnataka—the Kannada speaking region, should be constituted into a separate State. It may be noted that Kannada is one of the FOURTEEN LANGUAGES recognised by the Indian Constitution.

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

linguistic and cultural regions when they happen to be grouped together in multilingual States such as Bombay : For instance this feeling exists in Bombay State between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis on the one hand and Karnatakis and Maharashtrians on the other. Similarly, in Madras State the feeling of distrust between the Andhras and Tamils had assumed such serious proportions that unless a division was effected between them by the creation of Andhra State, an efficient administration of Madras was considered difficult.

5. That linguistic rivalries will almost cease to exist as a result of the creation of linguistic States, is evident from the fact that to-day there is no ill-feeling between the various linguistic groups when they are not living under one State Administration. For instance, such feeling does not exist between the Andhras and Gujaratis. It is thus clear that the only remedy for the elimination of such ill-feeling between various linguistic groups is to form linguistic States.

6. Recent experience has shown that the formation of linguistically homogeneous units helps in developing initiative and a feeling of oneness amongst the people comprised within these units. The national freedom movement in India would not have acquired the strength it achieved, if the Indian National Congress had ignored the factor of language in framing its own constitution. The creation of linguistic units for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress was one of the fundamental factors in promoting the loyalty of the people to the central organisation and also in developing a sense of patriotism amongst the people. It will be a great misfortune if this lesson of history is ignored by us.

7. It is often said by those who are opposed to the formation of linguistic States that the creation of such States would hamper the growth of a common national feeling. We would like to point out that this argument has no foundation in fact. If the formation of linguistic States comes against the feeling of oneness as a nation, then it would mean that the people living at present in unilingual provinces such as Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh are parochial in their outlook and lack the sentiment of nationalism. But it is common knowledge that this is not the case. The very fact that the existence of those unilingual States has not come in the way of strengthening our national feeling, shows that it is absurd to think that the creation of some more unilingual States would weaken the growth of common patriotism necessary for the building of a great nation.

8. The existence of larger States such as Uttar Pradesh and Bombay is a definite disadvantage from the administrative point of view. These larger States have become so unwieldy that serious inconvenience is caused to the people, particularly to those who are in the border districts. It is for this very reason that a movement has been started recently for the formation of a smaller State constituting the north-western districts of Uttar Pradesh with Delhi as its headquarters.

9. That the size of several provinces in India was unwieldy was recognised as early as 1918 by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which states : " We cannot doubt that the business of Government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous ; and when we bear in mind the prospect of

the immense burdens of Government in India being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands, such consideration acquired additional weight". The Simon Commission, which reported in 1930, also held the same view. The Commission stated : "Most of them (Provinces) are too populous and extensive, having regard to the cultural level and economic conditions of their inhabitants, to allow of the easy working of the machinery of representative Government on a reasonably extensive franchise".

10. That the existing States are too extensive and populous can be seen from a few comparisons. The States of Uttar Pradesh and Bombay are each of them bigger than Italy. Madhya Pradesh exceeds Great Britain in size, and Orissa, one of the smallest amongst the Part 'A' States, is bigger than Portugal. If we turn from areas to population, the scale of things is not less significant. Uttar Pradesh has more inhabitants than Great Britain. Even Assam, which is one of the smallest States, has more inhabitants than Portugal.

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

12. Only the formation of linguistic States can eliminate the possibilities of an absurd situation like the one pointed above. That democracy cannot function efficiently under such conditions is hard to deny. The use of State language in administration is essential for the successful working of democracy. The State should be so designed as to make it possible for public business to be discussed in a language which all the legislators can speak with ease and which the electors can understand. Only then the common people, who cannot be expected to conduct debates either in Hindi or English, are rendered available for being members of the legislatures. In short, the hope of a democratic Government lies in the language of the people.

13. The fact that the existence of bilingual or multilingual provinces is a great obstacle in the successful working of responsible or representative Government is recognised by many constitutional experts. The Montford Commission reporting in 1918, stated :

"It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of Government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the Vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who are not acquainted with English. We believe emphatically that distribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action ; and that such a process ought in any case to follow and neither to precede nor accompany constitutional reform. But we are bound to indicate our own clear opinion that

wherever such redistributions are necessary and can be effected by process of consent, the attempt to do so, should be made, and therefore, we desire that it should be recognised as one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial Governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end ”.

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

“ It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes. A democracy must be well informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is largely used. It becomes essential, therefore, to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the provinces are concerned this must be the provincial language. We are certainly not against the use of English. Indeed from the necessities of the situation we feel that English must, as at present, continue for some time to come to be the most convenient medium for debate in the Central Legislature. We also believe that a foreign language—and this is likely to be English—is essential for us to develop contacts with the thoughts and the science and life of other countries. We are, however, strongly of opinion that every effort should be made to make Hindi the common language of the whole of India, as it is to-day of half of it. But granting all this, provincial languages will have to be encouraged and, if we wish the province to make rapid progress, we shall have to get it to do its work in its own language. If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area, difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be in two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature in a linguistic area and all these factors will help general progress of the province.”

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

At the same time it should be noted that no fetish is meant to be made of " Unilingual States ", while a particular regional language has to be given fullest scope for developing as the administrative and cultural medium for that region, the federal language and also an international language will have to be fostered for enabling that region to participate effectively in the larger national and international spheres. Thus a " Unilingual State " in India means unilingual within its own borders, but bilingual (Hindi) and even trilingual (Hindi and English) so far as neighbouring States, the Centre and the World at large are concerned.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR UNITED KARNATAKA STATE

Now it will be in the fitness of things to give a short history of the movement for Linguistic Provinces in India with special reference to that in Karnataka.

The injustice, inconvenience, hardships and handicaps suffered by the people of those linguistic areas which were clubbed together in different and distant administrative units naturally gave rise to the movement for linguistic unity and for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. The beginnings of this movement can be traced to the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then the movement gradually gained momentum and wider appeal and spread to different parts of India and as a result of organised efforts separate provinces like Bihar, Orissa, Sindh etc., were created. This gave a further fillip to such movements in other parts of India. Lokamanya Tilak in 1908 giving evidence before the Royal Commission for decentralisation pleaded for a "re-arrangement of the provinces on considerations of linguistic and ethnological affinities and a federation thereof under a central authority."

The new progressive spirit, liberal outlook and love of liberty generated by contact with the west and by the great national movement for Indian freedom were also responsible in creating a greater urge in the people for the demand of formation of separate homogeneous Linguistic Provinces.

It is no wonder that different parts of dismembered Karnataka were also animated with a desire for reunion under a common administrative unit. By about the end of the last century several associations were formed to revive Kannada literature and arts and to develop an urge for unity and self-expression among the people of the Kannada speaking areas. The establishment of Kannada Sahitya Parishat an all-Karnataka body in 1915 saw the culmination of the earlier efforts and aspirations of the Kannada people striving for Unity. It is interesting to note that it was in Bangalore in 1915 at the first Kannada Sahitya Sammelana that the claim for a United Karnataka Province was first voiced and registered. It is needless to stress here that Unification of Karnataka has been one of the main objectives of this Literary Academy for the past 39 years.

The sustained consciousness and popular appeal of this idea took a more pronounced turn in 1916 when the Karnatak Sabha was started at Dharwar with the definite object of achieving the political goal of a United Karnataka Province. Several memoranda were sent from different districts of Karnataka to Mr. Montague the then Secretary of State for India demanding re-distribution of Provinces on linguistic basis and the formation of United Karnataka as a separate administrative unit. In 1918 this Sabha turned its attention to the Indian National Congress and the Karnataka delegates expressed their desire to secure the re-organisation of Congress circles on linguistic basis. In 1920 the first Karnataka political Conference was held at Dharwar under the Presidency of Sir V. P. Madhavarao once the Diwan of Mysore State and a resolution demanding the formation of a separate Karnataka Province was unanimously passed.

In the same year more than 800 delegates from Karnataka attended the Nagpur session of the Congress and urged for a separate Congress circle for Kannada speaking areas. This demand received due consideration and the Congress accepted the principle of Linguistic Provinces and divided the country into 21 Linguistic Congress circles. As a result of this the jurisdiction of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee which was separated from the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was extended to all the Kannada speaking areas including Mysore State, Coorg, the Nizam Karnatak districts and the Native States in North Karnatak. The organised and sustained endeavours of Kannadigas to unite in the National work despite their being divided under numerous administrations resulted in the unique success of the Indian National Congress session held in Karnataka at Belgaum in 1924. The first Karnataka Unification Conference was also held then at Belgaum. Since then the Karnatak Unification Sabha—also called the Karnataka Ekikarana Sangha—has been organising similar conferences in various parts of Karnataka from time to time and a list of such Conferences, is appended hereto as Appendix A for necessary information.

In 1927 due to the efforts of the Ekikarana Sangha, the A.I.C.C. which met in Bombay passed a resolution to the effect that “re-adjustment of provinces be immediately taken up and that any Province which demands such re-constitution on Linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.....the Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sindh and Karnataka into separate provinces”.

In 1928 a joint representation by the Karnataka Unification Sangha and the K.P.C.C. was made to the Nehru Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference held at Delhi. This Committee said in its report, “all our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong *prima facie* case for unification and the formation of Karnataka as a separate province was made. Financially the position of Karnataka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of Karnataka”. This, opinion of the Nehru Committee was also endorsed by the All-Parties Conference later held at Lucknow.

The case for Karnataka was also placed before the Simon Commission in 1928–29 which accepted the principle of Linguistic Provinces and recognised that the Kannada people possessed a distinct homogeneous culture of their own and have the memories of their ancient Vijayanagar Empire and several others which preceded it. They also recommended “reviewing and if possible resettling the provincial boundaries of India at as early a date as possible”.

Since 1930 the movement spread even to the remotest corners of the Karnataka territory and the demand for the United Karnataka grew strong and irresistible. Numerous conferences cultural, literary and political have been pressing for this claim with one voice and the entire press of Karnataka had been consistently clamouring for it. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, resolved in 1938 that as soon as it assumed power at the Centre, it would take up the question of the formation of Linguistic Provinces and Mahatma Gandhiji then admitted “the creation of Karnataka as a separate province cannot be resisted and I cherish the idea of Karnatak Province being formed”.

In 1946 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel inaugurating the Karnataka Unification Conference in Bombay had to give an assurance to the Kannada people that "they will not have to wait long to see a United Karnatak rising out of the scattered Kannada speaking areas with a Provincial Government, a University and a proud provincial life of its own. One of the first acts of free India will be to remove the handicaps of disintegration which the British have imposed upon the Linguistic areas in this Country".

By 1945 the movement for Karnatak Unification spread even to the students who in their first Conference of All Karnatak students held at Dharwar in March passed the resolution "This Conference resolves that it is necessary in the interest of Kannada speaking people, that United Karnatak State be formed at an early date with Kannada speaking areas of Mysore, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and other native states." In 1946 when the Second Conference of All Karnatak students was held at Shimoga on 7-12-1946 the Conference reiterated its demand for a United Karnatak State made at the Dharwar Conference and said that the constitutional monarchy of the Rulers of Mysore and Hyderabad was not acceptable.

In August 1946 the K.P.C.C. and the Karnatak Ekikarana Sangha jointly called an All Karnatak Convention at Davangere in Mysore State. This Convention which was fully representative of the entire Kannada Community was attended by the Karnatak members of the then Provincial Legislatures of Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Coorg and many smaller States, by office-bearers of States' Peoples' Organisation, by representatives of Literary, Cultural and Local Self Government Institutions and of various political parties and communities. This Convention unanimously urged on the Indian Constituent Assembly to take up the important question of the formation of Provinces on Linguistic basis and to take immediate steps to constitute Karnataka into a separate province.

In November, 1946 the Indian Constituent Assembly began to function and protagonists of Linguistic Provinces began to advocate and urge that the Constituent Assembly must provide for new provinces on Linguistic and Cultural basis. A convention of members of the Constituent Assembly and organisations supporting the principle of Linguistic Provinces was held in New Delhi on 8-12-'46 and a resolution was unanimously passed demanding the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic, cultural and geographical basis.

Earlier in 1938 resolutions were adopted in Provincial Legislatures of Madras and Bombay indicating unequivocally the favourable opinion of the representatives of the people of both the Provinces regarding the redistribution of provinces on Linguistic basis. Similar resolutions were also passed in 1947 in these Provincial Legislatures. The texts of these resolutions are given in appendix I for kind reference.

In the Davangere convention referred to above a resolution was brought that pending the establishment of "Responsible Government" in Mysore, the rest of Kannada parts in Bombay, Madras and Coorg should be immediately formed into a province and that Mysore should be enabled and helped through its political struggle to attain Responsible Government so that it could also join the Karnatak State. There

were then loud protests from Mysore leaders that Mysore Karnatak should not be left to its fate in that fashion for an indefinite length of time and that Mysore also must be included in the proposed Karnatak State. K.P.C.C. leaders had then to convince the Mysore leaders that Mysore would be enabled to come in, immediately on the attainment of Responsible Government and that the first step of forming the rest of Karnatak into a separate State need not be delayed.

While legislatures and writers stressed that future federation of India must be formed with homogeneous linguistic States, political conferences, conventions and organisations declared that a constitution which did not provide for Linguistic States would not be acceptable to them. The 11th Session of the All Karnataka Unification Conference held at Kasargod in South Kanara on 29-12-1947 resolved that formation of Linguistic Provinces should not be postponed and that the claims of Karnataka for Unification must be implemented immediately. The Andhras also pressed for their claim.

The Government of India had announced that a separate province for Andhra would be formed and it would be enumerated in the New Constitution. The Drafting Committee of the Constitution, however, suggested that a Commission should be appointed to go into the question of Linguistic Provinces and asked to submit a report. The President of the Constituent Assembly then appointed the Dar Commission by a Notification on 17-6-1948. The Dar Commission submitted its report on 10-12-1948 wherein it said "if Mysore had been willing to join the Union, it could easily have formed a nucleus round which the Kannada speaking districts of Madras and Bombay could be brought together and reared into an administratively convenient province. . . . but the Mysore State does not appear to be yet ready to merge itself in Karnatak Province and we cannot say whether public opinion or Government policy is prepared to merge Union territory in the Indian States".

The K.P.C.C. in its resolution of 19-1-1949 appended hereto in Appendix IV said that the Dar Commission report was unacceptable. Then as this report had gone against the claims of the people especially of South India, there was a strong Universal protest against its findings which were declared to be reactionary and retrograde. The Indian National Congress at its Jaipur Session in December, 1948 appointed a Three-Man Committee, popularly known as J.V.P. Committee to revise the recommendations of the Dar Commission which in effect had rejected the principle of Linguistic Provinces and recommended a virtual postponement of the implementation of the demand for Linguistic Provinces. The J.V.P. Report, however, upheld and conceded the Andhra claim and as regards the rest the report said "if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole". The J.V.P. Report also laid down that there should exist a common agreement among the parties concerned before any such demand for a Linguistic State was pressed for consideration.

Before giving the subsequent history of the movement and the reactions of the people of Karnataka and other Linguistic areas in South India to this verdict of the J.V.P. Report, it will be proper and necessary at this stage to say a few words about the agitation in Mysore and other States Areas of Karnataka regarding this issue of Karnataka

Unification prior to the merger or accession as the case may be of these states to the Indian Union.

Before 1946, it may please be noted, the formation of Karnataka Province only meant the Constitution of Kannada speaking parts of Madras, Bombay and Coorg, *i.e.*, British parts of Karnataka into a Province. Even when the the Dar Commission came up, Karnataka meant only Union Karnataka.

After the advent of the Mysore Congress in 1937, and thereafter due to the natural affinity between the two parts of Karnataka, the urge for United Karnataka including Mysore grew more pronounced and took a definite shape. Congress leaders in Mysore started taking interest in political affairs even outside the Mysore State. Some of them Sri H. C. Dasappa and Sri T. Siddalingiah were presidents of Praja Mandals in some of the Deccan States where resolutions for the Unification of Karnataka were also passed.

As already stated above, the Mysore leaders specially Sri K. Hanumanthaiya and Sri H. C. Dasappa at the Davangere Convention in 1946, pressed for the inclusion of Mysore State also in the demand for the formation of United Karnataka. In the same year the Annual Session of the Mysore Congress held at Bangalore on November 2nd and 3rd under the Presidentship of Sri K. C. Reddy, passed the resolution given in Appendix III in favour of early formation of a Karnataka Province including all the Kannada speaking areas.

1947 was a year when Mysore was in the throes of a struggle for the establishment of Responsible Government and the whole of Karnataka helped in the Mysore movement. The same year saw the establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore State and some of the Ministers on the day they assumed office, declared at a Public meeting held at Bangalore that their goal of Responsible Government having been reached, the next step was to have a Unified Karnataka Province.

Later, the Mysore Congress Executive wanted a separate Pradesh Congress Committee. This move was opposed by a large section of Congress men there, fearing that such a step might retard the cherished integration of the two parts of Karnataka. This matter, however, came up before the All Mysore Congress Committee at Birur on 6-11-1948 and the stand of the Mysore Congress in favour of Karnataka Unification including Mysore was reiterated. This meeting also appointed a Committee of six men to report as to the entire matter of unification. This resolution of the A.M.C.C. session is as under :—

“This session of the A.M.C.C. taking note of the fact that grave misunderstandings have arisen because of the recent resolution of the Mysore Congress regarding the formation of the Mysore State into a separate Congress unit, expresses the definite opinion that these resolutions could not be taken as an indication of separatism but that it was occasioned by practical reasons. The A.M.C.C. is of the opinion that so long as Mysore is a separate administrative Unit, the parliamentary activities within the State could not be guided and controlled effectively by an *Ad Hoc* Committee of the K.P.C.C. It is further of opinion that the moment, Mysore and other parts of Kar-

nataka Province come under one administration, there will be no necessity for different Provincial Congress Committees.

With this end only in view, the Mysore Congress has been urging upon the Indian National Congress to recognise the Mysore State as a distinct Provincial Congress Unit.

The Mysore Congress has always accepted the principle of formation of Linguistic Provinces as laid down by the Indian National Congress. Kannada Territory having been torn into pieces and placed under 19 different administrations could not make all round progress. All the Kannada speaking people are tied together by common culture and heritage. Their economic interests are identical. Therefore, even now the A.M.C.C. stands by the previous declaration that a United Karnataka under the Constitutional Rulership of H.H. The Maharaja is essential and inevitable. The A.M.C.C. has also realised that there are hurdles in the way of forming one single administration for the entire Kannada Territory immediately. The Constituent Assembly of Mysore in its Aims and objectives resolution has made the position clear. Talks have to be held at different levels and decisions arrived at. In order, therefore, to carry on the discussions with the Government of India, with the leaders of public opinion both in Mysore and Union Karnatak and with H.H. The Maharaja of Mysore, a Sub-Committee consisting of Sjts. T. Subramanya, T. Sidalingiah (Chairman), S. Channaiah, A. G. Bandegowda (Secretary) and K. G. Wodeyar be set up and they be authorised to take all steps in this direction and send their report to the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress at an early date ”.

In 1948, the Constituent Assembly of Mysore passed the Aims and objectives Resolution wherein it was clearly stated that “there shall be provision in the constitution for the integration of the neighbouring areas with Mysore in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon between the areas concerned and Mysore, in accordance with the provisions that may be laid down by the Constitution for India in this behalf.—The State in matters lying within the sphere of its own jurisdiction shall be free to agree according to its own discretion with the neighbouring State units in matters of common interest ”.

These resolutions and speeches made by responsible leaders of Mysore had their own reactions outside and the K.P.C.C. which met at Harihar in Mysore State on 19-1-1949 passed the resolution for the first time agreeing to accept the Mysore Maharaja as the Constitutional head of the United Karnataka State and that Mysore should be included in it. It is marked as Appendix IV.

The Mysore Congress as per Birur resolution sent the Committee of six members who toured Karnatak parts outside Mysore including Hyderabad and submitted their report in June 1949 (*Vide* Appendix V) unanimously recommended that it was in the interests of all Kannada people to have a Karnataka State including Mysore. But as by then the J.V.P. report was out, three members of the above committee said, in view of the J.V.P. report, the implementation of the demand for unification need not be immediate but should be taken up at the appropriate time and the other three were for immediate implementation. Thereafter the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress met on 5-11-1949 and passed a resolution reiterating the

Stand taken by Mysore Congress from time to time in favour of the formation of the United Karnataka State in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Indian Constitution. This resolution is marked as Appendix VI.

During 1949 several All Karnatak Conferences were held in many places of Karnataka including Hyderabad and Mysore. One was held at Gulburga in Hyderabad State on 6-3-1949 and another the Youth Conference at Davangere on 28-7-1949. As in view of the J.V.P. report no Union Territory would be allowed to become a part of a Ruler's State, the feeling began to grow among the leftist sections that the Mysore Maharaja should himself give up his claim to the Rulership of Mysore to facilitate the formation of Karnatak including Mysore. On 6-11-1949 the All Parties conference met at Arasikere in Mysore State and passed the resolution given in Appendix VII. The Davangere resolution is mentioned in Appendix VIII. The Unification Conference held at Gulburga in Hyderabad State demanded that United Karnataka should be formed including Kannada parts of Hyderabad State.

In view of these resolutions passed in Mysore, there was a feeling that the K.P.C.C. should also express itself once again before the Indian Constitution would take the final shape. The K.P.C.C. therefore, met at Davangere again in Mysore State on 8-11-1949 and passed a comprehensive resolution demanding a Karnatak State including Mysore with the Mysore Maharaja as Constitutional Head. It is seen in Appendix IX.

Round about December, 1949 various States like Bombay, Madras and Mysore were consulted by the Congress High Command and asked to give their opinion about the formation of linguistic States. It is understood, it may be mentioned here, that after the Mysore Congress Working Committee passed on 5-11-1949, the resolution referred to above, the Mysore Government also supported the above resolution of the Working Committee in a Cabinet resolution.

Now to return to the reaction of Karnatak people to the verdict of the J.V.P. report, it must be said there was great disappointment and frustration caused here on that account. The K.P.C.C. met at Hubli on 8-5-1949 and while expressing disagreement with the view of Three men Committee and a keen sense of disappointment, entered a strong protest against the action of the Congress Working Committee in adopting the said J.V.P. report. Thus all efforts made to get Karnatak State also enumerated along with Andhra in the relevant schedule to the Indian Constitution could not succeed in view of the unhelpful attitude at the Centre. The Council of the K.P.C.C., therefore, which met at Hubli on 3-12-1949 passed a resolution calling upon all Karnataka members of the Legislatures at the Centre and in the Provinces to resign from their respective memberships, of course with the previous permission of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board. This resolution is given in Appendix X.

While it got a rebuff at the hands of the Congress Working Committee on 22-12-1949, it rightly emphasised the intensity of overwhelming feeling here over the issue and the deep resentment and utter frustration caused by failure on the part of the Congress High Command to help implementation of its demand. Resignations were

tendered but they did not take effect. The K.P.C.C. council again met on 9-1-1950 at Gadag and passed a resolution reaffirming and justifying the spirit of the above resolution and narrating the events and circumstances which compelled it to adopt that extreme course as there was no other alternative. This meeting of the Council of the K.P.C.C. invited attention of the Working Committee of the Congress to the fact that the expression of the opinion regarding resignation of Karnatak members in the Legislatures was neither a precipitate nor a hasty decision and said "this meeting has noted with great concern the growing feeling of restlessness at the delay by the Union Government in respecting the claim of Karnataka as a separate province and is emphatically of the view that the representatives in the legislatures will not be in a position to reflect public opinion nor function as such, so long as their claim is not recognised and Karnatak is not formed along with Andhra. It therefore, urges the High Command to give due attention to this vital problem and make a declaration forthwith that Karnatak would be formed as a province of the Union along with the Andhra without making any distinction between the two Provinces. It further respectfully wishes to bring to the notice of the High Command that in case legitimate demand is not conceded as early as possible, the members from Karnatak in all the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, will have no alternative but to request the High Command to allow them to resign from these bodies as a first step". Consequent on this resolution, on 14-1-1948 the Karnatak Legislators waited on the Working Committee and submitted a memorandum in which they specifically stated "that the Karnataka Province should be created simultaneously with Andhra as early as possible" failing which they stated that they would have no alternative but to seek permission to resign. The Working Committee considered this and the then President Dr. Rajendra Prasad said "there is and there could be no intention to discriminate against Karnatak and that the Constituent Assembly would do nothing which would create that impression". He finally concluded by saying that "This and the reply that Pandit Jawaharlal gave to the deputation should be sufficient to remove any misgiving in Karnatak". Since then the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee and Congress workers have been all along patiently pursuing the cause of the formation of the Karnatak Province. The J.V.P. report however, created a feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration in Karnataka in so far as it opposed the formation of Linguistic Provinces and discouraged the immediate formation of Karnatak and further discriminated in favour of Andhra contrary to the assurances given.

The Congress organisation was faced with a situation of further frustration when the Working Committee resolved in November 1949 on the formation of the Andhra Province leaving the Karnatak question unsolved. It was in these circumstances that the K.P.C.C. Council on 3-12-1949 felt compelled to voice the opinion of the Karnataka people that the members of the legislatures could not fulfil their obligations as the representatives of the people. The Council again met and expressed that the real situation was not being appreciated. It was principally from the point of view of making the best contribution to the national cause that Karnatak was pressing for immediate unification. This resolution of the Council of 9-1-1950 is given in Appendix XI.

Subsequently, the problem of linguistic States was in a way shelved and shunted to the background by the Congress High Com-

mand and the Central Government for some time ; but the movement continued with unabated vigour. It again emerged as a live issue on the eve of the general election of 1951-52. The A.I.C.C. which met at Bangalore in July 1951 adopted the election manifesto in which a paragraph was put reiterating its adherence to the principle of formation of Linguistic Provinces. This para is given in Appendix XII. Then the Congress Working Committee in August 1951 clearly admitted that there was general agreement among the people in South and West India on the demand for Linguistic Provinces.

It must also be mentioned here that the Akhila Karnataka Prant Rachane Sammelana (Karnatak Unification Conference) was held at Bangalore so as to synchronise with the meeting of the A.I.C.C. and in a very representative meeting passed a resolution unanimously that Karnataka State should be formed including Mysore and that the Maharaja should be Rajapramukha of such State. The copy of the speech of the Reception Committee Chairman Sri R. Anantharaman, then Mayor of Bangalore and now M.L.A. is given in Appendix XIII. During that week a meeting of the representatives of Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Karnataka, Tamilnad, Kerala, Andhra and Nagpur was held at Bangalore and a resolution was unanimously passed welcoming the inclusion in the Congress Election Manifesto of a reference to some practical step to be taken in order to implement the formation of Linguistic Provinces in the South and West of India. This meeting also felt that to reassure the people in the concerned areas about the earnestness of the Government's intentions, definite step should be taken to pave the way for the early formation of such provinces and that such step should be the early appointment of a boundary Commission as contemplated in the Congress Election Manifesto. This meeting was also of the opinion that it was the duty of the people concerned to abide by the verdict of the Boundary Commission that might be appointed in this behalf and of any allied tribunal charged with the settlement of any disputed matters.

In September, 1951, Shri Jaya Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur, the Maharaja of Mysore with a generous heart accepted the invitation of the Karnataka University to preside over the Convocation ceremony and paid a visit to Dharwar and several other places in three of the Karnatak districts of Bombay State. The Maharaja was received everywhere by the people with open arms and with hearts full of exuberant joy and loving respect that was due to the Karnataka Simhasanadhishwara and Karnataka Rajvaramaramana. The Unprecedented reception accorded to him and the surging mass of people who gathered everywhere to greet him, had naturally a great impression on the Maharaja who was, as it were, overwhelmed with the deep love shown by the people. He expressed a desire that all Kannada people should continue to live like members of a family and maintain the sweet cultural ties between Mysore and North Karnataka, the cordial relations, the co-operative outlook and the unity of hearts to achieve their common objectives.

Earlier when the President of the Indian Union was at Bangalore on 20-4-1951, the Bangalore Unification Association and Prominent Citizens presented an address to him requesting for the early formation of Karnatak State including Mysore. It is noted in Appendix XIV.

The formation of Karnatak State was a live and main issue in the General Elections in Karnataka and in spite of the keen contest by the Ekikarana Party, more than 90% of the seats in the whole of Karnataka were captured by the Congress thus establishing the popularity and the strong hold the Congress organisation has in this Pradesh.

When after the elections the Congress returned to power both at the Centre and in the States, and the K.P.C.C. approached the Congress High Command to expedite fulfilment of the assurances given to the Karnataka electorate in the matter of implementing their demand for Karnataka State, they began to insist upon what was called a general agreement amongst the parties demanding Linguistic States. Several other unconvincing arguments and excuses were also being put forth and no steps were taken to satisfy this popular demand.

In January 1953 at its Hyderabad (Nanalnagar) Annual Session the Congress adopted a resolution to the effect that apart from Andhra no other Linguistic State should be formed for the time being. While re-affirming the policy of the Congress in favour of Linguistic States, the resolution said that question of forming other States must be shelved for some time.

It is interesting to note here that Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, the present Chief Minister of Mysore, by his able advocacy of the cause of Linguistic States, urged the Nanalnagar Congress Session to expedite redistribution of States in sizable administrative units of culturally and Linguistically homogeneous, financially viable and geographically contiguous regions. His unreserved and unequivocal statement, regarding the formation of Karnataka State by the inclusion in Mysore State of all the adjoining Kannada speaking parts of Bombay, Madras and Coorg States, refuted the idea that Mysore was not in favour of Unification of Karnataka. The recent inclusion of seven taluks of Bellary District, with the unanimous backing of all members of the Mysore Legislature, establishes that Mysore is quite in favour of the much-longed—for objective of the United Karnataka State and that it is willing to welcome the adjoining contiguous parts of Karnataka if they seek to be added on to Mysore.

Karnataka felt much disturbed by the above Nanalnagar resolution of the Congress and was deeply disappointed by the utterances of some Congress leaders regarding Linguistic States which were entirely inconsistent with the accepted principles of the Congress in this behalf. After making representations to the Congress High Command about the wide-spread intensity of feeling of Karnataka people over this issue, a special general meeting of the K.P.C.C. was held at Hubli on 19th and 20th of April 1953 and passed a resolution (*Vide* Appendix XV) that if the Karnataka State was not formed before the end of 1954, and that if the Government of India did not make a clear and unambiguous announcement in this behalf by the end of October, 1953, the members of the K.P.C.C. will as a first step relinquish their membership of the P.C.C. and Karnataka members of the States Legislatures and Parliament will resign their membership.

A Convention of Akhila Karnataka Rajyanirman Parishath consisting of radical elements holding strong and uncompromising views on this issue of formation of Karnatak State was held at Davangere on 27th May 1953 under the presidency of Sri Karanth, Ex-Minister of

Madras and inaugurated by Sri Shiva Murthy Swami, M.P. wherein the Government was requested to form the Karnataka State forthwith and to appoint a Boundary Commission failing which the Convention proposed to launch a peaceful struggle. In pursuance of this resolution an Action committee was formed. The struggle was actually launched in August 1953 when several hundreds of persons were imprisoned.

Nothing was done by the Congress High Command till about the middle of September, 1953 and a deputation of some Karnataka members of the Parliament met the Prime Minister on 14-9-1953 by appointment under the leadership of Shri S. Nijalingappa, the President of the K.P.C.C. and explained the situation in Karnataka. It was brought home to the Prime Minister that the defeat of the Congress Candidate in the by-election to the State Legislature in the Dharwar Constituency and the success in the Hubli by-election of a candidate of the Ekikaran Party against one of the best men of the Congress were pointers to the fact that people were not prepared to tolerate any delay in the formation of Karnataka State and thus the Congress influence in Karnataka was fast waning. The Prime Minister assured the deputationists that a High Power Commission will soon be appointed to report on the re-organisation of States in India as a whole. But when fear was expressed that this would mean delay, he said that there was no question of delaying the problem any longer, but felt that the recommendations of the Commission may not be possible to be submitted before a year. It was then suggested to him that as the case for Karnatak was easy of solution and had no complications, an Interim report for Karnataka may please be required from the Commission to avoid delay. The Prime Minister was pleased to observe that he entirely agreed that Karnatak State was easy of solution and the first priority will be given to Karnatak as the Mysore opposition was no more in the picture. He assured that the commission would be surely appointed before the end of 1953 at the latest.

The end of October, 1953 was, however, drawing near and yet the promised appointment of the High Power Commission was not made by the Indian Government. The K.P.C.C. was to meet on 30-10-1953 to consider the situation in the light of its April resolution. In reply to the letters of Shri S. Nijalingappa the President of the K.P.C.C. the Prime Minister wrote two letters (*vide* Appendix XVI A and XVI C) assuring that necessary steps were being taken to appoint the High Power Commission and there was no cause for anxiety. Prime Minister Shri Nehru's letter of 28-10-1953 (*Vide* Appendix XVI B) said "as I have said above, Karnataka's claim for separate State is not only well known but is generally accepted. The question is in what manner to give effect to it. I do not think that Mysore offers much difficulty I must say that I do not understand the apprehension of some of our Karnataka friends over this issue. Everything that can possibly be done about this is going to be done in the proper way.....".

In view of this important letter of the Prime Minister, the K.P.C.C. which met on 30-10-1953 passed a resolution saying that as the Prime Minister had substantially met the demands made in the K.P.C.C. resolution of 20-4-1953, it felt that the action contemplated in that resolution was not called for and that the people should employ their time and energy in a peaceful and constructive manner to gain the desired object.

After the annual session of the Congress at Kalyani in West Bengal, a Karnataka Congress Convention was held on 4-2-1954 at Hubli where a resolution was passed welcoming the earlier appointment of the High Power Commission by the Government of India to go into the question of reorganisation of States and to submit their recommendations to the Union Government. This convention particularly emphasised that there were no impediments to the formation of the Karnataka State and that it was admitted on all hands that it could easily be solved by adding the adjoining Kannada areas to Mysore State and expressed its conviction that it was for this very reason that the Government of India had in their order of appointment expected and even called for an Interim Report in respect of States which are easy of formation. It further urged on the Government to call for such Interim Report, in view of the long standing desire and demand of the Kannada people who, on account of continued dismemberment of the Kannada areas into a number of States, have been subjected to untold misery and suffering, so that Government would be enabled to implement the popular demand without any loss of time. It also urged on the States reorganisation Commission to please expedite such Interim Report in respect of Karnataka.

In another resolution this convention expressed its great pleasure in extending a hearty welcome to Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore, who was then at Hubli to inaugurate the Convention and placed on record its high appreciation of the substantial contribution made by Sri K. Hanumanthaiya to pave the way for the formation of Karnataka State and further offered its sincere thanks to the Mysore Cabinet, President, Executive Council and the leaders of Mysore Congress and the People of Mysore for their favourable attitude towards the achievement of the long-cherished objective of all Kannadigas. These two resolutions of the Hubli Convention are given in Appendix XVII and XVIII.

It may be mentioned here that this convention, taking note of the boundary Committees appointed by Madras and Andhra States to go into the question of adjustment and demarcation of the boundaries of their States, requested the Mysore Government to appoint a similar Committee in the interests of the would-be Karnataka State and to safeguard the interests of outlying Kannada areas like Nilgiris District and Kollegal, Hosur, Madakasira and other parts of Madras and Andhra States. In view of the rank injustice done to Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg by wrongly splitting up Bellary District this convention urged for a reconsideration of this issue in a dispassionate and just manner. This resolution is given as Appendix XIX.

After this convention the Chief Minister of Mysore, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya toured the Dharwar and Bijapur districts of Bombay State and his visit served to reassure the people of Karnataka of Mysore's whole-hearted support to the cause of a United Karnataka State. Sri Hanumanthaiya's emphatic statement made during this tour that Mysore would heartily welcome areas contiguous to the State, wishing to merge with it, fully supported Sri Nehru's view that Mysore would not offer much difficulty in the formation of the Karnataka State. He was visibly moved by the spontaneous and unprecedented welcome extended to him everywhere and the demonstration of public sentiment over the issue of United Karnataka State and he could not help remarking that such an irresistible and unanimous demand of the peo-

ple, pursued with such religious zeal, cannot but be granted in a democratic system. Sri Hanumanthaiya made it clear, that though predominantly Kannada speaking, Mysore was a composite State and well-knit progressive administrative unit and it would welcome all adjoining Kannada areas if they sought to be added to Mysore. It was significant to note that the Mysore Chief Minister was accompanied by Sri J. M. Imam, the leader of the opposition in Mysore and a few Mysore Legislators in this tour. Translation of some of Sri K. Hanumanthaiya's Kannada speeches as published then in various Kannada Newspapers is given in Appendix XX.

What is more, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya in presenting the Mysore Budget for 1954-55 in The Mysore State Legislative Assembly said :—

“Mysore State is a composite State. This composite character is our happy heritage. It is our duty to preserve it. Historical processes are expanding Mysore State. The people of the adjoining areas of their own free-will are anxious to join Mysore State. We extend to them all, irrespective of the language they speak, a hearty welcome. After all, we are citizens of the same mother land, India, and it would be an act of discourtesy not to welcome them. It may even be said that our patriotism and fraternal feelings are limited if we do not keep our doors open for our own compatriots to come in. Ours is not a policy of aggressive expansionism, but one of welcoming those that desire to join us.”

Before closing this chapter on the History of the movement for the United Karnataka State, it is necessary to impress on the States Reorganisation Commission that our demand for Karnataka State does not stem from a spirit of parochialism, provincialism or separatism or Linguism or any other narrow-minded loyalty or unhealthy rivalry, but is based on high principles of healthy nationalism with a view of building the United Karnataka to enable it to exploit and harness its rich resources in the service of Mother India, to develop its defence potential for being contributed to the defence requirements of India and to work for National Economic prosperity, solidarity and Unity in an effective and useful manner so that a strong prosperous and happy India of our dreams may very soon rise and dedicate itself to the service of Humanity and World peace. Karnataka seeks to grow to its full stature as a strong arm of India of which it is an integral part, to enable it to contribute its mighty best to the National life and effort of India and to serve the ideal of a co-operative commonwealth in India.

It is, therefore, urged on the High Power Commission that such a legitimate and democratic right of the people may please be recognised and conceded by kindly submitting an Interim Report in respect of Karnataka so that the Government of India may take early steps to implement our demand for which Karnataka has put up a stubborn struggle for the last forty years.

PLIGHT OF THE KANNADA PEOPLE

1. To-day Karnataka is divided into as many as six administrative units. *viz.*, the States of Mysore, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Andhra and Coorg. The districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara, with portions of Kolhapur, South Satara and Sholapur districts, form the tail-end of the Bombay State. Similarly, the district of South Kanara forms another tail-end of the Madras State. Again, the Nilgiris and the Kannada tracts of Malabar, Coimbatore and Salem districts, which are contiguous to Mysore, form remote regions in the Madras State. Coorg, with a separate administration as a Part C State, is struggling hard with a semblance of a State Government. In the recently formed Andhra State there are Kannada areas in Anantapur, Kurnool and Chittur districts. The districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar form parts of Hyderabad State. Lastly, about half the total population of Karnataka lives in Mysore State as it is reconstituted at present, with the merger of seven talukas of Bellary district.

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

3. As a result of a similar process which has been going on in the border regions of Karnataka, Kannada is losing ground to the neighbouring languages which have acquired a dominant position. In the northern border regions of Karnataka, comprising parts of Kolhapur, South Satara and Sholapur districts, Kannada has been replaced by Marathi to some extent. This was long ago noticed by Dr. Fleet, who wrote as follows in 1882: "In the present day, the people and the language of the British districts are Kanarese; and the Kanarese people and language have been displaced to a certain extent by the Marathi people and language in the Native States, only because those States were established by the aggressions of Marathas from the north, whose local influence proved to be greater than that of the native rulers whom they dispossessed". We find that an area of about the size of a district has been under Marathi domination in the aforesaid districts of Kolhapur, South Satara and Sholapur. Kannadigas have been denied education in Kannada; the Court and official languages have been Marathi; socially and politically the Kannada people are forced to occupy the back bench. "Though Kannada, stretching beyond Miraj town, is the language of the people within ten miles of Kolhapur town and is the language of the earliest inhabitants (Lingayats, Jains and others) in Sholapur City and is still the language of the most influential section of the people in that city, it has had to fight hard for mere recognition even after the advent of freedom. The

regimes of the early Maratha Sardars, the Peshwas and latterly the principality of Kolhapur, and Deccan States like Sangli, Miraj and Kurundwad enjoying the protection of the British suzerains, have told heavily on the cultural and political life of the Kannadigas in the districts of Kolhapur, Satara, Sholapur and even Belgaum.

4. In Hyderabad Karnataka too we hear the same tale. Kannada has been unable to withstand the pressure of Marathi from the north and Telugu from the east. The Census Report for 1951 says : " Compared with Telugu or Marathi in their respective areas, Kannada is the least entrenched in the State in Kannada tracts."

The former Bellary district and the Anantapur district have undergone similar suffering. To quote from Mr. Justice L. S. Misra's award on Bellary Taluka, " It would appear that about 1872, the whole of Bellary district and even some portion of Anantapur district were predominantly Kannada, *vide The Manual of Bellary District* published in 1872, which cites Col. Wilkes' observation to the effect that a line drawn from Gooty and Anantapur and so on due south would mark the boundary between the two languages. Apparently there has been gradual Telugu infiltration from east to west, and this movement was natural as the Kannada area in Madras State is very small and adjoins a large Telugu area."

5. The position on the southern frontier of Karnataka, where it meets Tamil, is equally distressing. The *Salem District Gazetteer*, referring to Hosur Taluka, admits this fact when it says that the " British occupation, in the course of the century, has had the effect of advancing the Tamil at the expense of the Kanarese." Speaking about Dharmapuri Taluka, the *Gazetteer* further records, " Donnakuttahalli itself is a settlement of Vokkaligas, an interesting remnant of Kanarese population which, if place names have any significance, appears at one time to have pervaded the whole of Dharmapuri Taluka and southern Uttankarai as well." Hosur Taluka, an admitted Kannada area, has had to contend with two powerful linguistic neighbours, Telugu and Tamil. The Census statistics show that Tamil and Telugu are gaining there at the expense of Kannada, so much so that Kannada has become the third language of the taluka and neighbouring Kannada parts of Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri talukas after Tamil and Telugu. Modern economic conditions are another factor for suppressing the regional language and making it almost a minority in its own domain. The linguistic complexion of the Nilgiris district is fast undergoing a metamorphosis, owing to the influx of Tamil and Malayali labourers to whom the plantations and newly started hydro-electric works of the district have been an attraction. In Hosur also the rich ragi cultivation of the area has been responsible for bringing in a large number of immigrants, affecting the position of the local language, *viz.*, Kannada. The observation of Col. Wilkes, the great historian, that a line drawn from Gooty to Anantapur and so on due south would mark the boundary between Kannada and Telugu no more holds good ; the taluks of Kalyandurg, Hindupur, Penukonda, Dharmavaram and Gooty have become Telugu-majority areas during the last few decades. These parts happened to be tiny tail-ends of the Madras Presidency, and economic, administrative and linguistic pressure from the vast Andhra territory stretching beyond has made Kannada almost a nonentity. Areas in Coimbatore, Salem and Anantapur districts proclaimed as Kannada areas by Linguistic Surveys, Gazetteers, Census records and other

unimpeachably authentic documents, are fast becoming Tamil and Telugu as the case may be. And all this has happened in the course of the last hundred years or so, *i.e.*, only after the haphazard formation of Presidencies, Provinces and Districts by the British to suit their military and political exigencies.

6. Kannada being a minority language in the States of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Andhra, and consequently most of the high officials being non-Kannadigas, Kannada people are at a disadvantage in the matter of administration. As it is not possible for a State Government to give adequate importance to a language which is spoken by a small minority of its population, the efficiency of the administration is bound to suffer, and the people speaking the minority language are the worst sufferers. Attention was drawn to this unsatisfactory position as early as 1903 by no less a person than Mr. H. H. Risley, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department. Referring to the Presidency of Madras, he wrote : " The Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon their administration by the great diversity of languages, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Canarese, with which Madras civilians are called upon to cope and which render transfer of officers from one part of the presidency to another a matter in any case of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. These disadvantages exercise an injurious effect not upon the people only. Where the population speaking a distinct language and the area in which it is spoken are too small to constitute a substantial portion of a province, the foreign unit is of necessity neglected. Under ordinary circumstances, the Government is unable to retain in it a superior staff who have become acquainted with the language, and with the local customs which invariably accompany it. It is often impossible to officer the subordinate staff from local sources, and foreigners have to be brought in who are ignorant alike of the people, their language, and their ways. The Government may order that the vernacular shall be the language of the Government offices and courts, but since neither officers nor clerks know this vernacular properly, compliance with the order is often impracticable and almost always incomplete. . . . Hence in dealing with a question of this kind, it may be that the true criterion of territorial redistribution should be sought not in race but in language."

7. The Kannada people have been unequally yoked with the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis in Bombay State, with Tamils and Malayalis in Madras State, with Andhras and Maharashtrians in Hyderabad State, and lastly with the Andhras in the Andhra State. Both in Bombay and Hyderabad they form small minorities, while in Madras and Andhra States their number is very small. Consequently, in the Legislatures of those States their voice cannot be effective. As matters now stand, the Kannada people can never exercise in these States that influence to which they rightly consider themselves entitled by reason of their distinct cultural heritage.

8. As the Kannada areas form the tail-ends of the States of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Andhra, they are neglected almost in every respect. In the first place, they are inconveniently situated at great distances from the respective provincial headquarters. Thus the distances between Bombay and the district headquarters towns of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Karwar are 350 miles, 359 miles, 440

miles and 555 miles respectively. Similarly, the distance between Madras and Mangalore is 551 miles. There are no proper transport or communication facilities between the various parts of Karnatak itself. Thus, for instance, the distance by rail between Mangalore and Bellary is 814 miles. Various parts of Karnatak, lying as they are in different administrative units, are left unconnected with one another by railway, although linking them up would not involve great distances.

9. Even inter-district transport and communication facilities are greatly lacking. As the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee observed : " While Gujarat and Deccan are more or less well served with railways, Karnataka is not equally fortunate." Referring to North Kanara district, the Committee says : " The injurious effects of inadequate transport facilities can find no better illustration than the district of North Kanara, which in spite of resources of raw materials and of power, remains a backward area." Similarly the district of South Kanara and Coorg are also lacking in proper transport facilities.

10. The development of the natural resources of Karnataka and the growth of its industry are all checked by the existing order of things. To cite only one instance, there are only three textile mills in the whole of Bombay Karnatak, in spite of the fact that the Kannada districts grow as much as one-third of the total quantity of cotton in Bombay State. The situation becomes clearer when it is remembered that there are more than 200 textile mills in the Bombay State ; and the injustice to Karnataka becomes more glaring when it can be pointed out that Karnataka grows some of the best types of cotton in the whole of India.

11. Malnad, covering an area of 21,000 sq. miles in Madras, Mysore, Coorg and Bombay States, has a population of nearly 30 lakhs. It includes in itself the western coastal belt bordering the Arabian Sea. Its rainfall ranges from 330 inches at Agumbe (Mysore) to about 50 inches at its eastern borders.

From sea level its altitude rises to about 7,000 feet in the Nilgiris. It has inexhaustible and vast forest areas yielding valuable varieties of timber including teak which in some respects is supposed to be superior to Burma teak.

The major quantities of pepper and cardamom and most of the coffee which is produced in India come from this area. A fairly large quantity of tea is produced, as also rubber. More than half of India's production of betel nut also comes from this area.

The coastal belt produces the bulk of cashew nuts and large quantities of cocoanut. With regard to food, the area is self-sufficient.

The area is also rich in minerals like gold, iron, manganese, asbestos, bauxite, granite, lead, mica, pyrites and limestone.

The All India Malnad Conference held on 6-4-1954 at Shimoga (Mysore State) was inaugurated by the Union Food Minister, Sri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and attended by the Union Minister for Agriculture, Sri Punjabrao Deshmukh, Mysore's Chief Minister, Sri Han-

manthaiya, and others. It was presided over by Sri S. Nijalingappa and attended by nearly 1,400 delegates. The conference helped to focus the attention of the public and the Government on the economic and geographical unity of the Malnad region under the various State Governments and brought into relief the necessity of formation of a United Karnataka State since the major portion of the Malnad tract is Kannada-speaking, including in its range the Nilgiris, Coorg, South and North Kanara and adjoining parts of Mysore and Bombay States.

12. The Karnatak districts in Bombay State are also neglected in the matter of irrigation. With the exception of the Ghataprabha Scheme taken up recently, not a single major canal irrigation work has been undertaken by Government for the benefit of the Karnataka districts, in spite of the fact that four big rivers, *viz.*, the Bhima, the Krishna, the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha, flow through the region. Considerable portions of the non-Kannada districts of Sholapur and Ahmednagar, which are liable to famine like Bijapur, have been brought under canal irrigation, while Bijapur has been neglected. That Karnataka has been neglected in respect of irrigation was admitted by the Irrigation Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1939. Referring to Karnataka, the Committee wrote : " Cultivators in this Division also consider themselves to have been neglected in regard to irrigation projects, although the physical features of the tract are more favourable for irrigation schemes than those in the North Division (Gujarat)."

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

14. The fact that Karnataka has been sadly neglected was recognised by the Dar Commission. On page 34 of their report, the Commission says : " Two of these linguistic groups, Kerala and Karnataka, being situated at the tail-end of their provinces and represented by ineffective minorities, have undoubtedly suffered in their development. There can be no doubt that they would prosper and be able to manage their affairs much better under their own government nearer home ". Again, the J.V.P. Committee appointed by the Congress held the same view. They wrote : " We also realise that some of these linguistic areas, notably Kerala and Karnataka, have rather suffered in the past from their association with larger multilingual provinces."

15. What has been stated above is sufficient to indicate that the Kannadigas are labouring under a real sense of injustice. In addition to economic and social disadvantages, the Kannada people stand the greatest danger of losing their very individuality as a cultural group. The formation of Karnataka into a separate State alone will avert this calamity and afford them fullest opportunities for growth.

THE PROPOSED STATE OF KARNATAKA

The Dar Commission was of the view that a separate State of Karnataka was feasible if Mysore was willing to join the new State. The Commission stated : " If Mysore had been willing to join the Union it could easily have formed a nucleus round which the Kannada-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay could be brought together and reared into an administratively convenient Province. It would have also solved the problem of the small province of Coorg, which has been carrying on a difficult and isolated existence." Since the Dar Commission reported, the situation has entirely changed with regard to Mysore. To-day the people of Mysore through its Chief Minister have publicly expressed their willingness to welcome the adjoining Kannada areas to merge with Mysore. We, therefore, urge that the proposed Karnataka State should include Mysore as it is constituted today.

2. The Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress was also of the view that Karnataka could be formed into a separate province in conjunction with the then States areas. But they felt that this arrangement could " be brought about not by a merger of the present Province areas into the States but by the reverse process." The Committee, therefore, came to the conclusion that so long as this matter was not fully settled, the problem of constituting a separate province for Karnataka necessarily had to wait. Since this Committee reported in 1948, the position has entirely changed. Under the present Indian Constitution, there is virtually no difference between the former States areas and the Province areas. In the former States areas as they are constituted to-day, the institution of Rajapramukhs is the only feature which distinguishes them from Part A States. Secondly, the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress thought that an area belonging to a former province could not be merged with an area which constituted a former state. But after the merger of Bellary district with Mysore State, this position has also changed. The merger of Bellary with Mysore has shown that a former Province area can be merged into a Part B State with a Rajapramukh as its Constitutional Head.

3. Elsewhere, in the chapter on the " History of the Karnataka Unification Movement " we have shown how the movement for a United Karnataka Province made its first appearance in Mysore State itself, and the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, by various resolutions of its Working Committee and in open sessions, has heartily given its support to the movement. The Mysore Constituent Assembly resolution is also helpful. It is understood that there was a Mysore Cabinet decision in 1949, that Karnataka State be formed, inclusive of Mysore, under the Constitutional Headship of the Mysore Rajapramukh.

The economic, social and cultural development of the Kannada people as a whole demands the inclusion of Mysore as an integral part of United Karnataka. The masses of Mysore desire it ; lovers of literature and culture in Mysore have been responsible for giving the movement a shape ; the people of Mysore have seen the events in Bellary and by welcoming Bellary have paved the way for the consummation. Lastly, the plight of Kannadigas and the Kannada language in the Kan-

nada belt surrounding Mysore, comprising South Kanara, the Nilgiris and the Coimbatore, Salem, Anantapur and Kurnool Kannada areas, poignantly points out the necessity of Mysore coming into the picture, as otherwise the Kannada people of those hapless parts are doomed to face extinction in no distant future.

4. In view of the considerations stated above, we urge that the Kannada areas in the States of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Andhra, and also the Part C State of Coorg, should be merged in the State of Mysore.

5. Special mention has to be made of Hyderabad. The disintegration of Hyderabad and joining the component parts to the neighbouring parent areas of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra has been the people's demand, and now it has received sanction of the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee which has resolved to formally place it before the States Reorganisation Commission. The demand has also been made by all the other leading political parties in the State—the People's Democratic Front, the Communists and the Hindu Mahasabha. The Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee has also been pressing for it for some time past. Taking into consideration the changed political circumstances, national and international, we feel that Hyderabad should be broken up and its parts integrated in the neighbouring linguistic areas. It is our firm conviction that unless this is done the reorganisation of States in South India cannot be complete, and friction will always remain.

6. Before we indicate the boundaries, extent and population of the proposed Karnataka State, it may be useful to give an idea of the Kannada country as a whole. A glance of the map of India will show that the land of Karnataka, where Kannada, with its dialects of Tulu, Kodagu and Badaga, is the predominant language, covers the western half of the central portion of peninsular India. Its greatest length north to south is about 480 miles, and that from east to west is about 250 miles. The north-western and northern boundary runs through the districts of Kolhapur, South Satara and Sholapur in Bombay State and through Osmanabad, along the borders of Bidar district in Hyderabad State. A little curved line starting from Bidar district and running southwards almost in a straight line, then crossing the present Andhra State territory in Kurnool district, then including the Kannada areas of Andhra to the west of a line "drawn from Gooty to Anantapur and so on due south" and running along the eastern border of Mysore State almost up to the Kaveri river, forms the eastern boundary. The southern boundary runs through the districts of Salem and Coimbatore along the mountain range which eventually merges in the Nilgiris, and containing the Nilgiris, the Wynad taluka of Malabar and Coorg State. The western boundary is the Arabian Sea, the Karnataka sea-coast extending from Goa in the north to Malabar in the south for a distance of about 200 miles.

7. Goa, by reasons of history, traditions and culture should form part of Karnataka. At the appropriate time we propose to urge our claim to it.

8. Bombay City and Greater Bombay with conflicting claims and with a population of 32 lakhs is a complex problem and the J.V.P.

Report has spot-lighted the same. It has 4 to 5 lakhs of Kannada-speaking population.

In view of these important facts the Kannadigas feel that the future of Bombay should receive very serious consideration at the hands of the Commission. Kannadigas have an open mind and would like to express themselves again in proper time.

It is true that when Karnataka as demanded is finally formed the question of backward areas and that of minorities have to be tackled. We assure that due and reasonable priority will be given to the development of such backward areas. The minorities will be treated with all the consideration that they deserve and the spirit of the constitution will be respected and adhered to.

The Karnataka State will comprise the following areas :

- I. *Mysore State* : The whole of it, consisting of the following 10 Districts :

Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, Mandya, Mysore, Chitaldrug, Hassan, Chickmagalur, Shimoga and Bellary.

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
98,48,684	33,310

- II. *Kannada areas in Bombay State* :

- (i) Four districts of Bombay State namely :

Dharwar, North Kanara, Belgaum and Bijapur.

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
52,16,259	21,399

- (ii) Jath Taluka of South Satara District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,08,270	873

- (iii) South Sholapur Taluka of Sholapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
93,503	461

- (iv) Akkalkot Taluka of Sholapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,49,647	536

Besides the above, the following areas also will have to be added :

1. Gadhinglaj Taluka of Kolhapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,11,397	191 major portion

2. Shirol Taluka of Kolhapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,21,192	212 almost whole

3. Hatakanangale Taluka of Kolhapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,69,700	235 a large part

4. Miraj Taluka of South Satara District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
2,85,616	611 major portion

5. Walwa and Tasgaon Talukas of South Satara District
contiguous Kannada villages6. North Sholapur Taluka of Sholapur District. Including
Sholapur City.

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles .</i>
3,25,632	284

Population of Sholapur City : 2,77,087. Sholapur City and Kannada villages to the north and north-east of the City contiguous to Kannada areas of the District.

7. Mangalwedha Taluka of Sholapur District

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
70,008	440 major portion

III. *Kannada areas in Hyderabad State :*

Three districts of Hyderabad State, namely : Bidar, Gulbarga, and Raichur population About 37,73,633 (1951 Census figures not available ; according to 1941 census 33,77,496 ; area : 18,430 sq. miles). Besides the above, contiguous Kannada areas of bordering Marathi Districts, namely, Osmanabad, Bid, Parbhani and Nanded, and of bordering Telugu Districts, namely Nizamabad, Medak, Atrai-i-Balda and Mahabubnagar, will have to be added.

IV. *Kannada areas in Madras State :*1. Two districts of Madras State, namely South Kanara
and the Nilgiris :

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
20,60,720	5,028

S. Kanara Population : 17,48,991. Area in Sq. Miles : 4,044.
The Nilgiris Population : 3,11,729. Area in Sq. Miles 984.

2. Kollegal Taluka of Coimbatore District :

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,38,908	1,076

Besides the above the following areas also will have to be added :

(a) Gopichettipalyam, Bhavani and 'Avanashi Talukas of
Coimbatore District : Large contiguous Kannada portions

(b) Hosur Taluka of Salem District :

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
2,70,687	1,168 almost whole

- (c) Krishnagiri and Dharmapuri Talukas of Salem District :
 (d) Wynad Taluka of Malabar District :
 contiguous Kannada villages.

V. *Kannada Areas of Andhra State :*

Madakasira Taluka of Anantapur District :

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
1,20,209	417

Besides the above, the following areas also will have to be added :

1. Adoni and Alur Talukas of Kurnool District :
large contiguous Kannada areas.
2. Rayadurg Taluka of Anantapur District :
large contiguous Kannada parts.
3. Hindupur and Kalyandurg Talukas of Anantapur District
large contiguous Kannada portions.
4. Gooty, Anantapur, Dharmavaram and Penukonda Talukas
of Anantapur District :
contiguous Kannada villages.
5. Kuppam (or Kangundi) Taluka of Chittoor District :
contiguous Kannada villages.

VI. *Coorg State :*

<i>Population :</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles :</i>
2,29,399	1,593

<i>Total population and area of proposed Karnataka State Comprising whole districts and compact talukas)</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Sq. Miles</i>
	2,17,39,232	83,123
<i>Outlying areas comprising large or small portions of Talukas</i>		
<i>approximate</i>	5,00,000	2,250
	<u>2,22,39,232</u>	<u>85,373</u>
<i>In round figures</i>	2,22,00,000	85,500

It will be noticed that the territories assigned by the Indian National Congress to the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee in 1920 largely coincided with the area now proposed by us to be included in the Karnataka State. They were entrusted to the jurisdiction of the K.P.C.C. 33 years ago after consideration of the relevant facts, and the decision was and has been accepted and adhered to by the neighbouring provincial Congress Committees. As a dispute arose in regard to the affiliation of Bellary District between the Karnataka and Andhra P.C.Cs, Sri N. C. Kelkar the eminent Maharashtra leader, was asked to arbitrate, but no opposition was expressed by neighbouring P.C.Cs to the other areas entrusted to the jurisdiction of the K.P.C.C. This then included the four Karnataka Districts in the Bombay Presidency (Dharwar, Bijapur, Belgaum and North Kanara), Jath and Akkalkot States adjoining Bijapur District,

the three Karnataka districts in Hyderabad State (Bidar, Gulbarga, and Raichur), the districts of South Kanara and Bellary in the Madras Presidency, Coorg, then a Commissioner's Province, and the whole of Mysore State. After a Pradesh Congress Committee for the whole of Hyderabad State was set up, the three Kannada districts therein were allowed to join it, but even after that a district Provincial Congress Committee of their own, called, the Hyderabad Provincial Congress Committee, for these three districts was allowed to function. This Committee has throughout maintained close liaison with the K.P.C.C. As regards Mysore State, it was till 1950 under the K.P.C.C. jurisdiction, and when the proposal for a separate Congress Pradesh was looked upon with misgivings by the K.P.C.C. the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress by its Birur Resolution dated 6-11-1948 assured that the move " could not be taken as an indication of separatism, but was occasioned by the fact that Mysore became a separate administrative unit " and its " Parliamentary activities could not be expected to be guided and controlled effectively by an *ad hoc* committee of the K.P.C.C." It further assured that " the moment Mysore and other parts of Karnataka Province came under one administration there would be no necessity for different Provincial Congress Committees ".

It may be mentioned that the territories indicated also include certain areas outside the jurisdiction of the K.P.C.C. namely (1) the Nilgiris district, (2) the Kollegal Kannada Pradesh (comprising Kollegal taluka and contiguous Kannada portions of Gobichettipallyam, Bhavani and Avanashi Talukas of Coimbatore district, (3) contiguous Kannada villages in Wynad Taluka of Malabar district, (4) Hosur Taluka and contiguous Kannada portions of Krishnagiri and Dharmapuri Talukas of Salem district, (5) Madakasira Taluka and contiguous Kannada portions of Rayadurg, Hindupur, Kalyandurg, Dharmavaram, Penukonda, Anantapur and Gooty Talukas of Anantapur district, (6) contiguous Kannada portions of Adoni and Alur Talukas in Kurnool district, (7) contiguous Kannada portions of bordering Marathi and Telugu districts in Hyderabad State, and so far as Bombay State is concerned, (8) contiguous Kannada portions of Gadhinglaj, Shirol and Hatkanangale Talukas of Kolhapur district, and contiguous Kannada portions of Miraj, Tasgaon and Walva Talukas of South Satara district, and (9) South Sholapur Taluka and contiguous Kannada portion of North Sholapur Taluka (inclusive of Sholapur City) and of Mangalwedha Taluka of Sholapur district.

Detailed reasoning will be separately submitted in the supplementary portion of the memorandum for each of the above-mentioned areas ; but we would briefly mention the following in respect of certain parts :—

1. *Merged States areas* : The merger of the former Deccan States was achieved mainly as a result of the agitation of the Kannadigas. It was strongly protested on behalf of Karnataka at the time of the reformation of districts and talukas undertaken by the Government of Bombay after merger, that well-defined Kannada areas thereof forming a belt round the Kannada districts be added to them. But the Government proceeded to tag them on the predominantly Marathi districts on what were termed " administrative grounds ". The Government also gave an understanding that this was not a final arrangement. The problem has to be viewed afresh in the light of the proposed reorganisation of States.

2. South Sholapur taluk was carved out of the former Sholapur taluk in 1949 by the Bombay Government in express deference to the wishes of the Kannadigas, after issuing a Press Note to that effect.

3. There has been a long-standing dispute regarding the three eastern talukas of former Bellary district, namely, Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg. The Kelkar award given in 1921, which was in the first instance for only ten years and in which Sri Kelkar stated that the three talukas could as well have been given by him with jurisdiction to the K.P.C.C., was never accepted by Karnataka as final or satisfactory. In spite of the protests of the local population and Kannadigas in general, and in spite of bitter opposition on behalf of Karnataka for over 30 years, the district was arbitrarily divided, and the three talukas were cut provisionally from Bellary district and joined to Andhra. It is necessary that the Kannada portions thereof should be immediately rejoined to Karnataka. The major portion of the three talukas is Kannada-speaking.

The Thungabhadra project is practically a Karnataka development project. Nearly 140 square miles of Karnataka territory is being submerged for the Thungabhadra Reservoir. The area, thus lost to Karnataka, contained vast tracts of valuable wet and dry lands, numerous villages and industrial and commercial centres. The project is irrigating mostly the Kannada zone in the Kannada districts of Raichur in Hyderabad State, Bellary in Mysore State, and the Kannada portions of Alur and Adoni Talukas, now in Andhra State.

Nearly 75% of the population of the entire irrigable zone of the project is Kannada-speaking, whereas only a small area at the fag-end of the low-level canal *i.e.*, about 35 miles (from nearly 180th mile to 216th mile) will be in the Andhra zone.

As most of the irrigable area, the dam-site and the hydro-electric works, will be in the Karnataka area, which will be the largest beneficiary under the scheme, it cannot naturally be subjected to four administrations, *i.e.*, the Hyderabad Government, Mysore Government, Andhra Government and the Thungabhadra Board, as at present. We urge that the Project should be administered by the future Karnataka Government, with the guidance and direction of the Centre. If necessary an agreement can be entered into between the Karnataka and Andhra Governments, with the aid of the Central Government, for the supply of water and electricity to the Andhra areas.

Even the High Level Canal, when executed, will benefit mostly the Kannada zone of Mysore State and contiguous Kannada firkas of Bommanal and Hirehal in Anantapur district. Out of the total projected length of 160 miles, 125 miles of the canal will be in the Kannada zone.

It will, therefore, be seen that the Andhra claims for the entire areas of the Thungabhadra project in Bellary district, as also for the head works of the Project situated in Hospet taluk of the same district, are absolutely untenable.

It is obvious that the Project can be administered conveniently only by the Bellary district. The cultural, social and business contacts of Adoni town and Taluk are with Bellary district, and handing

over the administration of this major Karnataka development project to the Andhra Government will only adversely affect the all-round progress of the area.

While we are on the subject of the Kannada areas of the former Bellary district we would like to state that we are in complete agreement with the Memoranda submitted by the Karnataka Action Committee of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg Talukas and by the Bellary district Unification League, Adoni.

4. Madkasira is an admitted Kannada Taluk. It is a compact Kannada enclave surrounded on almost all sides by Mysore State.

5. Kollegal Pradesh and Hosur areas have been admitted to be Kannada by responsible Tamil leaders and statesmen.

6. The Nilgiris has, according to the 1951 census, 1,19,045 Tamil speakers as against 1,07,492 persons speaking Badaga and Kannada, the allied linguistic groups who form the backbone of the population; the Tamilians have thus a slight majority of about 11,750 over the Badagas and Kannadigas. On the other hand in the rural areas of the district the Badagas and Kannadigas have a majority of about 13,500 over the Tamilians, the former numbering 88,173 and the latter 74,616.

Another feature deserves to be noticed. To quote from the 1951 Census Handbook published by the Madras Government on the Nilgiris District (p 4): "The growth of population in the district during the decade 1941-1951 as revealed at the Census shows an increase of 48.7% as against 14.4% for the Madras State. The variations in the taluk populations range from 33.1% in the Gudalur to 65.4% in Ootacamund. This district has the largest percentage of persons born outside its limits. Apart from the large labour population attracted by the tea and coffee estates, the immigrant labour population has increased on account of the two hydro-electric schemes which have been in progress in this district; and the large extent that has been brought under cultivation under the Grow More Food Campaign for the cultivation of potatoes and English vegetables. The large percentage of increase in the population is, therefore, nothing surprising."

This makes it clear that the abnormal increase in the population of the district is due to the influx of labourers from the neighbouring districts.

The net variation in population during:

1901-1951 in Gudalur taluk is	...	24,459
1901-1951 in Ootacamund taluk is	...	84,523
1901-1951 in Coonoor taluk is	...	89,865
1901-1951 in the district as a whole is	...	198,867

of which nearly one-third has been during 1941-1951, there having been a steady and continuous rise throughout the period, again for the aforesaid reasons.

This is corroborated by the figures of migrants given in the same book, which shows that about 1,25,000 persons among the total

population of the district are born in the neighbouring non-Kannada areas during 1941-1951. This accords approximately with the steep increase of the population during that period.

No wonder that the linguistic complexion of the district is altered beyond recognition.

According to the 1931 Census, the people speaking Kannada and its dialects (Badaga, Karumba, etc.) formed an overwhelming majority in Ootacamund and Coonoor taluks. The Kannada-speaking population in Ootacamund was 76%, and that in Coonoor taluk was 55% of the total population. As to Gudalur Taluk, the non-Malayali population was about half the total population, and the Kannadigas alone formed about 1/3 of the population.

The following extracts show the affinity of Kannada, Badaga and other languages :

"Badaga is a corrupt form of Kanarese, the Badagas being persons who formerly migrated from Mysore State. This has no script of its own and is only a language" (Census of India—Paper No. 1, Language—1951 Census, p. 55).

"The future of the district is chiefly the concern of the natives, the sons of the soil. In 353 hamlets out of 360 in the district there is no other community except the Badagas, who form one corporate solid mass of people. In the remaining villages are Kots and Chetiars who are all of Kannada culture" (from memorandum presented by Representatives of the Nilgiris to the Linguistic Provinces Commission in 1948).

"Todas appear to have come from Karnataka about 1000 years ago, and their language is basically Kannada." (Dr. Pope).

"This most important dialect (of Kannada) is Badaga, spoken in the Nilgiris by the so-called Badagas or Burghs. It is a more ancient form than ordinary Kanarese and in several points agrees with the language of old Kannada literature. Another Kanarese dialect of the Nilgiri Hills is that spoken by the Kurumbas. It does not seem to differ much from the ordinary Kanarese." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, by Grierson, 1916, p. 363).

"Todas, properly Tuda, is the language of the Tudas or Tuda-vas, a primitive and peculiarly interesting tribe inhabiting the Nilgiri hills. The language seems to be old Kanarese and not a distinct dialect. The Tudas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country and have dwelt in the Nilgiris for about 800 years." (*Linguistic Survey of India*, p. 283).

Kotas, "a small tribe of craftsmen inhabiting the Nilgiri hills, may be considered as a very old and very crude dialect of the Kanarese which was carried thither by a persecuted low caste tribe at some remote period". (*A Phrenologist among the Todas* by Col. Marshal, p. 283).

A conference of the Congress Committees from Grama Panchayats to the district level was held on the eve of the setting up of the

Linguistic Provinces Commission in 1948, which protested against the denial of opportunities of education through the mother tongue to the Kannada-speaking natives of the soil and asked for those facilities forthwith; urged the linking of the Nilgiri district with the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, since the district had historical ties with the Kannada land for centuries in the past, and the linking of the district by the British to Tamil areas and confirmation of the same by the Indian National Congress when it formed provincial congress committees on a linguistic basis constituted a great mistake; sounded a note of warning that this was against the declared will and natural aspirations of the sons of the soil of this district; asked the Linguistic Provinces Commission and the Boundary Commission and "the powers that be" to incorporate the district in Karnataka as "the inclusion of the district in any province other than Karnataka will mean the extinction of the race"; and drew the attention of the authorities concerned to the fact that "outsiders who strayed into this district purely for purposes of trade after the advent of the British should not have any voice in the future alignment of this district linguistically."

7. *Coorg*: It is our considered view that all C class States should be abolished, and Coorg being a C class State should be joined to the proposed Karnataka State.

It should be made clear that we have not attempted in this Memorandum to draw very exact boundaries. Minor adjustments in certain areas may be necessary. This matter will have to be considered by the boundary commission or commissions that may be set up in the future.

When we are on the question of our area, we feel it essential to press one important aspect of the position of the Kannadigas. It is historically admitted that for over sixteen centuries of the Christian era, till the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1565, Karnataka had wide sway over large areas of south and north India, despite the seizure by Muslim rulers of some of the northern portions of the Kannada territory in the later period. The area under Kannada emperors (Kadambas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas etc., and the Vijayanagar Rayas) was much larger than what we are claiming now. After Vijayanagar the process of disintegration began, and the fall of Tipu in 1799 marked the dispersal of the Kannada-speaking areas amongst different claimants—the British, the Marathas and the Nizam—the result being that Karnataka thenceforward was torn into pieces, tossed hither and thither and became the victim of various antagonistic linguistic influences. The last hundred years or so of the British regime only tended to harden and crystallise this adverse position. In Kannada areas in border districts having majorities of other languages, the Kannada language was denied official recognition and was not permitted in courts, and the education of Kannada-speaking children had to be in an alien tongue. Despite these heavy odds Kannada has persisted as a spoken language in the hearths and homes and in day-to-day transactions. It is for this reason that fantastic and incorrect claims are being made on admitted Kannada areas by our linguistic neighbours, and our just and legitimate claim to these areas and our natural reaction to the unjust inroads by our neighbours are looked at askance by them, and strangely enough vehement protests are raised against what are described as "aggressions" on the part of the Kannadigas.

This Memorandum states our case generally, mentioning the areas that should be included in the Karnataka State. A detailed one (of a supplementary nature) giving the reasoning for inclusion and retention of certain areas in Karnataka and refuting counter-claims in regard to them will be submitted later.

It is sufficient to note here that the total population of the proposed Karnataka State (including outlying areas) will be about 2 crores 22 lakhs, and the area about 85,000 square miles. Thus the proposed State will be much bigger than the States of Orissa, the Punjab and Assam, both in population and size. The Karnataka State will also be more than double the size of West Bengal, which is 30,775 square miles.

Karnataka State will also form a compact area. All the districts and Talukas which are proposed to be included in it are contiguous to one another. In fact, the proposed State will be much more compact than the States of Bombay or Madras. Karnataka State will have 27,981 villages and 270 towns. It is remarkable that in spite of poor transport facilities and other drawbacks, the proportion of the urban to the total population in Karnataka is comparatively high. Although urbanisation is not to be confused with industrialisation, it generally indicates the economic position of the region concerned. A proper balance between town and country facilitates the growth of industry and economic progress. Considered from this point of view, the position of the proposed Karnataka State is quite satisfactory.

The formation of a separate state for Karnataka is very simple and the easiest, involving no great administrative changes as in the case of Andhra. It is rather a case of addition to and absorption of neighbouring areas into Mysore State than one of constituting a separate or new state—a case not different from the Bombay State, when it absorbed the merged territories of Native States not long ago. As Mysore State has an efficient system of administration, the overhead charges of the new state will not be heavy. The merger of Coorg on the other hand would mean a certain economy in administrative charges.

Further, the difficulties encountered by Andhra State (financial and political) in the matter of building a new Capital or establishing a High Court will not be present there in the case of Karnataka. Mysore's Capital will be Karnataka's Capital, and Mysore's High Court will be Karnataka's High Court.

Looked at from this point of view the problem assumes a simple character and is easily distinguishable from that of other regions aspiring for the status of a State.

Thus it is evident that the path for creating Karnataka State is both smooth and easy.

From the preceding paragraphs it will be clear, it is hoped that a United Karnataka State is a crying need and once the demand is conceded the Karnataka region with its glorious traditions over 2000 years old, with its Aryo-Dravidian culture breathing a spirit of tolerance, broad-mindedness, catholicity, assimilation and synthesis, is sure to make all-sided progress by leaps and bounds. This will only strengthen the unity and solidarity of India's borders. The strength of a part will ensure the strength of the whole, and it is obvious that

the Kannada people, who have never been known to be parochial, bigotted or exclusive in outlook, who have throughout their history been peace-loving and loyal to the country, who built the great Vijayanagar Empire as a bulwark for the preservation and promotion of India's cultural and spiritual ideals, will, once they come into their own, take their due share in nation-building activities and help spread India's message of peace and good-will to the world.

We take this opportunity to reiterate that we are making this demand as we believe that the formation of new states in the South and West of India on a linguistic and cultural basis will lead to a better integration of the Indian Union, whose strength, solidarity and progress is our first and primary consideration. It will be the aim and endeavour of Kannadigas to achieve this ideal of a strong United India which, with its great history, culture, tradition and with the social and political ideals laid down by the Father of the Nation and so ably practised by our Prime Minister, will, we are sure, lead the world in the march for establishment of peace, mutual understanding and good-will among nations.

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES OF KARNATAKA

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

In the absence of a full geological survey of India, it is not possible to state precisely the occurrence of mineral resources in Karnataka. However, some information is available of such survey made now and then in the Bombay State of some minerals, in the Book called *The Mineral Resources of Bombay*, by B. C. Roy, D.I.C., M.Sc. (LOND.), Dr. Ing. (Friberg), Superintending Geologist in charge, Western Circle, Geological Survey of India. The following information is taken from that book :

“ Very large deposits of limestones are found in Bombay Karnataka, especially in Bijapur and Belgaum districts. The important occurrences of limestones within the Bagalkot Taluka and Biligi Mahal were examined by Mr. S. Krishnaswami in 1945. He found large deposits near Bagalkot, Kaddankere, Bavadinni, Murnal, Devnal, Kundargi, Shirguppi, Kaladgi, Khajjidoni and Chikka and Hire Shellikeri. Similarly the recent mineral survey by Dr. B. C. Roy (1947) in the former Mudhol State has proved the existence of extensive deposits of high-grade limestones, suitable for cement and chemical processes. The high-grade dolomitic limestone may be used as a flux in steel industry. Many of the bands are dolomitic and even a limestone may change into a dolomitic limestone within a short distance ”.

The former Mudhol State is now Mudhol Taluka in Bijapur District.

Mr. V. R. Venkobarao and Mr. Y. S. Sahasrabudhe made a survey of the Belgaum district in 1950. They found deposits of limestone in Bail-Hongal and Khanapur Talukas. About these deposits, the report says : “ The material is suitable for the manufacture of cement, but further detailed sampling is essential.” Similarly a detailed geological survey of limestone is made in the Gokak-Yadwad area in Gokak Taluka of Belgaum. The investigation is now complete but the results are not published. “ But the recent geological mapping in Khanapur Taluk has located extensive deposits of limestone suitable for manufacture of cement.”

At page 95 of *The Mineral Resources of Bombay*, it is remarked : “ The recent work of the Geological Survey has proved the existence of exceptionally pure limestone suitable for chemical purposes in Palanpur, Bijapur and Mudhol.”

There are also in Bijapur District large deposits of slate stone which is ranked as the second best in the world. The first best slate stones are found in Italy. Similarly, glass materials, bauxite and clays are also found in Karnataka.

Glass making material : The main source is from Kaladgi sandstones and quartzites striking roughly N.W.S.E. and dipping almost vertically or at high angles to the north east. The thickness of the individual beds averages from 10 to 50 ft.

Kaladgi sandstones in Bijapur have considerable sources of triable and purer materials suitable for the manufacture of common types of glasswares.

Bauxite : There seems no reason why the large bauxite deposits in Belgaum, in fact the principal source in the Bombay State, should not be utilised by erecting local alumina and bauxite production plants at suitable sites.

Clays : Important clay deposits are located in Belgaum and North Kanara districts. The samples from various pits in the Belgaum and North Kanara districts gave satisfactory results on physical tests and chemical analysis, and it has been established that the materials are suitable for high-grade pottery.

As there are few capitalists in Karnataka, the industrial development of the region on an adequate scale may not be possible unless the administration itself, following in the footsteps of the Mysore Government, starts industries with its own capital at least in the earlier stages. In Mysore, some of the industries are entirely Government-owned ; in some the Government owns shares, and to others Government have afforded active assistance. More than twenty crores of rupees have been invested by the Mysore Government on various industries, and they annually yield a substantial revenue which accrues to the benefit of the general tax-payer. Again the extent of pioneer work in fields of industrial enterprise and the risk involved in it may not induce private capitalists to undertake such ventures. In such cases, Government themselves should start the new industry with their own capital. This is what the Government of Mysore does. Among the industrial plants owned by the Government of Mysore, in addition to the hydro-electric works, are the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works, a Silk Weaving Factory, a Sandalwood Oil Factory, a Cement plant, an Implements Factory, Porcelain Factory and a Paper manufacturing plant. A similar industrial policy will have to be followed in the case of Karnataka also. In order to make this possible, the remaining Kannada districts should be merged in Mysore State as indicated in this Memorandum.

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

4. We may take up agriculture first. Industry and agricul-

ture are interdependent. Besides supplying the industrial population with food, agriculture can feed industry by providing such money crops as cotton, oilseeds, tobacco and sugarcane. The Karnataka region which is proposed to be merged in Mysore is surplus both in cereals and pulses. It may be noted that the total area under pulses amounts nearly to one-seventh of the acreage under cereals.

The following table prepared from the material supplied by the Civil Supply Department of the Bombay Government indicates the position of food in the four districts of Bombay Karnataka.

Annual average of net imports are shown as (+) and annual average of net exports as (—) in the table below. A period of 4 years, i.e., 1949–50 to 1952–53, is taken in the case of rice; and for wheat and coarse grains a period of 3 years, from 1949–50 to 1951–52, is taken.

District	Rice	Wheat	Coarse grains	Total
Belgaum	— 1528	+ 7118	+ 10,235	+ 15,825
Bijapur	+ 3863	+ 1952	— 11,418	— 5,601
Dharwar	— 9525	— 636	— 5,545	— 15,708
Kanara	— 6007	+ 2890	+ 2,824	— 293
Net Total	— 13197	+ 11324	— 3,904	— 5,777

Thus the food records of the Civil Supply Department, Bombay show a surplus of about 6 thousand tons. The whole position is considered only from the point of view of food supply. But we may safely assume that the surplus is far more.

The average yield of all cereals and pulses in the following districts is as follows :

District	Average yield
Belgaum	2,55,457
Bijapur	1,87,676
Dharwar	3,20,397
North Kanara	71,790
South Kanara	3,83,420
Coorg	61,175
TOTAL	12,79,915 tons

The food statistics of Hyderabad Karnataka are not available. But it can be confidently asserted that they are also at least self-sufficient if not surplus. This will leave a large surplus after satisfying the needs of the population of those districts which will be available for meeting the deficit of the present Mysore State.

5. Karnataka has little share out of the total expenditure on irrigation. More than 10 crores of rupees have been spent for irrigation in Maharashtra; whereas only 12 lakhs were spent in Bombay Karnataka for irrigation till 1946, in spite of the fact that portions of Karnataka are often subject to famine. Irrigation in Bombay State is 5% of the cultivated land. But in Bombay Karnataka it is only a half

per cent. At the same time, it is fully recognised that this region has vast possibilities for irrigation which will greatly increase the food supply. Apart from the fact that investigations on this subject are not complete, certain surveys already undertaken prove this. The Ghatprabha Valley project, which has now been taken up under the Five Year Plan in Bombay Karnataka when completed, will irrigate about 5 lakhs acres of land in Belgaum and Bijapur districts. Again under the Ramdurg Scheme on the Malprabha River, nearly 4 lakhs acres of land can be brought under irrigation in the eastern parts of Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur districts. The Upper Krishna Project across the Krishna River in Bijapur districts is said to be feasible and is expected to irrigate an area of about 5 lakhs in the eastern parts of Bijapur district. This project which is expected to cover not only portions of Bijapur district but also the Karnataka territory in Hyderabad State, will command about 17 lakhs of acres, a large portion of which can be irrigated on a seasonal basis. The famous Tungabhadra Project, which is now nearing completion, will irrigate large areas in Raichur district which is now in Hyderabad State.

6. These are only a few examples to illustrate the irrigation possibilities in the Karnataka districts. There is also considerable scope for lift irrigation by means of electricity-driven power pumps. It is estimated that the lift irrigation schemes on the Krishna and Bhima Rivers will irrigate about 2 lakhs of acres in Bijapur district. These irrigation schemes, besides irrigating cereal and leguminous crops, are expected to grow sugarcane on a large scale. This will make Karnataka self-sufficient in sugar and gur. These irrigation projects will also mitigate the evils of famine, particularly in Bijapur district.

7. Parts of Bombay Karnataka lying in the Deccan and the Kannada districts in Hyderabad State are particularly rich in cotton. This will enable Karnataka to develop the textile industry on a large scale. As observed by the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee, "the central position which Dharwar and Hubli occupy makes them ideal centres for supplying cloth to the whole of Karnataka". The availability of oilseeds, which are grown over a large area, will help the establishment of oil mills on modern lines.

8. The rich forests of both the Kanaras, Coorg and the Nilgiris can provide a variety of raw materials in large quantities for the development of forest industries. There is scope for profitable establishments like plywood and match factories. Of the average annual extraction of bamboos in Bombay State, no less than 20,45,300 culms are claimed by the Karnataka districts. With the vast forest resources, we have large varieties of medicinal herbs and seeds for establishing a drugs industry.

9. The future State of Karnataka will have a coast line of about 200 miles. The Karnataka coast is fortunate in having natural harbours, such as Karwar, Bhatkal and Malpe. The committee appointed by the Government of India some years ago to examine the question of development of ports, has strongly recommended that Malpe in South Kanara should be developed into a major port. Linking up Karwar, Malpe and Mangalore by railway with the hinterland of Mysore, will enable the whole region of Karnataka to develop industrially within a short time.

10. Although Karnataka has, it seems, no coal deposits, this deficiency can be made up by developing hydro-electric power and thus producing "white coal". Fortunately for us, there are immense possibilities in this direction. The irrigation projects already mentioned may also be made to produce electric power. In addition there are a number of sites, particularly in Kanara and Coorg, which may be utilised for developing hydro-electric energy. Unfortunately no comprehensive hydro-electric survey has yet been carried out. Even then, whatever investigations have been so far made indicate that Karnataka is rich in hydro-electric resources.

11. The hydro-electric survey of India mentions the following sites : (1) Kalinadi River : site near Kheda village in Supa Petha of the North Kanara district, (2) Bedti River : site near Bagod in Yellapur taluka in North Kanara, (3) Honna Nala, in the Sirai-kumta road in North Kanara, (4) Kaneri River : site about 10 miles from Kumbharwada in North Kanara, (5) Hiranyakshi River : site about 38 miles from Belgaum, (6) Mahadeo River : site at 17 miles from Khanapur in the Belgaum district.

12. A similar list can be made indicating sites in the Madras portion of Karnataka. The 1931 Census Report of Madras mentions four such sites in South Kanara, four in the Nilgiris, and seven in Coorg. The extent to which some of these sites are capable of development can be seen from the fact that a preliminary survey recently undertaken by the Bombay Government of the Kalinadi valley has shown that the full development of the basin could provide a total installation of about 7,00,000 K.W. of electric power. The recent progress that has been made in the development of hydro-electric methods of generation and distributing electric power has opened out new prospects. Making use of water power is the cheapest method of supplying energy to industrial establishments. With the full utilization of water power, the new state of Karnataka can take a big stride in the industrial field. Water power can also be utilised for electrochemical industries such as the extraction of aluminium from bauxite and the manufacture of nitrogen compounds from the air.

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

14. Although Karnataka cannot boast of certain basic minerals like coal, the geological survey so far carried out shows that it contains some useful minerals like manganese, bauxite, iron ores, limestones, china clay, and building stones of various types. Manganese is found in large quantities in the western talukas of Belgaum and the upghat taluka of North Kanara, and also in Dharwar district. The china clay found in Khanapur taluk in Belgaum is said to be of high quality. The Bijapur district, owing to the variety of its strata, makes the region "rank high in mineral wealth". The district is rich in iron ore in the sense that the ore is found in various parts of the dis-

tract. In fact, the smelting of iron ore and the making of agricultural implements from the same were followed as subsidiary occupation by some rural artisans. The district is particularly rich in building stones of various types and colours, and also in those materials needed for the manufacture of cement. Clay slate is also found. In Hanavar taluka in North Kanara, sand which is useful for the preparation of glass can be had. China clay is available in Bellary, North Kanara, and Belgaum districts. Corundum is found at a number of localities in South Kanara. Ochres are available in Bellary and Dharwar. Soapstone can be had in South Kanara and Bellary.

15. A comprehensive geological survey of all parts of the proposed State from an industrial point of view is necessary. It is stated that some regions contain useful minerals in large quantities. For instance, the Supa Petha, as pointed out by an official report, "is believed to be rich in different kinds of minerals though no geological survey of the tract has yet been undertaken". That there is vast scope for the development of industries in the Karnataka region can be seen from the perusal of the "Report on Industrialisation of Bombay Karnataka and Utilization of Jog Power" submitted to the Bombay Government in 1949 by one of its officers, Sri T. K. Mirchandani. The report makes definite suggestion for the development of the following industries : (1) Textiles ; (2) Sugar Factories and allied industries ; (3) Processed Food Industries ; (4) Oil-milling, Vegetable ghee, Hydrogenated oil, Soap, Tobacco, etc. ; (5) Paints, Varnishes, Enamels, etc. ; (6) Paper and pulp (Alpha Cellulose) ; (7) Wooden shipbuilding ; (8) Bauxite ; (9) Fisheries ; (10) Heavy Chemical Industries ; (11) Iron and Steel ; (12) Prime Mover and Tools Industry ; (13) Cement ; (14) Ceramics ; (15) Glass Industry ; (16) Miscellaneous and Cottage Industries.

16. In addition to large-scale industries, the scope for the growth of cottage industries is very considerable in the region concerned. Even at present the handloom industry occupies a premier position in the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Raichur. The establishment of textile spinning mills in Karnataka will greatly assist the handloom industry. Yarn which is now imported from outside Karnataka can be manufactured in the region itself and supplied to looms at cheaper rates.

17. There are great possibilities for developing the sericulture industry in Karnataka. The talukas of Belgaum, Gokak, Khanapur, Hukkeri, Chikodi, Sampgaon and Paragad in Belgaum district, and the talukas of Dharwar, Kalghatgi, Hanagal, Kod, Bankapur, Hubli, and Karajgi in Dharwar district are well suited for introducing sericulture. This tract has a moderate rainfall, temperature, climate and a favourable soil retentive of moisture. These climatic conditions are ideal for silkworm rearing. Mulberry plants and trees grow here luxuriantly. The Sericulturist to the Government of Mysore, who was invited in 1939 by the Bombay Government to investigate the possibilities of introducing sericulture in Bombay State, reported that the tract referred to was well fitted to take up the industry and to capture the silk market. He recommended that a sericulture farm should be established at Belgaum, which "has all the advantages to be an ideal research and experimental station guiding the various branches of the silk industry in the Province". In accordance with this recommendation mulberry cultivation has been already started on a large-scale.

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

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

20. The Kanara coast is also rich in marine fisheries. The report on the marketing of fish in India shows that the total annual catch of fish on the Kanara (North and South) coast amounts to 12,30,000 maunds. This forms more than 10% of the total production of sea-fish in India. In our view the figures of production given in this report for North Kanara district err on the side of moderation, as the figures are not up to date. During recent years the production in North Kanara has increased as a result of new facilities now available for the transport and marketing of mackerel. This fish is brought in large quantities to Bombay. The Administration Report of the Fisheries Department of the Bombay Government shows that the total amount of fish brought to Bombay from North Kanara was more than 15 lakhs maunds.

21. As the Kanara coast is rich in fisheries, fish oil industries can be developed. With the increase in fish production by adopting modern methods there are possibilities of manufacturing fish manures on a large-scale.

22. This brief note on the industrial possibilities of the future State of Karnataka should not be considered exhaustive. The list of industries mentioned is by no means complete. But what has been stated is sufficient to indicate that there are vast possibilities for the industrial and economic advancement of the region.

FINANCIAL POSITION OF KARNATAKA STATE

Ever since the idea of Linguistic States came to be mooted the financial position of the State of Karnataka has always been considered to be sound. As early as in 1928, the Nehru Committee observed :

“ Financially the position of Karnataka is very strong, and even at present there is a considerable surplus in the British part of Karnataka.” In 1948 again, presenting the case of Karnataka State before the Linguistic Provinces Commission, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has stated with full facts and figures that the Karnataka State would have a substantial surplus in the absence of complete prohibition and would have a small surplus even if total prohibition were imposed. These observations, it must be noted, were made when the idea was to form a Karnataka Province excluding Mysore. But to-day Mysore is willing to have the adjacent Kannada areas into itself, which facilitates the formation of a fully viable Karnataka State. It is, therefore, relevant at this stage to recall the remark of the Dar Commission that ‘ If Mysore had been willing to join the Union it could have easily formed a nucleus round which the Kannada-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay could be brought together and reared into an administratively convenient province. It would have also solved the problem of the small province of Coorg which has been carrying on a difficult and isolated existence.” We have therefore to state here that in the changed set of circumstances of to-day, when Mysore and the other Kannada-speaking parts of the States of Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad have agreed to form a single State along with Coorg, the financial soundness of this United Karnataka State can never be doubted.

2. But at the same time when one tries to give a picture of the financial position of this prospective Karnataka State one is faced with a number of handicaps. In the first place, the latest figures are not available in respect of all the areas that would comprise a new Karnataka State. Secondly, wherever they are available they are not strictly comparable with those of the previous, so as to provide a three-years average in every case to make the overall picture a true, representative and convincing one. Next, in quite a few cases there are no figures at all to be had, while in respect of yet others the latest actual figures do not take us beyond the year 1945-46. However, actual figures for one year have been available, *i.e.*, 1951-52, for most of the important areas, and it is on this basis and with the help of certain estimated figures that this paper has been prepared.

3. The future Karnataka State (without taking into account any disputed area) will have an area of 82,928 square miles, which is more than that of Hyderabad. The total population comes to about 2.16 crores, which is higher than the population of Madhya Pradesh which has an area of nearly double the new Karnataka State at 1,50,272 square miles. The average density of population of the whole Karnataka area is 228, which is more or less the same as that of Hyderabad to-day. (*Vide* Statement No. 1).

4. At this stage it is necessary to refer to a few characteristics of the expenditure and revenue statements of different States in India. Many States do not at all make a meticulous distinction between devel-

opmental expenditure, otherwise defined as Capital Expenditure, and expenditure debitable to Revenue. In the Bombay State, for instance, developmental expenditure is financed from normal revenue as also from transfers from Reserve Funds. It is occasionally noted that funds are transferred from a reserve account and taken and shown as revenue, and expenditure incurred from out of the funds so transferred is debitable to revenue expenditure. In short, it has become very difficult at least for the present purpose to differentiate between what is normal expenditure and what is developmental expenditure or capital expenditure, although it has now been the policy and practice of the Central Government not to make a distinction between revenue and capital parts of the budget. However, since the Popular Governments took office in the States there has been a general desire to effect developmental works on a large-scale and to raise the standard of living of the people. The general expenditure since the war and in the immediate post-war period continues to be high because of the vast expansion of several existing and newly created departments. Even when the need for some of these departments is no longer there, they have been kept on and the personnel is absorbed in other departments. But in the meanwhile, the additional expenditure under Revenue heads does not show any tendency to go down at all.

5. Coming to the details of the financial position of the different parts of the future Karnataka State, it may be noted that the average for the three years 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53 of the income of the four Kannada districts of the Bombay State, Coorg, and Mysore are 576.02, 1676 and 69.31, whereas the three year average of the expenditure of the same areas are 713.92, 1650, and 62.58 respectively. Thus it may be seen that in the case of the Bombay Districts there would be a deficit of Rs. 138 lakhs, whereas in the case of Mysore and Coorg there would be a surplus of 26 lakhs and 6.75 lakhs respectively. Details of the figures may be seen from the Table "A".

TABLE "A"
Revenue Expenditure (in lakhs of rupees)

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	+ or -
BOMBAY KARNATAKA			
1950-51	581.51	692.76	-111.25
1951-52	567.16	684.70	-117.54
1952-53	579.39	764.31	-184.82
Three years average	576.02	713.92	-137.90
MYSORE			
1950-51	1,337	1,311	+ 26
1951-52	1,811	1,835	- 24
1952-53	1,879	1,804	+ 75
Three years average	1,676	1,650	+ 26
COORG			
1950-51	60.15	54.34	+ 5.81
1951-52	60.70	55.03	+ 5.67
1952-53	87.09	78.37	+ 8.72
Three years average	69.31	62.58	+ 6.75

If on the other hand we take the revenue and expenditure figures of the South Kanara District of Madras State and Hyderabad Karnataka districts for the year 1951-52, for which alone the figures have now been available, we come across a surplus of 4 lakhs and 62 lakhs respectively, as can be seen from the figures given below :

TABLE "B"

Revenue Expenditure—South Kanara (in lakhs of rupees)

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	+ or -
1951-52	1.79	1.75	+ 04
HYDERABAD KARNATAKA			
1951-52	8.14	7.52	+ 62

But in the case of certain Kannada-speaking talukas of Madras and the Nilgiris district, as later figures than those for the year 1945-46 are not available, the 1945-46 figures have been converted to their probable equivalents in 1953-54, assuming the figures for 1945-46 would be 100 (Statement II). This has been done on the trend of revenue and expenditure over 1951-52, 1953-54 of the four States which between them cover nearly the whole of the Kannada area to-day, viz., Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore. It can be seen from Table "C" given below that the average taxed revenue has increased by 8% and the average total revenue by 16%, whereas the average total expenditure has increased by 21% and the average developmental expenditure by 39%.

TABLE "C"

Trend of Revenue and Expenditure (1950-51 to 1953-54)

(in lakhs of rupees)

State	Year	Revenue	Expenditure
Bombay	1950-51	64.31	64.37
	1953-54	67.84 (+ 4%)	67.76 (+ 5%)
Madras	1950-51	58.16	59.45
	1953-54	65.75 (+ 12%)	65.75 (+ 10%)
Hyderabad	1950-51	26.18	27.55
	1953-54	28.02 (+ 5%)	28.22 (+ 2%)
Mysore	1950-51	14.41	13.51
	1953-54	20.62 (+ 43%)	22.20 (+ 64%)

Four year—Average trends :—

Total Revenue	...	...	8%	higher
„ Tax „	...	...	16%	„
Total expenditure	...	...	21%	„
Total Developmental expenditure	...	...	39%	„

added 50% more for years prior to 1950-51 in each case.

Since these include the most intensive years of development under the Five Year Plan, the rate of development in the years prior to 1950-51 has been taken at only half of that during the years 1950-51, to 1953-54. In other words, the projected revenue figures are 24% more than that for 1945-46 and the projected total expenditure figures are higher by 31.5% than the total expenditure for the year 1945-46 (*Vide* Statement No. III). Thus the total revenue of the new State, as can be seen from Statement No. IV, amounts to 38.37 crores of rupees, and the total expenditure to Rs. 38.95 crores, leaving an overall deficit of about Rs. 58 lakhs. As we compare these figures with the revenue and expenditure of some of the existing Indian States we shall certainly be convinced of the fact that the Karnataka State will be placed in a position of advantage not only to take up any nation-building activity on its own initiative but even to implement the developmental proposals made by the Centre. The following Table "D" will give a clear picture of the comparative financial position of Karnataka and a few other unilingual States :

TABLE "D"
1951-52 (in lakhs of rupees)

State	Revenue	Expenditure	
Karnataka	38,37	38,95	- 00,58
West Bengal	37,68	40,06	- 02,40
Bihar	36,65	34,22	01,43
T-Cochin	17,05	15,55	01,50
Rajasthan	15,97	16,03	- 00,06

The total *per capita* revenue and expenditure of Karnataka State on the other hand amount to 17.5 and Rs. 18 respectively, which is more or less the present *per capita* revenue of Bombay or Mysore (Statement V).

6. In arriving at the figures indicated above, it must be remembered that account has not been taken of the share of estate duty and Union Excise on tobacco, besides the respective shares of income-tax of Hyderabad Karnataka, as also of some of the talukas for which separate figures have not been available. No account is taken of the withdrawals from the reserve funds as well as of the loans from the Government of India which are credited on the side of the Revenue. It may also be stated that public loans are not taken into consideration. In addition to these items the new State is also expected to obtain the following further sources of revenue :

1. The double-point or multipoint sales-tax, the yield of which is expected to be higher than that from the single-point sales-tax which was in force until the end of 1952-53.
2. The surcharge on land revenue which has been introduced in Madras has not been introduced either in Mysore or in Bombay Karnataka. This source of revenue is also open to the new

State. The incidence of land-tax, it may be noted here, is very low in North Karnataka.

3. As a result of abolition of different tenures which is already done in Bombay State the yield from land revenue is expected to increase by at least a crore of rupees for the whole of the Bombay State and at least a third thereof for the Bombay Karnataka.
4. The proposed revision Settlement is going to increase the land revenue by 35% of what it is to-day in Bombay Karnataka. The machinery has already been created for this purpose by the Government of Bombay, which will yield an increase of Rs. 35.6 lakhs in income.

7. As regards the capital budget a broad study indicates that the assets and liabilities of the new State would more or less cancel each other. Furthermore, in the case of the Karnataka State there is no longer the same necessity as was insisted upon by Dr. Rao, when he submitted his note to the Linguistic States Commission in 1948, that any big amount by way of separation or overhead charges should be provided. The regular administrative cadre is already there, and all that is necessary would be merely to add a few more hands to the existing organisation. Therefore, the cost of separation or overhead charges will not at all be a problem in so far as the Karnataka State is concerned. Moreover, in the initial stages, the new State would be justified in expecting some substantial help from the Centre by way of cost of integration.

8. There is a school of opinion which feels that because the pay of Officers in Bombay and Madras States is higher than in Mysore there might be some difficulty in upgrading the levels of pay obtaining in Mysore to-day. But this problem arises even without the formation of a new State and should not present any insuperable difficulty if the adjustments desired could be agreed to be effected over a period of years, say, five to ten years.

9. There is also a fear that the new State—why, even the old States also—cannot afford to be another heavy incidence of expenditure on education. But the suggestions of the Kher Committee and the proposal to make primary education the responsibility of private institutions allay such fears.

10. Although developmental expenditure may be expected to continue more or less on the present scale for some years to come this need not cause much anxiety. For the potential contribution towards this expenditure by the masses in the form of free labour and cash contributions, or both, if sufficient enthusiasm could be engendered amongst the masses, is quite considerable. It has been found from experience in the past year and more in connection with the community projects and development blocks that more responsibility entrusted to the people followed by intelligent propaganda systematically to utilise the energy and enthusiasm of the masses, will go a long way towards lessening the financial burden on the State.

11. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the prospective Karnataka State will not only be financially more viable and admini-

stratively more compact but also economically better integrated than several other States both existing and to be formed.

Conclusion

What has been stated above makes a strong case in favour of the formation of Karnataka State. It is necessary here to emphasise that this demand for a separate Karnataka State is not actuated by any other motives than to enable Karnataka to catch up with the rest of the more advanced regions of India, by facilitating development of the backward and hitherto neglected parts of dismembered Karnataka. What is more, the Dar Commission in its report has said : " An urgent case, however, exists for adjusting the relations of the various linguistic groups in the Government of the existing provinces. Two of these linguistic groups, Kerala and Karnataka, being situated at the tail-end of their provinces and represented by ineffective minorities, have undoubtedly suffered in their development. There can be no doubt that they would prosper and be able to manage their affairs much better under their own Government nearer home if such a Government were possible."

It is extremely important to note that our Prime Minister, while opposed to the creation of new States in the northern frontiers of our country, has approved the idea of the formation of Linguistic States in the South. Speaking in Parliament on July 7, 1952, he categorically stated that " Claims like those of Andhra or Karnataka or Kerala or Maharashtra have my concurrence."

Prime Minister Nehru, referring to the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission in Parliament, said that " the language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance as they represent a pattern of living which is common to that area. In considering the re-organisation of States, however, there are other important factors which have also to be borne in mind. The first essential consideration is the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. Financial, economic and administrative considerations are almost equally important, not only from the point of view of each State, but of the whole nation."

Each one of the conditions mentioned by the Prime Minister is adequately fulfilled in the case of Karnataka. That Karnataka has a distinct language and culture and a pattern of living, cannot be doubted. The formation of Karnataka State can never come in the way of the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. On the other hand, the unity of the country will be further strengthened, as the Kannada people, representing a distinct culture in the Indian Nation, will be united under one administration. The proposed State will have great administrative advantages, as indicated in this memorandum. From the point of view of economic development, the formation of Karnataka State is a necessity. Finally, considered from the point of view of finance, the creation of the new State is very feasible. Since Karnataka satisfies all the conditions mentioned by the Prime Minister, we urge that the new State of Karnataka should be formed without any further delay.

STATEMENT I

Area, population and density of Population in the Kannada-speaking region as per census of 1951

Place	Area in sq. miles	Population (in thousands)	Density of population per Sq. Mile
1. Mysore State (including Bellary)	...	33,310	98.49
2. Coorg State	...	1,593	2.29
3. BOMBAY			
Dharwar District	...	5,284.2	15.75
Bijapur District	...	6,563.8	13.96
Belgaum District	...	5,552.7	17.27
N. Kanara District	...	3,975.5	5.18
Akalkot and Sholapur Taluks	...	998.3	2.42
Jath Taluka	...	873	1.08
4. MADRAS			
South Kanara District	...	4,044	17.49
Nilgiris District	...	984	3.11
Kollegal Taluk	...	1,076	1.39
Madakasira Taluk (Approximate)	...	443	1.00
5. HYDERABAD			
Gulbarga District	...	6,975	37.00
Raichur District	...	6,630	
Bidar District	...	4,825	
TOTAL	...	83,127.5	2,16.43
			(Average for all the regions)

* Projected estimates based on 1945-46 figures as 100.

STATEMENT II

Revenue and Expenditure

MADRAS DISTRICTS

(in lakhs of rupees)

	Revenue	Expenditure	+ or -
1945-46	...	2.81	2.65
Projected for 1953-54	...	3.48	3.48

NILGIRIS

(in lakhs of rupees)

	Revenue	Expenditure	+ or -
1944-45	...	44.40	28.47
1945-46	...	49.91	34.05
Projected for 1953-54	...	55.90	44.78

STATEMENT III

Trend of Revenue and Expenditure of the Kannada-speaking areas with variation from 1950-51 to 1953-54.

Place	Year	Total revenue (in lakhs of rupees)	Variation	Total tax re- venue in (lakhs of rupees)	Variation	Total expendi- ture (in lakhs of rupees)	Variation	Total develop- ment expendi- ture in (lakhs of rupees)	Variation
1. BOMBAY	1950-51	64,31	100	45,84	100	64,37	100	25,83	100
	1953-54	67,84	104	49,20	106	67,76	105	27,53	106
			+4		+6		+5		+6
2. MADRAS	1950-51	58,16	100	44,18	100	59,45	100	26,00	100
	1953-54	65,75	112	49,19	111	65,75	110	33,49	128
			+12		+11		+10		+28
3. MYSORE	1950-51	14,41	100	5,85	100	13,51	100	6,73	100
	1953-54	20,62	143	5,54	95	22,20	164	13,79	205
			+43		-5		+64		+105
4. HYDERABAD	1950-51	26,81	100	19,13	100	27,55	100	7,68	100
	1953-54	28,02	105	22,58	118	28,22	102	8,92	116
			+5		+18		+2		+16

STATEMENT IV

Revenue and Expenditure of the Kannada-speaking region 1951-52

(in lakhs of rupees)

Place	Revenue	Expendi- ture	Surplus or deficit	Per capita Revenue	Per capita Expenditure
MYSORE STATE (including Bellary)	18.11	18.35	-00.24	20.42	19.88
COORG STATE	00.61	00.55	+00.06	26.64	24.02
BOMBAY					
Dharwar District	05.67	06.85	-01.18	10.12	13.13
Bijapur District					
Belgaum District					
North Kanara District					
Akalkot and S. Shola- pur talukas Jath Taluka	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
MADRAS					
South Kanara District	01.79	01.75	+00.04	10.23	10.00
Nilgiris District	00.56	00.45	+00.11	17.10	14.47
Kollegal Taluka	03.48	03.48		25.04	25.04
Madakasira Taluka					
HYDERABAD					
Gulbarga District	08.14	07.52	+00.62	22.00	20.32
Raichur District					
Bidar District					
TOTAL	38.36	38.95	-00.58	17.54	18.00

N.A. = Not available.

STATEMENT V

Per Capita Revenue and Expenditure of Part B States (in rupees) * Calculations for 1952-53 are based on the Population of undivided Madras State: for 1953-54 the population figures relate to partitioned State.

* Calculations for 1952-53 are based on the population of Mysore State before merger of the Bellary District; for 1953-54 the figures of population of Bellary District have also been taken into account.

	Total Revenue	Total Tax Revenue	Total Ex- penditure	Developmental Expenditure (only on Revenue a/c.)
HYDERABAD				
1950-51 (Actuals)	13.85	10.59	14.58	*4.35
1952-53 (Accounts)	14.33	11.79	13.57*	....
1953-54 (Revised)	13.90	11.36	14.71	5.74

STATEMENT V— (Continued)

	Total Revenue	Total Tax Revenue	Total Expenditure	Developmental Expenditure (only on Revenue a/c.)
MADHYA BHARAT				
1950-51 (Actuals)	12.98	9.24	14.71	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	14.85	9.66	15.41	7.51
1953-54 (Revised)	17.71	10.16	17.85	9.97
MYSORE				
1950-51 (Actuals)	17.26	11.29	14.37	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	17.66	12.57	15.49	6.15
1953-54 (Revised)	19.92	14.37	20.78	9.59
PEPSU				
1950-51 (Actuals)	18.50	8.60	17.67	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	23.76	9.79	28.40	15.08
1953-54 (Revised)	23.44	10.71	23.83	13.41
TRAVANCORE-COCHIN				
1950-51 (Actuals)	14.73	9.69	13.41	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	17.92	9.00	17.41	9.06
1953-54 (Revised)	18.36	9.26	17.40	9.26
All "B" States				
1950-51 (Actuals)	13.55	9.02	13.34	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	15.89	9.66	15.45	7.33
1953-54 (Revised)	16.34	9.76	16.87	8.61
<i>Per Capita Revenue and Expenditure of Part "A" States</i>				
ANDHRA				
1952-53	.....	.....	.....	.....
1953-54 (Revised)	5.83	3.73	6.30	3.87
ASSAM				
1950-51 (Actuals)	10.59	7.59	9.98	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	15.78	9.10	13.91	7.82
1953-54 (Revised)	15.92	9.04	16.51	9.97
BIHAR				
1950-51 (Actuals)	7.14	5.50	6.42	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	9.00	5.82	7.02	3.90
1953-54 (Revised)	9.00	5.95	8.79	5.07
BOMBAY				
1950-51 (Actuals)	17.52	13.51	17.54	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	17.38	12.15	19.03	4.37
1953-54 (Revised)	19.60	14.34	20.04	5.67
MADHYA PRADESH				
1950-51 (Actuals)	9.14	7.67	7.79	.....
1952-53 (Accounts)	11.36	7.87	9.18	4.22
1953-54 (Revised)	12.11	7.79	11.86	6.32
MADRAS				
1950-51 (Actuals)	10.06	7.97	10.29	.....
* 1952-53 (Accounts)	10.24	7.99	11.99	6.91
1953-54 (Revised)	7.44 †	4.71	6.83	4.22

STATEMENT V—(Continued)

	Total Revenue	Total Tax Revenue	Total Expenditure	Developmental Expenditure (only on Revenue a/c.)
ORISSA				
1950-51 (Actuals)	7.12	5.12	8.17	....
1952-53 (Accounts)	8.62	5.56	7.86	4.17
1953-54 (Revised)	8.51	5.68	10.02	5.26
PUNJAB				
1950-51 (Actuals)	13.28	8.15	12.60	....
1952-53 (Accounts)	....	....	....	....
1953-54 (Revised)	....	....	....	....
UTTER PRADESH				
1950-51 (Actuals)	8.11	6.07	8.10	....
1952-53 (Accounts)	10.25	6.83	10.25	4.00
1953-54 (Revised)	11.63	8.18	11.63	4.41
WEST BENGAL				
1950-51 (Actuals)	13.67	11.39	14.87	....
1952-53 (Accounts)	15.10	12.19	15.69	7.62
1953-54 (Revised)	15.64	11.75	20.38	10.31
All "A" States				
1950-51 (Actuals)	10.42	8.03	10.38	....
1952-53 (Accounts)	11.67	8.24	11.74	5.82
1953-54 (Revised)	11.65	7.76	12.20	6.07
A and B States				
1950-51 (Actuals)	11.98	8.52	11.56	....

Average

NOTE: Figures are provisional.

* Excluding Punjab.

† Relates to the second half of the year.

STATEMENT "D-1" (Assets)

(in thousands of rupees)

Assets	31st March 1953	31st March 1954	31st March 1955
A. (a) Interest yielding assets	23,49,90	28,69,90	32,27,06
(b) Loans due from the Municipalities ...	6,07	8,75	8,62
Total loans & advances	23,55,97	28,78,65	32,35,68
B. Investment in Securities			
1. Anand Institute ...	8,24	4,74	4,04
2. Sinking Fund Investment Account ...	7,22,68	8,79,58	10,86,05
3. Bombay Famine Relief Fund ...	61,09	54,32	79,32
4. Nasik Distillery Dep. Fund ...	17,77	17,77	17,77
5. Debt Redemption and Avoidance Fund ...	11,08,64	10,72,38	10,37,12
6. Cash Bal. Investment a/c	9,90,94	15,75,38	11,56,94
7. Dangs. Dist. Reserve Fund ...	84,42	84,42	84,52

STATEMENT "D-1" (Assets) — (Continued)

(in lakhs of rupees)

Assets	31st March 1953	31st March 1954	31st March 1955
8. Bombay State Ins. Fund		10,00	10,00
Total investment on securities ...	29,93,78	36,98,59	34,75,76
C. Investment in other com- mercial concerns and Govt. Commercial undertakings	6,67,96*	7,61,60	8,80,19
D. Capital Investment in Civil supplies scheme ...	12,14,23	7,31,93	3,68,96
Total interest yielding assets ...	72,31,94	80,70,77	79,60,59
2. Debt, Deposits and Remittances			
1. Advances Repayable ...	3,03,40	2,51,40	2,51,40
2. Permanent Adv. Civil ...	12,33	18,33	18,33
3. A/c with the Govt. of Burma		15	15
4. A/cs with the Govt of Pakistan ...	1,14,12	79,30	89,30
5. Dept. and similar A/cs..	1,89	1,89	1,89
6. A/cs with the Reserve Bank	69	39	39
7. A/cs with Part "B" States ...	4,28	4,28	4,28
8. Suspense A/c. ...	1,82,57	1,82,57	1,82,57
	6,19,28	5,38,31	5,48,31
Grand Total Assets ...	78,51,22	86,09,08	85,08,90
Excess of interest yield- ing assets over, interest bearing liabilities ...	9,89,31	1,04,72	10,27,48

The statement does not include all assets and liabilities pertaining to the merged State areas as the assets and liabilities are yet to be incorporated in the accounts of this Government.

In addition to the assets mentioned in the above Statement, the State owns remunerative assets—lands, buildings, irrigation system, communication etc. It is not possible easily to estimate their value but there is no doubt that their value runs into several crores of rupees and exceeds considerably the total liability of the State.

*Includes, Rs. 5,78,340 invested in the Bombay State Road Transport Corporation.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the Government of Bombay

(in thousands of rupees)

Assets	31st March 1953	31st March 1954	31st March 1955
A. Interest bearing obligations			
1. Public Debt.			
(a) Due to Central Govt....	27,38,93	36,23,08	45,33,90
(b) Open Market Loans ...	3,33,49	3,28,19	3,28,19
1. 3% Bombay Govt. Loan 1955			
2. 3% Bombay Govt. Loan 1956 ...	3,34,50	3,29,30	3,29,30
3. 3% Bombay Govt. Loan 1958 ...	3,28,76	3,28,71	3,28,71
4. Development Loan 1962 ...	5,90,92	5,81,92	5,72,92
5. Development Loan 1960 ...	2,97,28	2,92,75	2,88,22
6. Development Tapi Irrigation Loan 1961 ...	68,29	67,25	66,21
7. 3½% Bombay State Development Loan 1962	3,04,07	2,99,51	2,94,95
8. 4% Bombay State Development Loan 1964	3,66,73	3,66,73	3,61,23
9. Bombay Development Loan 1920 ...	6	6	6
10. 4% Bombay State Development Loan 1963	.....	5,50,35	5,42,10
11. Loans raised by merged States ...	1,02	1,02	1,02
TOTAL LOANS ...	53,64,05	67,68,87	76,46,81
2. Unfunded Debt.			
Special Loans			
(i) Charitable and other Funds ...	9,11	9,11	9,11
(ii) Anand Institute ...	7,81	4,74	4,04
(iii) State Provident Funds ...	8,63,70	11,80,84	13,26,98
Total interest bearing obligations	62,44,67	79,63,55	89,86,94
3. Interest Free Obligations			
I. Earmarked Balances			
1. Contingency Fund ...	2,99,02	3,00,00	3,30,00
2. Famine Relief Fund ...	71,16	63,00	88,00
3. State Road Fund ...	2,30,22	2,36,99	1,02,39
4. Depreciation and Reserve Funds ...	20,17	20,83	19,25
5. State Sugarcane Cess Fund ...	1,74,07	1,86,12	1,58,53
6. Dangs. Dist. Reserve Fund ...	1,08,86	1,10,13	97,51
7. Bombay State Dev. Fund	8,78,81	8,28,81	5,78,81
8. Bombay State Milk Fund	.....	8,83	26,11
9. Bombay State Insurance Fund ...	15,28	19,91	38,79

Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the Government of Bombay—(Continued)

(in thousands of rupees)

	31st March 1953	31st March 1954	31st March 1955
10. Deposits, Advance and Remittances			
(i) Deposit of Local Funds ...	3,18,26	3,68,26	3,68,26
(ii) Departmental and Judicial Deposit—Civil Deposit	8,10,19	8,60,19	9,10,19
(iii) Other Accounts ...	7,00,54	6,68,65	8,04,00
(iv) Cheques and Bills ...	97,00	97,00	97,00
(v) Remittances ...	1,21,19	1,21,19	1,21,19
Total Earmarked Balances ...	38,44,77	38,89,91	37,40,03
Guaranteed Liability of Govt.	13,82,45	13,82,45	13,82,45
Total Interest-free Obligations ...	52,27,22	52,72,36	51,22,48
Grand Total Obligations ...	1,14,71,89	1,32,35,91	1,41,09,42

(in thousands of rupees)

	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
1. Subsidy and grant-in-aid Received from the Government of India ...	1,04,74	1,87,34	1,44,34	3,83,86	1,41,92	2,34,15	1,70,35	3,36,14	6,09,07
2. Loan from the Government of India ...	.....	.....	.....	3,15,00	2,97,89	5,90,50	5,56,16	9,99,00	10,50,93
Public Loans ...	.....	.....	.....	6,00,15	3,02,09	3,72,15	3,66,73	5,50,35	6,00,00
3. <i>Transfer from Reserve</i>									
1. Insurance Fund ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,16	2,64	4,04	1,60
2. Milk Fund * ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,21,80	1,16,04	50,61
3. Fishermen's Relief Fund ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
4. Famine Relief Fund ...	8,90	4,17	3,29	2,59	4,54	13,65	24,68	48,10	7,66
5. Sugarcane Cess Fund ...	.....	.....	.....	79	1,98	24,50	36,52	52,80	81,94
6. State Road Fund ...	5,66	6,35	12,90	10,04	83,15	1,01,90	1,84,89	2,66,08	4,17,90
7. Special Development Fund ...	1,87,80	1,24,06	14,12	18,70	21,15	30,10	21,02	.....	.....
8. Bombay State Development Fund ...	.....	.....	1,70,00	.....	4,00,00	2,00,00	2,50,00	50,00	2,50,00
9. Depreciation Reserve Fund (Govt. Presses) ...	36	47	41	1,83	1,39	1,04	71	2,48	5,63
10. Deposits and Depreciation Reserves of Commercial Concerns (Nasik Distillery) ...	1	3,98	29	37	55	85	1	15	6
11. Dangs District Reserve Fund ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,41	4,40	.....	22,62
	3,07,47	3,26,37	3,45,35	13,33,33	12,54,66	15,73,41	17,39,91	24,25,18	3,09,804
4. Annual Sales Tax Collection	1,17,66	4,88,89	6,82,99	13,23,49	15,17,52	12,58,95	11,36,67	16,86,34	17,45,62
5. Annual Receipt of Excise Revenue ...	9,74,25	8,54,49	6,17,46	4,18,78	1,07,06	91,65	94,50	96,70	67,48
And Annual Expenditure ...	78,76	97,61	95,96	72,61	52,55	39,11	41,61	26,60	28,37

* This fund is built up from profits on Milk Powder Scheme in Bombay and the expenditure out of this Fund is incurred on Milk Schemes in Bombay (Aarey Colony)

No. AOC. 1054/11 8595/II

Finance Department,
Secretariat (Annex).

DEAR SRI KANTI,

With reference to your letter dated 19th April, 1954, I am forwarding herewith the information as required therein. Information on points (1) to (5) mentioned in your letter is given in the appended statement. For capital expenditure on revenue and capital account separately for the last 5 years is given below. While calculating capital expenditure, the expenditure on State Schemes of State Trading and transfers to Contingency fund has been excluded as this expenditure does not constitute correctly capital development expenditure. The population of the State of Bombay has been taken 3,59,66,160 according to 1951 census figure.

	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54 (revised estimate)
For Capital Expenditure on Revenue A/c. ...	17.1	17.9	17.4	19.0	20.0
For Capital Expenditure on Capital A/c. ...	1.8	1.9	2.4	2.2	2.9

Information on point (7) regarding figures for Karnatak districts will be forwarded separately.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) V. DEHEJIA.

THE RESOURCES AND POTENTIALITIES OF KARNATAKA

INTRODUCTORY

Karnataka is a land of vast economic resources. Though ancient, it is yet a virgin land, since most of her resources still lie dormant. In most cases, their economic exploitation has not yet started effectively. The only notable exception is that of Gold in which respect Karnataka claims 90% of the gold-produce of India. When assessing the financial stability of this would-be State, this particular aspect requires to be borne in mind. Karnataka is essentially a land of promise. Experts have compared her position with the land of the Mississippi and the Ohio in respect of some very important resources. It is, however, a fact that Karnataka although comparable with the America of the 17th and 18th Centuries, is at least two to three hundred years behind modern America.

The basic factors that constitute the foundation of the Economic Resources of any region are (i) *Natural Resources* and (ii) *Industrial Resources*. Such of these as are capable of reproducing themselves (e.g., forests, fish etc.) are Organic Resources; others (e.g., coal, soils,) are Inorganic Resources. A region having larger organic resources would be more dependable than others having larger inorganic resources, unless in the latter case, the resources are most cautiously utilized.

Karnataka may be said to possess all these types of resources in a more or less well-balanced manner. Although the range of Karnataka's resources is very varied and extensive, no part of this promising land is yet surveyed thoroughly and scientifically. In most cases, (more particularly in respect of mineral resources) their existence or occurrence is just reckoned, but their extent is hardly computed. Under the circumstances, a preview of the resources of Karnataka will have to be restricted to such of the resources in which Karnataka might be expected to excel, or easily emulate, other important regions of our country. That would suffice to make any one realise that Karnataka's contribution to the national wealth of India is likely to be one of the greatest and of the highest order. It would not be far from truth to say that Karnataka is a miniature India in more respects than could be applicable to the other parts of India. The enumeration of the resources,—mainly, natural resources,—that is to follow, would amply bear out how bountiful nature has been on this region; provided of course all the effective resources and potentialities are put together. *In respect of climate, topography, hydrocology and geological phenomena, there is hardly a region in India, possessing such a totality of favourable circumstances. In point of variety and abundance and superior quality, some of her resources, more particularly her food resources and commercial crops, are among the best in our country. Her power resources, too, situated just where the modern industrialist would have liked them to be, are second to none in the whole of India.*

In respect of *Human Resources*, she is not at all bad off. She has some of the most brilliant statesmen and engineers, most intrepid fishermen; most trustworthy yet competent tradesmen and workers who are "naturally laborious and of good adaptability toward any profession." * On an average, Kannada people are a sturdy and well-built race, peace-loving and industrious under unobstrusive circumstances.

Karnataka is not a very thickly populated area and there is no space-problem. Extremes of population density,—as in Bengal or Rajasthan,—are also absent here. The density of population being slightly below the average of India, and the food resources being adequate, there is no undue pressure on land as in other parts of the country, although dependence on agriculture is almost the same as elsewhere. As three-fourths of Karnataka is a surplus area, particularly with good rains, most Kannada people live in contentment—which in recent years, however, has rendered them un-enterprising. Being the descendents of the great Parashuram and Hanuman, being the inheritors of the heritage of Kadambas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and the Vijaya-nagara Kings, and being also the disciples of Shankara, Madhva, Ramanuja and Basava (all denizens of Karnataka),—the people of this land are usually well-balanced in their emotional and intellectual outlook. Their land is not one of extremes; and so are the people. Belonging as they do to the cradle-land of India's racial confluence, Kannadigas also possess well-balanced traits of both mind and physique that harmonize the North and the South. To quote another authority, Dr. Gibbon, the people are "*vastly more enterprising, well affected, and peaceable than their Maratha neighbours.*" †

It could thus be seen that optimum circumstances do exist even in respect of Human Resources, which form the real foundation of the progressive development of all other Economic Resources. But the tragedy lies in the fact that these people, lacking as they do the essential '*power behind planning*,' are unable to be the masters of their most favourable circumstances. Dr. R. M. Field, of the Princeton University, observes "*the natural advantages or material resources of a country require at least a minimum of development if they are to be exploited with the maximum of profit and enjoyment.*" Even this minimum has been denied, through decades and generations, to this land of vast resources. For example the Ghataprabha Irrigation Scheme, capable of irrigating a million acres was completely finalised over 50 years ago; administrative sanction too was granted; the scheme was reported to be the most practicable and one of the soundest and most economic. It could have brought new hope and new life to the famine-stricken areas of Belgaum and Bijapur Districts, which were long known as the granary of the Deccan. Such a vital scheme has not yet materialized. This is only one of numerous such instances. This is so because, the people of the land have but little hold on the '*power behind planning*' and their voice is neither heard nor felt effectively in far-off centres of political influence. The saddest part of the tragedy is that this, otherwise compact economic region, has been subjected to

* Quotation from the Economic History of the Deccan and Karnataka by Dr. R. D. Choksey, (P. 294.) Regarding the people of Karnataka Dr. Choksey quotes Chaplin,—a Commissioner of the region,—as follows:—"I have always formed a very good opinion of the native character generally; *I think they will bear an advantageous comparison with the natives of any country in the world.*" (Dr. Choksey, P. 295).

† Dr. Choksey; p. 347.

administrative fragmentation, right across its most resourceful tracts, in a manner that is far from being conducive to regional development. Thus most of Karnataka's regions, rich in resources, are now nothing but far-flung tailends of other unwieldy political and administrative Units. Besides, the economic make-up of Karnataka is tagged on, uncongenially, to other regions of very different economic nature. For example, the economics of Karnataka tend towards co-operative enterprise whereas private enterprise is the back-bone of Gujarat economics. On the contrary, the economic trends of Mysore and the rest of Karnataka harmonize with one another to a greater extent. The vast strides made by Mysore and Bombay-Karnataka in the progress of co-operative movement and the backwardness of Gujarat in this field are most eloquent evidences in this behalf. Similarly, the Managing Agency system does not find favour in Karnataka, as it does in Bombay and Gujarat. A United Karnataka is likely to top the list of other Indian States in co-operative enterprises. It is already one of the foremost. This too is an important,—perhaps the most important, argument for a United Karnataka.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF KARNATAKA

"The Natural Resources.....are the heritage of the whole nation and should be conserved and utilised for the benefit of all...."

—DR. R. M. FIELD.

The most important Natural Resources of Karnataka are :

1. *Climate and Topography*
2. *Water Resources* (Hydrocology)
3. *Geology and Soils* (The Black Cotton Soils, the Red Forest Loams, Mineral Wealth etc.)
4. *Marine Resources*
5. *Flora and Fauna* (Forest Resources and Live Stock)

These are dealt with one by one in the following pages.

KARNATAKA'S CLIMATE

Two of the most valuable boons of Nature to our land are its remarkable topography and its highly salubrious and equable climate. It is noteworthy that Karnataka, possessing the highest average altitude among Indian Provinces, may be called the roof of India, just as Tibet is known as the Roof of the World. What is more important is that this region of uplands and highlands lies within the orbit of the South-Western Winds which are the most pleasant breezes that India gets. The average altitude of Karnataka is over 2,500 feet above sea level and there are all imaginable arable heights in our land from 10 feet along the coast to 8,000 feet above sea level in the Nilgiris. The average temperature of Karnataka never exceeds 100°F and the average humidity is never above 50 * per cent, both of which are factors most conducive to the industrialization of this region. The result of these remarkable features is that Karnataka enjoys an optimum climate, very closely comparable to the Southern parts of the United States. It is worth noting in this connection that Mr. Shaw the Collector of Dharwar (1840), observed that "*perhaps the climate of no part of Western*

* The relative Humidity of Bombay, Delhi and Kanpur is 76% ; of Calcutta 86%.

India approached so near the climate of the cotton districts of the United States as the Southern Maratha country"† (*Dharwar Gazetteer*.) Lord Connemera, during his tour of Karnataka in 1880-84 recorded that while Mangalore and Karwar presented a most pleasing sight, Dharwar had an exceptionally pleasant climate in India. His biographer observed that "The country around Dharwar consists of cool green uplands. The climate and scenery are also very delightful and few stations in India are more favoured in this respect." (Ree's *Tours of Lord Connemera*.) Mr. Latham, a British Engineer called Dharwar "*the garden station of India*." We know there are many other places in Karnataka worthy of this description.‡ With particular reference to Karnataka region Sir Arthur Cotton observed that "it is perhaps of all India, the best suited for European colonization. *The situation makes it a delightful climate, a climate for Europeans far superior to that of England.*" (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1859). This is borne out by the array of health-resorts and hill-stations all over Karnataka,—like Bangalore, Nandidurg, Hassan, Kemmannagundi, Mercara, Ooty, Kuduremukha, Ramanadurg, Bidar, Jath, Hukeri, Belgaum, Belikeri, Rajahansagada, Gandharvagada, Darshanigudda, Govardhanagiri and a score of other places all possessing such healthful and vigorous climate that Karnataka may well be termed a land of Sanatoria. In short, our land enjoys most of the sub-tropical conditions in spite of its tropical location.

I have dealt with the aspect of climate at some length because climate is the "*greatest of natural resources*." "*The energy of a people as exemplified in their civilization, is greatly influenced by topography and climate. A country . . . which possesses a relative optimum of relief and climate is endowed with important natural resources.*" (Dr. R. M. Field, Director, School of Geology and Natural Resources, Princeton University, U.S.A.) So far as industrialization is concerned, climate is largely responsible for a higher rate of production and also for the conservation of human energy.§ Other things being equal, the climate of Karnataka, would no doubt make for a higher *per capita* output.

KARNATAKA'S WATER RESOURCES (Hydrocology)

Turning to the industrial prospects of Karnataka, it could be safely said that this land, of all the regions of this country, is particularly suited to become the *Pittsburg of India*. Indeed the only important natural assets that this region does not seem to possess are oil and coal. But this deficiency is more than made up by the vast resources of "*White Coal*". Besides numerous streams and rivulets, there are fifty large rivers with considerable annual run-off, with a total length of well over 100,000 miles. As Karnataka is a land of watersheds, almost all these rivers except half a dozen or so, take their birth here and flow through the land for considerable length, criss-crossing the entire countryside which is nothing but a system of valleys within valleys. The average annual rainfall is about 100 inches with a maxi-

† Southern Maratha is a "misnomer" for Bombay Karnataka; "A more complete misnomer . . . could not well have been devised". I. F. Fleet; p. 3.

‡ A French Historian wrote "*The plains of Mysore afford the most beautiful habitation that nature has to offer to mankind upon the earth.*"

§ "An optimum climate is a great national resource, principally because it is a great stimulus to human energy."—"Natural Resources of the United States", by Dr. R. M. Field.

imum seasonal rainfall or over 300 inches in parts of Kanara, which is the world's highest single-season precipitation. * Although no actual estimate is so far made, it might be assumed that the total run-off for the whole of Karnataka is well over 50,00,000 Million cft. i.e., roughly 50 Million cubic feet of water per square mile. If all this rain water were to be impounded, there would be over 4 feet of water all over Karnataka for all the twelve months ; or it would make a lake as large as the whole of the Dharwar District, with a depth of 100 ft. of water.

This is not all. Karnataka is also a land of Water Falls. Excepting, perhaps, the Himalayas, there is no region of equal size in India, having as many water falls as Karnataka. As most of our rivers are swift flowing there are, in addition, innumerable cataracts, rapids, and gorges all of which could be harnessed for purposes of power and irrigation. There are at least 30 sites, so far mapped, for the purpose of Hydro-electric power. A further survey would add another dozen sites suited for large-scale power production. It is well-known that some of our Water Falls are world-famous. The more important of these are : the Gokak Falls, the Jala-Durga Falls, the Lal-guli Falls, the Kanheri Falls, the Magod Falls, the Unchalli Falls, the Jog Falls, the Shiradi Falls, the Pykara Falls, the Shivasamudram Falls, the Mekedatu Falls and the Hogenkallu Falls. The total power-potential of the 30 and odd sites (which include these Water Falls also,) may be roughly estimated at about a Million K.W. of hydroelectric power of which Kanara alone will be responsible for more than 50 per cent. Comparatively speaking the power-potential of Karnataka is nearly twice as much as that of U.P., and ten times that of the whole of Madras Presidency. Thus we may safely conclude that in respect of water and power resources Karnataka will rank among the topmost regions of India. Besides, there are large reserves of Wood-fuel, Peat and Brown Coal (Lignite), in the western ghats and Nilgiris. Winds, having a very high average velocity in certain parts of Karnataka are yet another source of power. Belgaum, for example, possesses the highest average wind-velocity in India. (Ref. Chatterton-Lift-Irrigation.)

KARNATAKA'S GEOLOGICAL WEALTH

It has been observed that Karnataka is a miniature India in many respects. In no other context could this observation be more apt than with reference to the geological structure of this part of India. In fact geology is the very foundation of all our industrial hopes. It would be literally true to say that Karnataka is worth its weight in gold in respect of her geological wealth. For, the geology of Karnataka combines almost all the important representative geological formations of India. In this connection, it would be well to quote Dr. Alexander Christie, who stated that this region " contained specimens of all rocks and served as an example of the general geognostical structure of the entire peninsula of India." (Carter-Geological papers of Western India.)

Geologically speaking, Karnataka is one of the oldest parts of Earth's encrustations ; it is indeed the oldest geological region of

* It may be noted that Cherapunji in Assam which has world's highest annual rain fall, gets over 400 inches in two seasonal precipitations i.e., south east and south west monsoon while Kanara gets only the latter.

India. Her geological heritage is therefore the most ancient and it may, therefore, be safely concluded that Karnataka is the cradle of India's geological civilization. Our greatest geological inheritances are therefore, (i) the highly productive soils, and (ii) the vast and varied range of important minerals.

THE SOILS OF KARNATAKA

Karnataka's soils are next only in importance to her mineral wealth which will be dwelt with further below. Apart from their high fertility-value in respect of food crops, they are of great importance to our industrial development also. Cotton, oilseeds, tobacco, indigo, mulberry, sugarcane, maize, firewood, teak, bamboo, sandalwood and a myriad variety of forest produce are the boons of our soils. Tea, coffee, cinchona, spices, eucalyptus, pepper, cardamom and rubber could also be added to this list. Thanks to Mother Nature, the soils of Karnataka, which belong to the oldest varieties, are still young and comparatively less subjected to erosion and exhaustion so that they are even to-day reckoned among the first-rate soils of India.

THE BLACK COTTON SOILS

The black cotton soils of the Krishna valley contain the best features of the comparatively younger soils of the Vainganga and the Ganga basins, which are classed as soils of highest productivity in India. The high quality of our soils is testified to by the astonishing success achieved here in growing long-staple cotton for the first time in India. This success was first achieved as far back as 1844 at Kusugal near Hubli, under the direction of Mr. Mercer, an American cotton expert. The experiments in growing long-staple cotton in this area were so successful that the New Orleans variety grown at Kusugal was described such "as would have done credit even to the banks of Mississippi" (*Dharwar Gazetteer*). The *Gazetteer* further records that "In the Bombay Karnatak, Dharwar stood first and both its American and its local cotton was highly esteemed." In the whole of India, it was the Dharwar region *that was most successful in growing the Sea Island and the New Orleans cotton, the two first class cotton varieties in the world.* (Ref. H. R. Carnac, Cotton Commissioner, C.P. 1868-69.)

Mr. McIlwraith of W. Nicol & Co., a British cotton firm, opined as follows in respect of Dharwar cotton "As an Indian cotton, I have the highest opinion of it . . . it is of a finer, longer and generally speaking, stronger staple when properly ginned" (Evidence given before Karwar Railway Committee). Mr. McIlwraith further states in his evidence how Dharwar cotton was successfully used for manufacturing special types of cloth which were never previously manufactured from any but American cotton. Thus we see that while Karnataka contributes a substantial quantity of cotton to the total output of India, she is also capable of producing some of the world's finest varieties of cotton.

THE FOREST SOILS

There are also other soils of higher productivity such as the red forest loams prevailing throughout the entire Western Ghats and the

Nilgiris. The rich forest resources of Karnataka such as teak, bamboo, spices, coffee, sandalwood and cinchona in respect of which Karnataka practically leads the rest of India, are the result of these very fertile loam-soils. There are few such exuberant ever green forest areas in India as could be compared favourably with those of Karnataka. The Bombay Provincial Industries Committee records that the "*Teak from the Kanara district . . . is one of the best Indian teaks available which, in certain respects, is even better than Rangoon teak wood.*" With reference to the bamboo produce the same report reveals that *the sustained annual yield of bamboo from Kanara alone far exceeds the bamboo produce of any other single province in the whole of India.* (Ref. p.p. 148, 114 respectively. Food and Forest Industries reports of the committee referred to above). It is well-known that coffee, spices and sandalwood are practically the exclusive preserves of Karnataka.

The forests of Karnataka, particularly, along the Western Ghats fall within the ever green and semi-ever-green-belts of the peninsula. It is noteworthy that unlike the Sahyadri Ranges of Maharashtra which have been subjected to erosion for hundreds of years and hence rendered barren, the same ranges in Karnataka are full of verdure and contain some of World's tallest and stoutest trees. The soils of Karnataka forests are thus naturally conserved and have become preserves of rich forest produce of immense industrial value like the teak and a variety of timber, bamboo, cane, sandalwood, sigekai, myrabolaus, firewood and innumerable medicinal herbs and of plantations of coffee, tea, areca, rubber, cinchona etc. Some of the richest spice gardens of India are to be found here. The richness of the forest soils of Karnataka could be imagined if one takes into account that the natural yield of the forests of Karnataka would be worth over four crores of rupees annually barring the output of plantations. All this is the result of the high fertility of these forest-soils, which are classed as Forest Loams of first class productivity, the like of which are found nowhere in the entire Deccan Plateau, save the Western forest ranges of Karnataka. (see E. Simkin's *Agricultural Geography of the Deccan Plateau* P. 647).

MINERAL WEALTH

Of foremost importance to the industrialisation of Karnataka are the minerals which abound in almost all parts of our land. Minerals are likely to play a role of highest importance in the future industrial life of Kannadigas. The idea that Karnataka could become the Pittsburgh of India may be fulfilled only by the proper development of our mineral wealth side by side with the development of hydro-electric power, to the fullest extent possible. Development of mineral wealth as a basis of a variety of basic industries is Karnataka's special privilege shared only by a few other provinces of India. The entire region of Karnataka is included in the vast mineral belt of India stretching for over 2,000 miles from the Kanara coast to Assam in the North-east. A study of the mineral map of India reveals that *Karnataka possesses India's second largest mineral grouping*, the first largest being spread over four provinces viz., Orissa, C.P., Bihar and Bengal. On a province-wise reckoning, Karnataka would rank first or second among the provinces of India both in respect of variety and richness of her mineral resources.

That Nature has been bountiful on Karnataka in respect of mineral wealth is, therefore, very obvious. *Gold* is a valuable mineral asset in which Karnataka holds yet another monopoly, being responsible for nearly 87 per cent. of India's total output. Kolar, Hatti, Bel-lara, Kappat Ranges and Alnavar areas and the Malaprabha Basin are known to be rich in Gold bearing reefs. The first three of these are mines in actual working. The other important minerals on which Karnataka's contribution to India's mineral wealth is likely to be very considerable, are : *Iron, Manganese, Bauxite, Corundum, Copper, Salt-petre, Steatite, Ochres, Fuller's Earth, Beryl, Building and Ornamental Stones, Lime-stones, Asbestos, Chromite, Sulphur, etc.*

It may be noted that Karnataka has one of the largest mineral concentrations in India. The greatest concentration of these minerals in Karnataka itself is to be found in the area lying between Bhadravati, Sondur, Belgaum and Karwar, barring, of course, the Kolar and Hatti gold areas and a smaller concentration of minerals round about Coorg and Nilgiris. Although this region, the Sandur-Bhadravati belt, *i.e.*, the central Tungabhadra Valley, is the heart of Karnataka, it is along this very belt that Karnataka is now split up into three or four parts, in such a way that a correlated development of this minerally most important area has become practically impossible.

THE MARINE WEALTH OF KARNATAKA

High quality fish is available in great abundance along the North Kanara Coast. During war years the demand for fish reached an unprecedented zenith and the industry along this coast received a new impetus and started organising its trade on modern lines. North Kanara is the most important fishing district in the entire Bombay Province, despite its neglected conditions. Along a sea-board of about 75 miles, it has a score of fishing centres and no fewer than 14 fish-curing yards. Of these as many as six are clustered around Karwar. It is noteworthy that the total quantity of fish cured in the yards of North Kanara in 1945-46, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times larger than that of Ratnagiri District which has a longer sea-board and a greater number of fish-yards. The yield for that year from the Kanara yards was about 260,000 maunds or roughly 9,000 tons,—a quantity nearly equal to the total quantity cured in the entire province in 1930-31. (See Sorley's Report, P. 54). It may, therefore, be safely assumed that between 1931 and 1945, the total catch of North Kanara must have similarly increased to 55,000 tons, which was the 1931 total for the entire Province. Usually, the ratio of the fish cured at yards and the total catch is 1 to 6. (Ref. Sorley, P. 15 & 54). On this basis also, the total catch for Kanara in 1945-46 works out at about 55,000 tons. This is not all. The official Report for 1945-46 says : "The mackere¹ fisheries ranked, as usual, foremost in importance among the fisheries of this province and showed a big turn-over. If deep-seafishing were introduced, the present annual yield would easily be increased fourfold *i.e.*, upto 2 lakhs of tons of fish every year, out of which at least 25,000 tons of cured fish would be available for outside markets where demand far exceeds the present supply. (Ref. Sorley, P. 36). Auxiliary products like fish-oil, guano,

¹ There are 36 Government Fish curing yards and twice as many private curing yards along the Kanara Coast. A number of Fishermen's Co-operative Societies are at work along this coast and the one at Benage (near Karwar) is reported to be one of the largest of its kind in the whole of India.

paste, manure, maws, fins, shells, pickles, canned fish etc., would also add a few thousand tons.

The West Coast of India, south of Bombay, is the most prolific of all the coastal stretches of India. According to Mr. Sorley's surveys, the Kanara and the Malabar Coasts provide the highest annual catch on the above mentioned stretch of the West Coast. It is, therefore, evident that the coast of Karnataka, being the centre of this vast coastal stretch, possesses the richest fisheries in India. Much has already been said about the marine potentialities of the North Kanara, which although larger than those of the Konkan, are, however, dwarfed by those of South Kanara. According to the authority quoted above, over 1 lakh of tons of fish were landed along the entire Kanara coast in the year under survey. Of this, South Kanara and Malabar districts were responsible for 1,80,000 tons. On a *per capita* basis, this enormous quantity was double the quantity of fish caught in Japan in the same year, in spite of the most primitive methods employed by our fishermen. Besides, deep-sea fishing is not yet a thing in vogue along this coast. If these potentialities of the Kanara waters—say from Goa to Malabar—, are exploited on more modern lines with advanced methods of fishing, the marine resources of this coast would be one of the largest in the world. For a proof thereof, let us compare the above mentioned 1,80,000 tons caught in a small stretch of 300 miles of this coast by most primitive methods with the 9,31,000 tons of fish caught in 1934, by the most advanced fishing methods along a 3,000-mile coast of Great Britain. (Ref. *New Standard Encyclopaedia*.) At this rate, the average catch for a hundred-mile stretch along the Kanara coast works out at 60,000 tons per year, whereas the average for the Scottish Coast, reckoned similarly, works out at about half that extent. The conclusion of Mr. Sorley † that the West Coast fisheries "must be comparatively more productive of fish than the Scottish waters which stand high among the best fishing grounds of Europe," is not unwarranted, in view of the fact that the practicable deep-water fishing grounds of Kanara cover an area of over 6,000 square miles.

Salt is another important article which is available in lakhs of tons along this coast. Although this industry has dwindled in recent years, the North Kanara district alone could export about 25,000 tons of salt out of this district, every year. The salt resources of South Kanara are twice as much. If suitably developed, well over 1 lakh of tons of salt could be easily raised in the near future.

FOREST RESOURCES

"The original forests of a country constitute a great natural resource which cannot be profitably replaced after it is entirely destroyed". The above maxim apply tragically to the forests of Bombay Deccan, while the forests of Karnataka still preserve their ancient glory in abundance. Karnataka's forests are a direct source of wealth, in that teak, timber, firewood and a vast range of forest produce add considerably to the provincial revenue. This aspect has already been dwelt upon in connection with the forest soils of Karnataka. Indirect-

† Foot Note 2: The enumeration of fisheries given above pertains to sea-fisheries along. Fresh water fisheries could also be developed considerably in Karnataka. The estimate of which it is difficult to assess at present.

ly, these forests are of vital importance to the climate, the stability of the soil and the abundance of ground-water, and also to the distribution of rainfall in this region.

The following is the extent of forest area in the Karnataka.

	Square Miles	Acres	Proportion to Total Area
Union Karnataka (Including Bellary but excluding Nilgiris)	6600	43,00,000	21%
Mysore (Excluding Bellary)	4800	31,00,000	16%
Other Parts of Karnataka (Hyderabad Karnataka Merged area of Bombay, Karnataka and Nilgiris)	3600	22,00,000	15%
	15000	96,00,000	18%

The richest forest areas of Karnataka are mainly in North Kanara (nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total) and Nilgiris and Coorg; in Mysore, the Shimoga and the Chikmagalur and Mysore districts have the greatest share of forest area. In the North Kanara District the forest area is 80% of the total area, whereas in the Nilgiris and Coorg the percentages are 50 and 32 respectively. The three Mysore districts have about 25-30 p.c. and the rest of Karnataka ranges from 5 to 20 p.c. Barring a couple of Districts of Assam, there is no district in the whole of India, so rich and valuable in forest resources as the North Kanara District.

The following Table illustrates the position of Karnataka on the Forest Map of India :

	Forest Area Sq. Miles	Portion to Total Area
1. Assam ...	20,000	43%
2. C. P. and Berar ...	19,000	20%
3. Karnataka ...	15,000	18%
4. Madras (Excluding Andhra and Karnataka Areas. Approx)	8,000	13%†
5. Bengal (Pre-partition)	10,000	13%†
6. Bombay (Excluding Karnataka Area)	8,000	11%
7. Hyderabad (Excluding Karnataka Area)	7,000	11%
8. Other Provinces ...	16,000	6%
Total for India ...	103,000 ‡	22%

(The effective proportion for India is however only 13% ¶)

The world's average of forest area in relation to the total land

† As most of the forest areas of Bengal have gone to Pakistan West Bengal alone would go further down in rank.

¶ These estimates are made on the basis of figures given by Dr. R. K. Das in his "Production in India" P. 27-28.

area works out at about 25% " For an agricultural country 15 per cent. area of forest is considered the barest minimum and 25 per cent., the optimum." (Qureshi, P. 13). That Karnataka falls within this range and she ranks third among the States of India, becomes very clear from the above table. " In European countries, it is found that one acre of forest is required per head of population." (Qureshi *) In India this proportion works out at 1/6 acre per head for the whole of India whereas the corresponding average for Karnataka would be 1/2 acre per head. As the forest area of Assam is disproportionately high both in relation to its total area and population, conditions there must be regarded as abnormal and left out of consideration. Among the normal regions of India, therefore Karnataka stands second only to C.P. and Berar.

If however the Marathi districts were excluded from C.P. and Berar (on the formation of Maharashtra) the position is very likely to be as follows :

		Forest Area Sq. Miles	Per- centage to total area
1. Karnataka (Total Area 80000 Sq. M.)	...	15000	18%
2. Maharashtra (Total Area 1,20,000 Sq. M.)	5000 sq. m. from C.P. & Berar. 7000 " " Bombay. 3000 " " Hyderabad.	15000	13%
3. C. P. (19000—5000 Sq. M.) (Total area barring Marathi districts 86,000 Sq. M.)	...	14004	10%

From the above, it will be amply clear that in respect of forest area, Karnataka would occupy no mean position. \$ Karnataka is about 1/15 of India and so is the extent of her forests. An optimum of circumstances in respect of forest resources is thus obtained here so far as they pertain to India.

In respect of forest produce however, the position of Karnataka would be still more enviable, as could be seen from the following statements and tables. The Commercial importance of these is indeed very high. Timber, especially teak-timber ranks foremost among the forest produces of India. The Karnataka forests, particularly North Kanara forests specialize in producing very high quality timber. According to the Bombay Provincial Industries Committee's Report, "*teak from the Kanara District of this province is one of the best Indian teaks available, which is even better than Rangoon teakwood*"

* *The Economic Development of Hyderabad*, Vol. I, (P. 16) By A. I. Qureshi.

\$ Although Assam excels other Provinces in the extent of forests she ranks very low in respect of Forest Revenue:

PROVINCIAL FOREST REVENUE (Budget Figures, 1948-49)				
BOMBAY	...	...	...	190 Lakhs
MADRAS	...	...	...	142 "
C. P. & BERAR	...	...	...	129 "
ASSAM	...	...	...	40 "

As the major portion of Bombay's Forest Revenue is derived from the Kannada Districts, and as, also, valuable parts of Madras Forests would go to Karnataka, *the Pride of Place in respect of Forest Revenue, would surely pass on to Karnataka.* The Forest Revenue of Karnataka could well be estimated at three to four crores of rupees in the near future.

(P. 148 of Food and Forest Industries Report.) As in quality, so in yield, the timber of Karnataka excels other similar regions. (See Foot-note below.)

FOREST PRODUCE IN KARNATAKA

	Timber and Fuel Cft.	Minor Pro- duce value Lakhs of †	Sandlewood Value Lakhs of	Bambo Tons **
1. Bombay Karnataka (45-46) (Figures from P. 23 of the Annual Forest Administra- tion Report, Bombay).	* 36 million cft.	Rs. 5	Rs. 2	1.5 \$ lakhs
2. Mysore 45-46; (figures from the Statistical Abstract of Mysore 1951; Tables 113; 115).	15 „ „	Rs. 2	Rs. 47	1.0 „
3. Hyderabad Karnataka.	† 2 „ „	Rs. 1 (approx)	—	1.0
4. South Kanara, Bellary Coorg, Nilgiri and Kollegal areas.	§ 7 „ „	§ Rs. 5	Rs. 5	
Totals	60 „ „	Rs. 13	54	3.5 „

From the above Table it becomes clear that

1. Out of the Total of 150 million *cft.* of Timber and Fuel produce of India, Karnataka's share would be 60 m. *cft.* i.e. more than 1/3 or 35 per cent.
2. Out of the total value of Rs. 70 lakhs of Minor Produce or 1/6 or 18 per cent.
3. Rs. 54 lakhs representing the value of Sandalwood also represents 90% of the value of the total output of India.
4. The total Bamboo Production of India is estimated at 6 lakhs of tons of which 3.5 or more than 50% of the total produce grows in Karnataka. The total output of Karnataka surpasses the total for the rest of India.

It would thus transpire that Karnataka would stand foremost in respect of both area and produce of Forests. *She would rank first in respect of Bamboo and Sandalwood*—and also perhaps in respect of *Timber*. In respect of minor produce she might rank second or third, if not first. After the separation of Burma from India, the pride of place in respect of forest resources has been shared by C.P., Bombay

* This is a little over 2 times the departmental extraction; the report states that the departmental extraction was only 30% of the total out-turn.

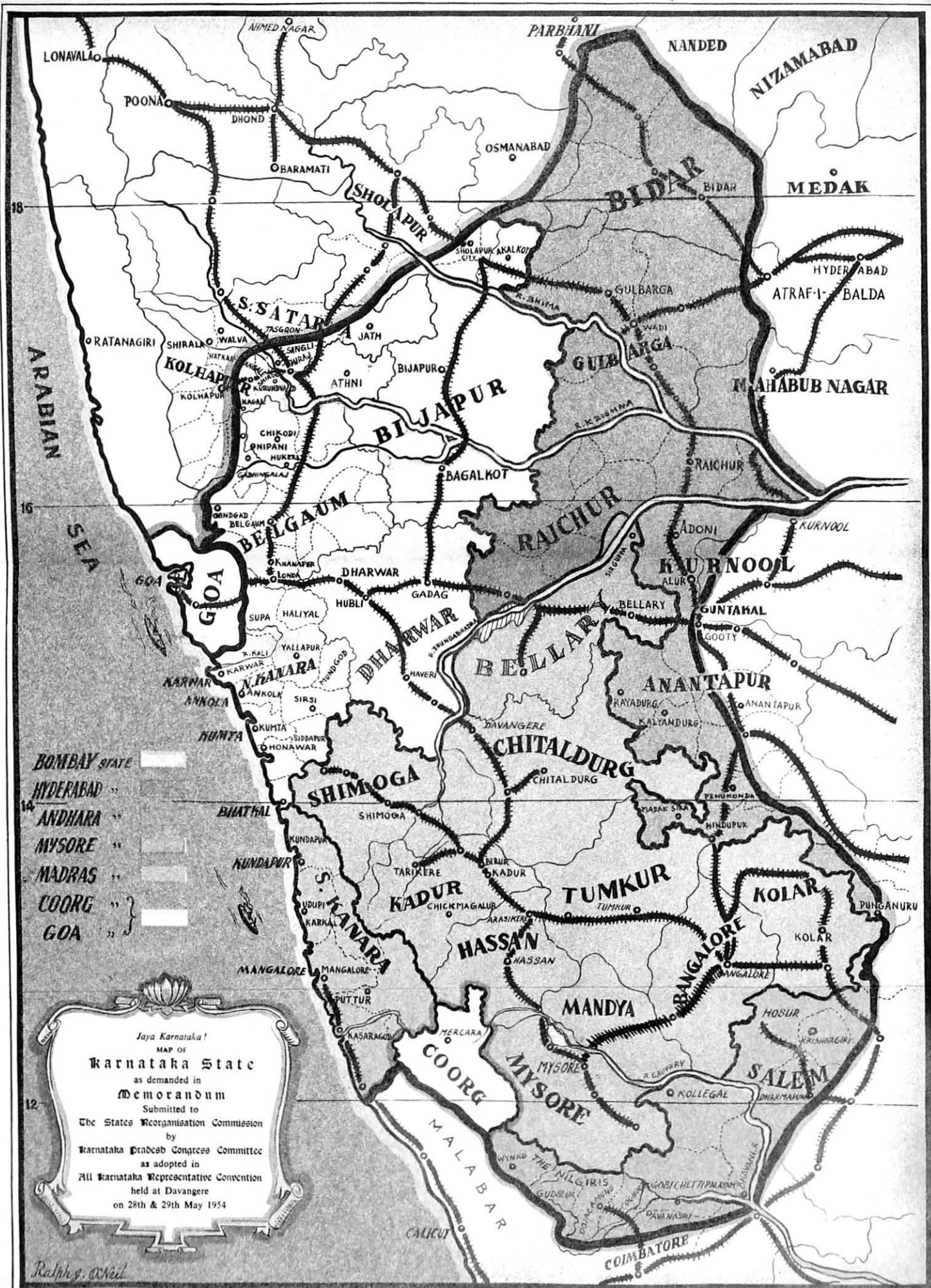
† Estimates for Hyderabad are reckoned at 1/6 the produce for the whole State.

§ Estimates for Madras Karnataka are taken at 1/3rd the official figures as given in the Industrial Planning Committee Report, P. 32.

‡ As per Statistical Atlas of Bombay State (1959 Edn.), P. 16.

** Estimates for Bamboo are taken from the Report of the Food and Forest Industries Sub-Committee (P. 114) of the Provincial Industries Committee, Bombay.

\$ A more recent departmental survey puts this estimate at 2.5 lakhs of tons instead of 1.5.



APPENDICES

Appendix A

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION CONFERENCES

Confer- ences	Place and date	President	Chairman of Reception Committee
1st	Belgaum., Dec., 1924	<i>Diwan Bahadur</i> Siddappa Kambli, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.	Shri D. V. Belvi, B.A., LL.B.
2nd	Bellary, May, 1926	Shri Pandit Rayappa Chikkodi, B.A., M.L.A.	Shri K. Gururajaroo, B.A., LL.B.
3rd	Dharwar, May, 1928	<i>Rao Saheb</i> P. G. Halkatti, B.A., LL.B.	<i>Diwan Bahadur</i> Shrinivasrao Rodda
4th	Belgaum, May, 1929	Shri A. Ranganath Mudaliar, M.L.A.	Shri D. V. Belvi, B.A., LL.B.
5th	Hukkeri, May, 1931	Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	Pandit Venkatarao, B.A., LL.B.
Special	Karwar, Dec., 1931	Shri J. A. Saldana, M.L.C.	Shri D. Silva, LL.B.
6th	Dharwar, May, 1933	Shri D. V. Belvi, B.A., LL.B.	Shri Vishwanathrao Jog
Special	Belgaum, Nov. 1936	Dr. U. Ramrao, M.L.C.	Shri B. N. Datar, M.A., LL.B.
7th	Dharwar, May, 1938	Shri K. R. Karanth, B.A., LL.B. (Inaugurated by Muragha- rajendra Swamiji)	Shri A. J. Doddameti, M.L.A.
8th	Sholapur, April, 1940	Dr. R. Naganagouda (Inaugurated by Shri K. B. Jinaraj Hegde, B.SC., LL.B., M.L.A.)	Shri M. S. Sardar, Bar-at-law.
9th	Dharwar, Dec., 1944	Shri K. B. Jinaraj Hegde, B.SC., LL.B., M.L.A.	Shri S. S. Malimath, B.A., LL.B.
10th	Bombay Jan., 1946	Sjt. B. G. Kher, B.A., LL.B. (Inaugurated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel)	Shri R. A. Jagirdar, M.A., LL.B.
11th	Kasargod, Dec., 1947	Shri R. R. Diwakar, Member, C. A. (Inaugurated by Shri H. Siddayya, B.A., LL.B.)	Shri K. R. Karanth, B.A., LL.B.

Appendix 1

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

Below are given the texts of resolutions passed in the Madras and Bombay Legislatures, indicating unequivocally the opinion of the representatives of the people of both the provinces regarding the redistribution of provinces:—

- (a) Text of the Resolution regarding the constitution of linguistic provinces, passed in the Madras Legislative Assembly on 30th March 1938 :—

“ This Assembly recommends to the Government that the view of this Chamber of the Legislature of Madras be communicated under Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 to His Majesty in Council that steps may be taken as early as possible for the constitution of separate provinces so as to place under separate autonomous provincial administration the areas wherein the language predominantly spoken is respectively Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam ”.

Moved by Mr. Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu

- (b) Text of the Resolution regarding the creation of a separate Karnataka province passed in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 5th April, 1938 :—

“ This Assembly recommends to Government to communicate to His Majesty in Council the view of this House that as early as possible steps may be taken for the creation of a new province to be called the ‘ Province of Karnataka ’ by amalgamating all the predominantly Kanarese-speaking areas under one autonomous administration.

Moved by Mr. V. N. Jog

- (c) Text of the Resolution regarding the constitution of provinces on linguistic basis, passed in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 1st April 1947 :—

“ This Assembly recommends to Government to convey to the Constituent Assembly through the Government of India that this Assembly is of the opinion that the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis is a necessary preliminary to the evolution of an integral constitution for India and that therefore this question be taken up for consideration at an early stage of its proceedings.

Moved by Mr. A. J. Doddameti

- (d) Text of the resolution regarding the redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis, passed in the Madras Legislative Assembly on 22nd April 1947 :—

“ That this Assembly recommends to Government to convey to the Constituent Assembly that this Assembly is of opinion that a redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is a necessary requisite in the framing of a constitution for India and that therefore this question be taken up for consideration by the Constituent Assembly at the next session of its preliminary Plenary Session and steps be taken for enumerating the provinces of India on a linguistic basis and particularly Tamil Nad, Kerala, Karnatak and Andhra as forming separate Provinces under the new constitution and provision be made for early appointment of a boundary commission or commissions or other machinery suitable for the delimitation of the boundaries of the above mentioned provinces.”

Moved by Dr.P. Subbarayan.

Appendix 2 and 4

KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, HUBLI

Resolution passed at the Special General Meeting of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee held at Harihar (Mysore State) on 19-1-1949 regarding formation of Karnatak Province.

This Special General Meeting of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee has considered the Dar Commission's Report with all earnestness and care and is of the definite opinion that the findings of the Dar Commission are not only retrograde and reactionary but also definitely ultra vires of it. It is regrettable that the Commission has failed to take note of the strong popular feeling in this behalf, as also of the fact that Congress has stood by this principle since 1920 and reiterated it through the pronouncements of its official bodies and election manifestoes. This meeting of the K. P. C. C. is definitely of the opinion that the findings of the Dar Commission should not be accepted either by the Central Government or the Constituent Assembly or the Congress.

The K. P. C. C. takes this opportunity to emphasise here that the formation of a Unified Karnatak Province forthwith is an imperative necessity. It is to be noted that even the reactionary Report of the Dar Commission has opined that the position of Karnatak having been torn up into several administrative units and large areas thereof in Bombay and Madras provinces forming the tail-ends of the said provinces, has militated against any development of Karnatak in spite of its rich resources. The K. P. C. C. further urges that the opinion held in certain high quarters that the Linguistic Provinces lead to provincialism is not correct. It on the otherhand urges that the existence of the present multi-lingual provinces like Madras and Bombay have been responsible for the growing feeling of bitterness, dissatisfaction, frustration and mutual distrust in the country. The K. P. C. C. is of the view that in forming the provinces, language should be the main consideration along with administrative convenience, geographical contiguity and economic development. It is through a deep consideration of these factors that the formation of Linguistic Provinces as noted above is urged as an immediate necessity. The formation of such provinces alone as harmonious units of the Indian Union, will conduce to a more wholesome and healthy integration of national life and effort. The K. P. C. C. therefore urges that in view of the strong feelings specially in South India, for the formation of Linguistic Provinces, the Three man Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress in its Jaipur session will report in favour of the formation of such provinces.

The K. P. C. C. welcomes the Act recently passed by the Constituent Assembly amending the Government of India Act of 1935 as sponsored by the Government of India. The said Act coupled with Section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935 enables the Central Government to form the dismembered Union Parts of Karnatak into a separate province immediately. It appeals (1) to the Central Government to so form the Karnatak Province immediately and (2) to the Constituent Assembly to enumerate it as a separate State in the new Constitution.

The K. P. C. C. has also reviewed the recent political developments in Mysore and is of the opinion that the establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore clears the way for the formation of a unified Karnatak State. It welcomes the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress and ratified by the A. M. C. C. in November last at Birur and notes with

pleasure the fact that the Mysore Congress stands for the formation of a unified Karnatak Province. The K. P. C. C. also notes that in the Aims and Objectives resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Mysore (which is fully representative of the people of Mysore) there is a provision for the integration of all Kannada areas in a common administration. The economic interests of the Union Karnatak and Mysore are identical and a unified Karnatak Province would mean all round progress of Kannadigas. Having due regard to the interests of the whole of Karnatak and its all round development and progress, the K. P. C. C. expresses its concurrence with the view already expressed by various bodies of public opinion in Karnatak, that the Maharaja of Mysore should be the Constitutional Head of the unified Karnatak State.

The K. P. C. C. urges the two sub-committees already appointed by the K. P. C. C. and the Mysore Congress to meet together and approach the parties concerned including the Central Government and the Maharaja for immediate implementation of this common objective.

While appreciating the growing feeling among the people of Hyderabad to join the respective linguistic areas of the Indian Union and while welcoming the proposal for the integration of the Kannada areas of the said State with unified Karnatak to be formed in the Indian Union, the K. P. C. C. is of the view that the people of Hyderabad are the best judges of their own interests in regard to their future in the constitutional set-up of India.

In view of the above considerations, the K.P.C.C. urges upon the Congress, the Central Government and the Constituent Assembly that immediate steps be taken for the formation of Karnatak State as an integral part of the Indian Union. Any delay in the formation of such a province which is a long-cherished and legitimate aspiration of the Kannadigas, will, in the considered opinion of the K. P. C. C. mean disappointment, dissatisfaction and frustration leading to serious repercussions throughout Karnatak. The K. P. C. C. therefore appeals to and urges upon the Congress, the Central Government and the Constituent Assembly not to postpone or shelve this issue on any ground whatsoever.

Appendix 3

In November 1946 on the 2nd and 3rd, the Annual Session of the Mysore Congress, held at Bangalore under the presidentship of Sri K. C. Reddy, passed the following resolution :

“ This Session of the Mysore Congress declares itself in favour of an early formation of a Karnataka Province comprising the present disrupted fragments under various administrations. It is aware that the existence of an undemocratic form of administration in Mysore is a hindrance to the formation of such a province. This session also takes note with concern of the hurried attempt of the rulers of the small States in the Deccan to form a Union without consulting the peoples of the said States. Such a union, while it militates against the formation of a Karnataka Province, also tends to perpetuate autocracy in those small States.

“ This session is also of the opinion that in the interest of the formation of provinces on the linguistic basis these States should merge in the adjoining provinces. This session appeals to the people of all parts of Karnataka to give their full support to the formation of a province for Kannadigas ”.

Appendix 5-A

The Mysore Congress has always stood for the formation of a Karnataka Province with Mysore. Throughout its struggle for the establishment of responsible government, the Mysore Congress has placed this ideal before the people and has had the fullest support from all sections of the people. After the advent of freedom, the agitation for a United Karnataka became insistent both inside and outside Mysore. In response to the wishes of the people this Committee was formed to go into the question in all its details and report to the Working Committee. Accordingly this committee held discussion with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, and other leaders of the Indian National Congress, and toured extensively in several parts of the Union Karnataka and ascertained the views of all sections of the people there.

We examined the question under the following heads :

1. *Financial.* In the opinion of the committee, which is based on the advice of experts, a Karnataka Province would have a sound financial position. It will be a self-sufficient province financially. With Bangalore as the Capital and a ready Secretariat, a Karnataka Province could be formed immediately without any administrative difficulty. Experts say that the Karnataka Province formed with Mysore will be one of the best provinces in the whole of India. It is said that the revenue of the province so formed will reach 40 crores in the course of 10 years. The present Secretariat with its staff will be sufficient for the Karnataka Province. The present revenues of both portions of Karnataka will come to about 18 to 20 crores.

2. *Cultural.*—All Kannada-speaking people have inherited the same culture.

Their traditions are the same. For the cultural development of the entire population, it is essential that all Kannada areas be constituted into one Province under one administration.

Industrial.—Mysore is industrially advanced. No other part of India has as many industries in such a small area as Mysore has. Mysore has invested about 17 crores in industries including railways. Our national debt also comes to about the same amount. In the Union parts of Karnataka potentialities for industrial development are great. One-third of the mineral wealth of the whole of India is found in Karnataka. In Mysore most of the industries are owned by Government. And in other parts of Karnataka private efforts and enterprises towards industrialisation are seen here and there.

If the possibilities are explored and the people of the entire Karnataka act unitedly, Karnataka can be converted into one of the best industrially developed portions of the country. It will not be out of place for us to mention that when the Karnataka Province is formed industries in the union portion could be developed without in any way prejudicially affecting the progress of Mysore. Mysore intellect and talent will be available for the development of the whole country. Incidentally we may note that there will be a wider opening for all our young and educated men.

4. We were a seafaring people once. We had trade relations with Arabia, Africa and other countries up to Italy. Landlocked as Mysore is, Mysore young men have not sufficient opportunities to develop in that direction. With 200 miles of coastline and with the possibilities of having four major and minor ports, the possibilities and chances for all Karnataka people for shipbuilding, trade and commerce would be immense. Development in trade and commerce would bring in more money, helping thereby the raising of the standard of living.

5. *Food.*—Mysore has all along been deficit in foodgrains. Karnatak Province when formed would become self-sufficient in food. It will be a rich province. Its land is very fertile. Wheat, Javari, Rice, Ragi, Pulses, Sugarcane, Cotton, Oil-seeds, Coconut and all other important crops are produced in Karnataka.

6. The average man in the union portion of Karnataka is as rich or as poor as the average man in Mysore. It is not right to say that he is poorer than the average man in Mysore. Physically he is better. He gets better and more nutritious food. The milk and milk products used by him are more. Economically he is as sound, if not sounder. The formation of Karnataka Province will not in any way adversely affect the economic condition of the Mysorean. On the other hand it would be an advantage.

7. Education and medical facilities are more in Mysore. But this should not lead any one to the inference that the people in the Union parts are backward in education and health. Mysore and outside Karnataka could be brought under one administration providing for the uniform progress of Mysore.

8. *Maharaja.*—The Mysore Congress stand has always been to have a United Karnataka with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Head. The Three-men Committee report, recently accepted by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, makes it clear that the formation of Karnataka province is essential, but the people will have to wait till the State disappears. This virtually means that when Karnataka province is formed, Mysore or that province must come into line with a Governor's province. Even now steps are being taken by the Centre to bring Mysore into line with the other

provinces. Therefore from now only we can have a Karnataka province without offending against the accepted policies of the Mysore Congress. The Province will have His Highness the Maharaja as the Constitutional head, *i. e.*, Governor.

Therefore we recommend to the Working Committee that the States Ministry be informed of the decisions of the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress *viz.*, to form a Karnataka province with His Highness the Maharaja as the Constitutional head. We also suggest that the time when and the manner in which this is to be implemented be left to the administrative convenience of the Centre. And it is hoped that the Centre will expedite the matter.

(Sd.) T. Subramanya.

(Sd.) K. G. Wadeyar.

(Sd.) T. Siddalingaiah.

Appendix 5-B

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE FOR KARNATAKA EKKARANA

The important topic of the day in India is the formation of Provinces according to languages, otherwise called the formation of Linguistic Provinces.

In accordance with the views of the Indian National Congress, the Mysore Congress has always expressed its views in favour of the Linguistic Provinces in general and Karnataka Province in particular. In its Subash Nagar session, the Mysore Congress passed a resolution in favour of the formation of Karnataka Province. After the advent of freedom, the agitation for the United Karnataka became insistent both inside and outside Mysore. In accordance with the wishes of the people, the Mysore Congress Working Committee has appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of the following members and directed this Committee to submit its report to the Working Committee on the question of the formation of the Karnataka Province. The members of this Committee are :—

1. Sri T. Siddalingaiah, President of the Mysore Congress ;
2. Sri T. Subramanya, President, Mysore Constituent Assembly ;
3. Sri S. Channaiya, Member, Mysore Congress Working Committee ;
4. Sri K. G. Wadeyar, Member, Mysore Congress Working Committee ;
5. Sri A. G. Bandi Gowda, Member, Mysore Congress Working Committee (Secretary).

The matter was placed before the A.M.C.C. at Birur, and it was adopted by the A.M.C.C. with a request that this Committee may co-opt a member from among the members of the A.M.C.C. The Sub-Committee met on 24-11-1948 and co-opted Sri B. P. Halappa of Bhadravati. Unfortunately Sri B. P. Halappa passed away. As the Committee had arranged to leave for Delhi to contact the

leaders there in connection with the formation of the Karnataka Province, this Committee could not co-opt any other member in place of Sri B. P. Halappa immediately.

The Committee consisting of Sri T. Subrahmanya, Sri S. Channaiyya, Sri K. G. Wodeyer and Sri A. G. Bandi Gowda left Bangalore for Delhi on 2-12-1948 and arrived at Delhi on 3-12-1948. Sri T. Siddalingaiyya who is a member of the Constituent Assembly was already there to attend the Constituent Assembly.

The members of this Sub-Committee met the members of the Dar Committee on 5-12-1948 at the Constituent Assembly Hall. The then Chief Minister, Sri K. Chengalraya Reddy, and Sri S. Nijalingappa, President of the K.P.C.C., were also present.

Mr. T. Subramanya spoke on behalf the Mysore Committee and explained the object of the Sub-Committee. The Dar Committee has given an impression that the formation of Karnataka and Kerala Provinces is of a different nature and that if people want these Provinces, they may have them.

Then the Mysore Committee met the President and Secretary of the Indian National Congress on the 7th of December 1948. Messrs. K. C. Reddy and S. Nijalingappa and K. R. Madhava Rao were present. The question of merger and the Province status for Mysore were first discussed. Both the President and Secretary stated that they were not in favour of an independent Province status for Mysore. Regarding the formation of Karnataka Province, both of them held the view that the formation of Provinces according to languages is inevitable and that there must be an immediate formation of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Kerala Provinces.

When the question of Mysore as an integral part of the Indian Dominion was pressed, the President of the Indian National Congress said that "Greater Mysore" would be possible, and that instead of a Karnataka Province this "Brihat Mysore" can itself be called a Karnataka Province, with the Mysore Maharaja as the Constitutional Head.

The Sub-Committee met the Governor-General at his residence when he invited them for tea, and discussed casually with him about the formation of Karnataka Province. The Governor-General said that in view of the urgent and immediate problems of the country, the question of the formation of Linguistic Provinces could be postponed for some time. Yet, if people want, they may have them in course of time. But he did not give a definite opinion on the question. He further said that the proper persons to deal with this question are the Dominion Premier, the Deputy Premier and the National Congress Working Committee.

Some of the members of this Sub-Committee met the Deputy Premier, Sri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, at his residence and discussed this problem with him. He said that the formation of Karnataka Province is dependent upon the wishes of the Mysore people. If the Mysore people want to join or if Mysore wants to take the other Dominion parts of Karnataka, the immediate formation of Karnataka Province is possible. Otherwise, it will take some time.

The Committee met the Prime Minister, Sri Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at his residence but could not discuss this subject of the formation of Karnataka Province as the Premier was expected to be present at Mysore during the end of December 1948, hoping that the Committee could discuss this matter with him then at Mysore.

The Committee returned to Mysore on or about the 13th of December 1948. There was a proposal to give its report to the Working Committee. But the Working Committee gave a direction that this Committee might give its interim report after its visit to the Dominion parts of the Karnataka Province.

Subsequently, the Committee met in the month of December 1948 and co-opted Sri G. Narayana Gowda of Srinivasapur Taluk as a Member of this Committee and decided to tour in the Dominion parts of Karnataka Province. The meeting-place and time were fixed. It was agreed among the members of this Committee to meet at Hubli on 9-3-1949 and then proceed to tour in the Dominion part of Karnataka with the Secretary of the K.P.C.C. and the Members of the Negotiating Committee of the K.P.C.C. Accordingly, the Secretary of the K.P.C.C. drew up a tour programme commencing from 9-3-1949 to 18-3-1949. The Committee was intimated to start on the 8th March 1949 and be present in Hubli on the 9th March 1949. Messrs. T. Subrahmanya and A. G. Bandi Gowda met at Hubli on 9-3-1949. Sri S. Channaiya expressed his inability to be present on 9-3-1949 at Hubli owing to preoccupations, but he said that he would join the Committee Members at Raichur on the 11th March 1949 and he joined accordingly. Sri K. G. Wodeyar could not be present as his wife was ill. Sri G. Narayana Gowda could not accompany the Members of the Committee as he did not receive the intimation in time. Sri T. Siddalingaiya, as he had to go to Delhi to attend the Assembly, could not undertake the tour in the Dominion part of Karnataka.

The members of this Sub-Committee commenced their tour in the Dominion part of Karnataka from Hubli on 9-3-1949 and visited Gadag, Bellary, Sandur, Hospet, Adavani, Sholapur, Akkalkot, Raichur, Sahabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Bagalkot, Jamkhandi, Rabkavi, Gokak, Belgaum, Khanapura, Dandeli, Gokurna, Karwar, Hubli and Dharwar. The tour continued till 18-3-1949.

In the places the Committee visited, the Committee met the representatives, leading Merchants, Congress Workers, members of the Legislature, Members of Municipal Councils and other Congress leaders and discussed with them the formation of Akhila Karnataka Province. The Committee requested them to express their views on the following among other points, viz., (1) the formation of Karnataka Province without Mysore State; (2) to have His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as its constitutional Ruler for the entire Karnataka Province in case the Akhila Karnataka Province is formed; (3) the economic and financial implications of the proposed Karnataka Province; (4) the capital for the Karnataka Province.

Regarding (1) above, viz., formation of Karnataka Province with or without Mysore State the people there, have expressed their opinion that it was possible for them to have a Karnataka Province without Mysore. This is the opinion expressed by the majority of people. On the 2nd point viz., to have His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Ruler of the entire Karnataka Province, there is a small section of people who say that they do not want His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Ruler for the entire Province, to be proposed, but the majority of the people have given their opinion in favour of the Harihara resolution (19-1-49) of K. P. C. C. and said definitely that they have no objection in retaining His Highness the Maharaja as the Constitutional Ruler.

Regarding point No. (3), viz., the economic and financial implications, it is the opinion of the people there that they are also financially sound and that there is scope for economic progress and increase of finance in the Dominion part of

Karnataka if sufficient opportunities are given, and they also say that there is scope for the development of industries and commerce.

A meeting of the Members of the Negotiating Committee of the K.P.C.C. and the members of the Sub-Committee was held on 17-3-1949 at Hubli. Mr. K. G. Wodeyar arrived at Hubli on 17-3-1949 and joined the members at that time of discussion in this meeting. There was a good deal of discussion about the formation of a Karnataka Province in this Joint Committee. The members of the Negotiating Committee suggested that a joint statement in favour of unification be issued to the public and signed by both parties. But the Members of this Sub-Committee did not agree to this proposal. It was decided that separate statements be issued by the two Committees.

Accordingly, the President of the K.P.C.C. has issued a statement on behalf of the Negotiating Committee of the K.P.C.C. The Secretary of this Sub-Committee issued a statement on behalf of the Sub-Committee of the Mysore Congress. The statement issued by the Secretary of the Sub-Committee is herewith enclosed.

The Committee, after finishing its tour in the Dominion part of Karnataka, examined the question under the following heads :

1. Formation of Karnataka Province with or without Mysore

According to this Committee, the majority opinion in the Dominion part of Karnataka is in favour of the formation of Karnataka Province with Mysore and also the other Kannada-speaking territories. These people are of the opinion that the Karnataka Province without Mysore is not possible and not advisable. But the opinion prevailing in Mysore State is to have Mysore as an integral part of the Indian Dominion with a separate Province status. The majority of people in Mysore say that it is possible to have Province status for Mysore, and that if Mysore joins with the other Dominion parts of Karnataka, it would lose its many facilities and advantages and that it works great hardship in many ways to it.

2. To have His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Ruler of the entire Karnataka Province

According to this Sub-Committee, the majority opinion in the Dominion part of Karnataka is also in favour of retaining His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional Head of the entire Karnataka Province. If the people do not want to retain His Highness the Maharaja, they say they have no objection to his removal. There is a small section of the people who say that they do not want His Highness the Maharaja as the Constitutional Head. They advocate the complete Republican form of Government, it is only the opinion of a small section. The Mysore State Congress stand has always been in favour of a Karnataka Province with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Head.

3. Economic and Financial implications

Regarding this point, it is the opinion of the Committee that the Karnataka Province if formed would have a sound financial position. It will be a self-sufficient province financially. With Bangalore as its Capital and a ready Secretariat, Karnataka Province could be formed without any administrative difficulty.

It is also said that the revenues of the Province without Mysore will not be sufficient to meet the demands of a full-fledged Province. The finances of the entire Kannada-speaking Province would be sound and sufficient to administer the Province.

4. Culture and Traditions

The culture and traditions of all Kannada-speaking people are the same throughout the Province. For the cultural development of the entire population, it is advisable to have one Province under one administration, but there is also a divided opinion of the people that culture and traditions could be developed with more than one administration in the Kannada-speaking area.

5. Industries

Regarding this point, it is a well known fact that Mysore is industrially advanced. No other part of India has as many industries in such a small area as Mysore has. Mysore has invested crores of rupees for its industries. In the Union parts of Karnataka though there are not many industrial centres, the potentialities for industrial development are great. Much mineral wealth is found in Karnataka. In Mysore, most of the important industries are owned by Government, but in other parts of Karnataka private efforts and enterprises towards industrialisation are seen here and there. If the possibilities are explored and the people of the entire Karnataka act unitedly Karnataka may be converted into one of the best industrially developed parts of the country. Mysore intellect and talent will be available for the development of the whole country.

We were a seafaring people once. We had trade relations with Arabia, Africa, Italy and Spain. As Mysore stands now, there is no scope for Mysore to develop seafaring activities. If a separate harbour is given to Mysore, then there is scope for Mysore to develop its activities in this direction. Dominion Karnataka has got this advantage. With about 200 miles of coastline and with the possibilities of having four major and minor parts, the chances for all Karnataka people for shipbuilding, trade and commerce would be immense. The development of trade and commerce would bring money into Mysore, helping thereby the raising of the standard of living of the average man.

6. Food

Mysore is self-sufficient in foodgrains at present except in rice. Even with regard to rice, if the proper facilities are given to the agricultural class there is scope to develop and make Mysore a self-sufficient country. But as it stands now, it is deficit in foodgrains, particularly in rice. There is not this difficulty in the Dominion Karnataka. It has abundant food supplies except one or two districts like Bijapur. Karnataka Province, if formed, would become self-sufficient in foodgrains. It will be a rich Province with regard to food. Its lands are very fertile. There are very many chances to develop irrigation and thereby increase food production.

7. Education and Medical facilities

These facilities are more in Mysore. The previous Governments in the Dominion part of Karnataka have not given proper attention to spreading education and developing medical facilities. If Karnataka Province is formed with one administration, the Government will have to give more of its attention to the development of these facilities in the Dominion part of Karnataka.

To bring uniformity in Mysore as well as in other parts of Karnataka in all these matters is very difficult at the beginning, but gradually it can be done, though it will affect a bit the progress of Mysore State.

3

Before the announcement of the Three Men Committee Report, there was some favourable opinion in Mysore State towards the formation of Akhila Karnataka with Mysore and Bangalore as its Capital and the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional Head, but after that time the public are advocating a separate Province for Mysore.

All these go to show that the question deserves our deep consideration and that some time is necessary to take a just decision.

As the Mysore State Congress stand has always been in favour of United Karnataka with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the Constitutional Head, the Committee recommends to the Working Committee that the formation of Akhila Karnataka Province is essential with the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional Head and Bangalore as its capital, but the time for implementation of the same is not opportune at this juncture, and hence the Committee further recommends that the question of implementation may be postponed until the political situation improves in this direction.

17-6-1949.

(Sd.) A. G. Bandi Gowda.

(Sd.) S. Channaiya.

(Sd.) G. Narayana Gowda.

Appendix 6

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress after having considered the report of the Sub-Committee constituted by the A.M.C.C. at Birur regarding the formation of the Karnataka Province including Mysore, hereby reiterates the stand taken by the Mysore Congress from time to time that the formation of such a State with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional head thereof, is desirable, and is of opinion that such a State should be formed in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Indian Constitutional Act in this behalf.

(This is the resolution adopted by the Mysore Congress Working Committee on 5-11-1949.)

Appendix 7

*Resolutions passed at the All Parties Conference of Mysore held at
Arsikere, on 6-11-1949 under the Presidentship of*

SRIMATI BALLARI SIDDAMMA
Congress Leader, Mysore

1. This Conference has noted the Resolution passed by the Mysore State Congress Working Committee on 5-11-1949 in regard to the formation of the Karnataka Province.

This Conference feels that the Mysore Congress Working Committee, while recognising the inevitability of the formation of the Province, has worded the Resolution with deliberate vagueness with the object of postponing the formation of the Province.

This Conference feels that the Resolution should not have included the retention of the Maharaja as Constitutional Head as an essential element. This Conference believes, while the Mysore State Congress started to function with achievement of responsible Government in Mysore under the aegis of the Maharaja as its goal, the conditions in India have so radically changed since then that there is no meaning in urging to-day the retention of the Maharaja, when Princes as such have virtually ceased to exist over the rest of India. In view, however, of the recent changes in the Provinces, of the draft-Constitution for India, making the position of State Unions virtually identical with that of the Provinces, this Conference believes that the retention of the Maharaja as the Governor of the Province, if he so desires, appears to be the only way open, as otherwise in accordance with the Three-men Committee Report the virtual disappearance of the Ruler is inevitable. If, however, his retention should prove an obstacle in the way of immediate formation of the Province, this Conference has no hesitation in stating that it should not be allowed to come in the way.

This Conference calls upon the Mysore State Congress Working Committee, the Mysore Government and the K.P.C.C., all of which have accepted the principle of the formation of the Province, to take immediate measures to realise the formation of the Province so that it can be included in the Schedule to the Constitution of India which is to come into operation on 26-1-1950.

This Conference urges the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly to take necessary steps immediately to enumerate the Karnataka Province in the new Constitution as there is no constitutional obstacle to such a step.

2. The president of the Conference is empowered to form a committee consisting of not less than five members to implement the decision of the Conference.

Appendix 8

The following resolution was adopted at the Karnataka Youth Conference, 3rd Session, held at "Nijalinganagar", Davangere, on 28-7-1949, Sri K. M. Rudrappa, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Hassan, Mysore State, presiding.

MAIN RESOLUTION

"This Conference urges the Indian Constituent Assembly to enumerate the the Province of Karnataka as a Unit of the Indian Union and emphatically declares that if the new constitution does not provide for the Province of Karnataka it would be totally rejected by Kannadigas since such a constitution would not express the democratic will of the people.

"With a view to facilitate the formation of United Karnataka Province which is essential for the cultural, economic, political and social progress of the two crores of Kannadigas, this Conference urges the Government of India to take immediate action to effect the merger of Mysore and Hyderabad with the Indian Dominion.

"Further resolves and urges the Central Government and Constituent Assembly to form United Karnataka simultaneously with the inauguration of the new constitution in the manner contemplated by the Three-men Committee.

In order to implement this resolution the President of the Conference is invested with full powers.

Appendix 9

THE KARNATAKA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, HUBLI

(Resolution regarding formation of a Karnataka Province passed in the adjourned meeting of the K.P.C.C. convened on 8th November 1949 at Davangere)

The Committee takes note of the rapid progress the question of the formation of the linguistic provinces in general and of Karnataka in particular has made in the interval between the publication of the J. V. P. report and now, and is glad that the hesitancy, fears and doubts expressed in that report in regard to the feasibility and advisability of the early formation of such provinces have been dispelled, that the question of the integration of the States has taken great strides and the powers of the Provinces and States have been rendered alike so that the new Constitution has, in the words of Sardar Patel, "removed all the barriers between the people of the States and the people of the Provinces and achieved, for the first time, the objective of a strong, democratic India, built on the true foundation of a co-operative enterprise on the part of the Provinces and States alike".

2. This Committee however submits that this much-desired objective can be realised, so far as the people of Karnataka are concerned, only through the integration into one administration of all Kannada areas including Mysore. This

has become possible by the common desire expressed by the people of Karnataka by means of the resolution of the A. M. C. C. at Birur on 6-11-1948, confirmed and agreed to by the Harihar Resolution of the K. P. C. C. of 19-1-1949, the resolutions passed at numerous meetings of the people in different parts of Karnataka including the Gulbarga Conference on 6-3-1949, the Youth Conference at Davangere on 28-7-1949 and the all-parties Conference at Arsikere on 6-11-1949, and in particular by the resolution of the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress on 5-11-1949.

3. This Committee has heard the results of the interviews granted by the Congress Working Committee to the deputations of the K. P. C. C. in June at Dehradun and in August at New Delhi, and noted the resolution of Working Committee on this question dated 5-10-1949.

4. This Committee therefore submits to the Working Committee and the Central Government that the desire of the people of Karnataka to form one single administrative unit including Mysore is emphatic, clear and unambiguous, and that as in all respects the powers and functions of the States are on a par with the Provinces, the desire of the Mysore Congress to have the Maharaja as the Constitutional Head of the Combined State or Province may not be an obstacle to the actual formation and integration of the two areas into one single and homogeneous administration, and offers also an easy solution to an otherwise difficult problem, and that therefore this Committee requests the Central Government and the Congress Working Committee to have such an united State (with provision to the Kannada areas of Hyderabad to join as and when the people of those areas decide to do so) enumerated in the new Constitution, and that immediate practical steps be taken to form such an administration.

5. That in regard to the settlement of the boundaries of United Karnataka and other adjacent areas of Maharashtra, Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala, this meeting submits to the Working Committee that as final agreements regarding boundaries are not likely to be finished within the prescribed period, a practical solution for the purpose of the speedy enumeration of Provinces lies in entrusting the entire matter to one sole arbitrator, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian Constituent Assembly, who should be empowered to hear and summarily dispose tentatively of the contending claims, and that this Committee, on its part, promises to abide by his decision.

6. That this Committee would impress on the Working Committee, the Central Government and all others concerned that if the above be not complied with and the State of Karnataka is not formed by the end of this year (1949) the condition of the Karnataka areas under the new Constitution will be deplorable, that this will be made worse if Andhra is formed without the simultaneous formation of Karnataka as the Kannada Districts like Bellary, South Kanara and the Nilgiris will be torn asunder, that the new Constitution so formed will be, the K. P. C. C. is convinced, totally unacceptable to the people of Karnataka, who may be driven to launch a movement for achieving such an United State to put an end to their long suffering and neglect.

7. That the Council of the P.C.C. or any Committee of not less than 5 as authorised by the Council to take all such steps as they may deem fit in regard to this resolution.

Appendix 10

KARNATAKA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, HUBLI

*(Resolution passed by the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee
Council held at Hubli on 3rd December 1949)*

This special meeting of the K.P.C.C. Council has considered the situation created in Karnataka by the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed on 16-11-1949 in the matter of the formation of linguistic provinces, by which the Andhra Province alone was recommended and the creation of province for Karnataka was shelved.

This Council has taken note of the serious situation that has arisen by the proposed creation of the Andhra Province alone, in the adjacent Kannada areas in the district of Bellary in particular and Kannada areas along the border in general in the province of Madras, which will be left in a pitiable condition and in a hope less minority in the residuary province of Madras after the separation of Andhra-desh.

The Council has also taken note of the keen sense of dissatisfaction and disappointment created in all Kannada areas, by the failure on the part of the Congress Working Committee to carry out its repeated pledges in respect of the formation of Karnatak Province simultaneously with the introduction of the new Constitution in India.

This meeting is regretfully obliged to record with grave concern the fact that the people of Karnataka have been fast losing faith in the Congress and that by the non-formation of Karnataka Province, their day-to-day existence has been rendered unbearable and that they are being persistently denied their legitimate share in the progress and development of the country as a whole.

This Council has also taken note of the incessant demands that are being made by the people of Karnataka, calling upon their chosen representatives in the Central and Provincial Legislatures to resign their seats as they are not in a position to discharge their obligation nor effectively to serve the people. It also notes that these representatives generally share this feeling.

Under these circumstances, this meeting of the Council of the K.P.C.C. is of the opinion that the time has now come for these representatives of Karnataka to tender their resignations forthwith after obtaining the permission of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress therefor.

Appendix 11

*(Resolution passed by the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee Council
held on 9th January 1950 at Gadag)*

The Council of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee has carefully and respectfully considered the resolution of the Working Committee dated 21-12-1949 regarding the resolution of this Council dated 3-12-1949. The Council is pained and surprised that the intention of the resolution and the circumstances attendant on it have not been properly appreciated. The Council, respectfully invites the attention of the Working Committee to the fact that the Congress organisations and the people in Karnataka have always been loyal to the Congress and have succeeded in preventing any disruptive forces from gaining any hold in the province. Congress organisations and Congressmen have consistently urged the Kannada people to abide by the Congress for the fulfilment of their cherished desire for a unified province. The people of Karnataka resisted the temptations of deviating from the path and the policy of the Congress even at the time of the Simon Commission which conceded the demand of Orissa and Sind. The Kannada people placed unshakable faith in the assurances of Congress leaders about the early achievement of the formation of the Karnataka as a separate province.

The Council further invites the attention of the Working Committee to the fact that the expression of opinion regarding the resignation of Karnataka Members in the Legislatures was neither a precipitate nor a hasty decision. In fact, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, as far back as 14th January, 1948, following on the statement by the Prime Minister of India to the effect that "whilst the formation of Andhra was easy and would be implemented soon, that of Karnataka and other provinces was more complicated and involved further investigation", stated, in the course of a resolution dated 14-1-1948 :

"This meeting has noted with great concern the growing feeling of restlessness at the delay by the Union Government in respecting the claim of the Karnataka as a separate province and is emphatically of the view that the representatives in the Legislatures will not be in a position to reflect public opinion nor function as such so long as their claim is not recognised and Karnataka is not formed along with Andhra. It, therefore, urges the High Command to give due attention to this vital problem and make a declaration forthwith that Karnataka would be formed as a province of the Union along with the Andhra without making any distinction between the two provinces. It further respectfully wished to bring to the notice of the High Command that in case this legitimate demand is not conceded as early as possible, the members from Karnataka in all the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, will have no alternative but to request the High Command to allow them to resign from these bodies as first step".

Consequent on this resolution the Karnataka Legislators waited on the Working Committee and submitted a memorandum in which they specifically stated "that the Karnataka province should be created simultaneously with Andhra as early as possible", failing which they stated that they would have no alternative but to seek permission to resign from the Legislatures. The Working Committee considered this and the then President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said that "there is and there could be no intention to discriminate against Karnataka and that the Constituent Assembly would do nothing which would create that impression". He finally concluded by saying that "this and the reply that Pandit Jawaharlal gave to the deputation should be sufficient to remove any misgiving in Karnataka". Since then the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee and Congress workers

have been all along patiently pursuing the cause of the formation of the Karnataka province. The J.V.P. Report, however, created a feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration in the Karnataka in so far as it opposed the formation of linguistic provinces and discouraged the immediate formation of the Karnataka Province and further discriminated in favour of Andhra contrary to the assurances given.

The Congress organisation was faced with a situation of further frustration when the Working Committee resolved in November 1949 on the formation of the Andhra province leaving the Karnataka question unsolved. It was in these circumstances that the Council felt compelled to voice the opinion of the Kannada people that the members of the Legislature could not fulfil their obligations as the representatives of the people. The Council is therefore grieved to find its resolution of 3-12-1949 characterised as "unwise and unthinking" and passed "under stress of high sentiment", whereas the fact is that the resolution was passed after great and mature deliberation and after waiting for a period of two years. The resolution of the Council was an expression of opinion and was not intended to be mandatory in character.

The Council feels that the real situation is not being appreciated. It is principally from the point of view of making the best contribution to the national cause that Karnataka is pressing for immediate unification. Congress work in the Karnataka has been efficiently organised on account of the constitution of Karnataka as a separate Congress province. The Council feels that Karnataka cannot contribute its best without unification and any further delay in forming the Karnataka province would lead to deterioration in the national work. The Council is of opinion that it is imperative that steps should be taken for the creation of favourable conditions leading to the immediate constitution of Karnataka as a separate province. In view, however, of the importance of this subject, the Council feels it necessary to refer the entire matter to the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee for consideration.

Appendix 12

Para 28 of the Congress Election Manifesto

28. A demand for a re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the south and west of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other factors also such as economic, administrative and financial, which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the people concerned, the necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a Boundary Commission, should be taken.

Appendix 13

Welcome Address by Sri R. Anantharaman, B.A., LL.B., Chairman of the Reception Committee of Karnataka Pranta Rachana Sammelan and Mayor of the Corporation of the City of Bangalore on 11-7-1951 at Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty Town Hall.

Sri Kala Venkata Rao, Sri T. Subrahmanya, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my good fortune to welcome you all to this most historic Conference. It is with the utmost pleasure and happiness that I, the first citizen of Bangalore and Mayor, am extending to you all a very hearty welcome. I do not wish now to dilate on the wealth and charms of this future capital City of Karnataka Province. These are known to you all.

The A.I.C.C. is about to commence its Session in Bangalore. This Session has been meeting at Bangalore after the new sacred Constitution of Free India came into force. The Bangalore Session of the A.I.C.C. is bound to prove a great landmark in the history of the Congress. The public have been viewing with feelings of apprehension and concern whether the Congress which under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, achieved Independence of the Country would continue to remain strong, invincible and popular or become weak, disintegrated and unpopular.

We Kannadigas who belong to an important part of Free India, have assembled here on this most historic occasion to strengthen our Motherland and make her foundations secure, to co-operate in promoting the cause of peace and concord in the land so that all people may lead a life of security and happiness to form a self-sufficient Kannada Province.

According to the Constitution of Free India, there are nine "A" Group States, nine "B" Group States and ten "C" Group States of Chief Commissioners.

No one can say that the aforesaid twenty-eight administrative units, based as they are on inequality in the administrative sphere, would be conducive to the strength, stability and administrative efficiency of the country as a whole. These differentiations based on Provinces, States and directly administered areas should immediately go. Such differentiations and complexes should immediately go.

When the second reading of the Government of India Bill came up for consideration before the British Parliament in June, 1858, Mr. Bright delivered a great oration on the governance of India as it was functioning at the time. He vehemently protested against the growth of an all-pervasive government at the centre. He suggested that the Indian Empire should be divided into five administratively cohesive groups based on geographical and linguistic considerations. We cannot help wondering at the fact that as long as nearly a century ago the eminent British statesman, John Bright, should have advocated the *Administrative Division of India on a Linguistic Basis*.

The Indian Constitution has listed and recognised fourteen languages. Due provision has been made in the Constitution for the cultural development of the people who speak those languages. It is therefore reasonable and just that the existing twenty-eight administrations of the three unequal "A", "B" and "C" groups should give way to twelve naturally constituted linguistic provinces or states.

The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Simon Commission Report and the Nehru Committee Report have scathingly condemned the present method of division of the country into provinces. They have advocated the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis. The people of India have been, ever since the day they commenced their struggle for freedom, proclaiming the need for the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Congress in 1921 rejected the British brand of the division of the country and advocated the formation of linguistic provinces in Free India.

In 1947 at the Indian Constituent Assembly, India's Prime Minister, our revered Pandit Jawaharlalji, accepted, on behalf of the Government of India the principle of the linguistic rediision of the country. The President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in order to give effect to the aforesaid principle, appointed a Committee known as the Dar Committee to make appropriate recommendations to the Assembly in this behalf. That Committee examined seven hundred witnesses, considered one thousand written statements, and submitted its report after six months of strenuous and hard labour. The Committee, strange to say, recommended that there was no necessity to form any of the new provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. Of the Dar Committee Report, I would like to quote what Sir Shanmukam Chetti said :

"The Linguistic Provinces Commission presided over by Mr. Dhar has created more bitter controversies. I think the Committee has done the greatest disservice to the country. I will go to the extent of saying that unless the country is divided on the linguistic basis there will not be political peace and stability. India is a synthesis of cultures which are essentially based on certain languages. The natural outcome of a political renaissance will be a cultural renaissance. The administration of the country cannot be carried on for all time in English. Hindi can be the language for the administration of the Federal Government. But the regional language must be the language of the administration in the provinces. Unless steps were taken to reconstitute the provinces on linguistic basis there will be no peace in the land. On the other hand the bitterness will increase."

Friends, the veteran Sri Shanmukam Chetty has opined that until and unless India is divided linguistically there can be no peace and concord in the country and that the existing conflicts will assume fearful proportions.

Sri Mahesh Narayan of Bihar in 1896 was the first to sing the song of the formation of linguistic provinces in India. In 1903 the people of Utkal echoed the sentiment and demanded the creation of a province of their own. This principle spread throughout the length and breadth of India after the Partition of Bengal in 1905. A strong agitation in this behalf commenced in 1913 in Andhra, in 1915 in Maharashtra and in 1916 in Karnataka and is being vigorously carried on since.

From quite a long time, the Congress Organizations in Karnataka, the Ekikarana Conferences and meetings, the Kannada Sahitya Parishat and the Karnataka Chamber of Commerce and other organizations and institutions, have been presenting a vivid picture of the sad state of affairs obtaining in the Karnataka, which had been fragmented into numerous administrative groups and states during the British regime, and have been stressing the need for Ekikaran and the establishment of one administration for the whole of Karnataka so that there might be an all-round development of the province. No one has so far opposed the principle of Ekikaran. Some have only been telling, "Let us not act hastily: Let us wait for some time".

As Sri R. R. Diwakar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting to the Government of India, said at Kasargod: "How long shall we wait? We

can wait till the leaves are spread; we can even wait till the dishes are served; but after the ghee is served it would no longer be possible to desist from the temptation of partaking of the meal. All should bear this in mind, Kannadigas can no longer wait”.

That even the Dar Committee were not opposed to the formation of Karnataka Province will become evident from a perusal of paragraph 45 of their report which states *inter alia* :

“ If Mysore had been willing to join the Union it could surely have formed a nucleus round which the Kannada-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay could be brought together and reared into an administratively convenient Province. It would have also solved the problem of the small province of Coorg, which has been carrying on a difficult and isolated existence and which is ready to merge in Mysore State but is not prepared to merge in a Karnataka province composed exclusively of Union areas. But the Mysore State does not appear to be ready to merge itself in Karnataka province and we cannot say whether public opinion or Government policy is prepared to merge Union territory in the Indian State.”

There are to-day no two Bharats, whether of the Union brand or the India of the Indian States, as during the days of British rule. We have to day a Bharat which is one and indivisible. As you are all aware, our Congress Government and people are all for the formation of linguistic provinces. So far as H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore is concerned, he has, ever since India became free from foreign domination, been a model to the Rulers and people of other Indian States, by the progressive outlook and spirit of self-sacrifice which he has been displaying. The people of Karnataka outside Mysore State have been ready to welcome H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore as the *Constitutional Rajpramukh of Maha Karnataka*.

The K.P.C.C. have time and again passed resolutions on this line. The Mysore Constituent Assembly has by a well-considered resolution committed itself to the formation of Karnataka province. The Mysore Congress and the Government have all been sympathetic. I wonder where the question of Karnataka unification as problem can exist when the Government of India headed by our revered Pandit Jawaharlalji, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government of Mysore and all Kannada-speaking people are animated with the resolve to achieve the sacred objective set forth above.

Surely there is no problem of Karnataka unification at all. What remains now is only action to be taken at once.

It is our good fortune that the Conference should have secured the services of the veteran Congress leader of Mysore, Sri T. Subrahmanya, as its President, and that the great Andhra leader and General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, Sri Kala Venkata Rao, should have so kindly and readily agreed to inaugurate it.

The President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, Sri S. Nijalingappa, M. P., the President of the Mysore Provincial Congress Committee, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, M. P., the Honourable Ministers of Mysore, the leaders of other Provinces and of Karnataka, Editors and Journalists, litterateurs and businessmen who have assembled here have illumined the Conference. I welcome you all with deep affection and respect.

Friends, you have all assembled here on a great and historic occasion. With one mind resolve to arrive at a decision which will fructify soon; earn the

glory of having commenced a big chapter in India's national history. That is my wish and hope. May the merciful God bless our venture with full success is my prayer. Once more I extend to you a most heartfelt welcome. May this sacred City of Bangalore earn everlasting fame as a result of the deliberations of this Conference is my profound wish.

Jai Hind ; Jai Karnataka.

Appendix 14

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO
RASHTRAPATI BABU PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON
President of the Indian National Congress

The Bangalore Unification Association and other Prominent Citizens

Respected Sir,

We crave your indulgence to submit the following few facts for your gracious consideration on this auspicious occasion when you have been pleased to visit this great City of Karnataka and the seat of the *Government of Mysore*.

We feel sure it has come to your notice how as a result of British rule the Karnataka, Andhra, Maharashtra, Tamil and Kerala territories have been incorporated in artificially created Provinces, thereby thwarting the natural growth of these areas. The people of Karnataka will be most happy if the new Provinces for which they have been yearning are created soon.

Sir,

Our leaders have been striving their utmost for the formation of Karnataka Province, which has been blessed by no less a personage than the Great Father of the Nation, our *Bapuji*. The Indian National Congress has achieved freedom for the country after placing before the people the issue of linguistic provinces. That being the position, the Indian National Congress is committed to the principle of the formation of Linguistic Provinces in India. Now that our revered leaders are running the administration of the Country, it would not be difficult for them to form the aforesaid linguistic provinces, if they wish to do so. These new provinces have a great future before them. Karnataka, with an area of about ninety-thousand square miles and a population of two crores of people, has been absorbed in five areas, viz., Mysore, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg, thanks to British rule in India. From the point of view of the moral, material and cultural progress of the people of these areas, it is essential that they should be constituted into a single unit of the Indian Union. And a new Karnataka Province will be a source of great strength to the Motherland. We are of opinion that Bangalore should become the Capital of the Province, with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as its *Rajapramukh*, and that the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad and Coorg should be added to Mysore to constitute the new Province. By constituting a new Karnataka State, harbour facilities at Karwar, Bhatkal, Malpe and Mangalore will improve, railway facilities between Chamaraja-

nagar and Satyamangala, Mangalore and Hassan, Mangalore and Karwar and Hubli, Talaguppa and Bhatkal, etc., will be created ; river projects of Krishna, Bhima, etc., will fructify ; agriculture, trade and industry will develop in such a manner as to make Karnataka entirely self-sufficient and prosperous, and there will be a renaissance of Kannada literature and art and culture.

We also pray that with a view to giving adequate representation to two crores of Kannada-speaking people on the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Congress Election Committee, the President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee and the Mysore Provincial Congress Committee be appointed members of both the aforementioned Committees.

We most humbly and respectfully pray that on this auspicious occasion when you have been graciously pleased to visit our State as the President of the Indian National Congress, an assurance would be vouchsafed to us concerning the early formation of the new Karnataka State.

Appendix 15

Resolution regarding formation of Karnataka State passed in the Special General Meeting of the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee held at Hubli on 19th and 20th April 1953.

This Special General Meeting of the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee has reviewed carefully the policies adopted from time to time by the Central Government as well as by the All-India Congress Committee in respect of the creation of a Karnataka State. The Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee has stated clearly on numerous occasions in the past that the creation of a Karnataka State is essential not merely for its economic, social, cultural and political advancement, but also for the unity and security of the Indian nation, and for creating the necessary conditons for the successful implementation of the Karnataka part of the Five Year Plan. This Special General Meeting reiterates once again that view. This meeting is fully conscious of the problems facing our country, but does not feel that there are at present any insuperable difficulties in the way of the Government of India tackling the problem of the formation of a Karnataka State.

The demand for Karnataka State is an old one. A long time has elapsed since the All-India Congress Committee committed itself to the principle. Kannadigas believed that the Karnataka State would come into being following soon after India's attainment of independence in view of the repeated assurances given earlier by the Congress and its leaders. It is unfortunate that the aspirations of Karnataka have not been fulfilled till now. In fact, being subject to numerous hardships and sufferings as the result of its being divided among five different administrations, it was Karnataka which deserved a separate State first. But that was not to be. At least it was just that it should have come into being along with Andhra. Besides, the creation of the Karnataka State was, and even now is, easier than that of Andhra or any other State. But that could not happen due to

the indifference of Congress leaders. Nay, the leaders of the nation are making the problem more difficult by their recent policy. Karnataka felt much disturbed by the resolution adopted by the Congress at Nanalnagar (Hyderabad.) The utterances of some Congress leaders regarding linguistic states have been inconsistent with the accepted principle of the Congress.

It was in 1928, that the Nehru Committee accepted the demand for a Karnataka Province. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, evinced keen interest in the formation of Karnataka Province. Sardar Patel, inaugurating the Karnataka Unification Conference in Bombay, declared that Karnataka Province would emerge soon after India's independence. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had assured the Kannadigas that no discrimination would be made while creating linguistic States. Dr. Pattabhi and Shri Purushottamdas Tandon as Presidents of the All-India Congress Committee had declared that there were no difficulties whatever for the formation of a Karnataka State simultaneously with Andhra. Again the Bombay and Madras Legislatures had passed resolutions advocating formation of a Karnataka Province. The 1946 and 1951 Congress Election manifestoes had declared in unequivocal terms that the Congress was committed to the creation of linguistic states. Though the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee could have insisted on the formation of linguistic states before the General Elections, it did not do so, as it had great faith in the plighted word of the Congress, and secured unprecedented success for it in the General Elections and thus earned the well-merited name that Karnataka was the impenetrable fortress of the Congress in South India.

Karnataka is extremely pained at the policy adopted by the Congress leaders after the General Elections. Though the decision to join some Kannada parts of Madras State to Mysore State is proper and welcome, this meeting has to say regretfully that subsequent utterance of Shri Nehru in this behalf have thrown Karnataka people into deep suspicion and confusion. This meeting fears that the All-India Congress Committee has not properly understood the attitude of patience and forbearance on the part of the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee in this matter. The situation in Karnataka has been sufficiently bad. In the opinion of this meeting any further delaying of the formation of Karnataka State would be the detriment of the nation as a whole.

In this delicate situation the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, being fully conscious of its heavy responsibilities, puts forth the following minimum demand both before the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Government, and submits that it is the final demand :

1. That the Karnataka State be formed before the end of 1954.
2. That the Government of India make a clear and unambiguous announcement in this behalf by the end of October 1953.
3. That the All-India Congress Committee press the Government of India to concede the above two demands. If the demands are not conceded and action not taken by the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Government within the time limit mentioned above, the members of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee as the first step will relinquish their membership of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, and Karnataka members of the State Legislatures and Parliament will resign their membership. This meeting is extremely pained to have to take such a strong decision. However, the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee respectfully submits that it is still within the power of the Central Government and the All-India Congress Committee to prevent such an eventuality arising. This meeting urges

Karnataka Members of Central and State Legislatures to make all attempts to achieve the goal of formation of Karnataka State through their respective Governments.

Appendix 16-A

New Delhi
20th September, 1953

My dear Nijalingappa,

Your letter of the 17th September. If you wish to issue some kind of a statement, it should be on the following lines, in so far as I am concerned ;

"The Prime Minister said that the case of Karnataka being made into a separate province was probably easier than any other case. It had been generally conceded. Owing, however, to certain obvious difficulties, it had not been possible to take any step in that direction. There was previously the question of Mysore's attitude. That particular difficulty had been largely surmounted.

But it was clear that the creation of a Karnataka State, as indeed of any other State now, could not be considered by itself as it had far-reaching consequences and affected other states. Thus, the formation of a Karnataka State immediately resulted in the break-up of the present Bombay State and all manner of new questions had to be considered then. Thus, no single question now could be considered in isolation. It was for this reason that a high-powered Commission was going to be appointed which could consider the picture of India as a whole and make suggestions. These suggestions would be placed before the public, so that the public could also keep this entire picture in view.

The Commission was likely to be appointed before the end of the year. It would be for the Commission to decide how they would work and a large discretion would be given to them. It was not proposed to have public sittings of the Commission. The whole idea was that their work should be carried out in an atmosphere conducive to calm consideration. The Commission might give an interim report dealing with their broad conclusions, without going into any details. The next step would be to go into details and consider each question perhaps in some order of priority.

The Prime Minister said that now that this major question of the appointment of a Commission had been decided, Government did not want to delay consideration of this matter, but a proper consideration could only result if the atmosphere was free from acrimonious discussion and the problems were approached in a constructive spirit."

You will see the resolution passed by the Working Committee on this subject.

Shri S. Nijalingappa, M.P.,
13, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd). JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Appendix 16-B

PERSONAL

New Delhi,
28th October, 1953.

My dear Nijalingappa,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 16th October. For a few days I was out of Delhi and I have been simply overwhelmed with work and urgent problems and am quite unable to deal with the multitude of letters and telegrams. The Korean affair is taking up much of my time and energy. I have at present about a hundred more or less urgent letters to deal with.

I thought I had made the position quite clear to you when you and some of your colleagues came to see me in Parliament House. I have said nothing in Bombay, Kurnool, Madras or Coimbatore which in any way modifies what I told you. I have been laying stress everywhere on the inter-relation of these various problems not only in the south of India but even elsewhere. Therefore, the matter can only be considered as a whole and not in bits. It is for that purpose that we are going to appoint a high-powered commission.

The inter-relation of these problems does not mean that none of them can be settled till all are settled. It simply means that the whole picture should be seen and then steps may be taken in particular places where the problems are relatively simple. That step has to be seen in the context of the whole. Thus, speaking personally, and I think most of my colleagues would agree with this, the question of Karnataka Province is by itself not only a simpler problem than many, but is something that in principle has been accepted for some considerable time. But, in giving effect to that particular question, immediately one comes up against the problem of splitting up Bombay State and the formation of other states even apart from Karnataka. Thus, this problem has to be considered as a whole. The mere act of Karnataka going out of Bombay State, which is not particularly difficult, has a consequence on other states which has to be considered and provided for. The question of Bombay City is undoubtedly difficult, but the fact that a question is difficult does not mean that it should not be tackled or solved, or that it should come in the way of others.

The whole point is that all these questions should be considered together so as to produce a reasonable and more or less logical picture. Even when certain principles are agreed to the actual reorganization is highly complicated matter. If we start something without giving due thought to all aspects, then we get stuck up in these difficulties. In fact, instead of speed, we are involved in greater delay. Therefore, we have decided on the procedure we are following, of the high-powered commission.

As I have said above, Karnataka's claim for a separate state is not only well known, but is generally accepted. The question is in what manner to give effect to it. I do not think that Mysore offers much difficulty.

I cannot give you any terms of reference for the high-powered commission. I can only repeat what I told you that it will have the fullest discretion to go into every matter and to make recommendations. My own view is that they should consider broad principles and come to some general conclusions first, before going deeply into the details. If those broad conclusions are later accepted, then it is easy to go into details according to some priorities.

I must say that I do not understand the apprehension of some of our friends in Karnataka over this issue. Everything that can possibly be done about this is going to be done in the proper way. To try to do it improperly would only create difficulties for them as well as us.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,

Shri S. Nijalingappa, M. P.,
President, Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee,
Hubli.

Appendix 16-C

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi-1

November 14, 1953

Dear friend,

I am addressing you on a matter which has caused me much concern. As you know, Government has decided to appoint a high-powered commission for the re-organization of States. We came to this conclusion, because it was not practicable to deal with this problem in an isolated way. The only way to look upon it was to take the whole picture of India and then consider this problem in all its aspects. It is not only for Government to proceed in this way, but for the people generally in India to have some realisation of every aspect of this problem as well as of the consequences that flow from it. The decisions then taken would be far sounder than odd and separate decisions.

This decision having been arrived at and publicly announced, it has surprised me that any person, and much more so Congressmen, should carry on agitation on this subject. This seems to me not only unbecoming, but harmful. The Congress Working Committee has in fact called upon Congressmen not to agitate in this matter, as the way to a full consideration is open now. Therefore, for Congressmen to agitate is to go against the clear advice of the Congress Working Committee and might almost be considered a breach of decorum and discipline.

I realise that there are strong feelings in this matter. But strong feelings do not yield results unless they are properly directed and controlled by judgment and discretion. Indeed, because there are strong feelings, we have to proceed with a good deal of caution and tolerance. It is not a question of strong feeling on one side, but conflicting feelings. Hence the necessity for careful consideration and forbearance and restraint.

You are fully aware of the state of the world today. It is full of dangerous possibilities, and we can never relax and imagine that our safety and freedom are secure. Within our country there are very difficult economic problems, unemployment and the like. There are powerful disruptive tendencies, communal, provincial, caste and even some political. It has been the chief virtue of the Congress

to unify the country and to supply that cementing force which led to our great movement for freedom. It is the principal business of the Congress today to continue to be that cementing and unifying force. If the Congress, or Congressmen, pull in different ways, the unity of the organization is affected, and that will immediately react on the unity of the country.

Therefore, it is of essential importance for us to see things in proper perspective and not allow ourselves to be swept away by some passion or feeling, however right that feeling might be. We must behave as a mature organization and a mature nation.

I would beg of you, therefore, to pay particular attention to this aspect of the matter and check in every way these tendencies towards separatist activities. In particular, I want you to check agitations for linguistic provinces when it is clear that the question is going to be considered in the most appropriate way possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
President

Shri S. Nijalingappa,
President, Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee,
Hubli.

Appendix 17

(Resolutions passed at the Congress Convention held at Hubli on 4/2/54)

RESOLUTION No. 2

This Convention while taking note of the resolution on the reorganisation of States passed at the Congress Session at Kalyani, welcomes the earlier appointment of the High-Power Commission in this behalf by the Government of India, to go into the question and to submit their recommendation to the Union Government. This Convention particularly wants to emphasise that there are no impediments in the formation of the Karnatak State and that it is admitted on all hands that it is the easiest of solution by adding the adjoining Kannada area to Mysore State. It is convinced that it is for this very reason that the Government of India have, in their order of appointment, expected and even called for an interim report in respect of States which are easy of formation. In view of the long-standing desire and demand of the people of Karnatak and in view of the suffering caused by the dismemberment of the Kannada areas into a number of states, this convention urges on the Government to call for such an interim report to enable it to implement the same without any loss of time. It also urges on this Commission to expedite such an interim report in respect of Karnatak.

This Convention further appeals to the people of Karnataka to stand firm and united and to make the best of efforts by contributing in men and money to enable the Pradesh Congress to put our case effectively before the Commission and by rendering hearty co-operation in every respect.

Appendix 18

RESOLUTION No. 3

This Convention feels great pleasure in extending a hearty welcome to Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore, who is in our midst today for the inauguration of the Convention, and our pleasure is all the more heightened by the fact that the Chief Minister of Mysore has made a substantial contribution to pave the way for the formation of Karnatak State. This Convention therefore takes this opportunity to thank him, and the Mysore Cabinet, President, Executive Council and leaders of the Mysore Congress and the people of Mysore for their favourable attitude towards the achievement of the long-cherished objective of all Kannadigas.

Appendix 19

RESOLUTION No. 4

This Convention notes that the Governments of Madras and Andhra have each appointed a Committee to go into the question of adjustment and demarcation of the boundaries of their State, and it feels that the interests of the future Karnatak State, a similar Committee should be appointed early by the Government of Mysore. It therefore requests the Government of Mysore to do the needful in this urgent matter and calls upon the people of Karnatak in general, and the people of the border areas in particular, to be watchful and to safeguard the Kannada interests. In this connection this Convention wants to express its opinion that having wrongly split up Bellary District and given over the 3 Taluks of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg which have large and definite Kannada areas, the Government should immediately take steps to add them on to Mysore State. This Convention also notes that there is an equally insistent demand from Kollegal, Talwadi Firka and Bargur forest range in Coimbatore district, Hosur, Dankankote and adjoining areas in Salem district, Madakasira and adjoining areas in Anantapur district, and the whole of Nilgiris district, for being added on to Mysore State, and therefore urges that immediate steps be taken to merge these areas in Mysore State.

Appendix 20

*Sri K. Hanumanthaiya's Kannada speeches as reported to and published
in "The Times of India"*

BOUNDARY BODY FOR KARNATAK

Mysore Decision

Hubli, February 8. The Mysore Government would shortly appoint a boundary commission to demarcate the Karnatak-Andhra boundaries in response to a request from the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee, the Mysore Chief Minister, Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, said here today.

In an exclusive interview to *The Times of India* News Service, he said he expected the States Re-Organisation Commission to submit an interim report on Karnatak. The sooner such a report was submitted the better it was for the unity of the country, he added.

Wherever he had gone in Karnatak, the desire for Samyukta Karnatak was dominant among the people. Such a passionate and unanimous demand for a United Karnatak ought to be conceded in a democracy, he said.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya arrived here today from Bijapur. He said he was impressed by the strength of feeling behind the demand for the formation of Karnatak. The time was now propitious for its realisation, he added.

RECONSTITUTION OF STATES

View of Mysore Minister

Bijapur, February 8. Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister, Mysore, yesterday emphasised the need for redistributing the States of India on a rational basis.

He urged that consideration be given to administrative convenience so that "equality among States" could be established.

The Chief Minister was replying to addresses of welcome presented to him by the Bijapur Municipality, the District Local Board, the Bijapur Central Co-operative Bank, the Anjuman Islam and the Harijan Sangh.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya stated that it was incongruous to find States like Uttar Pradesh and Bilaspur existing side by side. He wanted that all Part C States should be abolished for they could not afford the luxury of a parliamentary system.

The Chief Minister said that the division of India into three categories of States was similar to the division of the British Empire into dominions, dependencies and crown colonies.

He suggested that India be sub-divided into smaller but viable States on the basis of equality in size, population and status, and on the basis of language.

Karnatak Unification

Earlier, presiding over the anniversary celebrations of Basaweshwar College at Bagalkot, he uttered a warning that the mere unification of Karnatak would not solve all problems of the region. He admitted that Karnatak unification would contribute to the strength of India but reminded the people that a stable Government and hard work were necessary to build up their State.

MYSORE CHIEF MINISTER'S TOUR OF DHARWAR AND BIJAPUR DISTRICTS

Dharwar, February 22. The tour of the Chief Minister of Mysore, Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, of Dharwar and Bijapur districts last week, served to reassure the people of north Karnataka of Mysore's wholehearted support to the cause of a United Karnatak State.

It also served to strengthen the public feeling of optimism and confidence already created by the assurance of the Prime Minister in his letter to Mr. S. Nijalingappa, President of the Pradesh Congress Committee, in October last, on the question of the early formation of the State.

It is felt here that the provision for submitting interim reports by the States Re-organisation Committee was made with the case of Karnatak in view which satisfies the two important conditions—of having the unanimous support of the people and being easy of solution on grounds of administrative convenience.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya's emphatic statement that Mysore would heartily welcome areas contiguous to the State wishing to merge with it fully supported Mr. Nehru's view that Mysore would offer little difficulty in the establishment of a Karnatak State.

The welcome accorded to the Chief Minister of Mysore by the people and the press of these areas was something unprecedented for any visiting Minister and was spontaneous. Mr. Hanumanthaiya was visibly moved at some places by the demonstration of public sentiment over the question of Karnatak unification. He could not help remarking that such a strong and unanimous demand of the people cannot but be granted in a democratic system. He confessed that what he had seen on his tour convinced that the idea of unification was being pursued by the people with religious zeal.

Simple Method

Mr. Hanumanthaiya meant business and suggested his own method for achieving the objective—a method which he described as simple and effective. He asked Kannadigas not to lay too much emphasis on the language issue but advised the people living in areas contiguous to Mysore State to put forth the simple demand that they be joined to Mysore.

He made it clear, that though predominantly Kannada-speaking, Mysore was a composite State and well-knit progressive administrative unit and that nobody would support its disintegration on a language basis. Mr. Hanumanthaiya thought that even representations made separately by various Karnatak areas under different administrations (like Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad) through their elected representatives in the Central and State legislatures for being joined to Mysore would serve the purpose.

It was significant that the Mysore Chief Minister was accompanied on his tour by some of his colleagues in the Mysore State Legislature, including Mr. J. Mahomed Imam, leader of the Opposition, Mr. T. Siddalingaiya, ex-Minister, Mr. C. R. Basappa, M. P. and Mr. Jade Krishnarao, Chief Whip of the Congress party. Evidently it was intended to put the unification issue beyond party dispute or controversy in the State. The purpose seemed to be more than fulfilled as the whole party returned deeply impressed by the irresistible demand for a Karnatak State.

On the whole, the tour contributed much to strengthen the bonds between

Mysore and the rest of Karnatak. Judged by the favourable reactions of the Mysore press, Mr. Hanumanthaiya stands fully supported in his stand both in and outside Mysore. The tour gave a new life to the political atmosphere of North Karnatak. It was also a personal triumph for Mr. G. V. Hallikeri, the Secretary of the K.P.C.C. who was largely responsible for bringing about the tour and organising it.

Boundary with Andhra

The Mysore Government's move for the appointment of a boundary body to settle the Andhra-Karnatak border, in response to the request from the President of the K.P.C.C., is considered a sign of Mysore's increasing support to the Karnatak cause. Concern is felt over the attempt in Andhra to reopen the question of Bellary which has been decided after a judicial inquiry by Mr. Justice L. S. Mishra. According to Karnatak, any boundary inquiry could only be regarding areas which were included in Andhra State without any inquiry. Karnatak claims Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg talukas of former Bellary district (now joined to Kurnool) and some areas in Anantpur district.

Translations of the Kannada Speeches made by Sri K. Hanumanthaiya in his tour in Bombay Karnataka as published in Kannada Papers

SAMYUKTA KARNATAKA, HUBLI

At Ranibennur, dated 5th February 1954

"In your address you have prominently referred to the need of a United-Karnataka Province. Now we find there is harmony on this question between the Government and the Opposition in Mysore State and the time has come for Karnataka unification."

At Biyadagi

"I am aware that this extraordinary reception that you are according to-day is not meant for me but is intended to achieve the unification of Mysore and North Karnataka. For anything to succeed, time and action should unite. It is true that you are waiting for unification for a long time. Persons that have worked in various ways for the unification are sitting on my either side. The efforts made here surpass the efforts made elsewhere. All the people including myself are indebted to those who have struggled for a long time. There is to-day unanimity of opinion on the question of unification."

At Hubli

"Independence has come. Several problems are yet to be solved. Formation of Linguistic Provinces is one of them. After marriage time is fixed, there is no use in asking whether one would marry or not. Time has come. You must know the stand Mysore takes. Let different parts of Mangalore, Karnataka and Hyderabad Karnatak submit separate Memoranda stating that they want to join Mysore. I shall play my part. If this procedure is followed, I believe, we can easily have United Karnataka soon."

At Gadag dated 6th February 1954

"Everywhere the question of United Karnataka is raised. The time has come. Your desire for United Karnataka is sure to be fulfilled. Gadag has dragged me into the service of Kannadigas. What more shall I say than promise to dedicate my whole life to the service of Kannadigas."

In reply to the address presented by Co-operative Societies he said: "Mysore has declared that it is prepared to embrace the adjoining parts into its fold. Language alone should not be the criterion; if so, it will create complications since in Mysore there are people speaking different languages leading a friendly life."

At Dharwar dated 6th February 1954

The problem of Unification is like a marriage problem. While North Karnataka bridegroom stares at the Mysore bride, if she draws over her face veil and scratches the earth with her toe, it does not mean that she has no consent for the marriage, it only indicates her full willingness to unite.

At Hubli dated 8th February 1954

Desire of the people of this part for united Karnatak is very keen. No one can resist it. I wish the High Power Commission sends an *Interim Report* if necessary. It is a good sign that all the parties have joined together to fulfil the desire of 55 Lakhs of people.

VISWAKARNATAKA, BANGALORE

Dated 8th May 1953

On 7th May 1953 replying to the address presented by the Mangalore Municipality Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore said :—

“ If the Central Government and the Kannadigas that live outside the State, want the formation of Karnataka State, neither the people nor the Government of Mysore will ever come in the way of such formation.

If the Central Government makes up its mind Karnataka Province can be formed within 24 hours.

The decision to postpone the formation of Karnataka State after the formation of Andhra State under the plea of observing how the Andhra State would fare, is as strange as postponing to serve food to one person on the plea of first observing as to how the person already served would digest the food.

The Central Government may be sharing the fear of large section of North Indians that if the Linguistic States are formed in the South, there would be a setback to the progress of Hindi.”

Dated 27th October 1953

CONFERENCE FOR KANNADA STATE

Chief Minister Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, suggested that a Conference of all the Kannada Parliamentary members and Kannada members of the legislatures of concerned states should be held at some suitable place so that after discussion an agreed decision may be taken to enable us to place it before the High Power Commission to be appointed for the reorganisation of states.

Dated 3rd February 1954

Speech made at Bellary by Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore on 2nd October 1953 :—

“ Kumara Vyasa the great and popular poet of Karnataka wrote “ Bharatha ” in Veerananarayanawamy Temple at Gadag in Dharwar District. When the people of that part themselves come forward to join Mysore, with what heart can I say nay? If the people of Bagevadi (Bijapur District), the birth place of Sri Basavewara who is famous for his Kannada Vachana Sastra and who has made a revolution in Dharma want to join Mysore, is it possible for me to tell them not to do so? While the people of Udipi (Mangalore Part) the seat of eight mutts were to come forward to join Mysore, with what face can I tell them not to do so? ”

Dated 6th February 1954

Addressing the Congress Workers at 5 p.m., on 5th February 1954 at Hubli, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore said :—

"Time has come for the formation of United Karnataka State and the aspirations of two Crores of Kannada people will be fulfilled soon.

The Government of India has appointed the High Power Commission for reorganisation of States. The people of North Karnataka, South Karnataka and Hyderabad Karnataka and the members of the Legislatures should submit their Memorandum to the Commission expressing their desire to join with Mysore; if they do so, United Karnataka will be formed. I will favour the formation of States on the basis of administrative convenience also and Mysore will have no objection for outsiders joining it. I therefore appeal to the people not to indulge in making provocative and inflammatory speeches.

Dated 8th February 1954

Press Conference at Hubli on 8th February 1954, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore said:—

"Now I understand much better than from any other sources, the desire and demand of the people of this part. The unbounded zeal and earnestness of those people here for a United Karnataka State cannot be suppressed. It is absolutely certain that their desire will be fulfilled..... what I said is applicable to all the parts adjoining Mysore and that Mysore welcomes not only Kannadigas but also people professing other languages.

NAVAYUGA, HUBLI

At Ranibennur dated 5th February 1954

"All the parties in the Mysore Assembly are in favour of unification. The fact that the Leader of the opposition Janab J. M. Imam is here is a positive proof of the same."

At Guledagudda dated 7th February 1954

I am a "*Kannada Dasayya*". I have determined to retain this status by serving you. Your kindness and regard will support my service.

At Bijapur dated 7th February 1954

I have had crowded programme for the last four days and this is my final speech here. I cannot say anything more. I dedicate my life at the feet of Kannada people. I shall try my best and see that the future of Mysore and other Kannada areas will be the same."

At Hubli, dated 4th February 1954

At Karnatak Congress Convention, when Sri Nijalingappa presided, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya said:

"For the merger of adjacent parts with Mysore, the way that I suggest is a little different from that of others. But it is the shortest and surest way to complete success. What I should say before the High Power Commission may be left to me. You need not suspect me in any way. As propitious time has come to bless our actions with success I will discharge my duty with God's Grace.

If the language question alone were to be considered, there are people speaking Tamil, Telugu and other languages in Mysore and the State will have to be split up. No body will agree to this and it is not possible also. Hence, keeping the administrative convenience in view, just like Bellary, the Bombay Karnatak and Hyderabad Districts may merge in Mysore. This way, the arrangements for the same are easiest. The Mysore Constitution has provided a way for it and there is no doubt that it will now find favour with the majority of the members of the

Mysore Legislature. Though I cannot boast that I carry all the Mysoreans with me, I am not such a worthless man to say that I am unable to do anything ;..... It is better to be abused rather than praised. Because, when abused there will be sympathy of others. Whatever this may be, I promise that I will never resile from the assurances I have given you.

Karnatak Legislators of Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad have to submit separate Memoranda to High Power Commission asking for the merger of their portions of the Country in Mysore. The Kannada Parliamentary Members have to meet and express a combined opinion. As to what I should say before the Commission, leave it to me. I will successfully place the facts before them and argue with patience, ability and wisdom.

The power of man excells even the power of Atom. No power on earth can stand against the mighty spirit of the people working for unification of Karnataka.

"Bride and Bridegroom at the Dias"

"The marriage is settled. Invitations in the name of Bride and Bridegroom have been issued. The marriage couple are approaching the dias for life unification. At this stage can a question arise about the willingness of the couple for marriage? The marriage is sure to be celebrated. Same is the problem of Karnataka. Time has come and circumstances are favourable. Now there will be no delay. There is no need for agitation, for provocative speeches. It is now time to achieve our object with wisdom".

Hubli dated 6th February 1954

Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore at Gadag-Betageri on 5th February 1954 said :—

There is no doubt that God will kindly fulfil your desire for the Unification of all the disintegrated parts of Karnataka within a few days.

"On the lines of what I said at Nanalnagar the High Power Commission has been appointed. Time is opportune for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. At this juncture, I promise, that I shall do my bit in this behalf though it may look insignificant."

KARMAVEERA, HUBLI

Speaking at Bijapur on 7th February 1954, Sri K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore said :—

"It is absolutely necessary to reorganise the States on the basis of language and administrative convenience. The disparity in States must be removed. Equality must prevail in all States. Each of such States must have about two crores of people each. We are sure to get the United Karnataka State including Mysore.

Formation of United Karnataka State is the gift of God. It is sure to come. Demand for the Linguistic State do not mean separatism or exclusiveness. It is only a division on administrative and other conveniences. There must be equality in all States. There is no meaning in the distinction between small and big States. "B and C" States must go.