CHAPTER - 6

CONCLUSION

In agrarian societies, land is the basis of the rural relationship and various inter-related classes had emerged in the agrarian structure of India. The case of South Canara is also not different. Early rulers, who established their authorities in the district, introduced their policies and methods of revenue collection. As the land revenue was the main source of income of the government, the aim of the revenue policy was the maximum extraction of the land revenue from the cultivators. So the feudalistic exploitation of the economic surplus affected deeply on the rural life and the insecure tenants and the landless labourers under went many hardships.

This study is an attempt to trace the historical evolution of agrarian relations before 1947 and also in the post-independent period, primarily to understand the place of the peasantry in South Canara District, their social structure, the agrarian economy and political system. The peasantry became a driving force for the struggle against imperialism, landlordism and casteism.
during the period of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, the Mysore rulers. He described that\(^1\) many of the cultivators had abandoned their farms due to excessive assessment imposed by Haider Ali and Tipu and the decline of prices of agricultural commodities was due to frequent wars. Munro observed that\(^2\) he did not think it proper to deviate widely from the system which he found established, as it was the same as that which existed. He considered\(^3\) himself merely as a Collector who was to investigate and report up on the condition of the country, but was to leave it to the Board of Revenue to decide as to the expediency of lowering the assessment. Thus it was amply clear from the above facts that the decision of Munro to continue the excessive land revenue assessment of the Mysore rulers was not a policy of his own, but it was a part of colonial exploitation.

Munro introduced ryotwari land revenue system in Canara after its annexation, in which the ryots directly paid rent to the government for which there was no intermediaries. Thus the settlement was supposed to have been made directly with the person cultivating the land. But, in real sense the system included landlords, rich peasants, poor peasants and landless peasants and the cultivating peasants or the real ryots did not come to the picture. To systematise the pre-colonial agrarian relations of the region for effective exploitation of the economic surplus was the main aim of the company.

In order to make the colonial exploitation more safe, the British relied up on all sorts of government machinery such as the police, the courts, the

judiciary, the revenue department, etc. Apart from land revenue, they also introduced the policy of diversification of revenue collection, which came in to force through the monopoly of salt, tobacco, abkari, etc. for the maximum extraction of revenue.

Thus, the establishment of the British rule was accompanied by the colonial economic policies, the new land revenue system, the colonial administrative and judicial systems and the ruin of the handicrafts. So the colonial exploitation resulted\(^1\) in the over crowding of land, transformation of the agrarian structure and impoverishment of the peasantry. In Ryotwari areas the land revenue was unreasonably high and the government itself levied it. This forced the peasants to borrow money from the money lenders and eventually the peasants lost their land. As a result of this, over large areas of the district, the actual cultivators were reduced to the status of tenants-at-will, share croppers and land less labourers, while their lands, crops and cattle passed in to the hands of the landlords, traders, money lenders and rich peasants\(^2\).

The assessment of Munro continued for ten years without major complaints, but after that the demand for reduction and remission increased in Canara. This was on account of the discontent among the peasants leading to the out bursts like the Koots rebellions in 1810-11 and 1830-31. Comparing with the uprising of 1810-11, the uprising of 1830-31 was wide spread and well organised. The most important reason\(^3\) which made the peasants to

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2. Ibid, p. 50.
organise themselves and their decision of non-payment of kists was the unbearable and heavy extraction of land revenue by the government. The resistance was started in Bakel and spread to all parts of the North Canara also. The rebellion was suppressed with harsh measures, but the government was forced to grant temporary remissions.

The Koots rebellions were actually a tax rebellion. They opposed the revenue policy of the government and called for non-payment of tax. They mobilised thousands of peasants against land revenue assessment of the British. Non payment of tax was declared\(^1\) as the second stage coincided with the non co-operation movement of Gandhiji in 1921-22. This was the same method of no-tax movement launched in Bardoli Satyagraha (1928, Gujarat) under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. Thus the first non payment of tax campaign ever in the history against the British colonialism was put forward by the peasants of South Canara District.

Another important aspect of the Koots rebellions was that it was a non-violent method of agitation. Thus, before it was used by Gandhiji in the nationalist movement against the British, the peasants of South Canara put in to practice the weapon of non violent agitation against the same British colonialism. But revolters of the Koots were not influenced by any political ideology or the spirit of nationalism. It was a powerful reaction against the colonial exploitation. It exposed the true nature of the colonial revenue policy and administration and became a crucial land mark in the history of the

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1. When the non-co-operation movement was going on, on 1\(^{st}\) February 1922 Gandhiji announced that he would start mass civil disobedience movement, including non-payment of tax with in seven days. But before starting of the non-payment of tax movement, the non-co-operation movement was withdrawn due to the Chauri Chura incident.
peasant movements of South Canara District.

Kalyana Swami’s rebellion (1837) was a reaction of the anti-British attitude among the people. Thousands of people were mobilised under the leadership of Kalyana Swami against the British. The British administration was completely paralysed in Canara and for two weeks Mangalore, which was the headquarters of the district administration, fell into the hands of Kalyana Swamy. But, the British suppressed the movement relentlessly. As it was a restorative movement, it was similar to the revolts of Veluthambi Dalava of Travancore, Paliyattachan of Kochi and Kerala Varma Pazhashi Raja of Wayanad (Malabar), who also fought against the British Imperialism.

The Second Koots rebellion (1830-31) was an organised mass movement based on non-violent method against the British. But the rebellion of Kalyana Swami was an armed revolt. It was important to notice that after 1837, there was no such movements in South Canara District till the spread of the national movement, even though the land revenue assessment continued to be high. The major reason for this was the British method of suppression on one side and diplomacy on the other. Any kind of ‘lawlessness’ was suppressed ruthlessly. In the Koot rebellion and Kalyana Swami’s revolt, various classes of peasants united together. But gradually the British authorities introduced various methods to prevent such rebellions. The colonial rule was able to develop wide gulf among the various classes of the peasantry who joined together in previous resistance movements. The police and the judiciary always were on the side of the landlords. The British exploited the caste rigidity that prevailed in the district for the effective implementation of the
divide and rule policy. Same way, the police, the military and the judiciary acted as powerful organs of the Government to suppress all sorts of anti-British agitations.

In Malabar land was considered as private property held by the Janmi or landlord. At the same time in South Canara all lands belonged to the government and the government leased the land that was 'lease hold' property to the wargdars (landlords). The English courts held the absolute and unqualified rights of the landlords overland. In South Canara forest and waste lands in the holdings were also assessed. Therefore the colonial exploitation was more intense\(^1\) in South Canara than in Malabar.

The land survey was considered as the essential feature for the revenue assessment in the ryotwari system. But, for more than a century the land revenue assessment was continued in the district without any survey. Thus the inequalities and over assessment were the major features of the land revenue system during this period. The first land survey was completed in 1903. The introduction of the new settlement and assessment caused over burden to the peasantry which turned as a typical example of the exploitation of the economic surplus. In the same way, the resurvey of 1934-35 also increased the financial burden of the peasantry.

The government gave prime importance for security of revenue collection. The landed aristocracy, in practice turned as the intermediaries of actual revenue collectors. When the Government enhanced the land revenue, the landlords in turn transferred their burden upon the peasantry and it

\(^1\) K.K.N. Kurup, Modern Kerala, Studies and Agrarian Relations, (Delhi, 1998), p 102
resulted in the squeezing of the poor. Besides this, the landlords collected various kinds of illegal extractions and engaged in all sorts of atrocities upon the illiterate peasantry. This in fact caused the impoverishment and deterioration of the peasantry.

With the development of nationalism, organised peasant movements emerged in South Canara. Due to the impact of wider political movements and freedom struggles of Malabar, the peasants were organised in Kasaragod Taluk of South Canara District in the 1930's as it was close to Malabar. Thus in Kasaragod Taluk the peasant unrest were developed as massive and militant movements against landlordism and colonialism than in other parts of South Canara. In other parts of South Canara (excluding Kasaragod Taluk) the peasant movements were weak and it originated only in the 1940's. This poses an important question - Why did the massive and militant movements emerge in Kasaragod Taluk or the Malayalam speaking area? And, why did the peasant movements were weaker in the other parts of South Canara or the Tulu speaking area?

The massive and militant movements in Malabar and other parts of Kerala had influenced the Malayalam speaking area. The 'Abhinava Bharat Yuvak Sangham' (1934) and the 'Samyuktha Karmakara Sangham' (1935) of Karivellur(Malabar District) included the Kotakkat, Pilicode, Cheruvathur and other villages of the Malayalam speaking area. Thus, the influences of the political consciousness of Malabar made its impact upon the peasant organisations in Kasaragod Taluk.

The leadership factor was another major reason for the development
of the peasant movements in its organised character. The able and inspiring leaders of Malabar and other parts of Kerala like E. M. S. Namboodirippad, A. K. Gopalan, P. Krishna Pillai, K. P. R. Gopalan, K. A. Keraleeyan, Vishnu Bharatheeeyan, E. K. Nayanar, A. K. Pillai, A. V. Kunhambu and others influenced the mobilisation of the peasantry in the Malayalam speaking area. Ironically, most of these leaders belonged to the upper and middle castes and also related to landlord families. Their leadership and contact created confidence and inspiring spirit among the peasantry of the Malayalam speaking area. They tried to unite the peasantry without any distinction of caste or religion. Their frequent visits to the peasant’s houses and interdining had culminated in breaking the traditional customs and the rigidity of the caste, which helped to bring the rural population in the main stream of the national movement.

B. V. Kakkillaya, S. N. Holla, Ammu Shetty, M. H. Krishnappa, Koragappa Rai, Veerappa Saliya, Vishwanath Naik, K. V. Rao and others were the important leaders of the peasant organisation of the Tulu speaking area. Many of them belonged to the upper castes and were relatives of the landlord families. But due to the failure of the leadership to mobilize the rural population, lack of strong ideological basis, organisational weakness of the Raitha Sangha etc., their influence upon the peasantry did not become fruitful like the Malayalam speaking area. So the mobilization of the peasantry against landlordism and imperialism was weaker and slower in the Tulu speaking area.

The above peasant leaders did not have high demands and so they
The Raitha Sanghas demanded just receipt for rent as a documentary evidence. They did not put forward demands like security for tenancy, abolition of landlordism etc. Thus their demands were limited, so the leadership failed to motivate the rural population to fight against landlordism and colonialism.

The Congress units and Kisan units were founded in almost all parts of the Malayalam Speaking area. The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) was under the leadership of the Congress Socialists during 1934-40. The Congress Socialists took keen interest for the organisation of the peasantry. Gradually the members of the Congress Socialist Party turned in to the Communist Party in 1939. The peasant and the workers organisation became a part of the Communist Party and under the leadership of the Party, massive and militant movements were launched in Malayalam speaking area.

But majority of the Congress leadership of the South Canara District belonged to the landlords, merchants and tile factory owners. They never took interest to organise the peasantry. The Congress Socialist Party of South Canara and the Karnataka Congress Socialist party were founded in 1935. Even though they put forward the socialist ideology, they did not try to mobilise the peasantry. When the Congress Socialist Party of Kerala was transformed in to the Communist Party enmasse, the Karnataka Congress Socialist Party did not transfer like that of Kerala, but a few of them joint the Communist Party.
After the release of the Congress leaders from jail, who participated in the civil disobedience movement, founded reading rooms in their own villages. These reading rooms gradually became centers for inculcating political ideology. This trend of Malabar influenced the Malayalam speaking area profoundly. This laid the ideological basis of Socialism and Communism in the area. Afterwards the Communist leaders organised study classes, including night classes in the Malayalam speaking area. This powerful ideological basis strengthened the party at the grass root level which ultimately resulted in massive and militant movements.

The peasant and Communist leaders of the Tulu speaking area were not able to develop such a strong ideological basis like the Malayalam speaking area. Very strong ideology always keep the movement intact. There were so many reasons for this. Among, them the linguistic difference was focused as an obstacle for the propagation of ideology and unity of peasantry. Tulu, Canarese (Kannada), Konkani, Marathi, Malayalam, Hindustani, Koraga, Bellera, Coorgi (Kodagu), Tamil, Telungu, etc. were the different languages of the people in the Tulu speaking area. However, this argument is not fully correct. The labour class commonly spoke the Tulu language in the region and the linguistic obstacle could not be considered as important. Actually the leaders were not able to organise peasantry through ideological propagation.

In the Tulu speaking area the peasants were organised a little late compared with the Malayalam speaking area. That means, in Malayalam speaking area the peasant organisations emerged in the 1930's, but in the Tulu

1. At Bantwal a Raitha Sangha was formed in April 1945, it was the first peasant organisation founded in the Tulu speaking area, at regional level.
speaking area it originated only in 1940's. The South Canara District Raitha Sangha was organised in 1952 and the receipt for rent was one among the three major demands put forward by the Sangham. During this time Kisan Sangham in the Malayalam speaking area demanded 'land to the tiller'. Thus there existed a wide gulf between the peasant organisation of these two areas.

It is important to note that the working organisations were formed and they conducted strong strikes in the 1940's in the Tulu speaking area. In 1940's the weavers factory strike in Mangalore was very strong which ended in violent incidents. In 1946 the Beedi worker's and Tile factory workers also had strong strikes in Mangalore. It was stated(1) that the Communists were creating their strong holds among the labourers and the government took initiative to settle labour strikes. A wide spread tile factory workers strike in the question of wages in South Canara was settled(2) by the intervention of the local officials concerned. Seeing the spread of Communism in Malabar and other parts of the Madras Presidency the District authorities started to take initiative to settle the strikes through negotiation in order to curb the spread of Communism among the working class.

The Communist Party of South Canara was not able to exploit of the circumstances and to make better co-ordination between the workers and the peasantry against oppression and colonialism.

In Malabar and Kasaragod Taluk the peasants and workers fought against the imperialism, landlordism and casteism simultaneously. The struggle against

1. *Fortnightly Report (Confidential) for Second Half of April, 1945.*
these three forces which had become the major element for the rapid growth of the peasant and working class movements in the rural areas. It resulted in the unification of the people irrespective of religion, caste and class against the common enemies and finally resulted in the massive and militant movements in Malayalam speaking area.

The caste rigidity that existed in Tulu speaking area had interrupted the advance of the peasant organisation to a certain extent. The land owning class belonging to the high castes had great influence in the social, economic and political structure. The peasants belonged to the middle castes and most of the landless labourers were the untouchables. Untouchability and unapproachability prevailed in South Canara than in Malabar.

Even though the caste systems were instrument in oppressing the lower castes along with landlordism, it was not focussed as a major issue in South Canara District. While comparing the oppression based on caste supremacy in South Canara with Malabar, it was more severe in Malabar than in South Canara. In Malabar, the major portion of the land owning class belonged to the Brahmin caste. But in Tulu speaking area they belonged to Brahmans, Bunts and Jains. Bunts were equal to Nairs of Malabar and they were socially considered as the backward community.

Even though in the Tulu speaking area many communists and peasant leaders emerged from the upper castes, they were not able to make effective influence up on the masses like that of the Malayalam speaking area. Thus the peasant organisation of the Tulu speaking area were comparatively very weak from that of the Malayalam speaking area.
The worship of bhuta or devil in costal Karnataka has been popular. The people in the district indulged in various kinds of rituals and superstitions. The landlords had effectively made use of the ignorance of the people and maintained their power and prestige up on them. The peasantry of the Tulu speaking area had led a life like slaves for centuries. The activities undertaken by the Raitha Sangha for the upliftment of the peasantry from their deplorable condition had not become a success in all parts of the district.

The leaders of Tulu speaking area had tried to organise the chalageni tenants. They did not give much importance to the organisation of landless peasants or the agricultural labourers of the region who belonged to the bottom of the social structure. The leaders of the area were not able to attain the confidence of all sections of the peasantry and to propagate the message of organisation at the grass root level like Malabar and Kasaragod. Thus, the Raitha Sangha was also not able to unite all sections of the peasantry in their struggle against the landlords and colonialism.

The weakness in the organisational level of the Raitha Sangha was another factor for their failure. The Raitha Sangha at Bantwal taluk formed in 1945 had started agitation against the landlords. The landlords came forward to resist the activities of the Raitha Sangha with the support of the police. Thus police arrested peasant leaders and put them in prison. It is very important to note that when the leaders were jailed, no body came forward to assume leadership and continue the struggle. So the activities of the Sangha
were stagnant for six years in the Tulu speaking areas. Thus the landlords and the police were able to prevent the rapid growth of the peasant movements in the area. This was one of the factors that weakened the Raitha Sangha.

After this set back, the activities of Raitha Sangha were reorganised in the Tulu speaking area only with the formation of the South Canara District Raitha Sangha in 1952. Even then the Raitha Sangha was not able to organise its units in village level in all parts of the Tulu speaking area, as it was done in the Malayalam speaking area. After the special conference\(^1\) of the Karshaka Sangham held at Karivellur (Malabar District) in 1935 and with in a period of three years the village units of KPCC and Karshaka Sangham were organised in almost all villages of the Kasaragod taluk. The activities of the Karshaka Sangham spread rapidly with the attainment of confidence of the rural population in the Malayalam speaking area. But in the Tulu speaking area the Raitha Sangha’s expansion was very slow. Thus organisational differences of the two sangham’s in Malayalam speaking area and Tulu speaking area had affected its effectiveness.

All Malabar, Kisan Sangham and the Trade Union Congress brought the national movement to the grass root level. These organisations inaugurated an era of militant struggles in Malabar and Kasaragod in the 1940’s. They made great influence on the peasant organisations of the Kasaragod taluk. Thus Malabar and Kasaragod taluk witnessed a strong anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movements participated by the working class. They were well

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1. This was the first conference attended by the peasants of Kasaragod Taluk and it was presided over by A. K. Gopalan.
organised by the Communist Party and under its leadership the people organised struggles against poverty and oppression and revolted against landlords and colonialism.

The Kayyur riot of March 1941 was a significant event in the history of the peasant movements in South Canara District. Four young peasant workers were sentenced to death for participating in the riot and they became martyrs. Even though many peasant activists were assassinated by the British through repression, the Kayyur martyrs were the first peasant martyrs in India, who were hanged by the imperialist government. These peasants were illiterates, who entered the nationalist movement as inspired by the nationalist and Communist ideology. Thus a remote village like Kayyur had become a popular place in the history of peasant insurgency.

The post war period resulted in hoarding and black marketing which intensified rural poverty. The Karshaka Sangham resorted to forceful procurement of paddy in Kasaragod taluk. The government began repression against the activities of the Communists and the peasants. Even though the Communists and the peasants faced severe repression from the government, this struggle resulted in the strengthening of the peasant activism in the rural areas.

The Mulki Satyagraha, 1956, in the Tulu speaking area had been one of the events that exposed the weakness of the Raitha Sangha. Forceful eviction was common in the area with the support of the police. This satyagraha was a struggle against such forceful evictions. The landlords, assisted by the
police, used all sorts of repressive measures. Thousands of peasants participated in the struggle. The Raitha Sangha was not able to offer resistance to overcome the repressive measures by the police and the landlords and it ended in failure. This failure was significant as it resulted in more and more eviction by the landlords.

In Kasaragod taluk the agitation, like harvesting of crops, Cheemeni estate struggle, the paddy procurement, the social boycott of the landlords etc, marked the success of the peasantry. This ultimately became a threat to the vested interests of the landlords and created unity, strength and self-confidence among the rural masses under the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party. The extension of the Malabar Tenancy Act in to many villages of the Kasaragod taluk was a result of the agitations of the peasants in Kasaragod taluk and Malabar.

Even though the land system was highly oppressive and exploitative during the British period, even after the Koots rebellion in 1830-31 and the revolt of Kalyana Swami in 1837, the peasantry could be organised only after the gap of a century. With the emergence of nationalism, political consciousness developed and it resulted in the formation of peasant organisation and the Communist Party in the district. Thus, it created a new turn in the political history and agrarian relations in the Kasaragod taluk of the district because they activated peasant struggles which was powerful, militant and had definite objectives. Thus the struggles against landlordism and imperialism were generated with proper leadership, ideology and political
perspective in the malayalam speaking area. Though Kasaragod taluk and Tulu speaking area occupied in the same district of South Canara, the Communist Party gained strong holds among the rural population in the Malayalam speaking areas and it failed to establish effective peasant mobilization in the Tulu speaking area.

When the Communist Party came to power in 1957 it showed its commitment towards the rural peasantry by introducing the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill (K.A.R.B). Kerala was the first state in India, which introduced such a progressive measure. The government was dismissed by the Central Government at the end of the liberation struggle directed mainly against the introduction of the bill. The Kerala Land Reform Act of 1963 was not satisfactory to the peasants. Struggle continued for achieving proper legislation in Kerala. And the CPI(M) coalition government that came to power in 1967, enacted a new tenancy legislation known as the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act which was finally passed in 1969. This Act effectively abolished landlordism, which is viewed as the culmination of the long and militant peasant struggles.

The Karnataka government appointed the Jatti Committee in 1957 to examine the existing laws and practices and to suggest the common tenancy law and the Karnataka Land Reform Act was enacted in 1961. Prior to the enactment of the Act the landlords of the Dakshina Kannada District resorted to large scale eviction of the tenants. This had led violent incidents in many parts of the district. The Act provided enough time and scope to the
landlords to resume the leased out land under the guise of personal cultivation. There prevailed a large number of oral and informal tenancy arrangements on land until the Act of 1961 was amended.

The purpose behind the implementation of tenancy legislation was to protect the interests of tenants initially and consequently to eliminate the intermediaries and to confer on the tenants ownership rights on the tenanted land. The so called revolutionary land reform legislation was introduced in the Karnataka State in 1974. But its implementation was a failure considering the objectives of the land reforms. As stated earlier, a large number of tenants were displaced from their leased land. Thus forceful eviction of the tenant and the land transactions were a common feature in the agrarian structure of the Dakshina Kannada District from 1951 to 1974. As a result of the introduction of Madras Prevention of Ejectment Act of 1954 there was a decline in the number of tenants from 5,89,017 in 1951 to 4,90,571 in 1957. Huge number of tenants in this district were tremendously reduced due to the large scale evictions and hence the actual beneficiaries under tenancy laws were only 1,36,880 by the end of 1987. Thus, a large percentage of the actual tenants were evicted in the district and there numbers were reduced. So the real success rate of the implementation of tenancy law in Dakshina Karnataka District was as low as 27.9 per cent.

2. Ibid, p.90
In Kodagu district of the Karnataka state the occupancy right granted to the tenants was only 2.9 per cent\(^1\). This is a typical example of the implementation of the tenancy legislation in the Karnataka state. The effective implementation will be possible only when the needy people are kept vigilant and mobilised for collective strength.

The provision of resumption of land for personal cultivation was an important loophole which turned out as an obstacle in the effective implementation of the Act. Thus, the effective implementation had become a myth in the Dakshina Kannada District in particular and Karnataka State in general.

The land ceiling legislation was not implemented properly, which exposed the major weakness of the Land Reform Act in Karnataka State. The landlords produced false statement before the land tribunals and even partitioned the land to escape from the ceiling limit and on the other hand the revenue authorities did not conduct proper enquires to find out the surplus land. Acquiring surplus land and its proper redistribution were considered as important for the removal of inequalities in the agrarian structure.

In Kerala the peasant organisations and the Communist Party were powerful and they acted as a corrective force in the whole process of the implementation of the act. They checked and pointed out all the loopholes of the act, where as such a force was not there in Karnataka. Thus the political will

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on the part of the Communist Party, helped the effective implementation of the Land Reform Act.

In fact the Karnataka situation was different. Even though the Communist parties and the Raitha Sanghas were comparatively weak, they sincerely tried to mobilise the peasantry in the district. They ventilated the grievances of toiling classes and engaged in so many struggles including violent clashes between the landlords and the peasants in the district during 1960's and 1970's. The impact of the act was not uniform every where in the Dakshina Kannada District. Wherever the Raitha Sanghas had strong holds, the peasantry had gained the benefit and in the places where the Raitha Sangha was weak the landlords had benefited.

The villages of the Tulu speaking areas were characterised by the predominance of resident landlords. The resident landlords deliberately prevented the expansion of the Raitha Sangha and the Communist Party in their areas through all means. On one hand the landlords shown mercy towards the tenants to keep the Communists at bay and on the other hand they used repressive measures to curb the Raitha Sangha and the Communists. Further, the landlords were supported by the revenue officials and the police. Thus, in such villages, where the resident landlords were powerful, the peasant movements and the implementation of land reforms were weak to a great extent. On the other hand the peasants movements and reforms were quite successful due to numerical predominance of urban based landlords in certain areas of the state.

Lack of serious efforts to prevent the landlords from evicting the ten-
The selfish attitudes shown by certain activists and followers of the Raitha Sangha also affected the implementation. In some parts of the district, after the fight with the landlords under the leadership of the Raitha Sangha the tenants became the owners of the land. After getting the occupancy right, many of them had withdrawn from the organisation to safeguard their property. These new landowners did not participate in the struggle for the rehabilitation of the evicted tenants and it affected the tempo of the peasants struggles.

The Land Reform Legislations enacted in Karnataka state were half hearted and chiefly landlord- oriented. The organisational weakness of the Raitha Sanghas and the Communist Parties in Karnataka resulted in the failure of its effective implementation. However, these movements which acquired significance in the district brought to the forefront the need for a land to the
tiller legislation, in the district.

During the post land legislation period, the social system that developed in Kerala signifies the existence of the leftist government. Various sorts of social security measures were implemented to provide various types of inputs aimed at the development of agriculture and free them from the clutches of the money lenders. There are so many co-operative Banks and Agricultural Development Banks established in Kerala apart from Commercial Banks. These banks provide various sorts of credit facilities to assist the peasants. Same way, the establishment of village offices, the village extension centers in all rural areas, and Krishi Bhavan in each panchayats also provide assistance to the peasants. These kinds of social security measures do not exist in Karnataka. This was one of the major differences between leftist government sponsored legislations in Kerala and a rightist government led measures of Karnataka.

The implementation of land reform Act had made changes in the agrarian relations and the agrarian structure in the Dakshina Kannada District to a great extent. Many of the big estates owned by landlords were either divided among members or partly sold or given to tenants. Many of them became new professionals due to high education. Thus more dependence on agriculture has come to an end. In recent years, Dakshina Kannada District has witnessed considerable migration of rural people to urban areas. Seeking employment in hotels, automobile works etc. many of the landless migrated from rural areas to Urban areas. Apart from this, many of the agricultural areas were converted into residential areas and high building
structures were also constructed.

The influence of the peasant movements of the Malabar, the influence of Communist Party, the leadership factors, the ideological basis, etc had caused the emergence of massive and militant peasant movements in Kasaragod Taluk of the South Kanara District. The peasant movements in Tulu speaking areas were started later and it was weak comparing with the Malayalam speaking area. The organisational character of the Raitha Sangha was also poor. At the same time, the peasant movements forced the government to enact Land Reform Act's in Kerala and Karnataka States. The peasants were freed from the age old customs and practices of landlordism. The traditional exploitation of the tenants by the landlords declined as an impact of the land reform. Legal and illegal extractions were also. Forced labour (free labour) and atrocities by the landlords also had come to an end. Fixation of minimum wages, resulted in the improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourers. Poor peasants and landless labourers attained more freedom and position in the society. Even though, there were variations in the implementation of the Land Reforms Act's in Kasaragod (Kerala State) and the Dakshina Kannada District (Karnataka State), it had made far reaching changes in the political, economic and social structure of these areas.