

SUMMARY OF THE MINOR RESEARCH PROJECT ON **“BORDER DISPUTES IN BETWEEN KARNATAKA AND** **KERALA STATES-RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS** **SINCE 2005”**

Introduction

Border dispute as an international problem

A border dispute serves a serious challenge to peace, stability and prosperity in a region. It is not a modern phenomenon, and has its roots originating from various phases of history. Border disputes are the existing reality of independent nations, which threaten its sovereignty. It is a historical issue with a high involvement of emotional and rational aspects. Consequently, this topic attracts the attention of policymakers, academicians at one end and the general public at the other. The issue of border disputes is not homogeneously placed around the world – it is seen to have various dimensions and expressions depending upon the cultural, political and ideological beliefs prevalent in the region.

Border disputes are not just restricted to the interiors of a country, they're often international issues. Boundaries between states or countries are sometimes natural, though more often than not, they are man-made. Borders are being continuously redrawn as results of wars, due to the large scale of migration of ethnic groups and the ensuing mutual agreement of the affected parties etc.

A political boundary is a meeting place of two political groups, each having its own interests, structures and ideologies. A border disputes between two sovereign states of the world is one of the problems in international politics today. India is more sensitive on its international Border. India has a long land frontier of more than 15,000 K.Ms with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. After the emergence of Republic of China, Border disputes have been erupted between the

two countries and it finally led to the Indo-China War in 1962 misinterpretation of McMahan line by India and China has become an immediate cause for this war¹.

Drawing boundaries between countries has always been very politically sensitive, especially when governments or groups of people have a particular stake in a geographic area. Historically, the practice of arbitrarily drawing borders by former colonial powers, with no consideration of ethnic, religious, social or linguistic identities, has left behind a legacy of troubles in many regions of the world; And so is the case in India too. Border disputes in India are the troubled legacy of the British Empire. During the colonial period, India was divided into a number of provinces. With the advent of democracy in India, the Govt. of India set up the State Re-organization Commission to re-organize states along linguistic lines. The completion of a prolonged process of linguistic re-organization of states has left unresolved problems in the form of border disputes².

Border dispute as a national problem in India

Border dispute is such a major problem in India that no state can claim of being free from this troubled legacy. For instance, since the creation of Haryana in 1966, Haryana and Punjab have been locked in a territorial dispute. Maharashtra has a long standing quarrel with Karnataka over the Belgaum district which is inhabited by a sizeable Marathi speaking population. Orissa has border disputes with West Bengal as well as with Andhra Pradesh. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh do not maintain a good relationship because of Mahi Bajaj Sagar Dam, located in the former states of Banswara district. The north-eastern states of India are also prey to similar issues.

Since 1956, the border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala over Kasaragod has been one of the more thorny disputes observed in India. Karnataka is trying to get Kasaragod back from Kerala, while Kerala's efforts are directed towards retaining Kasaragod. Both parties in the dispute have their historical, political and cultural reasons to defend their stance in the issue.

¹The Hindu, Feb 9, 1999

²Brass .R. Paul: The politics of India since Independence, second edition, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Major factors responsible for emergence of border disputes

The important factors responsible for the emergence of border disputes as identified by scholars who have studied the matter fall into four basic categories:-

- a. Political
- b. Economic
- c. Cultural/Linguistic
- d. Geographical

a. Political factors

As many studies reveal, the political components of border disputes are primarily historical in nature. Long standing demands of the people when mixed with emotions begin to spread beyond the traditional, political bonds to create identities which necessarily distinguish 'ours' from 'theirs'.

As Paul K Brass argues, the elite competition in the modern political system was often responsible for such demands which create the dispute as it also involves issues closer to emotions that bind people together. The platforms and organizations which give life to such demands over time get institutionalized³.

However, the border dispute between Kerala and Karnataka states over Kasaragod have historical, political as well as cultural dimensions. Till the annexation by British in 1789 A.D, this region had fallen under various kingdoms of Mysore State such as Alupas (from 2nd century AD to 14th century AD), the Vijayanagara Monarchs (till the end of 16th century AD), the Nayaks of Ikkeri for nearly a century after that and finally Hyder Ali & Tippu Sultan (from 1760 to 1789)⁴. During the British Empire the entire undivided Dakshina Kannada district (including the Kasaragod taluk) came under the administration of the Madras Presidency (from 1789 to 1956). The British rule had permitted the separation of people of the region independent of any previous political setup that the region had seen. This troubled legacy of British is

³Brass R. Paul : Ethnicity and Nationalism – Theory and comparison, Sage publications, New Delhi, 1991, - P. 16

⁴'Memorandum' – submitted to the commission for the Maharashtra – Mysore – Kerala Border Disputes on behalf of the Karnataka Pranthikarana Samithi, Kasaragod its President B.S. Kakkillaya Advocate, Kasaragod - P. 14

the main the reason for the six-decade-old border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala that isn't any closer to a resolution.

b. Economic factors

Economic interest is an important factor that guides the activities of people assert to their rights as many of those living in border areas feel that their economic interests are completely marginalized. The economic life of the people of border area largely depends on the neighboring states. The demand for roads, basic facilities and especially electricity for agricultural needs have become central issues for people living in border areas. The people of these regions invariably feel that these problems are due to their location. Therefore they demand for separation or for a so called policy that ensures that their problems are addressed properly. In the case of the border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala, the people of the region have worked against their respective state Government to address the problem systematically⁵.

c. Cultural factors

India is a multicultural society. In India, every cultural group has found its geographical area and thus, specific areas have been identified with specific cultural practices. Many people from the border area argue that the 1956 Act, which facilitated the re-organization of states has played a key role in the wrecking of cultural integration. It is strongly argued that, the integrated cultural practices of several regions were disintegrated by the re-organization act⁶. For instance, Karnataka and Kerala's unending debate is on the same lines where people of the border area are demanding for rejoining with the cultural mainland.

d. Geographical Factors

It is learnt from the instances of border disputes that people belonging to a cultural or linguistic sect along with other things to identify themselves with specific geographical area. The geographical area intensely related to their emotions which cannot be separated by any administrative act. In the case of the border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala over Kasaragod, the people of the area identify

⁵Sosali, china Swamy : 'Gadi chalavaligalu – A study of Border Disputes Marement, prasaranga Kannada University, Hampi, Vidhyaranya.

⁶Bhat, Rama, Uppangala: 'Gadinadu Kasaragod – A brief survey regarding the history, literature and Art of the Border area', Abhyudaya power press, Kanyana, 1994.

themselves with their geographical area and the natural borders and are in turn very sensitive to any measure that they perceive as a threat to their identity.

Objectives

This minor research work was chosen with an interest to fulfill the following objectives:-

1. To further and build upon my research work in this field.
2. To identify the problems of linguistic minorities like the Kannadigas of Kasaragod and to find out solutions within the framework of the constitution.
3. To analyze the policies and programs of the state government in terms of operational patterns of the federal structure of India.
4. To make a detailed study of trends and developments in the disputed area and the ensuring responses to these from the civil society.

Hypothesis

The present study in the context of its issues has raised the following hypotheses.

1. Since 1956, border disputes in India have become a serious problem.
2. The border disputes between Karnataka and Kerala over Kasaragod appear to be not only political but also cultural.
3. The recent trends and developments in a disputed area affect the day to day life of the people residing there.
4. There is a lack of mobilization of people as the cause does not enjoy electoral or popular support at present.

Methodology

This research work is both a theoretical and empirical process of gathering materials and data. As part of theoretical study, a detailed literature survey has been carried out, to comprehend the nature of the border dispute. The original documents in the form of Gazetteers and official recommendations periodically sent to the state government have been studied. The periodical attempts of the government to settle the boundary dispute have been studied through official documents. Wherever possible, references to such literature has been made in this study. The appeals have been submitted in the form of grievances by Karnataka Samithi and other Kannada organizations in-front of the Linguistic Minority Cell constituted by the Government of Kerala.

As a part of the empirical study of recent trends in the area of Kasaragod, a detailed survey has been undertaken with the help of a questionnaire which included both open and closed ended questions. Several group discussions were conducted, prominent social activists and people living in the area interviewed for their opinion regarding this issue and its new developments. On top of this, a series of articles that appeared in the journals and the press were consulted and analyzed to understand the state of affairs on this border dispute.

Scheme of chapterisation

The study comprises of four chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to introduction which gives historical backgrounds of border disputes in India with a special reference to border disputes between Karnataka and Kerala over Kasaragod. It also specifies the major factors responsible for its emergence; the objectives of the study, hypotheses, and methodology of the present research work in which the both theoretical and empirical methods have been adopted in order to understand the debate on border issues at broader Level.

The second chapter is about the recent trends and developments in the disputed area since 2005. Tulunadu is a region in the south-western coast of India. It consists of the Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts of Karnataka and the northern part of the Kasaragod district, extending as far south as the Chandragiri river in

Kerala⁷. This chapter also delves into the various current issues such as lack of appointment of Kannada teachers in Kannada schools; lack of appointment of teachers conversant in Kannada; non-availability of L.D. and U.D. clerks in government offices; non-implementation of government orders, instructions, circulars to protect the interests of the linguistic minority language; non-availability of Kannada textbooks on time; non-availability of kerosene permits, fertilizers and seeds for farmers in the border area; non-existence of Kannada name-boards in many government offices and public transport buses; non-establishment of government press in the district headquarters; the move to make Malayalam compulsory for public service postings etc.

The second chapter also specifies the major development activities carried out by the successive governments since 2005, such as the establishment of 'Tulu Academy' to promote the Tulu language; the sanctioning of 'Yakshagana Academy' to promote this unique folk art form of Kasaragod; an initiative was to develop the memorial in the name of the revered Kannada poet, Rasthrakavi Govinda Pai; introduction of interstate public transport services; the establishment of a Central University and Engineering College; a proposal to establish a medical college in Badiadka; the establishment of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited at Seethangoli in Kasaragod district. At present, the Kasaragod district has a total of four taluks - there is also talk of bifurcating Kasaragod and Hosdurg taluks into Manjeshwar & Vellarikundu respectively for administrative convenience.

The third chapter is about analytical interpretation of the civil society's response to the dispute. It also deals with the public response on several issues related to the border. They have been asked to respond to different questions and their response discloses the more important of concerns and ideas that matter in the larger picture of this recurring border dispute.

The concluding chapter condenses the salient points of study and the conclusions that may be inferred from the matter contained within this research work.

- 1. Major Focuses of the Research*
- 2. Major Findings*
- 3. Major problems faced during the period of research*

⁷Bhat. N. Shyam (1998), South Kanara - 1799 - 1860 : A study in colonial Administration and regional response, Mittal publications, June, 2009

Major focus-areas of the research

1. The border disputes between Karnataka and Kerala is nothing but a territorial claim on each other. The Kannada speaking region of the present-day Kasaragod district was merged with Kerala at the time of the reorganization of states in 1956. Ever since, Kasaragod has been a disputed area between Karnataka and Kerala with both the states voicing reasonable claims of ownership of the area. The claims of the Kannadigas of Kasaragod have been said to be legitimized in the form of reasonable socio-cultural demands. These demands were later institutionalized after a series of movements led by Karnataka Prathikarana Samithi. This research was primarily concerned with the question of identity of the Kannadiga of Kasaragod. The people of the region have a feeling of loss of identity on the basis of culture, customs, language and even politics and administration. Hence this dispute may be viewed as people fighting to regain their identity and the concerned states taking naturally opposing stances.

2. The major policy initiatives taken by the central government have not resulted in any solution to this issue because both parties were not ready to accept the recommendations made by the Mahajan Commission in 1966. Later, the political parties in the region politicized the issue for vote-bank when they were in and out of power. This results in a general lack of action and the issue persists pretty much the same way it has been for decades now.

3. The border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala has various dimensions such as historical, political, linguistic, cultural and geographical factors. Effort after effort to solve this problem has always resulted in aggravating the dispute. Perhaps this may be due to the reason that every one of those suggested solutions is seen as being unjust to of the parties.

4. The movement for merger in Kasaragod has historically been backed by the socially and educationally well-to-do people like landlords, whose voice was initially seconded by the rest without much opposition. But this trend did not continue for long with the same spirit after the 1970s.

Today the popularity of the movement has become questionable as the issue of merger generally appears only within the Kannada Sahitya Sammelana and other Kannada programs on one hand and with senior leaders like Kayyar Kinhanna Rai

and others who have been there since inception of the movement on the other. But both younger generation and political parties have not been very receptive to this local issue. While the younger generations are more concerned with their career and future, the political parties do now wish to support any motion that would affect their vote-bank.

5. A deeper look into the practical problems of the people living in the border area was a major objective of this research. The people have to face many day-to-day problems like lack of appointments of Kannada knowing officers in the various departments of government, scarcity of colleges for higher studies, a lack of publication of materials in Kannada such as forms, bills and applications, making Malayalam mandatory for public appointments etc. But a simplistic merging of Kasaragod into Karnataka is not a full solution to the myriad of issues seen in the area - the solution worked out by the Mahajan commission may no longer need to be treated as a viable solution today, for the disputed area represents a plurality of linguistic groups and not just Kannadigas. If it is merged with Karnataka then there is no reason to assume that there would not be similar problems faced by the non-Kannada population that has now been merged into the Kannada-speaking Karnataka. This is an issue that does not lend very well to empirical solutions, and hence must be dealt with the great care it merits.

6. Another major focus of the research has been to study the stance of the political parties towards this issue. The political parties have been quick to dismiss the issue as non-existent, as a closed chapter in history that is no longer necessary or relevant. What this has meant is that a very real cultural issue has been attempted to be swept under the mattress for political gains, without being given the attention it deserved. This in turn led to the people identifying and creating a distinct identity for themselves, a form of soft-rebellion and this identity has been forged on lines that are intentionally orthogonal to the typical Malayali identity. Trying to silence a very genuine issue has only resulted in the emergence of a new social identity.

7. The Muslim League, a prominent political party of the region has always been opposed to the idea of merger with Karnataka for fear of being politically marginalized in the Muslim-minority state of Karnataka.

8. The movement for merger that was largely the brainchild of the well-to-do landlords of yesteryears has taken a significant hit with the rise of the communist

parties that rooted their rise in the mobilization of the poor, the working class and the landless.

- 9)a) The disputed area has witnessed new trends and developments since 2005. The linguistic minorities of Kasaragod have been facing many problems. Despite the Kerala government's move to declare Kasaragod taluk as Kannada Linguistic Minorities area, none of the follow up actions to the promises made are to be seen. The government has issued many circulars stating that all the forms, circulars, bills, instructions etc. in the area would also be printed in Kannada, as per Prabhakaran Commission's recommendations but the commission's report remains un-implemented.
- b) Another trend is that, there are very few Kannada-knowing officers in Krishi Bhavan, village offices, veterinary centres, public health centres, etc. Consequently, the Kannadigas have had problems of communication in these government offices.
- c) Prior to the state re-organization all land records were maintained in Kannada for the Kasaragod area. These land records are now printed in Malayalam, a cause of significant inconvenience for the Kannadigas.
- d) The lack of enough number of colleges in the district has meant that the economically backward communities from Kasaragod are forced to travel to Mangalore expending hard-to-come-by financial resources, just to continue their education in a language that they can comprehend and converse effectively in.
- e) The trend observed is that the number of students that are being admitted to Kannada-medium schools is declining with every passing year, as students either opt for Malayalam or English as medium of instruction. Even in government aided private schools, the managements are increasingly more interested to offer either English or Malayalam medium of instruction due to this lack of student-strength for Kannada classes. This trend will adversely affect future of Kannada language in the area. In spite of this, it is seen that the Government of Kerala is unable to supply Kannada text books on time for those few students who are studying in Kannada schools.

- f) The Kannada application forms, instructions, notices and all other materials required for public consumption are not available in the linguistic minority language of Kannada. It has thus violated the recommendation of Dr. Prabakaran's commission report.
- g) It is the allegation of Kannadigas of Kasaragod that the Kerala government has been unable or unwilling to appoint permanent teachers to Kannada-medium schools from state public service commission's list (PSC List).
- h) Non-Kannadiga officers were appointed and promoted to higher posts instead of Kannada-knowing officers in departments of government offices in Kasaragod
- i) The Personnel and Administrative Reforms Department had put forth the proposal that only those who had ability to write and read Malayalam should be appointed in the Government service posts. Proficiency in Malayalam will be compulsory for getting appointment in the public services and thus the above order of government has violated the basic rights of Kannadigas of Kasaragod enshrined in the constitution⁸.
- j) Another recent trend is that, there is an increasing demand for the formation of separate "Tulunadu" consists of Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka northern part of Kasaragod district up to Chandragiri River in Kerala. The Chandragiri River is traditionally considered to be the boundary between Tulunadu and Malabar. Tulu activists have been demanding a separate Tulunadu state since the 1990s considering language and culture as the basis for their demand, with Mangalore being the capital of this state. The activism raised concerns about an overall lack of development registered in the Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka and the Kasaragod district of Kerala. Hence they wanted to club these underdeveloped districts into a new state dubbed Tulunadu. This trend has adversely affected the movement of Kannadigas for merger of Kasaragod into Karnataka.

⁸ Ref : (G.O.P No. 13/98/pl-ARD. TVM):To allow the linguistic minorities to pass the Malayalam language test within the period of ten years after joining the government services. Subsequently, the Kerala Government has withdrawn its decision and excluded Kannadigas of Kasaragod from the above requirement due to a series of protest movements launched by Kannadigas and various political parties and associations in this regard.

Due to the recent developments, the Kasaragod district was formed on May 24, 1984. Presently, Kasaragod district has four taluks, three Municipalities, one District Panchayat, six Block Panchayats and 38 Grama Panchayats. The District Collectorate and other major departments of the government are situated in Vidyanagar, Kasaragod.

The Kasaragod district has a total of 75 village offices and constitutes a Lok-Sabha constituency and five state assembly constituencies. The Kerala government has sanctioned a special package for the development of the region as per the recommendation of the Prabakaran Commission.

The Kasaragod district has been divided into four taluks with Vellarikundu and Manjeshwara being the newly added ones in addition to Kasaragod and Hosdurg that existed earlier.

The people of this region depend primarily on agriculture for livelihood. Kerala state government has provided subsidies to the farmers under various avenues. Krishi Bhavans have been setup at various locations to provide necessary services to farmers.

The Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Schemes were implemented through local self-government bodies to ensure that rural-unemployed youth would get one-hundred days of employment per year. Mass contact programs of the Chief Minister of Kerala were organized in the district to redress the grievances of the public. In the recent programs, Chief Minister Oommen Chandy has received more than 22,000 grievances, out of which about 14,000 were settled in a day with the release of rupees 1.15 crore. Again on 29 November, 2013, petitions numbering to 6908 have been received by the Chief Ministers mass contact program in Kasaragod. Of these 600 people received the 'Patta' rights, the proof of ownership of land.

The district development committee and several other committees have been constituted and these bodies meet once every month. The legal awareness programs, Loka-adalaths, women's commission adalaths, consumer grievances redressal settings are being conducted for the benefit of public. For channeling the power of youth into social, cultural and sports events, Yuva Kendras and the department for welfare of the youth have been organizing various programs in the district.

The Janamaithri Police system has been constituted in five police stations in the district. Karavali Jagrathi Committee has been formed to protect the coastal areas of the district. Fish landing centres were set up at Musodi, Koipady, Ajanoor and Poonjavi with the cost of 36 lakhs. Work on fisheries harbour is still in progress in Kasaragod and Cheruvathoor. Medical camps have been organized for the health and welfare of the people affected by Endosulphan. A proposed medical college would be established for the benefit of the Endosulfan victims near Perla, at a place called Ukkinadka. The work on the same is in progress. The government of Kerala has imposed restrictions on the new licenses to open wine-bars to help promote the traditional toddy shops.

The widow pension scheme has been implemented in Kerala and it is expected to benefit nearly 24,771 widows in the district. Unmarried women and widows have been getting Rs.525 per month as pension from the state. The elderly will receive Rs. 400 per month and those above the age of 80 will receive Rs. 900 per month as pension benefits.

Most of the eligible youth in Kasaragod district have been appointed through the Kerala State Public Service Commission. SC, ST and handicapped people have also been employed in the public sector wherever possible and appropriate.

Kasaragod has two government colleges, two B.Ed. training colleges, a government engineering college - LBS Engineering College at Padannakad, College for Agricultural Science and College of Engineering in Trikaripur, Madikkai I.H.R.D College, Colleges of Applied Science in Kumbala and Chimeni, an I.T.I at Vidyanagar, College of Polytechnics near Periya and Trikaripur and a Central University at Periya. All such educational institutions have been useful to the students of the area in the field of higher education.

Several industrial units have been started in Kinfra Industrial Park near Seethangoli. The KEL near Bedradka now comes under the Bharath Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL). HAL has started functioning near Seethangoli which brings international repute to the area. The Kerala Government has decided to start small industrial park near Udma and a cyber-park near Cheemeni.

The Kerala Government has decided to award SC status to Marathi community of the district. It has also decided to grant pension benefit to the priests of temples as well as Daivasthans (Abode of the Daiva). It has distributed free ration cards to all fishing

communities of the state. Financial assistance has been provided to all victims of Endosulfan in the district.

Kasaragod has a few centres of attraction for tourists. Many tourists are attracted to Kasaragod. The Bekal Fort built by Shivappa Naik (of the Ikkeri clan of Kings) 300 years ago has attracted wide tourist attention across the state and has generated crores of income to the department of tourism in Kerala. The Bekal Fort extends across nearly 35 acres of land.

In the Kumbala Seeme (Seeme being the administrative unit of the former Tulunadu) four famous temples namely, the Adoor Shree Mahalingeshwara, the Madhur Shree Mahaganapathi, the Mujangavu Shree Parthasarathi and the Kanipura Shree Gopalakrishna (near Kumbala) were known since time immemorial. Many pilgrims across the state visit these temples. Further, many other centres of faith such as the Manjeshwar Madanantheshwara Temple, the Kanwa Theertha Matt, the Jaina Basadis, the Ananthapura Lake Temple, the Edneer Matt, the Shokamatha Church near Bela, the historical Malikdeenar Masjid, etc are visited daily by numerous people across the state.

The Central Plantation and Crop Research Institute (C.P.C.R.I) at Kasaragod, Ranipur Nisargadham, a bird sanctuary and other such sites of academic research have attracted the attention of research scholars and students from all over India.

Many centres of culture have been established in and around the district like Parthi Subba Yakshagana Kalakshethra near Mujangavu and the Tulu academy near Kadambar, Manjeshwara.

On the political front, communal tensions flare up frequently. Political violence, hartals, strikes and other political agitations are the order of the day.

Major findings of the research

1. Border disputes are the existing reality of independent nations today. It is a historical issue that has equal servings of emotional and rational aspects. However, they are primarily modern agendas. Boundaries drawn today are closely related to the rights of the people as asserted by the concerned governments of the neighborhood of that region.

2. The issue of border is not homogenously placed around the world in general and particularly in India. It is believed to have various dimensions and expressions depending upon the cultural, political and ideological set up.
3. Border disputes in India are the troubled legacy of the British. During the British period, India was divided into a number of provinces. The provinces were fixed not by taking into account the cultural differences or likeness, but rather to be convenient to be administered.
4. Border dispute between Karnataka and Kerala has created a group consciousness amongst the Kannadigas of Kasaragod. They have grown to realize that they are different from the people south of the Chandragiri-Payaswini River due to distinctive language, culture and customs. These factors have resulted in the construction of a separate identity – the so called Kannadigas identity - which contravenes with the identity of the Malayalis of Kerala. It has also generated a feeling of sense of loss among the linguistic minorities of the Kasaragod border area and they believe that their identity is under danger.
5. The movement for merger in Kasaragod area is unique in the sense that it drew its social base primarily from the rich, land owning castes like Bunts and Brahmins prior to 1970. Land owners, especially the areca nut and coconut farmers were a prominent economic force, especially in the Kasaragod district. They took up the issue seriously and mobilized all sections such as peasants and labourers for the cause of merging the region north of Chandragiri to Karnataka. Later, the movements launched by the communist parties of Kerala attracted the attention of peasants/worker-class and the successful implementation of land reforms led to the loss of the social base weakening the movement for merger.
6. Since 1970, the movement for the merger of Kasaragod has become relatively weak due to various reasons such as:-
 - a. Absence of strong and committed leadership as compared to the founding members like Late Sri. Kallige Mahabhal Bhandary, Late Sri. B.S. Kakkillaya, Late. Sri. U.P. Kunikkullaya and others.
 - b. Differences amongst the members of the Karnataka Samithi and other Kannada organizations over the matter of merger -under the

circumstances of conflict of interests amongst the Kannada organizations in Kasaragod today, the matter of the merger has been marginalised.

- c. The role of Left parties in Kasaragod: - In their fight against capitalism and communal forces not enough space has been given to regional issues such as border disputes between Karnataka and Kerala. Other political parties like Bharathiya Janata Party, Congress (I) and the Muslim League have never been too interested in the merger. As a result the movement for merger did not enjoy the strong political base. The lack of electoral support for the movement for merger since 1970's has weakened the movement in Kasaragod.
 - d. Due to the implementation of Land Reforms Act in Kerala, the peasants and workers withdrew their support for the cause.
 - e. The cultural symbols demonstrated in the movement since 1956 were at odds with the larger cultural scene of Karnataka. The process of impressing the landlord culture on the landless made the latter realize that they are fighting for the cause of the rich rather than themselves. This has resulted in poorer sections of the society withdrawing from the movement.
 - f. Muslims are now one of the major social bases in Kasaragod. The lack of support from Muslims and the Muslim League has weakened the social base for the movement.
7. The public in Kasaragod has been backing the merger on a single agenda - implementation of Mahajan Commission Report (1966) - which calls for merging Kasaragod with Karnataka. But the report did not address the changing environments and problems of the district.
 8. With the demand for merger now being made almost exclusively by the Kannada linguistic organisations, the political overtones of the movement have been more or less completely replaced by cultural demands. This has made the movement lopsided.

9. The border disputes between Karnataka and Kerala state has no electoral support today in Kasaragod District. Karnataka Samithi(R) has not been able to secure a single seat in Kerala Legislative Assembly since 1970. Today, the Karnataka Samithi has become a cultural organization rather than being a political one. Recently, some political parties have been politicizing issues like Malayalam being made mandatory for Public Service Examinations, lack of appointments to the posts of Kannada teachers for Kannada Schools as a part of vote-bank politics.
10. To safeguard the interest of linguistic minorities in the state, the Kerala Government has declared Kasaragod taluk as Kannada Linguistic Minority area and has issued many orders from time to time. But these orders have not been implemented properly for the benefit of the Kannadigas of Kasaragod.
11. Kerala Public Service Commission is not issuing notifications to fill up the vacancies for the post of Kannada L. D. Clerks. In many of the government offices Kannada name-boards are not exhibited. Even in public transport buses run by the government the name-boards are exclusively in Malayalam.
12. Even after 30 years of Kasaragod becoming a district headquarters there is no government press to print the required forms in Kannada.
13. There are very few Kannada-knowing officers in Krishi Bhavans, village offices, veterinary centres, public health centres and even in the government offices at Kasaragod.
14. The Kannada-medium students of the border area are facing the following problems:-
 - a. There is a severe dearth of colleges/institutions for higher education/professional courses.
 - b. Majority of students of this area pursue their higher education in Karnataka.
 - c. The majority of these students have to travel either by bus or train daily to get a college education in a language they can be comfortable with.
 - d. Students of the border area have to spend a considerable sum of money for college fees, donations and hostel charges in Karnataka, all for higher education.

15. The number of students that are joining Kannada-medium schools has been on a steady decline in Kasaragod due to the lack of support received by Kannada-medium schools from the government.
16. Lack of supply of text book by the government for Kannada-medium schools has adversely affected the teaching in Kannada-medium schools in the district.
17. There is a lack of publicity materials available in government offices in Kasaragod that are in Kannada.
18. There is a visible discrepancy in the number of Kannada-medium schools that have been upgraded as compared to Malayalam-medium ones.
19. Disparity is seen in the offices of Tahsildars, Circle Inspector of Police, Revenue Divisional Officers that are promoted to higher posts with officers who are conversant in Malayalam being preferred over Kannadigas, who are otherwise equally qualified.
20. Kannada-medium students have to face many difficulties in communication due to the appointment of non-Kannada teachers.
21. The Kerala Government's proposal to introduce Malayalam as mandatory requirement for getting an appointment in public service posts led to the politicization of the issue by various political parties leading people to protest against the move as part of vote-bank politics.
22. The Tuluactivists have been demanding a separate Tulunadu state since the 1990's considering the language and culture as the basis for their demand. This act of regionalism within the region has adversely affected the movement of Kannadigas for merger with Karnataka.
23. Recent developments in the border area of Kasaragod are:-
 - A. Kasaragod district was divided into total four Taluks for administrative convenience as:-
 - a. Kasaragod
 - b. Manjeshwar
 - c. Hosadurg

- d. Vellarikundu
- B. Several new development projects have been implemented so far in the district:-
- a. Hindustan Aeronautics Limited at Seethangoli
 - b. Central University at Periya
 - c. Kerala Tulu Academy at Angadipadav of Kadambar village
 - d. A special cell for linguistic minorities of the district
 - e. Gilivindu project in memory of Rashtrakavi Govindapai
 - f. Bekal Resort Development Corporation
 - g. Kareem Forest Park – A man made Forest Park
 - h. Publication of Gazetteer & in Kerala
 - i. Institutes of Medical Science & Hospitals/ College of Engineering's etc.
- C. The proposed projects in Kasaragod are:-
- a. Medical College at Ukkinadka near Perla.
 - b. Law College.
 - c. IT Park.
 - d. A proposal to establish Tulu Bhavan.
 - e. Kannada Academy.
 - f. The state Government allocated Rs.75 crore to implement the recommendations made in the Prabhakaran Commission⁹

Research Scholar: Dr. Ganesh Shetty. U
Lecturer in Political Science
Canara College, Manglore - 3

⁹Indian Express dt. 28-01-2014