Chapter-VI

Forest Management: NGOs as ‘Whistle Blowers’ and Resistance of CPI (Maoist)

The introduction of ‘scientific’ forest management in India in the nineteenth century initiated the imposition of a uniform, centralized and bureaucratic management system upon a diverse range of ecosystems and indigenous management system. But the strategies in forest management, marked a significant change after the report published by the National Commission on Agriculture in 1976 by stressing the gap between the demand and supply of wood, and the often confrontations between local forest users and the state over scarce resources. For example, the commission had given two different figures: 69 million ha and 75 million ha of land under forest department control and was unable to decide on the correct figure. The other documentation of the National remote Sensing Agency (1980-82) demonstrated using satellite imagery, that a very substantial portion of this land had either zero or very poor tree cover.¹

The central government responded to the growing scarcities and conflicts by centralizing control. The state governments had legislative control over forest until 1976 when forest listed in the concurrent list, under the jurisdiction of both central and state governments. The new Forest Policy of 1988 heralded as a new era of forest management. According to the new forest policy is to meet the subsistence requirements of the local people. The focus shifted from ‘commerce’ and ‘investment’ to ecology and satisfying minimum needs of the people.²

The Eighth Five Year Plan recognized the ‘need to decentralize control over ‘nature resources’ and involve NGOs in the process of protecting forest lands through Joint Forest Management in which local resource users would be involved in

² N.C. Saxena (1986): “Forests and the Poor in India”, Wildlife Research Institute, Dehradun.
collaboration with the Forest Department. Under JFM, communities were encouraged to regenerate degraded forestlands with the promise of a share of the resulting produce (primarily timber). Many communities prefer to harvest non-timber forest produce, and the rigidity of the rules (which require only the benefits of timber to be shared) hampers people participation. State governments still control every aspect of JFM insist and have the power to dissolve village communities. The policy has brought some positive results in cases where state control had completely eroded traditions of community forest management. However, in areas where traditional forest management practices exists like North-East states, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkand, Orissa and Uttarkhand. JFM is undermining and commercializing traditional systems and bringing community protected forests under the control of state forest departments.

The new forest policy continued with the state accumulation in forests, and gain political legitimacy for its action through the rhetoric of social forestry. Social forestry did not lead to any transfer of rights over forests, but became part of the beneficiary oriented programmes such as the Hill Area Development Programme (HADP), the Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), and the Desert Development Programme (IDRP) supported by International Aid agencies. The state Government of Karnataka took up Social Forestry Projects in 1983-84 with the financial assistance from World Bank and Overseas Development Administration, to help the rural community for meeting the day-to-day needs of firewood, fodder and small timber for the people. The World Bank identified three elements for a new strategy were the private sector should be actively involved in forestry, the state should restrict its intervention to social forestry and conservation, and NGOs and voluntary agencies should be involved in promoting peoples participation.

The principle of reducing human dependence on natural resources, and winning their thrust and protection, through Eco-development in buffer zones of protected areas incorporated in the National Wildlife Action Plan and has since


4 S.Parameshwarappa (1999): “Developmental Forestry in Karnataka and Conservation of Biodiversity”, Karnataka Forest Department, Bangalore.
become the corner stone of conservation action today.⁵ The logic of Eco development is to provide alternative means of livelihood through a variety of development initiatives, there by reducing their dependence on resources within protected areas. The World Bank provided funds for two pilot studies, one in Great Himalayan National Park and the other in Kalakkad Mundanthurai Tiger Reserve. The International conferences has its effect on India with the revised forest policy of 1988 affirmed that the needs of the rural population should be the first charge of forest management.⁶ The top down approaches to forest management have been subject to increasing criticisms in the scientific forestry due to the hierarchical administrative levels in the forest department which depended on custodial policing is more than a hundred years old and pursued through out the country with dogged persistence which was due to the rigorous training at the forestry institutes.⁷

The NGOs has become a catchword for variety of structures, diverse strategies of differing sizes, aims or missions and defies definition because of this diversity. Wiesgrau talks about NGOs and their development as a “rapidly expanding industry” rather than a social movement because it provides employment for numerous people including middle class, educated men and women, retired people who have a great deal of expertise attracts people for the work. The assumption regarding NGOs work with grassroot people, and they are better than other agencies at reaching isolated people at addressing the problems of the ‘poorest’ of the poor. The question of NGOs reach is important for sustainable development because of the incremental nature of rural degradation. NGOs operate under the terms of alternative sector within the development community, were not bounded by political considerations and employ flexible and innovative role to conservation activities.

⁷ V.B. Sawarkar (2002): “Conserving Biodiversity in Protected Areas and Forested landscapes”, Wildlife Institute of India, Dehradun.
The NGOs working in conservation areas in kudremukh through grand alliance act as mediators and describe themselves as “whistle blowers” although they may use the rhetoric of ‘community conservation’. The main activities involved monitoring tiger and its prey density to provide ecological data under the Karnataka Tiger Conservation Project (KTCP) funded by Wildlife Conservation Society and other International donors implemented by Wildlife First and other partner NGOs in a constructive alliance.9

The KTCP which was a 3-year state level project, launched on 12th January 1998 in Bangalore as part of a comprehensive project for tiger conservation in the state, involving a total outlay of approximately Rs.1.7 cores for three years. The project aims to identify four large blocks of tiger habitat in Bandipur, Nagarhole, Bharda and Kudremukh to find site-specific solutions to conservation problems in each of these areas. This has been heralded as positive development in the field of conservation because rather than just being watchdogs around the country for many ill-conceived schemes threatening our wilderness. The main research activities involved monitoring tiger and its prey density to provide ecological data under the KTCP.

In continuation with the KTCP, the controversial project Community leadership for Tiger Conservation (CLTC) was initiated in July 2000 in Kudremukh to establish an intensive field conservation programme. It was supported by ‘21st century Tiger’ of Global Tiger Patrol, UK, for a year by providing basic infrastructure for the project and to establish a base near the park.10 CLTC aims to build upon the foundation laid by the earlier implemented conservation programme (KTCP) with the aim of reducing human pressures in the park, improving protection system through training, explore opportunities for buying and consolidation of enclosures. The myths that surround modern conservation concept include population pressure, ignorance

8 According to the dictionary meaning of whistle blowers is “one who reveals wrongdoing within an organization to the public or to those in positions of authority”.


10 The notion of ‘good governance’ has served as a guiding principle for donor agencies in demanding adherence from recipient governments to proper administrative process in the handling of developmental projects. Doornbos, Martin (2006): Global Forces and State Restructuring: Dynamics of State Formation and Collapse, Palgrave, Macmillan, pp. 73-93.
and lack of education on part of the local communities as factors of environment degradation. The Wildlife first argue that the assumptions made regarding the human and animal cannot co-exist together which does not fold well in India and particularly in Kudremukh.

**Human-Wildlife Conflict**

Biologists have identified several proximate causes for the tiger’s dramatic decline due to loss of habitat to conflicting land-use, over hunting of the tigers prey species by people, and killing of tigers to protect livestock or to meet commercial demand of their body parts. Political ecology challenges the very notions of science, which adheres to the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and explicability. The human settlements inside the forests with agricultural fields has fragmented the habitat for wildlife, especially for large fauna such as tigers, hornbills, and lion-tailed macaques that are habitat specialists requiring vast stretches of undistributed forests for their survival in terms of dietary habits and home ranges. The high rate of human population growth has stimulated small landowners who are unable to make a satisfactory living on small fragments of agricultural land (less than 2 hectares). They encroach nearby forest or common lands as their families grow and in turn result in expansion through illegal forest clearance and encroachment is the most serious threats for integrity of the reserve forest. The other issue in conservation considerations is not depended on ecological considerations, but by the rural politics on which basis people have demanded facilities like hospitals, schools, roads, communication and bridges. The increased access of the human population in these forest areas will facilitate for more land, and market-driven exploitation of forests and wildlife products.


12 Interview with B.P.Ravi, Koppa Divisional Forest Officer, 18/8/2007, Chikmagalur.

The wildlife protection through giving incentives to relocate human population to less ecologically sensitive areas, is seen as a magic solution which benefit both human and wildlife and a new paradigm of site-specific, incentive driven through participatory voluntary settlement.\textsuperscript{14} The NGOs have misled campaigns against the forest department regarding voluntary resettlement for example in Bhadra and Nagarhole reserves, the Centre Government had provided substantial assistance for land acquisition under the Beneficiary Oriented Scheme for Tribal Development (BOTD) and other schemes for voluntary resettlement. The State Government has provided land and other amenities out side the park to even landless people. These efforts in partnership with some signatory organizations have ensured that the quality of poor people has greatly improved. There is another rehabilitation project going on at Nagarahole under the India-Eco-development Project, aimed at shifting the landless tribal families from the core of the National Park and rehabilitating them in the periphery. Initially 50 families accepted the package and was followed by 200 more families. In all 250 families have been resettled by the efforts of the Karnataka Forest Department.\textsuperscript{15}

The declaration of Kudremukh National Park, which presupposes the incompatibility between the actions of human group and the conservation of nature, regardless of their culture resulting in the success of fortress conservation.\textsuperscript{16} The myth of preservation of Wilderness as large uninhabited areas underlies the creation of national parks which served as the ideology of the American nature protection movement, saw national parks as the only way to preserve the natural areas and has been recreating the dichotomy of ‘people’ and ‘parks’. This model of North American Conservationism has rapidly spread throughout the world, rather uncritically in KNP.

\textsuperscript{14} Interview with Praveen Bhargava, a conservationist on 5/12/06, Bangalore.
\textsuperscript{16} Kusum, Kamaik (2003): “Where are the people”?, Down to Earth, January 15, New Delhi, p-51.
The idea of wilderness\textsuperscript{17} is to erase the very history it seeks to deny and represents a false hope of an escape from responsibility in which our past and return to the dream of a natural landscape that supposedly existed before. The conservation ideologies set on principles of higher causes or more valued thing but ignores or overlooks the problematic consequences of its policies because it is a good cause undertaken for posterity on behalf of nature, people do not expect any ill effects.\textsuperscript{18} Wilderness has served as an important vehicle for articulating deep moral values regarding our obligations and responsibilities to the non-human world.\textsuperscript{19}

The local communities in wildlife-rich areas seen as enemies of the conservationist cause and are physically displaced or denied access to these areas. The approach is therefore not only anti-human; it is also shortsighted from the wildlife conservation point of view. The wilderness designation, to the exclusion of humans is an expression of the cultural and economic imperialism of the North. The people of poor countries of the south cannot afford the luxury of a “museumized nature”, nor does such an imposition usefully serve the long-term interests of either humans or non-humans.\textsuperscript{20}

The emphasis on wilderness is for projects and not movements and more focused on the financial assistance of projects and not on structural conditions that shape the lives of the people. The structural nature of NGOs with their ‘apolitical’ posture and their focus on self-help depoliticizes and demolishes the poor.\textsuperscript{21} The question is that if NGOs are to challenge inequality and injustice, then this require a proactive engagement with the political, social, and economic forces that cause and...

\textsuperscript{17} The influence of ‘deep ecology’ appeals to the notion of ‘human essence’ or human potentiality from which humanity has become fundamentally alienated from nature. The defense to restore the lost connection by modern technology, commodity production, the utilitarian approach to nature, appeals to the root of an intuitive, contemplative phenomenological search for ‘self-realization’.


reproduce it. The conservation movement initiatives evoke spatial dimensions that draw on largely hidden networks of power and that result in local environmental outcomes are contrast to initial goals.

Ullas Karanth Director, Center for Wildlife studies was willing to consolidate the national park by acquiring such lands and rehabilitate the concerned persons outside the park to minimize their adverse impact on the park. He offered to arrange to purchase their lands and surrender them to Government through a certain mutually acceptable procedure.

The forest department never supported the extreme stands of KRUVO and wildlife first. It recognized that tribals have the rights to be stay where they are and relocation is voluntarily as compared to Bhadra and Nagarhole reserves. The Koppa Divisional forest officer has questioned the wisdom of the KRUVO groups for closing KIOCL and later demanding for the abandoned of KNP and wildlife first had created a hype that the business and duty of the Forest Department is only protection and people are not part of this process. This has isolated both the forest department and the people so that it gives them a chance to manipulate and enter the scene. They recognize the importance of the local people it is just that they want the distance and gap between the local community and the department to stay. The impression that the forest department is bent on evicting the tribals at any cost has caused a fear complex against forest department and anguish among the tribals who are getting influenced by the Naxalite influence. The agenda of the wildlife first is to make the Forest Department and the wildlife wing in particular to move things in the way that is desirable or beneficial to them. These NGO interfere in the day-to-day administration of the department and the divisions. They have a great need to push

24 The situation has been taken advantage by NGOs in the name of “private voluntary activity” fosters the neo-liberal idea of private responsibility and the importance of private resources to solve social problems.
25 Interview with Deputy Conservator of forests, A.M.Annaiah on 9/10/07, Bangalore.
their agenda for their own survival, which is by interfering as they are not authorized to dictate the work and how it is to be done. They also influence in the transfers and posting of official. This phenomenon, which started at the level of guards and foresters, now has reached the level of the Deputy conservator of Forests. The front men have literally no knowledge other than lending their name, regarding the press release which was approved from Bangalore.

The tribals has acknowledged the role of forest department which has helped in sustaining the livelihoods through Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS), which ensure a stable remuneration for the Non-timber forest produce (NTFPs) that they collect. Initially it had 28 members but it has increased to 3,626 of the Gowdlu community. The District Conservator of Forests (DCF) submitted a relocation package for voluntary resettlement of 201 families, but asserts that relocation is not the solution to Kudremukh National park. The people have been residing for centuries and reserve forests about hundred years old. The final notification of the national park was issued only in June 2001, relocation needs huge resources, and net outcome will be social and cultural displacement of the people.

### Budget Expenditure of Relocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total cost</th>
<th>Rs. 147.95 crore</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rs. 122.33 crore for land acquisition</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rs. 25.62 crore for rehabilitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total villages</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>1299 (6168 persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total land enclosure within KNP</td>
<td>1129 hectares</td>
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27 Lamp Sahakara Sangha (2007): Annual meeting of the livelihoods of Adivasi through Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS), Koopa Taluk, on 23/9/07, Chikmagalur.
Phase -I

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<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>201 (671 persons)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>Rs. 18.35 crore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ex-gratia</td>
<td>Rs. 4.81 crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition</td>
<td>Rs. 16.86 crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>Rs. 5.45 crore</td>
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Source: Karnataka Forest Department

The Deputy Conservator of Forests, Anita Arekal Mangalore Circle on April 22, 2004\(^2^8\) raided the office of Kudremukh Wildlife division office run by Niren Jain, who is the front man for Wildlife first office in Mangalore. The raid resulted in collecting material, including computer CDs, digital diaries and files revealed that foreign donors were misled into believing that KIOCL posed the greatest danger to tiger population in the Kudremukh National Park.

The forest department has not found it necessary to involve the NGOs in the national park consolidation work, which is a main item of their wildlife conservation activities. Since habitations are kept out side the purview of National Park, legally it is not necessary to dislocate any inhabitant. Neither the man-animal conflicts serious enough to warrant immediate resettlement of people.

The decade-long struggle by various organizations against the eviction of tribal people from the national park taken by the naxalites under the banner of “Maoist”\(^2^9\) when the forest department served eviction notices to them. This is not entirely a new development but represents a culmination of a long period of guerilla operations, which were carried out separately. The dispersed fragmented character of the early Naxalite movement has now evolved into three streams of organized formations like CPI (ML)-Liberation, CPI (Maoist) and CPI (ML), each having their own distinct political programmes. Movements repeatedly split over whether to use

\(^2^8\) The Hindu, May 6\(^{th}\) 2004.

\(^2^9\) In India the Maoist were sympathetic and sharing the ideals as Maoist insurgency in Nepal.
armed struggle or not, but it has severe limitations in the formation of movements because uncertainty reigns and the state gains psychological advantage for repression and turn non-violent sympathizers away from the movement. The NGOs allege that there are powerful interests who are trying to exploit the volatile situation and the growing evidence of Naxalites trying to establish base in and around Kudremukh national park spread over the forests of Sringeri, belthangady and Karkala Taluks is through the links of KRUVO. Vittal Hegde has denied this by referring to the movement as: If we were to take up arms, we would not be launching this movement because our demands and the Naxals demand are similar. Kudremukh Rashtriya Virodhi Okkuta claims that the Government has not given sufficient attention to tribal problem and the adamant attitude of D.D. Chandre Gowda led to the genesis of Naxalism.

The naxalite movement drew due to the indifference of the state not because of our support. A Naxal approach is through arms, but our approach is through awareness. The eviction of tribals is an injustice as there are no facilities provided by the government. So people were forced to decide on their forms of struggle to safeguard their life.

**Resistance and struggle by CPI (Maoist)**

In November 2004 the CPI (Maoist), programme jointly drafted by the erstwhile People’s War Group in parts of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chattisgarh and Maharashtra...
and Maoist Communist center (MCC) which was once known as the Maoist center of Communist Revolutionaries. They have come together to establish the guerilla zones and the base area in strategically favorable areas where they can organize and arm the vast peasant masses on the basic slogan of “revolution” directed against imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. After the merger of the two major naxalite formations in the country, the party changed its name to Communist Party of India (Maoist) which accepts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding ideology and is committed to “new democratic revolution” in India before passing on to achieve its socialist goal. Unlike the first phase of the Naxalite movement, the new base of today’s Maoist movement is no longer the small and marginalized peasantry or landless labour but among tribal and indigenous populations.

The eviction of tribals from the KNP became the central plank of the Maoists demands who uphold their cause and few of them have also joined the movement. The numerical strength of the CPI (Maoist) in its forest base includes four armed squads of eight or nine cadre each. The CPI (Maoist) rejects parliamentary democracy and has been working underground and there is no direct mobilization on these issues in the field. It believes in capturing political power through protracted armed struggle by building up bases in rural and remote areas against exploitation by the government or landlords. The Commitment of the Maoist to their cause is unquestionable for sacrificing their lives in the most difficult circumstances in pursuit of a successful “revolution”. The issues taken up by Maoist is being criticized on the basis that when compared to the dry areas of Andhra Pradesh, the socio-economic situation is different in the Malanad areas of Dakshina Kannada, Udipi and Chikmagalur. The daily wage offered to farm workers is around one hundred rupees and the literacy levels in some of these areas are very high. The Naxalities have

37 The “Maoist” and “Naxalite” are used interchangeably use of categories.
entered the Western ghats from Andhra Pradesh as a save heaven in the dense forest because it is difficult to access, particularly during the monsoons.\(^{39}\)

The killing of several key cadres by the police has been a major setback for the movement. In November 2003, two senior women squad members, Parvathi and Hajima, gunned down in Eedu, a village near Karkala in Udupi district. In a major public relation exercise, in 2004 when negotiations were under way between the Andhra Pradesh Government and CPI (ML) (Peoples War) came into prominence, due to a drastic change in government policy that regarded the Naxalite movement from a socio-politico-economic standpoint rather than from the law and order issue. The main demands during the talks was land distribution, the right of tribals over forest lands, scrapping of World Bank dictated policies that are causing mass retrenchment of workers and draining out people's resources, and formation of Telengana state.

On the same grounds, the CPI (Maoist) in the Western Ghats also invited a team of journalists to their stronghold. Saketh Rajan\(^{40}\), alias Prem, State secretary of the party, and Murthy, district secretary, spoke at length to journalists on ideological and political matters. Their main demands, conveyed through the media, were that the Government must stop the eviction of tribal people from the KNP, and call a halt to combing operations and encounters. Their main demands were:

a. Kudremukh National Park should be abolished.

b. All activities incidental to the National Park should be stopped immediately.

c. Tribals should be given the right to self-determinism.

d. All forest encroachments should be regularized and title deeds issued.

\(^{39}\) Interview with Girjashankar, Editor of Janmitra Magazine, 27/1/2007, Chikmagalur.

\(^{40}\) Com. Saketh Rajan (Prem) hailed from Mysore and since his student days was imbedded with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and inspiration for advancement of the revolutionary movement in Andhra Pradesh, had turned him into a dedicated revolutionary from 1983. In 1987 he was elected to the state Committee in the first state conference of Karnataka and in the fourth state conference in 2000, elected as the state secretary. He was the delegate to the 9th All India Congress of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (Peoples War) and was elected to the CC as an alternate member. His contribution to the Indian revolution was with others he pioneered the initiation of armed struggle under communist leadership in the Western Ghats of Karnataka. He has also written the history of Karnataka in two volumes of “making history” tracing the history of the Kannadaiga nationality from the earliest of times of 1857. His study of the plight of the people in plantations and in the Kudremukh National Park area in nearly 100 villages has been a major factor in extending the Naxalite movement to Malnad area. See Rajan, Saket (2005): “Voice of the Indian Revolution”, Peoples March, Vol.6, No.3, March, Kerala, pp. 18-19.
e. Rural development programmes should be restored to full-scale.

f. All cases booked against their supporters should be withdrawn.

g. Locals should be given full rights and authority over the forests and other natural resources, the government should not interfere in any way.\(^41\)

The response of the Indian state and the ruling classes to these demands led once again for the banning of the party, and large number of activists killed in fake encounters and terrorized by the combined attacks of landlords, state-sponsored vigilant groups and police. The state attempt to make a society legible, to arrange the populations in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription and prevention of rebellion. But it is harder to grasp why so many well intended schemes to improve the human conditions have gone so tragically awry.\(^42\) The neo-liberal agenda of the state which is integrated into the world of globalize finance has resulted in a dual role of the state. The tendency towards violence and repression by the state has a tendency towards inflicting unprovoked violence as “enemy of the state” as a means of legitimizing its role. The Central Government invited the 12 Naxal affected states, including Chief Minister, Home Secretaries and Director – Generals of police met in New Delhi under the Union Home Ministry to set up inter-state joint task forces to “facilitate coordinated and synergized anti-naxalite operations across state boundaries and strengthen intelligence networks for this mission. The State responded through Anti-Naxal squads who are harassing the people living in the Kudremukh National Park, questioned the tribal people about naxal hideouts and bookcases against them and have created an impression that those against the park are Naxal sympathizers.\(^43\)

\(^{41}\) Arekal, Anita, S (2003): “Revised management Plan for Kudremukh National Park” Kudremukh Wildlife Division, Karnataka Forest Department.

\(^{42}\) See James, Scott (1988): Seeing like a State: How certain schemes to improve the human conditions have failed, New Haven, C.T: Yale University Press, pp. 2-4.

The State government in May 2005 set up the Anti-Naxalite Force (with 543 officers and men), a special force reconstituted from the Special Task Force\textsuperscript{44} to apprehend the sandalwood smuggler Veerappan. However, following his death large tracts of forest areas has opened to land grabbers and encroachments.\textsuperscript{45} The police-led operations only intensified, and each encounter followed by a retaliatory strike. The biggest loss to the party was the killing of Saketh Rajan, who was the main architect to the political and organizational growth of the party, and his associate Shivalingu\textsuperscript{46} (Arun) in Menisinhadiya of Chikmagalur district.\textsuperscript{47} The recent killings have created shocks or waves across Karnataka, which considered as a ‘peaceful state’, to take up arms to sort out issues. The reason for this is the successive governments have neglected the tribal people with basic amenities for decades and the socio-economic disparities were the reason for the phenomenon.\textsuperscript{48} The Citizens Initiative for Peace (CIP), human rights and democratic organizations has strongly condemned the killing as an alleged “encounter”. The CIP has demanded a judicial inquiry into the alleged encounter, and immediate suspension of the police officials involved in the killing and ends the combing operations in the Western Ghats.

Sociologist Bela Bhatia, who has differences with Maoists, writes; “Naxalites, including many exceptionally fine human beings who have lost their lives at the altar

\textsuperscript{44} The Tamil Nadu and Karnataka governments formed the special task force in the 1990s to nab Veerappan and in the last fifteen years there were many encounters between the STF and Veerappan group. Even after accomplishing the task of hunting Veerappan, the STF is not disbanded; instead the government has announced that STF operations in the forest area. See Ravindran (2005): “Veerappan: A Bandit who turned as a rebel against state”, People’s March Voice of the Indian Revolution, Vol.6, No.1, January, pp. 18-21.


\textsuperscript{46} Comrade Shivalingu (Arun) hailed from middle peasant background in Sindhanur Taluk of Raichur district and became inspired by the revolutionary peasant movement in Raichur in 1988.

\textsuperscript{47} In a swift and brutal retaliation, armed naxalite squads from Andhra Pradesh struck at a police station in Pavagada in Tumkur district.

\textsuperscript{48} Saket Rajan was inspired by the anti-colonial revolutionary theorist Frantz Fanon on “Violence as a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complexes, and from his despair and inaction, it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect”. Through violence the colonized transcended fear of the colonizer and reclaimed their humanity. See Fanon, Frantz (1968): The Wretched of the Earth, Trans Constance Farrington, New York, p-94.
of revolution, have been an inspiring example of idealism, sacrifice and commitment. There have also been significant achievements in curbing feudal practices and social oppression; confiscation and redistribution of ceiling surplus land; more equitable access to village commons, higher agricultural wages, elimination of the stranglehold of the landlords, moneylenders and contractors; protection from harassment of forest officials and police, heightened consciousness and employment of the poor”.

The response of the then N. Dharam Singh government, announced an Rs 60 crore special package in the districts of Chikmagalur, Udupi and Dakshina Kannada, which have witnessed Naxal activity. This will enable the state to facilitate voluntary resettlement of the families living inside the Kudremukh National Park.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has expressed fear of Maoists developing a "red corridor"- a corridor that extends from Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Chhattisgarh, connecting through Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and the contiguous regions of Bihar and Jharkhand49, right up to Nepal. The success of this merger to interlink naxal groups and establish their base in the Western Ghats and has attacked the Maoists for misinterpreting the realities and understanding the situation.

The mainstream left parties has criticized that Maoists have no belief in representative government and are misinterpreting realities has led the communal forces to take advantage of the presence of Maoists in Western Ghats and the naxal issue to attack secular forces. The CPI (M) has urged the Government to drop the idea of evicting people from the Kudremukh National Park area and implement land reforms for the settlement.50 The Maoist insistence on resistance, armed if necessary, to counter the violence of the oppressors has appealed to a large section of the oppressed to fight both class exploitation and caste oppression. While the movement has spread to 12 states, it remains the strongest in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh. The struggles in Dandakaranya and Jharkand combine class demands against both business-state nexus and the regressive traditional authority in villages, with tha of self-identity, dignity and autonomy for the marginalized minority

49 The tribal belts of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand were the Maoists are most active, which have also a lowest development indicators.

50 Interview with G.N. Nagraj, General Secretary of CPI (Marxist), on 16/3/2007, Bangalore.
nationalities. The emergence of adivasi peasantry, dalit, backward castes and labouring classes as an independent and powerful political force, freed from the influence of affluent landowning classes is a great step forward in democraticising society.51 In Western Ghats the popular mobilization in the field at the party espouses, such as eviction of tribals, wages, the condition of the plantation labour, falling arecanut prices and harassment by forest officers, the Maoist has failed. The Maoist strategy has come under serious criticism from within for not having mass-action in any form and the use of violence as the first option, but without any evidence that the masses politicized in any genuine revolutionary strategy. The increasing involvement of anti-naxalite squad in forest protection is due to discontent with the exclusive forest management system, despite the foresters alleged commitment to social forestry in some parts of Karnataka.

The Conituisional provisions have enacted number of acts in order to uphold tribal rights ranging from land tenancy acts and revenue codes to the Panchayat (Extension to the Schedule Areas) Act of 1996 which have not been implemented in Karnataka. According to PESA, gram sabhas are empowered to preserve their cultural identity, community resources, modes of dispute resolution, and equally importantly the right to approve government plans, programmes and projects within their jurisdiction.52 The PESA has remained largely unimplemented, as land and decentralization are state subjects. States, in their attempts to invite investment, have been reluctant to uphold legislation such as PESA that could discourage such investment.53 The overall picture is of protective legislation, but not being adequately implemented.

The Schedule tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2005 seeks to recognize vast forest rights on forestland and their habitat where they are scheduled and where they have been living for generations. The draft bill categorically states

51 Pamphlet of Democratic Students Union “What is really the question, Law and Order or Justice?”, Jawaharlal Nehru University, dated 31st October 2007.


that the rights of the forest dwelling tribal communities over forestlands and produce were abrogated in the colonial rule and the injustice continued after Independence. It is, therefore, necessary to undo this injustice and recognize and the rights over forestlands and produce to them. These rights, recognized during the process of consolidation of forests resulting in a permanent threat to eviction from their own land.

It has the support of all the political parities but the rules for implementing is held by the government in deference to concerns expressed by wildlife enthusiasts worried about national parks, sanctuaries and the vanishing tiger. The objection by the conservation lobby that people living in the national parks should be designated as “inviolate spaces’ and kept out of the purview of the act has delayed the process.  

Conclusion

The National forest policy has advocated the importance of meeting the domestic and livelihood needs of tribal communities as the first charge on forest and has recognized the symbiotic relationship between tribal communities and forests and emphasized, but the safeguarding these customary rights on forest lands and produce are dismissal due to lack of infrastructure of forest department. The NGOs and Government authorities have revealed a limited impact on conservation policy. These agencies have to rethink and reshape their own institutions and agendas to really fit communities with their diverse needs, knowledge and complex social and ecological structures into conservation. The official often silences the indigenous knowledge and conservation science upheld by powerful actors of state agencies and international agencies as an antidote to local backwardness in both development and conservation activities. The forest department also asserts that the propaganda regarding relocation schemes, sudden abolition of traditional forest rights, and severe shortage


of trained staff, infrastructure and equipments in the wildlife division due to which it was not possible to completely interact with the people in all the enclosures and convince about the view of the government. The states use conservation ideology to justify coercion in the name of conservation, often by using violence. The state's mandate to defend threatened resources and its monopolization of legitimate violence combine to facilitate state apparatus-building and social control.

The post Rio-1992 followed with the Kyoto protocol of 1997 on limiting greenhouse gas emissions generating global warming. It was symbolized by Washington refusal to ratify and the inclusion of environmental issues as part of the global trade and other regimes were many issues concerning the environment which are decided globally, as well as national-level issues such as the destruction caused by industrial pollution. These issues are especially relevant to NGOs working which presupposes that they require massive and widespread action on part of individuals to halt environmental decline. The influence of NGOs has grown steadily in relation to the already entrenched interests of the forest department. The seemingly contradictory positions of the forest department and NGOs have emerged in the establishment of the roles that they will play in the implementation of the new environmental agenda. The forest department maintains that scientific expertise and central control over forests is vital for conservation while NGOs maintain that their involvement is crucial to ensure projects and programmes sensitive to local conditions. The co-operation between Forest department and NGOs is taken as a critical determinant to success, but the cooperative spirit has not been a easy task with varied interests involved.

The 'success story' approach always over-emphasizes and idealize the work of the NGO sector, and thus obscure the inherent limitations of NGOs initiatives, especially as they concern macro-level policy and structural change.