Introduction

The claims about environmentalism of the poor are made with reference to certain social movements\(^1\) or popular mobilization on environmental themes such as a) Chipko - challenging deforestation in the Himalayas b) Narmada Bacaho Andolan (NBA), c) Tehri and Koel Karo-resistance against large dams, Chilka Bachao Andolan-against Shrimp farming by the Tata Corporation etc.\(^2\) The emergence of environment movement in the 1970s which brought the issues of environment and development on the public agenda. The arbitrary labeling of "environmental" movements as social movements gives way to closer examination to distant patterns.

The United Nations Stockholm conference on Environment and Development of 1972 was a major event in the environment dialogue and gave a considerable boost to the environmental concerns in the development policies. Ecological degradation and economic deprivation generated by resource insensitivity and intensity of the classical model of development have resulted in competing claims over forest, land, and water. The first phase of conservation gained impetus for setting up parks came from a class of ex-hunters turned conservationist belonging from the erstwhile princely states and representatives of International agencies, such as the World Wild Fund (WWF) and International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). This group of environmentalists successfully brought pressure on the government to create a net work of national parks and sanctuaries all over India to protect endangered wildlife, overlooking the claims of the local residents. During this period the number of parks went from 19 to 52 and central law favoring drastic measures for wildlife conservation was strengthened. The National Parks and wildlife sanctuaries form only 3% of our country's land area and within these areas we have

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\(^1\) The term 'social movements' refers to associations, groups and individuals that are allied with each other through sharing a particular programme of action or sense of identity. It is large, more extensive, and more diverse is termed as "movement" in order to emphasize its involvement in action. See John Scott, (2001): *Power*, Polity Press, Cambridge, p-112.

human habitations, roads, dams, mines, power plants and other activities which have been the biggest threats to forests and wildlife have caused habitat fragmentation. The Government strategies have been seriously questioned for their top-down, non-participatory character by the grass root activist and the failure to recognize the social roots of environmental use and abuse.

The areas declared as wildlife sanctuaries and national parks are dedicated habitat for wildlife and no activities other than activities for improvement of wild life habitat would be allowed in these areas. The political ecology in the 1970s has been dominated by the two discourses which dominated after the Club of Rome report in 1972 under the banner of ‘Environment’ and ‘Development’. The ‘development’ camp was committed to the cause of accelerating economic growth through industrialization for increasing human welfare, while the ‘environmentalist’ camp was concerned with the preservation of endangered species, as well as with the maintenance of an overall ecological balance.3

In 1987 the World Commission For Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) succeeded in building a conceptual bridge between the two discourses and offering the definition of ‘Sustainable Development’ that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The Brundtland Report ended by suggesting that the United Nations should organize ‘an international conference to review progress and programmes that will be needed over time to set benchmarks and to maintain human progress within the guidelines of human needs and natural laws.4 This resulted in a Global Convention in Rio De Janeiro to take part in the ‘Earth Summit’, which represented the boundless hope that humanity could come together to solve its mounting global ecological crisis with grave concerns with public awareness regarding ozone layer, global warming, and the rising rate of species extinctions resulting from planetary destructions of


ecosystems. The main agenda of the summit was to launch sustainable development for the twenty-first century. These international conferences, summits and commissions have linked these environmental issues to questions about strategies of economic development and central to these debates has been the role of the World Bank. In the 1980s with the financial assistance there was an added emphasis on social forestry followed by community wastelands development with state-community partnerships in the form of Joint Forest management, Eco development in National Parks, Drought Prone Area Programme and Desert Development Programme.

These discourses and debates have led to the worldwide expansion of conservation management areas as part of modern global environmentalism in order to institute measures for conservation. The idea of ‘pristine myth’ of untouched nature has shown how the establishment of these conservation areas such as community conservation areas, watershed-based projects and management of buffer zones of biosphere reserves in the daily lives of the people who live in and around the park have often been contested due to disputes over the location, coverage and management of these territories. This has often resulted in the forced relocation of economically poor and socially disadvantaged and the environmentalists have been criticized for their elitist approach to conservation.

The environmentalist believe that without state intervention, deforestation and wildlife depletion would be accelerated.

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given the pressures on forests from local communities and also from industrial, commercial and development projects on the other. This has led to the stringent legislations such as the Wild life Protection Act (1972) and (1991), the Forest Conservation Act (1980) and the Environment Protection Act (1986). Along with forest conflicts, struggles over mining have arisen out of the competing claims of different groups, for stopping and continuation of mining.

India possesses around 89 minerals out of these four are fuel minerals, eleven metallic and twenty two minor minerals. The Economic liberalization has meant two major differences from the past policies and approach, on one hand were public enterprises are being sold off to private companies like the sale of Bharat Aluminium Company to Vendanta, and on the other, mineral resources are being opened to foreign companies. The major iron ore deposits states like Orissa, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh have witnessed violent protests from tribals against the giant steel industries for acquiring land.

In Kudremukh the protest against the Kudremukh Iron Ore Company (KIOCL) was focused on the impact of mining activities on air, water, land, soil quality, vegetation including forest ecosystems which is a serious concern. In India, pollution control legislation is in the statue books, because industrial pollution has gone largely unchecked, but certain industries were closed by environmentalist like Gwalior Rayons-owned by Birlas the India’s largest business house have been indicted for affecting the economic welfare of downstream villagers through pollution. In Karnataka Harihar Polyfibres faced opposition for discharging effluents into the Tungabhadra River. The Movement against the Kudremukh Iron Ore Company Limited was led by Grass root actors and Non-Governmental Organizations were against the extension of mining lease and workers union wanted the mining to continue in defence of their job and livelihood.
Kudremukh Environment Movement

The Kudremukh Iron Ore Company (KIOCL)\textsuperscript{11} was granted a 30 year mining lease in 1969 and allotted 3,203.55 ha of reserve forestland in Kudremukh. In 1987, the first notification declaring Kudremukh as a national park brought the mining area under the purview of the Wildlife Protection Act 1972. The act does not allow non-forestry operations, including mining within a protected area. The company’s contract was based on a thirty year lease from 1969-1999 was coming to an end; it wanted to extend the contract for another twenty years. Initially the permission was extended till 2002 under a “temporary working permission” granted by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF). The main argument against the company was questioned by Karnataka Vimochana Ranga a CPI(ML) organization that the company is an export-oriented and the pollution caused to River Bhadra may also affect the Tunga River.

The campaign was joined by different organizations like Bangalore based NGOs Wildlife First, initially filed Public Interest litigation in the High Court but later filed a petition under the Forest Conservation Act 1980 before the Honorable Supreme Court in 2001. The Act has wrested the control of the forests from the states in favour of the Union and mandated that no activity could be classified as a non-forestry activity, could be permitted by the state government.\textsuperscript{12} Under this Act “forest land” are legally notified as forest as per the Indian Forest Act or State Forest Acts that is Reserve or Protected Forests. But in the writ petition 202 of 1995 commonly known as Godavarman Thirumulpad Vs Union of India which highlighted the fact that significant tracts of land which are forested are not notified and were denied the

\textsuperscript{11} KIOCL was started for mining of iron-ore at Aroli-Gangamoola range of hills of Western Ghats which is also the birth place of three rivers Tunga, Bhadra and Nethravathi in Chikmagalur district of Karnataka in 1976 by the Ministry of Steel.

protection of the FCA has been applied to all areas irrespective of the nature of ownership and classification.\(^{13}\)

This brings us to the question of judicial intervention which has never been consistent or static, but oscillates. The overall expenses like litigating expenses, court fees, lawyer's fees, and incidentals are mounting both in the High Court and Supreme Court. The case was heard through Interlocutory Application in I.A 670 case were the Supreme Court is assisted by Central Empowered Committee which has decided its own procedures, and is not bound to follow the procedure laid down in the Civil Procedure Code or any of the state forest laws when dealing with the applications. As a result there are serious prima facie concerns about the due process and the right to natural justice. The PIL in the existing structure with reference to KIOCL is far different from ground realities and seldom have the intricacies of a particular case or true facts reached the court.

The pressure applied by NGOs through consensus is shaped into appropriate directives which may be relevance not only to beneficiaries as originally defined by the NGO but to others as well. The Management of the KIOCL defended the mining on the plank that check-dams like Lakya dam were constructed before the commencement of the project operations to store tailings and allow clean water to the plant for recycling. The closure of industries has attracted criticism from workers union as it neither heard all the affected workmen before passing the order.

The KIOCL was a bustling mining camp housing nearly 2,279 employees consisting of 468 executives and 1811 non-executives and their families with a total strength of 10,000 staying in the camp area. The three unions which were recognized by the company are Kudremukh Shram Shakti Shangathan, affiliated to (HMS), Kudremukh Employees union affiliated to (INTUC) and Kudremukh Mazdoor Sangh affiliated to (BMS). Protest movement as social movements involve the solidarity organization of people in pursuit of shared interests that conflict with those of others and whose satisfaction requires a restructuring of the system in which they are acting. The conventional modes of protest groups like unions rely on the use of petitions,

boycotts, demonstration, strikes, occupations and *bandh* etc. The challenge that is posed to established structures of power, if protest actions go outside the established norms are likely to be seen by non-participants as deviant acts. The workers union protested against the Wildlife First and alleged that in the name of “environment” lot of foreign funds has activated different NGOs whose prime motto is to close down KIOCL.\(^{14}\) The workers union raised the issue of livelihood, but received compensation from the management and on the other hand daily wage workers affiliated to (AITUC) were deprived of rehabilitation and compensation on grounds of contract workers who were left hoping for support from the state government for jobs.

The Supreme Court final order for closing the company draws attention to the importance of Sustainable Development and the need for balance between Ecology and Development has to be maintained for future generation.\(^{15}\)

The “biodiversity conservation” movement argues that the resources must be set aside and “protected” from the people.\(^ {16}\) Biological conservation must be based on science but scientific investigation is not the only output required for effective conservation and even when there is substantial information, prudent conservation policies are not assured. It can never be proven in a relatively short period of time that human-related activities have been the cause of species extinctions. The sustainable use approach of biological resources succeeds in rising local interest and involvement in conservation of widespread and non-charismatic forms of biological biodiversity of human use. But devoid of any definition has resulted anything they want it to mean.\(^ {17}\)

The major criticism against sustainable use is based on untested assumption on conservation and the integration of global markets has altered the traditional

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\(^{14}\) The important criterion for selecting a particular issue is the degree of anticipated success because of the financial support from different organizations and therefore ‘victories’ in terms of success for their campaigns are an important consideration. See Kalland, Arne and Gerard Person (1998): An Anthropological Perspective on Environmental Movements in Asia, *Environmental Movements in Asia*, (Ed), Curzon Press, p-25.


subsistence cropping to market oriented crop. Mr. Ullas Karnath Director of Wildlife First has argued that the pragmatic Conservationist\(^{18}\) model has worked well with certain fragile groups of animals like tiger, lion-tailed macaques or hornbills for survival of such animals.\(^{19}\)

The strength of the preservationist approach lies in its recognition that certain forms of biological diversity are nearly impossible to conserve in the context of human density and extractive use and need inviolate areas. Biodiversity conservation initiatives do not acknowledge the important role that tribal communities play in conservation. The knowledge of the various tribal people is often on the side of conservation and clean environment even though they do not claim to be Environmentalist. This is because they have been treated as enemies, and not as partners in conservation efforts which are pursued as a bureaucratic effort. But over the years it has taken over the state and interpreting conservation as a task to be performed by force of arms keeping the tribal and livestock away.\(^{20}\) Added to this the biologists have focused on the human impact on ecosystems like hunting, poaching and forest fire.\(^{21}\) On the other hand, the social scientists in contrast argue more in favour of equity and justice from the sociological and historical perspective

Kudremukh in the Western Ghats initially was declared as a National Park in 1987 because of its ‘ecological, faunal, floral, geomorphologic and zoological significance. This has been used by the Bangalore based NGOs Wildlife First to demand the closure of the company which led to the final notification of the Kudremukh National park which is spread over an area of 563 sq. kms and falls in


\(^{20}\) Madhav, Gadgil, (1992): “Can Conserving India’s Biodiversity be turned into a People’s Movement?” Back ground paper prepared for the expert groups consultation on conservation of biological diversity, India International Centre, December 3\(^{rd}\), New Delhi.

three districts namely, Dakshina Kannada district (158 Sq. Kms), Udupi district (89 Sq. Kms) and Chikmagalur district (316 Sq. Kms). At the time of final notification, the extent of the national park was reduced to 563.29 sq. kms, from the original 600.32 sq. kms. The KIOCL area of 37sq km was not included in the area that was notified as a National Park and did not include any of the revenue villages, patta lands, revenue lands, gomaal lands and such other areas, which do not form any part of the above mentioned state forests and reserve forests.

This has proved counter productive as many of the tribals who have been traditionally cultivating land before their notification as state owned forests, whose rights were not enquired into and protected because of a faulty settlement process and is labeled as ‘encroachers’ by the forest department. The tribals namely Gowdlus in the Chikmagalur district and Malekudiyas in the Dakishna Kannada District do not have title deeds or pattas for their lands are labeled as ‘encroachers’.

Around the country there are a number of cases where pattas/ grants leases have been issued to people by the Revenue Department, but the ‘status’ of these lands are under major discrepancies between various departments and the tiller of the land has not been consulted or informed. Around the National Park there are sizeable population who have ‘encroached’ land for coffee cultivation which has been continued from colonial times due to its profitable dividends.

The overall conservation programme in India can be divided into three main areas: creation and management of protected areas, protection of wildlife in protected forests and control and management of wildlife trade. Traditionally the role of the forest department under which the reserve forest are under its control while the district forests may fall under legal categories other than those defined in the Karnataka forest Act are under the Revenue Departments. The physical status of these lands varies from forest to open tree savannas to grassland to barren lands have been classified as grazing land (gomaal in the Karnataka Land Revenue Act) which have been encroached by big coffee estate owners and political leaders have made land grants or regularized to various categories of households in the post FCA.22 The

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different administrative divisions of the forest department and bureaucratic curtailments has given space for the NGOs to exploit this situation in the name of conservation of tiger in the Kudremukh National park and have got huge funds from international agencies to act as a bridge between the donor agencies and tribals. This has triggered fears among the tribals who are against relocation whereas the forest department claims it as voluntarily.

The land alienation of tribals from forest areas of national parks has become the bone of contention between the conservationist and tribals was taken up by the Karnataka Vimochana Ranga under the banner of Kudremukh Rashtriya Virodhi Okkouta (Anti-Kudremukh National Park Movement) were against the national park status because people will be evicted and multinational companies will gain entry into forests in the name of research. The government says there will be no forced eviction from the national park and has left out the revenue villages and settlements from the purview of the national park. The Kudremukh Rashtriya Virodhi Okkouta campaign against the national park started in 1997 and the coincidence of Maoist in 2002 for the same cause. The Maoist movement has taken up the issues of labourers working in the coffee estates, small growers and the cancellation of National Park on behalf of the tribals and fighting against the Forest Department and State Government.²³ The killing of several cadres and state secretary of the party Saketh Rajan has been a major set back with the movement. The state has been seeing the Naxalite activity in the Western Ghats as law and order problem and is trying to divert the attention with adhoc-packages and has created a special police squad called Anti-Naxal squad to control the activities of the Naxalite activity in the Western Ghats.²⁴

The study of Kudremukh Environment Movement will unravel the picture by taking into consideration of power and authority that were forged in a Princely

²³ The question of labourers in the coffee plantation comprises 98% of small growers who have their own association and the major unions of labourers AITUC, INTUC and CITU. The largest mobilizations of coffee labourers are under the AITUC affiliated to CPI and the major affiliation of the big landlords is the Karnataka Planters Association (KPA) which is affiliated to United Planters Association of South India (UPASI) connects to the Ministry of Commerce.

²⁴ The Maoist Movement spreading across many states in India in recent years is closely associated with loss of land, forests and lack of any alternative livelihood.
Mysore state, under colonial rule.\textsuperscript{25} The colonial land revenue settlements from 1800-1881 did not make any change or alteration under the colonial rule. The partial elimination of feudal warlords called "Palegaras" by Hyder and Tippu Sultan took refuge under colonialism and struck an accord with colonialism and subverted its overthrow by implanting pre-capitalist landed property and converted themselves into a class of intermediaries largely belonging to castes as Brahmins, Bunts and Jains. They were utilized in the bureaucracy because of the educational qualification that filled the structural requirements and acted as the influential mediator between the company and the peasantry. The introduction of land tenures created a class of landed interests which were exclusively drawn from the upper castes. The bureaucracy functioned as the political intelligence of the bourgeoisie envisaging a role for the Mysore state in the domain of production as mobiliser and manager of resources.

The elaborate system of collecting taxes looked after by Shanbhags (usually belonged to Brahmin Community) who were responsible for keeping village accounts and those who were responsible for revenue collection and maintenance of law and order in the village were called Patil/Patel belonged to Vokkaliga or Lingayat communities. The repressive system of taxes during the period from 1800-1830 led to widespread rebellion in the Nagar province of Mysore comprising the present day districts of Shimoga, Bangalore, Mandya, Mysore, Tumkur, Kolar, Chikmagalur, Hassan and Chitradurga. The pauperization of the peasantry by continued or often dependent debt to landlords or money lenders led the British to embark speculations in reference to coffee cultivation. In order to encourage coffee cultivation the government granted liberal grants to European companies since it lacked the expertise and capital to initiate such efforts. On the pretext of maladministration British took over the administration in 1831 which lasted till 1881, for a period of 50 years.\textsuperscript{26}

The pre-capitalist economic formations characterized by hierarchy enabled the mobilizations of labour for the plantations, through "Maistaries" (middlemen) who

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\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., pp. 13-31.
\end{footnotesize}
acted as a bridge between the landlords and labourers. The labourers were exploited through hereditary servitude belonging to the ‘untouchable’ castes as slave-rent and labour-rent respectively. The elaborate penal system and police force in the case of Mysore, defined the working, cultural and political lives of the workers in very specific ways. In order to protect the interests of the planters different regional organizations like Mysore Planters Association also later came to be known as Karnataka Planters Association (KPA) to discuss various issues pertaining to the plantation industry and the central body like United Planters Association of India (UPASI) engaged itself in bringing together various regional growers associations under a single umbrella and extended all forms of support to the growth of coffee plantation during crisis.

The political parties in Karnataka have engaged in agricultural mobilizations for implementing the land reforms. First the abolition of Inam lands which were granted by the British to Brahmin community for their services to the Kingdom. The non-Inam lands were cultivated by tenants who belonged to the cultivating castes such as Vokkaliga and Lingayats, and to the landless castes like backward minority communities and Scheduled Castes. The interrelated factors responsible for agrarian mobilization of agrarian classes in Karnataka politics are often conflicts between caste/religious collectiveness, which share certain class attributes, but it is not uniform between caste and class, but are drawn from multiplicity of castes and identified with different groups even if they belong to the same class.

The coffee cultivation enjoyed huge exemptions in the land reforms of Karnataka of 1961 and 1974 because of the huge profits to the state government. The Coffee Board which acted as a monopoly has been taken over by the private business companies is feeling the impact of steep decline in prices by the vagaries of free trade that govern the industry internationally. During the last two decades “encroachment” of adjoining forest land in order to increase production by big land owners has increased who fund money for elections, but the majority of the coffee growers.


belong to small land holdings. The issue has been downplayed by the big landlords in the short run as it has paid rich dividends by winning the elections for BJP through its wings like Bajrang Dal by raking up a controversy on Baba Budangiri Darga in chikmagalur district since 1999.

We need to locate environmental movements constituted by unequal structures of global political economy, but at the same time, examine the power relations between different groups that constitute social movements. The study will focus on Kudremukh in Karnataka to understand the interconnection of the movement with various issues like land alienation, workers right and encroachment of forests for coffee cultivation, through political ecology approach by linking local level process to wider geographical, historical and contemporary institutional dynamics and International scientific context.

Central Problem

In contemporary India, conflicts over Nature and ecology have assumed a new dimension significantly. They revolve around competing claims which have generated several types of popular movements on ecological issues. For example, the Farmers Movement under the auspices of Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha (KRSS) took up issues such as social forestry, mining and mediated through its resistance to Bt cotton and patenting biodiversity. The conflicting claims of rights of the workers, rights of the local tribals and environment concerns, which involve a conflict of interests, which can be negotiated through peaceful means. The conflicts of these groups are increasingly pitching into hostile camps with allegations and counter allegations. The state has taken an increasingly confrontationist stand owing to the growth of Naxalite groups in these areas which questions the positive role of the state intervention in the relation of ecological issues. These issues, however, did not contribute to the growth of a broad based environmental movement by involving different ideological streams, discourses and categories. This urges us to rethink traditional class-based politics, which fail to explain environment movements.
**Objectives**

To analyze the interplay of caste and class factors in labour organization, land tenure and surplus appropriation.

To analyze the different ideologies and organizations related to the Kudremukh environment movement.

To analyze the relocation of tribals from KNP which is related to the culture and life of the people?

To analyze social movements, that adopts armed struggle like (Naxalite groups) as well as those which adhere to methods of non-violence against the state.

**Methodology**

The study area is spread over the three districts of Chikmagalur, Dakshina Kannada and Udupi. The study adopts a historical-analytical method with thematic format rather than the strictly chronological one, because such a method is of greater value in charting this uneven terrain.

This study involves a case study of Kudremukh Iron Ore Company Limited in Kudremukh to analyze various dimensions related to labour issues, after the closure of the company. The primary data was collected through open ended interviews with different workers union like Kudremukh Shrama Shakti Sangathan, Kudremukh Employees and Kudremukh Mazdoor Sangh and contract workers. The issue was also linked to the issue of labourers and tribals has necessitated an inquiry into the issue of labourers in the colonial context and connecting it to the present context. Interviews were conducted with different organizations like Plantation Workers Union, Karnataka Planters Association and United Plantation Association of India, environmental NGOs like Wildlife first, Centre for Wildlife studies and Nagarika Seva Trust. The grass root actors like Kudremukh Rashtriya Virodhi Okkuta and forest department like Koppa Forest division, and Kudremukh Wildlife division incharge of the Kudremukh National Park were conducted in three phases with the first phase from 5 November to 10 December 2006, 12 January to 24 March 2007 and
6 September to 18 October 2007. The secondary sources involved library work, legislations such as Chikmagalur Gazetters, Coffee Boards, Block level information, Panchayats and Non-Government organizations.

The outline of the study is as follows:

Chapter I: Theoretical Frame Work on Political Ecology and Social Movements.

Chapter II: Agrarian Relations and Commercialization of Coffee Cultivation in the Western Ghats.

A Historical Perspective. In order to identify the specific features of the role-played by the state in a colonial set up the following questions are posed. What kind of land revenue system was imposed by the British in the princely Mysore state? Did the land policies of the colonial power lead to the establishment of isolated clusters of commercialization at the cost of the stagnation of the traditional agricultural economy and integrated to global commodity networks? Did the labour policies lead to the creation of social enclaves of people de-linked from the surrounding communities? What was the impact of the plantation on the patterns of trade of the region? Was the transport network that was developed in response to the requirements of coffee plantations dysfunctional vis-à-vis the needs of regional development?

Chapter III: Changing Agrarian Relations and Global Coffee Crisis in Chikmagalur District.

This chapter explores the impact on agricultural labourers who were worst hit, especially wages and employment opportunities directly in agriculture and through multiplier effects in non-agricultural as well. Why and how did the state succeed in imposing a form of land reform that the lower castes did not want? What were the politics outlined by parties, government, and the state for agrarian mobilizations? What were the dividing lines between different coffee plantation unions and finally why did the movement fail to become a comprehensives movement of the labourers in the politics of Chikmagalur District?
Chapter IV: Mining, Pollution and Judicial Activism against Kudremukh Iron Ore Company.

This chapter explores the role played by the different kinds of protest in the case of Kudremukh Iron Company a public sector company, closed in 2005. Why the priorities of workers were not considered due to the closure of mining? Why have the trade unions not able to dictate the central content of bargaining policy for trade unions? Why does NGOs select a particular issue in terms of environmental degradation and play crucial roles as lobbyist and umpire vis-à-vis through judicial activism and well as interpreters and mediators through the press?

Chapter V: Biodiversity Conservation and land alienation of Tribal in Kudremukh National Park.

This chapter analyses the conflicts between tribal population and state authorities regarding access to natural resources in Kudremukh National Park. What are the internal complexity of the state and the political significance of the fact that state may be an actor, but it is also a set of institutions like administrative, legal, bureaucratic, and coercive systems of the state with differing agendas at each of these levels, critically influence the process of formulating and implementing policy?

Chapter VI: Forest Management: NGOs as Whistle blowers and Resistance of CPI (Maoist).

Why did the role of forest department has been undermined as much as the forest themselves in the postcolonial period. Why did the forest department fail to reassert a central role as resource manager? What are the tensions between the Forest Department and NGOs in matters of conservation in National park? Why does the state treat Naxalite movement as a law and order problem but does not indicate what are the contentious issues at stake and what are their demands and who benefits if these demands are achieved?