CHAPTER IV

ECOLOGICAL MOVEMENT AGAINST THE KAIGA NUCLEAR POWER PLANT
THE PROJECT

A nuclear power plant for electricity generation was proposed to be located at Kaiga village in Karwar taluka in Uttara Kannada district in Karnataka. The nuclear power plant initially in 1985 was composed of two units of 235 MW each, which later in 1989, had expanded to four units more resulting in a total of six units each generating 235 MW electricity. The Kaiga Nuclear Power Plant was part of the larger long-range 15 year programme of the Atomic Energy Commission which aimed to increase the percentage of nuclear power from the 2.5 percent in 1985 to 10 percent by 2000 A.D. by installing 22 nuclear units of 500 MW each in different states which would increase the output of nuclear energy by 2000 A.D. to 10,000 MW (TOI, 9.3.1985, dated 11.3.1985).

Since 1961-62, from the Hayath’s Committee onwards, the southern region was being scouted for suitable sites for the establishment of nuclear reactors. The successive committees Vengurlettar (1975) and the Katti (1982) recommended sites in Karnataka along the river banks of Tungabhadra, Sharavathi and Krishna. The Katti Committee had recommended Kadra site for future consideration and kept it pending due to the lack of transport especially broad gauge railway. The Srinivasan Committee of 1983 not only took up the
recommendations of the Katti Committee, but included the Central Electricity Authority's views on the identification of suitable sites. Consequently an extensive survey of the West Coast of Karnataka was carried out and the Kadra area in the Kalinadi complex viz., Kaiga and Mallapur and another site nearby were visited. The Katti Committee had kept the Kaiga site pending due to inadequate broad gauge rail connection for heavy equipment. Despite this weakness, the site was considered due to following reasons:

(a) The Central Electricity Authority's view that the power balance on the West Coast which is solely hydro-based electricity generation had to be strengthened and backed up by the Nuclear Power Plant. (b) As an alternative to the broad gauge rail transport, ocean transport could be considered as Karwar is the nearest port. Consequently, the Srinivasan Committee listed Kaiga as the first site among other sites in the order of merit "The Committee strongly recommends that apart from taking up land acquisition and infrastructure activities at the first recommended site namely Kaiga in Karnataka...." (Report on Selection of Sites for Future Atomic Power Stations, Part I [vol.I] Southern Region, 1984:32). The site selection criteria included the site geology, hydrology, availability of coolant water, (ii) environmental factors like density of population,
agriculture and live stock data, meteorological factors, seismic conditions, (iii) transportation problems etc."
(p.2).

In addition to the above cited criteria, the political factor was also considered. At this juncture, it is essential to consider the perception of nuclear power at the political level of the state government and political parties. In 1983, Congress-I which was in power in the Centre was in opposition in the state, whereas the Janata Party which was in power in the state was in the opposition in the Centre. Nevertheless, both the opposition political parties were united in their support for the location of the second southern nuclear power plant in the state and constantly lobbied since 1983. On January 24, 1983, a formal announcement was made by the Governor Govind Narain in the joint session of the legislature, of the state government's decision to appeal to the Centre for the location of a Nuclear Power Plant in the state to solve the power problem. He informed the house that preliminary surveys had already been done. On February 8, 1983, the Chief Minister, R.K.Hegde met the Prime Minister and made a forceful appeal to locate a nuclear power plant [henceforth NPP] in the state, on the banks of Tungabhadra river as suggested by the site selection committee to mitigate the power crisis faced by the state. He said that
though it was envisaged to plan a NPP in the 6th Plan itself, the delay in the site selection necessitated in the dropping of the NPP. The Power Minister J.H.Patel announced on 18 April 1983 that the state government would make concerted efforts to locate a NPP in Karnataka and would send a team of experts to Delhi in May to press for Karnataka’s case for a NPP. He hoped that the Centre would do justice in granting a NPP to Karnataka. The present power crisis was being tided over with imports from Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. He is reported to have said that, "It is true that Karnataka has not been treated at least on par with other states if not favourably in the matter of sanctioning NPPs to the south" (Deccan Herald, 19.4.1983). Consequently, the delegation met the Union Energy Minister Shiv Shankar and lobbied for the location of a NPP in Karnataka. The Industries Minister S.R.Bommai, addressing the 6th Annual General meeting of the Greater Mysore Chamber of Industry informed the gathering the possibility of the location of a NPP in the state which was inferred from the sympathetic response of the Union Energy Minister. The state Power Minister J.H.Patel at the one-day Souther Power Minister’s Conference on July 21, 1983 made a strong case for a NPP in the state. He had earlier complained to the Press that "Karnataka has been treated with or
without intention, rather badly in the sense the Union Government has not invested anything in the power sector in Karnataka" (DH, 21.7.1983). On August 29, 1983, the ruling Janata and the Opposition Congress-I Party members "...suggested sinking of political differences to get the Centre set up a NPP in the State. Mr.K.N.Nage Gowda (Congress-I) and Mr.V.S.Krishna Iyer (Janata) said that the demand for the setting up of such a plant should cut across party lines because it concerned the development of the State" (I.E., 30.8.1983). On September 14, 1983, the Power and Excise Minister J.H.Patel appealed to all the members of the Legislative Assembly to press for locating a NPP in the state as Tamil nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra were being given NPPs while denying Karnataka. He highlighted the power shortage being faced by Karnataka which was 3000 MU as against the demand of 10,000 MU which was being met by power borrowing from Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra and Goa. He said that alternative sources of energy like the solar and tidal were expensive and impractical and that the state could not afford solar energy (DH, 15:9.1983).

Thus, at the time of the final site selection by the Srinivasan Committee of 1983, the major political parties, Janata and Congress-I were united (a) in their demand for locating a NPP in the state (b) in their
perception that the Centre had not invested in the state in terms of central power projects and that Karnataka is being left out by the Centre, and (c) nuclear energy is the solution to the power crisis faced by the state. The editorial in the English newspaper Deccan Herald on 16 September 1983, questioned the massive investment required for Nuclear Energy which was more expensive than hydel or thermal power. It pointed out that obsession with Nuclear Energy had resulted in inadequate attention to the development of renewable energy sources and that probably the solution to the power crisis lies in the conventional and renewable sources of energy.

On June 9, 1984, the Chairman of Nuclear Power Board, M.R.Srinivasan revealed that 20 year plan of nuclear power generation in his address to the members of the Association of Indian Engineering Industry (AIEI). He is reported to have said that Nuclear Energy is the solution to the world’s growing energy needs and that India is catching up with the rest of the world after initial starting troubles and was the only country which was designing and setting up nuclear power plant. A high degree of self-reliance was achieved and the support of the industry was necessary for the nuclear programme. The Chairman of the AIEI Karnataka Chapter reiterated the need for NPP in Karnataka which would continue to face power shortage for the next ten years.
Central investment in power projects which was non-existent was needed at present. The President of the Greater Mysore Chamber of Commerce and Industry felt that the NPP should be located in a safe place for security purposes and Bangalore would be an ideal location. The industrial lobby and political pressure was mobilised for locating the NPP in Karnataka. The CM R.K. Hegde made a forceful plea at the meeting of the National Development Council on 12 July 1984, for locating a NPP in Karnataka to stabilise the power situation in Karnataka and to achieve a suitable power mix of hydel, thermal and nuclear sources of power.

On March 8, 1985, it was announced that the Union Cabinet had approved the location of NPP at Kaiga in Karnataka with an initial installation of two units of 235 MW each.

**Genesis of People's Protest**

The newspapers were very actively reporting any happening connected with the nuclear energy and the entire issue was discussed in terms of the heavy financial expenditure of nuclear energy, the necessity of nuclear energy in the absence of solutions to persisting problems like transmission losses etc. and the alternative sources of energy etc.
In 1984, B.P. Kadam the local MLA from Karwar taluka addressed Kaiga villagers and told them of the impending project to be located in the area, the resulting dislocation of the entire population as well as the environmental hazards. The bulk of his speech dwelt on the compensation and rehabilitation as well as the health and environmental hazards of the NPP. The dumbstruck villagers could not believe that a project would be located in their area and were struck by the fear of losing their property and facing an uncertain future.

In Bangalore, a non-government organisation 'Janandolan - People for Peace', called for a meeting on February 9, 1985 to discuss a proposed seminar on 'Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes: The Pros and Cons' under the following headings (a) the nature of nuclear power, its economic viability and alternatives, environment and medical hazards of nuclear power. The NGO felt that as "...there is a proposal for a nuclear power plant in Karwar. Therefore the subject of Nuclear Power Peaceful Purposes is important to us in Karnataka" (Janandolan circular, 13.2.1985:1). At the subsequent meeting on April 18, 1985, decision was taken to launch an action programme against the Nuclear Power Plant at Kaiga which included (a) writing letters to the Kannada and English newspapers (b) distribution of information
pamphlets in Kannada and English at meetings, marches, rallies, work places and factories etc., which would be followed by a signature campaign against NPP. Funds were to be mobilised through donations. It was decided to hold a general discussion on Nuclear Power in the Indian context on April 24, 1985. For this meeting, groups and individuals in Bangalore, women’s groups, peace and disarmament, environment groups as well as individuals were invited. About 20 people gathered and discovered that very little information was available on nuclear power generation and its impact on environment and health of the population. The discussants decided to learn more about nuclear power generation and very broadly concluded that there was a link between the nuclear power plants and the atomic bomb. The first meeting laid the foundation of the protest mobilisation in Bangalore and was instrumental in initiating the protest movement against the Kaiga Nuclear Power Plan [henceforth KNPP] in Uttara Kannada. One of the discussants, Nagesh Hegde, a science editor and writer in the popular Kannada magazine ‘Sudha’ wrote an article (in the April 21, 1985 issue) examining the pros and cons of nuclear power plants and discussed the environmental health and safety aspects of nuclear power plants. This article had a widespread and profound influence on the people of UK and was read even in
remote villages. Until then, the people had no idea of the nature of nuclear power plant. As S.G. Hegde one of the founders of the movement recounts, "We had no idea of the negative effects of nuclear power plants. It was only after Nagesh Hegde's article appeared, that we realised that something had to be done. Then we began to collect information sitting here in Uttara Kannada, we had no information and we wrote to Nagesh asking for move information and invited him to give a talk." Nagesh Hegde came and visited numerous villages in Sirsi and Yellapur taluka explaining the health and environmental impacts of nuclear power plants. This visit initiated the environmental awareness among the public vis-a-vis nuclear energy and the mobilisation activities of the movement. Earlier in 1984, two activists of Appiko who were on an environment awareness generating padayatra from Sirsi to Yellapur to Karwar, informed the people of the upcoming nuclear power plant and its environmental and health effects. As Panduranga Hegde of Appicko recounted, "We had very little information about nuclear energy and what little we had we disseminated we could not take up the issue as our objectives were different, but we made it a part of our activities and whenever we held meetings and programmes, we included Kaiga too".

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Soon after Nagesh Hegde’s visit, the awareness generating and mobilisational activities began in UK. The initial response came from Yellapur and Sirsi talukas and the awareness generating and mobilisational activities were intense in Yellapur taluq which happened to be adjacent to the project site - Kaiga, and hence would be affected in the event of any mishap. The region was quick in responding to the environmental impact of the project due to the earlier successful environmental activism against the BHEP (see Chapter III) in the area. The major initiators were S.G. Hegde Bedehakkal (whose family was very actively involved in the movement against the BHEP) and Ramakrishna Dhundi (who earlier was involved in the movement against the BHEP) who were the conveners of the rural citizens of North Kanara. The other active leaders were M.R. Hegde and Umesh Bhat who mobilised and educated the people in the remote villages and held the first meeting of the villagers in the temple at Idgunji in Yellapur taluq. Many gave up their professions and devoted their lives to the movement, substantial financial contributions were made, besides the time and effort. One of the leaders, S.G. Hegde Bedehakkal a chartered accountant did not set up his practice for four years and was known as ‘Kaiga Subbanna’. At the initial stages of the movement and even later too, the awareness of the environmental
health impacts of the NPP was generated mainly due to the fact that the nature of issue was complicated and not easily comprehended, as the effects were invisible and took a longer time to manifest themselves. Whereas, in the case of dams, the effects were immediately visible and hence easily comprehended.

In early 1985, Dr. Raja Ramanna visited the Kaiga village and spoke to the villages about the upcoming NPP and according to the villagers made promises for good compensation and rehabilitation, jobs for all the people in the family in the NPP etc. The Kaiga villagers then comprehended that the project was a certainty and promptly presented a memoranda consisting of their demand pertaining to compensation, and rehabilitation, employment for all the members of the family etc. to Raja Ramanna who reportedly assured them that their demands would be met. The villagers had no idea about the environmental impact of a NPP and their primary concern was with getting suitable compensation and rehabilitation.

On March 29, more than 1000 villagers of Kaiga and nearby areas held a meeting at Bare in Yellapur taluq which was 8 km. from Kaiga and wanted the government to take care of their rehabilitation. It was reported that, with a plethora and development projects in the district, UK was perceived to be a district of
displacement and rehabilitation by the displaced villagers of NPP who wanted suitable compensation. The Yuva Janata President Pramod Hegde reportedly assured the people that the legislators belonging to his party after discussing the issue would see that compensation is paid before asking the people to vacate their lands. He asked the people to welcome the project as it would generate employment opportunities in the backward UK district. The Deputy Commissioner of Karwar, R. Suresh, assured the people that only treated waste discharge from the plant would be released into the river Kali.

It would be opportune to mention briefly the geographical and socio-economic profile of the Kaiga village. Located in the deep interior coastal taluka of Karwar about 54 kms from the district headquarters. Kaiga was isolated from rest of the district for a very long time. Its land was not as fertile as that of the upghat taluqs and subsistence farming had prevailed. Majority of the population had migrated from the area and few families had stayed for more than 200 years and many considered themselves as original inhabitants. Majority of its young population had migrated to Goa and Bombay in search of employment opportunities and the old and the very young stayed in the village, which had a primary and medium level school. It was not easily
accessible and the tar road came only after the decision to locate the NPP.

A coalition of groups protesting against the KNPP had been formed under the umbrella organisation, Citizens Against Nuclear Energy [henceforth CANE] in Bangalore comprising of following organisations: Gandhi Bhavan, Karnataka Sarvodaya Mandal, Prabriti, Disarmament Centre and Appiko. CANE members initiated awareness generally activities in Bangalore and functioned as a lobby against Nuclear Power. Its members spoke at different forums, wrote letters to newspapers highlighting the environmental impacts of KNPP and the issues of waste disposal, the heavy financial requirements and the diseconomy of nuclear power. Nagesh Hegde wrote articles examining the issues. ‘Janandolan’ campaigned against the NPP as it perceived to be linked with the defense purposes of the country. ‘Prabriti’ an environment group was quite active in dealing with environment issues and Nagesh Hegde was associated with it. Disarmament Centre was concerned with the dissemination of information concerning disarmament. Gandhi Bhavan and Karnataka Sarvodaya Mandal were opposing the KNPP on environmental grounds.

Initially the opposition to KNPP was very broadly divided into (a) compensation and rehabilitation by the
Kaiga villagers and (b) environment and disarmament by the Bangalore urban based groups as well UK rural based groups. Later, both merged and by 1988 had again separated into the two differing positions on KNPP. Thus different interests and groups functioned at the common platform to oppose the KNPP.

On September 11, 1985, the Chief Minister R.K. Hegde in the Legislative Council remarked that the government was aware of the opposition to the KNPP from the people of Karwar which was precipitated due to the visit to the area of the expert team for site selection. He said that some vested interests were creating a scare about the dangers of radiation which had no substance to them and appealed to the people of Karwar to leave their fears about the KNPP. He justified the option to Nuclear power by citing the different percentages of nuclear power in the total percentage of power generation in Europe and America.

One of the major reasons for the government's lobbying as publicly stated by it was that all other sources of power - hydel and thermal had been fully exhausted in the state. Hence, nuclear power was the solution to the state's power crisis. At the same time, the GOK was lobbying for the proposed Sharavathi Tail Race Hydro Electric Project to be located in UK district which was deferred for environmental clearance by the
Department of Environment of the Union Government. The then Chief Secretary to GOK wrote his letter dated 16.7.1985, addressed to the Secretary, Department of Environment, GOI stating GOK's case for the Sharavathi Tail Race Project. The Sharavathi Tail Race Project was considered to be indispensable and essential in meeting the states demands as the state lacked coal reserves. GOI had recently sanctioned the KNPP of 470 MW capacity, the power generated would have to be shared by all the four southern states and the long gestation period of 10 years of the power plant would not cater to the power demand in the intervening years. He concluded, "Therefore, in relation to the demand in Karnataka, the atomic power station will not be able to meet even a small fraction of the total power demand. The state has therefore no option except to tap its attractive hydro power potential" [emphasis added]. Thus, the GOK was giving different accounts of the necessity or non-necessity of the KNPP in public and in the legislature. The Chief Secretary's letter raised a very pertinent question - if the GOK held that a NPP would be unable to meet "even a small fraction of the total power demand" then why did it lobby for the location of a NPP in the state and give the reason for a NPP that it is the solution to the power crisis of the state? As a corollary, why was the Department of Atomic Energy
saying that nuclear power plants and nuclear energy is the solution to the state's power crisis? These questions remained unanswered and when the KNPP was questioned on environment and health grounds, the opponents were perceived to be functioning against the interests of the state as the following sequence of events will show.

The Department of Atomic Energy [henceforth DAE] in a press note on September 24, said that all aspects of radiation and environmental hazards besides ecological equilibrium were examined before locating the nuclear power plant at Kaiga. It assured the people that safety factor was given utmost consideration.

Uranium was being prospected in Arebail which was very near to the KNPP from the early 80s onwards. CANE immediately linked up the uranium prospecting with the KNPP and the disposal of the wastes at the Kolar Gold Fields in the abandoned mines. The location beginning and end of the nuclear power generation and the fuel cycle in the same area which would have considerable environmental impact. The DAE refuted the contention of CANE and said that the natural radiation was more than radiation from mining or NPPs (DH, 25.9.85).
Genesis of Protest

Meanwhile, opposition to the KNPP was brewing in the Yellapur taluq and in the first week of October an open meeting was held at Malavalli village in Yellapur taluka which was about 15 km from the Kaiga village. The base of opposition to KNPP was initially in Yellapur taluq especially Malavalli, Vajralli and Bare which were closest to the Kaiga village, followed by other villages in Yeallpur taluq. The local leaders S.N.Gaonkar, Subbiah Dhogale, S.M.Hebbar, Dhundi Bhat and S.G.Hegde pressurised the local Janata unit as well as the MLAs P.S.Rane from Karwar and Ajjibal Hegde from Yellapur to hold an open meeting of scientists, politicians and villagers who would discuss the pros and cons of the KNPP. In the meeting, about 5,000 villagers who had assembled from Kaiga, Hartuga, Malavalli, Bare, Kalache, Arabaili, Kodasalli, Yellapur, Manchiperi villages and Ankola taluq asked questions and sought clarifications from the atomic energy experts S.T.Subbaratnam, Sundararajan and Vishwanath who could not satisfy the villagers who were quite aware of the nuclear power issue due to awareness campaign conducted by voluntary organisations like Janandolan, Prabviti Parisara Vardhini, Janagagriti Samiti and the Kaiga Anusthavara Virodhi Samiti. Questions were asked by the villagers regarding the functioning of the atomic energy
department and the safety and health standards maintained by the government in the existing reactors of the country. The experts from the DAF tried to rest the fears of the people by stating that the government and the DAE would take all precautions and measures to benefit the people. The experts besides giving general answers did not answer specific questions of the people which resulted in the villagers raising slogans against the Central Government and DAE's Chairman Dr. Raja Ramanna. The major demand of the people was the withdrawal of the KNPP and uranium mining at Arebail. The local MLAs and the state minister for small industries R.V. Deshpande were pressurised by the villagers to make their position clear. Ajjibal Hegde offered to resign his seat and work with the people in preventing the disaster. Prabhakar Kane said that though he had not taken any position, he would always be with the people. R.V. Deshpande tried to pacify the agitated people and said that if convinced about the negative impact of the project he would not hesitate to join people's agitation. S.N. Gaonkar who was the local Janata leader as well as the moderator of the discussion, demanded the resignation of the MLA's and the passing of a resolution against the beginning of the KNPP. B.P. Kadam the former MP, said that the people of the district would launch a movement against the
greatest monster on the globe - atomic energy and asked the authorities to reconsider the issue. Answering the volatile situation, R.V. Deshpande said that the CM would be visiting the district later in the month in connection with the KNPP. The people dissatisfied with the answers given by the atomic experts and the position of the politicians, began raising slogans against the KNPP during the vote of thanks. R.V. Deshpande and Ajjibal Hegde were gheraoed by angry villagers for more than half an hour demanding the withdrawal of KNPP from the district. R.V. Deshpande then assured the people that he would arrange a meeting with the CM in this connection. Later in the evening, at Arebail a similar meeting was held where the people heckled the experts and were assured by S.M. Hebbar, Ajjibal Hegde, P.S. Rane and Deshpande that they would not go against the wishes of the people.

The Malavalli open meeting was crucial for the following reasons (1) for the first time people had gathered and openly questioned the nuclear energy experts and the government and opposed the KNPP (2) The questions put forth by the villagers whose educational level was low when compared with that of the experts, were not satisfactorily answered by the experts, which boosted the confidence of the people and their solidarity. (3) the meeting paved the way for further
interaction between the people and the politicians and the scientists.

The Congress I MLC K.N. Nage Gowda accused the CM R.K. Hegde of deliberate delaying the state government's obligations towards the KNPP and charged him that he was out to bury the project as he did in the case of Bedthi to please environmentalists. He said that as long as R.K. Hegde was the CM the state would not get power from either Bedthi or Barapole HEPs and soon it would also lose Kaiga NPP if the state government does not stick to its commitments (I.E., 15.10.1985).

Consequently on October 25, 1985, the CM R.K. Hegde convened a closed door meeting of bureaucrats, politicians, ministers, scientists, environmentalists, villagers and voluntary organisations to discuss the KNPP. The nuclear scientists Raja Ramanna, Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission [henceforth AEC], M.R. Srinivasan, Chairman, Nuclear Power Board, and Subbaratnam tried to convince the environmentalists and villagers opposing the KNPP of the safety and the necessity of the NPPs. According to the environmentalists, the scientists were unable to give convincing answers about the disadvantages of the NPPs while extolling their virtues. Representatives of environment groups and voluntary organisations like the CANE and Rural citizens of North Kanara questioned the
radiation hazards from the plant and the rehabilitation of the displaced persons as well as the extent of sacrifice for development required by the district were met with unconvincing answers. The expected sympathetic hearing from the CM who was involved with the ecological movement against Bedthi was absent when the CM said that since the Centre had ultimately granted a nuclear plants it should not be refused. Questions concerning the criteria of site selection of the KNPP and the disturbance of the ecological balance of the district by the development projects and the high transmission losses were parried by the scientists and the CM. As the government and the scientists had failed to answer the questions posed by the opposers to KNPP, the environmentalists announced their decision to sometime the agitation against the KNPP. The CM offered to send a five member team of environmentalists to the NPPs at Trombay and Kalpakkam and the Jaduguda uranium mines in Bihar.

The opposition to Kaiga slowly gathered momentum with the state level conference of citizens for Democracy on 14th November 1985 opposing the KNPP on the grounds that (a) KNPP was located far away from the user units which were in central and south Karnataka and which would involve heavy transmission losses in the absence of any affective steps to curb them by the
government. (b) the plant does not provide any employment opportunities in the region (c) alternatives life the mini and micro hydel plants could be explored.

Raja Ramanna, promised that Kaiga villagers would be given employment and training at the KNPP and that his department officials would visit every house to see that the benefits were received by the people. He announced that in the event of any discrepancy in the rehabilitation work, he would join the agitation. Ramanna was visiting Karwar and Mellapur taluqs on 18th November for deciding the township of the KNPP. The villagers at Bare and Malavalli had opposed the location of the township at Bare in Yellapur taluq. He announced that the preliminary works of the Kaiga NPP had begun in Karwar and the manufacture of components and equipments was going on at a brisk pace at Karwar. Ramanna and Srinivasan were greeted by welcome arches and were presented by a memorandum by the MLA P.Rane urging Ramanna to locate the township at Mallapur in Karwar taluq which would contribute to the development of Karwar. In Sirsi, on 21st November Ramanna told the press that in the event of any injustice done to the people regarding rehabilitation, he would join them in a black flag demonstration.

Meanwhile a district level environment protection association 'Parisara Samrakshana Samiti' [henceforth
PSS] was formed with taluka branches by L.T.Sharma and other prominent environmentalists. The disturbance of the ecological equilibrium of the district due to the location of various projects in every taluka was the major reason for the formation of a district level association. The first district level president was L.T.Sharma who was earlier very active in the ecological movement against the BHEP. The formation of a district level organisation consolidated and coordinated the individual and group efforts into one organisation, and gave direction to the shape of the movement and made mobilisational activities easier.

The PSS (UK) was seeking support from eminent men and public figures to further the cause. Dr.Shivarama Karanth, the noted Jnanapith award winner lent his support to the cause and addressed a public meeting at APMC hall at Yellapur organised by PSS. He highlighted the still unresolved issues of Nuclear Energy - waste disposal and radiation problems. He cautioned the people to evaluate in a scientific manner, the advantages and disadvantages of nuclear power and urged the CM R.K.Hegde to consider the issues of health hazards and waste disposal before taking decision.

On February 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1986, a workshop was held at Vajralli by the local villagers under the active guidance of L.T.Sharma whose topic of discussion was
'Energy and Development'. The villagers sponsored this workshop and invited eminent scientists and energy experts like A.K.N. Reddy, D.K. Subramaniam, and activists from the Kakrapar agitation in Gujarat, besides scientists from DAE. The DAE sent to the workshop a speech of Ramanna and organised a campaign at the nearby town Yellapur. The workshop was organised with the aim to understand the negative effects of the nuclear power plants on the health and ecosystem as well as alternatives.

Thus we find that the local villagers were actively educating themselves and were exploring alternatives to nuclear power by interacting with scientists. By this time the opposition to the KNPP had crystallized on the following grounds: (a) the issue of nuclear energy itself and its inherent negative externalities in terms of health hazards due to radiation (low level and in case of accidents high level) as well as, the ecosystem effects of radiation from NPP. (b) the altering of the nature of the UK district by installing power generating and other development projects which involved not only diversion of precious forest land, but also in the displacement of the local population, and their rehabilitation in the district, resulting in the diversion of more forest land as well as the disruption and alteration of the existing social system. (c) the
beneficiaries or the end-users of the NPP were outside the district for whom the people were expected to sacrifice their health and homes and the feeling of deprivation of one’s existing life style and the absence of a better life was quite intense and strong (d) the absence of alternatives to development which would benefit the region.

Consequently, a bund at Yellapur was organised by the opposers of the KNPP. Few shops were kept open and when the protestors asked the shops to be closed, altercation took place. Later, the shops were closed, but in the process lathi charge by the police took place and many protestors were injured and hurt. This was the first incident when the police intervened and events took a violent turn, and it spurred the movement activities. Numerous meetings, padayatras and marches were held.

The Vajralli seminar was crucial in raising the awareness of the people regarding nuclear power, its economy, alternatives as well as other struggles in the country. Many respondents held the Vajralli seminar to be responsible for their general awareness.

CANE in Bangalore was seeking support from eminent people and invited Dhirendra Sharma, a critic of nuclear power plant for a press conference on 14th February 1986 wherein he accused the government scientists Ramanna and
M.G.K. Menon of downplaying the hazards of nuclear power and asked the GOK to oppose the KNPP and to consider alternative sources of energy.

The CM R.K. Hegde announced in the Legislative Assembly on March 14 that GOK would shortly bring in legislation implementing safety measures of the KNPP. The Lok Sabha was informed on August 13, that the ten units of KNPP were estimated to cost approximately Rs.600 crore at 1984 prices and that Rs.19 crores had already been spent on site investigations and advance payment of machinery (H, 14.8.1986).

The CANE's contention that the NPPs are inherently dangerous and given the track record of the Indian nuclear power plants a major accident would soon be in the offing was refuted by the nuclear scientists that the nuclear reactor is not a bomb as projected by the opposers and that nowhere in the world has a major nuclear accident taken place and that the world's and especially India's nuclear safety record is exemplary. On April 26, 1986, one of the reactors at Chernobyl in USSR had a core meltdown and the radioactive material exploded, scattering far and wide, across Europe. The winds carried the radioactive particles across Europe and contaminated the air, water and the flora. Thousands of cows which were unknowingly fed on radioactive fodder were butchered and the radioactive butter
which was in large quantities had to be dumped. Thousands of people had to be evacuated and though the USSR with its stringent censorship of information gave only few casualties, the true horrifying picture emerged later with greater details. Thousands of people were affected and it was beyond the capacity of the USSR and other countries to gauge the time magnitude of the disaster. The USSR had shifted massive numbers of population and relocated them elsewhere, thus making it difficult to assess the magnitude and type of disaster.

The Chernobyl accident gave a major short to the movement and supported the contentions of the opposition to KNPP that nuclear power plants are inherently unsafe in terms of design as well as in the electricity generation process. The Indian nuclear establishment was quick to point out that the Indian nuclear reactors were extremely safe and that extra safety precautions like a double containment have been stringently followed. Hence the trace record of the Indian nuclear power plants was clean and in fact better than other countries. The KNPP is subjected to extra stringent safety regulations to make it more safe.

Despite the contentions of the Indian nuclear establishment, the people in UK who were exposed to the massive media coverage devoted to the Chernobyl accident, which after Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the
first disaster in nuclear energy; began to be convinced about what the environmentalists had been saying all along - nuclear energy is not safe. The Chernobyl disaster also helped in the issualism of the conceptual issue of nuclear power. What was until then an arduous task for the environmentalists, communicating the very concept of nuclear energy, became an easy task. Increasing number of people were gradually veering towards the environmentalists position. The nuclear establishment and the supporters of the KNNP in UK were on the defensive and tried to explain the Chernobyl accident as a rare incident.

Awareness generating activities intensified in UK and numerous meetings, slide shows etc. were held in almost every village. Many people contributed in cash and kind to help further the activities.

On August 25, environmentalists, politicians and other organisations of UK presented a memorandum to the Assistant Commissioner of Sirsi which demanded the abandonment of the project by the government and gave an account of the environmental crisis and the dangers of radiation by nuclear power plants. Besides staging a dharna at the Assistant Commissioner’s office, they took out a procession in the main streets of the town and staged dramas on nuclear holocaust. The Environment Protecting Society of Kumta, Sneha Kunja of Honnavar,
District Prajna Vedike and Jana Jagrati of Yellapur were the main organisations and were supported by the Yuva Janata President, Pramod Hegde and the Congress-I leader R.N.Hegde in the opposition to the KNPP.

Thus a coalition of different groups and political party members was being formed to oppose the KNPP. The involvement of the two key opposition parties functionaries in the opposition to the KNPP was indicative of the trend of the opposition to KNPP.

Dr. Raja Ramanna in his inaugural speech at the opening of the Regional Centre for exploration and research of the Atomic Minerals Division highlighted the benefits of NPPs which were environmentally less destructive than hydel units and was the cheapest and safest form of electricity production. He said that the local people around Kaiga were not opposed to the project and some vested interests with "technically weak" explanations were opponents of the project (TOINS, 11.9.1986).

The CM R.K.Hegde's statement during a 'Janavani' programme that the opponents of KNPP had been sent on the tour to other NPPs raised a controversy with PSS questioning the CM in mid October as to the number of opposers to the KNPP sent on tours. The PSS had not considered the proposal as the groups selected by the government did not include independent experts on
environment and nuclear energy and held the government to its promise of sending the environmentalists to various nuclear installations.

Shivarama Karanth while delivering the keynote address at a seminar on environmental protection in Mangalore on 13th November objected to the KNPP due to its location in an earthquake prone area besides the radiation hazards. Later, he announced that a public interest writ petition was being prepared to restrain the concerned agencies from implementing the nuclear programme (TOINS, 16.11.1986).

Ramanna in his address at the annual general meeting of the Indian society for Advancement of Materials and Process Engineering at the NAL on January 17, expressed his "amazement" at the opposition to the KNPP (DH, 18.1.1987) and said that accidents in another country were no reason for protests in India.

The PSS and CANE were active in environment awareness generating activities as well as for mobilization during 1986 and 1987. CANE members spoke and lectured at every public platform in Bangalore including colleges, schools, academic and research institutes etc., continuously wrote letters to all newspapers, mobilised support in Bangalore and establishing contacts with other groups. In Uttara Kannada too, awareness generating activities were given
prominence, in addition to pressurising the local MLAs and politicians. The initial emphasis given to awareness generating activities was due to (a) the nature of the issue itself, which unlike a dam whose effects were visible and could be comprehended by all, nuclear energy's effects were not visible to the eye and their manifestation took a considerably longer time. The issue was conceptual and new to the leaders themselves and the situation was aggravated by the paucity of accessible information. hence the leaders had to educate themselves first and then educate the rest of the population. (b) The absence of an open opposition of the government to the environmentalists protests the initiation of dialogue by GOK between the top nuclear scientists and the government probably made the environmentalists less confrontationist in their approach and open for discussion. (c) The absence of any significant project activity by the Nuclear Power Corporation.

The leadership was at the urban and the rural levels. The collective leadership at the district level was composed of leaders of different areas and was in constant interaction with the urban based Bangalore leadership for further activities and information. The protestors in UK were entirely dependent on CANE fore information on NPPs. The movement was peaceful barring
the stray incident at Yellapur mainly due to the 
established traditions of protest activities. 
Initially, the Yellapur region was very active and 
later, Sirsi region became very active.

The government reiterated its commitment to the 
implementation on the KNPP and announced that the 
people's fears regarding nuclear power had been set to 
rest. J.H.Patel, the Power and industries Minister 
announced on February 12.14.1987 in the Legislative 
Assembly that the nuclear plant is a necessity for 
Karnataka and that it has to be executed and that the 
state government had already handed over about 2000 
acres required for KNPP.

The post card campaign conducted by the PSS had its 
desired effect, when thousands of post-cards opposing 
KNPP reached the Prime Minister who in turn wrote a 
letter to the DAE asking them to reexamine the KNPP. A 
memorandum was also submitted to the Prime Minister 
substantiating the case against KNPP with statistics.

In a discussion organised by CANE in Bangalore on 
March 19, 1987, decision was taken to adopt an 
agitational path for the prevention of the 
implementation of the KNPP. CANE decided to submit a 
memorandum to the CM to conduct the promised nation 
debate and appealed to him to send the study teams to 
various nuclear installations in the country. The
meeting was attended by environmentalists, civil rights activists, Gandhians, journalists and film personalities. It was announced that CANE had conducted a signature campaign against the KNPP and had collected one lakh signatures from people in all walks of life in Karnataka. CANE appealed to the CM and the Central Government to support environmental protection movements while it is promoting nuclear energy.

The international conference on ‘Global Development and Environmental Crisis’ was held at Penang, Malaysia in the second week of April 1987. In its concluding session, hundreds of scientists and environmental activists from over 30 countries signed a collective appeal asking the Prime Minister to halt construction of the KNPP and to prevent further destruction of the threatened ecosystem of the Western Ghats.

The Minister of State of Power Lakshmi Narasimhaiah announced in the Legislative Council on September 11, that the Ministry of Environment and Forests had accorded environmental clearance to the KNPP. The state government announced its decision to send four teams at its expense to different atomic installations.

The Environment unit of Honnavar taluq celebrated the ‘Environment Awareness Week’ on October 5, 1987 and passed resolution that the government should give up the STRP and the KNPP. Shivarama Karanth who spoke at the
function said that the state government before taking up any new power projects should examine the safety of the existing dams and the reduction of transmission losses. He warned that the NPPs were a permanent curse on humanity.

The CM continued to defend the KNPP. The Karnataka Electricity Board employees union on November 15, 1987 urged the state government to launch nuclear energy schemes wherever possible and that unlike other power schemes, nuclear energy schemes could be implemented anywhere.

CANE took out a procession on 14th November in Bangalore with the marchers wearing masks dropping flat every 50 feet on the way. Children also participated in the show. The silent processionists gave a memorandum to the Governor, A.N.Banerjee urging him to convey their opposition to the government regarding nuclear activities in the state. A supportive statement signed by 10 prominent citizens expressing concern over the sudden spurt in the nuclear activities in the state and demanded a moratorium on the KNPP and the Rare Earth Mineral Plant (REMP) at Katnavalli in Mysore and the refusal of the Atomic Energy act of 1962 and holding of the national debate on nuclear energy as promised by the Prime Minister, as well as, the access to information to the MLAs and MPs.
The Nuclear Power Corporation announced on December 14, that work had commenced on the 235 MW unit at Kaiga and that the public controversy on the site of the NPP was a closed chapter. In fact, the KNPP was likely to be commissioned a year ahead of schedule. Earlier, the Director of BARC, Dr. P. K. Iyengar declared that the people’s opposition to the NPP has stemmed not from direct experience but by reading foreign journals.

The visit of the foreign nuclear experts Rosalie Bertell, Paul Jones and Erikson opposing nuclear energy gave support to the struggle and provoked response from the nuclear establishment that the opposing to the KNPP is due to anti-national and foreign agencies.

The Agriculture Minister R. V. Deshpande announced on January 29, 1988, that a national debate on nuclear power plants with specific reference to Kaiga would be used in April. The delay in the state government holding the debate was due to the fact that the Central government had announced that it would hold the debate. In the absence of a central debate, the state government is proceeding with holding it by inviting eminent environmentalists and scientists.

On February 8, the CM R. K. Hegde announced that he had written to the Centre outlining the proposal of holding a national level seminar. It is important to note here that the crucial word debate had been
replaced with seminar. For many environmentalists, the promised national debate was the final chance in which the issue of nuclear power would be decided once and for all. The state government had given the impression over time, whereas, at the crucial time the debate was converted into a seminar in which, even if a conclusion was reached, it would not be binding on anyone. The people of North Canara were perceiving the promised debate as a last chance.

The editorial of 'Deccan Herald' newspaper of February 3, 1988, asked for a reconsideration of the KNPP in view of the worldwide trend to withhold nuclear reactors and refusal to start new nuclear reactors. It expressed concern that the KNPP as located in the last remaining patches of rain forest and there was the absence of studies of low level radiation on rainforests, in addition to the area being an earthquake zone.

On February 10, 1988, the first five member team to visit NPPs left for Rajasthan Atomic Power station almost 2 and a half years later than the original promise made by the CM. The intervening years saw the initial beginning of work, order placements for machinery and the AECs assertion that over Rs.80 crore have been spent on Kaiga and that at this stage it given
the expenditure and infrastructural development it would be foolish to give the KNPP.

The CANE too out a procession of about 100 people on February 19, in Bangalore urging the government to stop work on KNPP until a decision was reached after the proposed seminar. The processionists who came from ten districts of the state, with environmentalists from Kerala and Maharashtra were led by H.S. Doreswamy, Sarvodaya leader who presented a memorandum to the CM and welcome the suggestion of holding a seminar.

To highlight the interconnectedness of nuclear energy and environment, Earth Day, Environment day and any other significant day was commemorated by holding programmes on nuclear power. Since, the Chernobyl accident on April 20, 1986, the movement against KNPP was commemorating it as Anumukti Day (Freedom from Atom Day) in Bangalore and UK. On 26th April 1988, CANE organised a protest programme to mark the 2nd anniversary of the Chernobyl accident. A 24 hour fast by volunteers protesting against the reckless nuclearisation of the earth (DH, 26.4.1986) and the necessity of holding national debates before undertaking new projects like the KNPP. Street plays, a children's painting competition, release of book by Nagesh Hegde, a painting demonstration by the well-known artist B.K.S. Verma were held on the occasion. A human chain of
about 300 environmentalists, intellectuals, doctors, engineers, students, lawyers etc. was formed in front of the Vidhana Soudha protesting against the KNPP and the nuclear units in the state.

The CM R.K. Hegde at the Conference of Power Ministers of the southern region on April 29, said that there is no escape from dependence on nuclear thermal power generation in the future despite the associated risks and that it is difficult for him to decide which power source was more risky.

In the second week of May, a demonstration of one hundred people protesting against the KNPP took out a procession in Karwar under the leadership of G.V. Gaonkar the Pradhan of Vajrashad member. A demonstration was held in front of the zilla parishad office demanding the stalling of work on the KNPP until the promised national debate was held. G.V. Gaonkar informed the press that if the demand was not met within 15 days, the agitation would be intensified.

The UK Zilla Parishad, in its monthly meeting, urged the state government to immediately arrange for a national debate on KNPP and in the meantime to stop all the ongoing works on the KNPP. Pramod Hegde (Janata), the Vice President who in 1985 had asked the people to welcome the KNPP, seconded the motion and said that the fears in the minds of the people had to be set to rest.
before the implementation of the project and though this subject did not come under the purview of the Zilla Parishad it was its bounden duty of all concerned to clarify the doubts. The Zilla Parishad passed resolutions asking the state government to consider the demands of the protestors and demanded that the representative of the Zilla Parishad be invited to the promised national level debate.

The significance of the Zilla Parishad resolution lay in the fact that the (a) environmental opposition to KNPP had finally cut across political party lines especially Janata and Congress-I and the Upghat and coastal divide. Until now, the protest activities were mainly concentrated in the upghat talukas especially Yellapur which was the nearest upghat taluq to the KNPP. Sirsi was not as actively involved as Yellapur and the coastal taluqs were not active at all. The coastal taluq's (see Chapter II, Section II) economy and ecology probably contributed to the non-consideration of the environmental and health effects of the KNPP and consequently KNPP was perceived to be a boom to the area which would finally bring development to the area. The electricity generated would be conducive in establishing industries in the coastal taluka. Karwar taluq in which the KNPP was located and the Karwar town which was the district headquarters was particularly non-responsive to
the environmental opposition to the KNPP as KNPP was perceived to finally deliver the region from its backwardness. Moreover, the traders and businessmen of Karwar immensely benefitted from KNPP due to the increase in the trade volume as a consequence to the large influx of population to the area. The earlier controversy over the location of the township of KNPP in Karwar taluq at Mallapur or at Bare in Yellapur taluq was mainly rooted in the upghat and downghat developmental politics. The Upghat economy mainly based on the commercial spice gardens was more prosperous than the coastal economy based on fishing and trade. (b) the environmental opposition to KNPP which until know had been supported officially by all the village mandals in Yellapur taluq had now been given a district level official legitimation and support, which would considerably pressurise the state government. (c) The movement had expanded into the neighbouring talukas of Sirsi and Yellapur and had acquired greater momentum. Many meetings and protest activities were held in Yellapur taluka.

Meanwhile, the GOI cleared the 400 KV transmission line system between KNPP and Bangalore in June first week. The Karnataka Electricity Board had already obtained permission from the forest department for installing transmission lines in the Western Ghats.
The Union Minister of state for Science and Technology, K.R. Narayanan while presiding over the Foundation Day of the National Aeronautical Laboratory in Bangalore on June 11, said that the Nuclear power should be accepted for the welfare of the people and the advancement of the country and that the benefits of nuclear power should be perceived by the people. The fears of the people regarding the ill-effects of nuclear power were unfounded and that the new technology would safeguard the people from the negative effects if any by controlling and containing them. Ramanna pointed out that though the people did not want a NPP in their own state, they wanted nuclear power from Kalpakkam (H, 12.6.1988).

On June 28, 1988, D.V. Gopinath, Head of Safety Research and Health Physics Programme at the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research, Kalpakkam in an interview with the Deccan Herald newspaper attributed the fears about the KNPP to lack of appropriate knowledge of nuclear power among the people. Prior to the commencement of a NPP, an intensive and wide ranging analysis of the safety aspects is undertaken. The emitted radiation by NPPs was well below the danger amount and that the nuclear experiment was one of the proven safest endeavour of man. The environmental impact of NPPs was 'zero' as human habitation was
forbidden to come up within 1.6 km radius around the reactor which was protected by trees, thus maintaining the ecological balance. He also highlighted that hydel power plants involve the submergence of vast areas of lands and human habitation and thermal power plants resulted in acid rain, green house effect, whereas a nuclear power plant does not have any of these drawbacks and hence it is safe and clean. He found it strange that a power starved state was opposing a NPP, whereas the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu was keen to have more nuclear power plants.

This very briefly summarises the Central government’s and the Nuclear scientists’ position on nuclear power and the opposition to KNPP. It also highlights the belief in technology to solve the problems created by the specific technology itself and the faith in science and technology in the advancement of society. The lack of scientific temper and scientific knowledge has resulted in the non-appreciation of the efforts and advances made by the nuclear scientists.

The opposition to the KNPP was located on the premise that nuclear power generation technology was inherently unsafe and the only solution to the problems was the abandonment of the unsafe technology and seeking safe technologies.
The promised debate by the state government proposed to be held in April 1988 was postponed indefinitely due to the fluid political situation in the state as well as the availability of the scientists. The Union government gave its approval for the third and fourth units of 235 MW of the KNPP, making a total of 4 units and clearance was to expected to be given in the Eighth Plan. K.Narayan, the project director of KNPP announced on 14 August that advance action had been taken. At Kaiga, work on the first stage had already begun and was expected to be completed in about a year. The DAE granted Rs.3.15 lakhs to the Physics Department of Mangalore University to conduct study about the baseline radiation background in the environment of coastal Karnataka including Kaiga and Arebail areas.

The opposition to KNPP had spread to the nearby taluq of Shimoga where 'Avinasha' an anti-nuclear energy organisation took out a silent procession in Shimoga town on September 3rd with 100 people carrying placards and opposing KNPP. In Sirsi, on September 5th environmentalists from all over the state decided to intensify the stir against the KNPP. A massive rally in Karwar on October 2nd was planned to be held by CANE in its meeting in August to rouse the consciousness of the people against the nuclear energy programmes. Consequently, a "Kaiga Chalo Action Front" was formed by

Support from neighbouring talukas was extended to make the Karwar rally a success. The environmentalists of Ankola and Kumta decided to support the district level students strike on September 23, against the KNPP by holding a students' rally on the same day at Ankola. The district level students' strike called by the PSS (UK) on September 23, was totally successful in Ankola. Honnavar, Kumta, Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur talukas. Processions and rallies were taken by the supporters of environmental organisations and students who submitted memoranda against KNPP to the local Tahsildars and Assistant Commissioners. In Karwar the students submitted a memorandum to the Deputy Commissioner R.B. Agavane. In Sirsi town a mammoth public meeting was held wherein the students took a pledge against the KNPP. Earlier, about 2000 people which included a large number of women, took out a procession in the town and met the Ajjibal Hegde MLA at the Taluka Panchayat Samiti office who pledged his support to the cause.
SECOND PHASE

'Kaiga Chalo'

The massive protest planned on October 2nd, against the KNPP had the sole demand of the abandonment of the KNPP. On October 2nd, at the protest meeting of about 140 voluntary organisations from Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Goa decision was taken to oppose the project tooth and nail. Around 11 a.m. the demonstrations numbering more than 1,000 led by the Pejaver Swamiji went in a procession to the Kaiga project office in Kodibag, Karwar and picketed the office. They demanded that the Kaiga office should close for the day which was not acceded to by the authorities. The protestors about 500 in number along with the Swamijis of Pejavar Mutt tried to enter the Kaiga project office to meet the officials but were prevented by the police. They were arrested by the police and about 90 women were among those arrested. Later, they were released. A road show and procession, was held and later in the day at the Mitrasamaj grounds and a model of the project was buried. Plays were held to generate environmental awareness. At the public meeting, eminent scientists and environmentalists addressed the gathering and highlighted the environmental impact and the diseconomy of the nuclear power. It was decided that the movement against the
KNPP would continue until the cancellation of the project and the future course of action would be decided on October 15, at the meeting of the taluka level leaders.

The significance of the event lay in the fact that the movement had acquired support from different states and had evolved into an state level movement. Voluntary organisations from all over the state had actively supported the movement. Many women's organisations, Yuvaka Mandals, Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, the People's Union for Civil Liberties, FEVORD etc. had supported the event. Thus a coalition of different groups functioned together for the first time and unanimously demanded the dropping of KNPP. The combined strength of religious, political and people's strength prompted the Urban Development Minister R.V. Deshpande to announce that the government would attempt to conduct the national seminar on KNPP in November. The arrest of the Pejavar Swamiji's caused a furore in the Legislative Council and Assembly wherein the BJP and Janata members condemned the Swamijis and the people's arrest. Later, on October 5, the project officials met the Pejavar Swamiji and explained the various precautions undertaken by them around the project area.

The anti KNPP demonstration sparked off a pro-project response in Karwar. On September 30th, the
local unit of the National Students Union of India and other organisations which were fighting for the compensation of the displaced people from KNPP and the seabird naval base, gave a call for a bundh in Karwar which was successful. Schools, colleges, banks and commercial establishments in Kadra, Kadawada, Amadalli, Sadashingad and Karwar were closed. The bundh which was supported by P. Rane, the Congress-I legislator was peaceful except for few cases of stone throwing. The organisations at a public meeting decided to withdraw their support to the Kaiga and Seabird projects. A group of agitations led by P. Rane met the Chief Planning Officer of the Kaiga Project Administrative office praising slogans in support of their demands. They alleged that injustice was being meted out to the locals in the matter of employment in the project and the authoritarian attitude of the project officials. They complained that the promises made by Ramanna and Srinivasan before the commencement of the project had not been kept. The delegation presented a petition to the Deputy Commissioner. They were told by the Chief Planning Officer of the Kaiga Project that out of 183 appointments, 63 locals had been appointed. Orders had been issued to deny employment to those displaced persons who had not signed the sale deeds of their lands. Consequently, P. Rane expressed his support for
the Kaiga Chalo programme and announced that the agitations would disrupt work at the project site. Accordingly, about 350 people led by Prabhasr Rane stayed a dharna at the project site demanding the stoppage of work.

The opposition to the KNPP was on two grounds (a) on environmental and health effects and (b) absence or inadequate local employment and benefits from the projects. The opposition to the project was total in the first ground whereas in the second ground opposition was not to the project per se but to the expected local benefits derived from the project. Hence, the second ground could as well turn into a support for the KNPP if the locals expected benefits from the project were given.

Consequent to the protest, the Managing Director of the Nuclear Power Corporation and the Project Chief gave statistics of the local displaced people from the KNPP area and stated that sixty eight percent of recruitment at the supervisory level and below were from the local population and that more employment opportunities would be generated in a phased manner.

The state government meanwhile set up a committee to organise the national debate on the KNPP. Suresh Heblikar and Nagesh Hegde members of the committee demanded that the debate be held in Uttara Kannada and
that work on KNPP should stop immediately. In the event that their demands are not met, the representatives invited by the government to present the environmentalists case would boycott. The environmentalists proposal to place the site selection committee report and the environmental impact report before the seminar was turned down by the Department of Environment and Ecology and Science and Technology. They also protested against the composition of the seminar group of 90 people out of which only 30 were environmental activists and the remaining 60 were drawn from the Nuclear establishment and the state government and complained that the composition was heavily weighed against them. They were apprehensive that the discussions would not be open given the large contingent of officials and legislators who would be toeing the government line. Finally, a compromise was arrived at the government and the environmentalists regarding the speakers at the seminar.

The state General Secretary of the BJP announced on October 7, that BJP is opposing the KNPP and that it was high time for political parties to voice their opposition to the KNPP.

On October 12, the DAI in a press release at Bombay informed the decision that one person from each family (a total of 85 families) that is shifted from the land
acquired for the project would be given employment at the project as well as suitable training (DH, 13.10.1988).

At the meeting of the environmentalists at Karwar on October 18, decision was taken to launch a district-wise 'rasta roko' programme on November 2. All government vehicles except the state road transport buses would not be allowed to move. At Yeallpur on 21st October a demonstration would be staged in front of the tahsildars office. The meeting was attended by Kusuma Sorab of Honnavara Parisara Koota; Anant Ashisar of PSS (UK), Pandurang Hegde of Appiko, B.P.Kadam, former Mayor, C.D.Krishnapur, former Chairman of Karnataka Fisheries Development Corporation, P.M.Tandel, Managing Director, Binaga Ice and cold storage and B.P.Kalgutkar. The involvement of the Forwar taluq and the local students and especially the fishermen, who would be affected by the low level heated radiated water discharged from the KNPP was possible due to the holding of the protest programme in Karwar. From this programme onwards, Yellapur ceased to be as active as it used to be and the scene of action shifted to Sirsi and Karwar taluqs. As Vasanthi Hegde and Narayan Gadikai put it, "The upghat protests had to be shifted to the coastal Karwar taluq as, not only was the KNPP located in the taluq, but Karwar was the district headquarters. So

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many action that are to be noticed had to be in Karwar. Moreover, Raja Ramanna and others were saying that the protest was by non-locals, so protests were held in Karwar. Since Karwar was the Centre of all activities, the local people were involved and the PSS unit of Karwar became active. Our activities whether in terms of awareness generating or mobilising were conducted in Karwar besides Sirsi and other coastal taluqs. Thus, the movement had spread to the three coastal taluqs of Karwar, Ankola, Kumta and Honnavar and the Upghat taluqs of Yellapur and Sirsi and Siddapur.

M.R. Srinivasan, Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission and Secretary to DAE announced on October 20, that the cabinet had cleared four units move at Kaiga making a total of six units with a combined generating power of 1410 MW. On the same day, about 3000 people led by Manorama Gaonkar, member, UK Zilla Parishad took out a procession through Yellapur town and staged a dharna before the Tahsildar’s office and demanded an immediate scrapping of the KNPP. The memorandum submitted to the Tahsildar, urged the PM Rajiv Gandhi to direct stopping of work on the KNPP. Among the participants were the UK Zilla Parishad’s Vice President Pramod Hegde and Shivram Hebbor, President of Agriculture Produce Marketing Committee. On 23rd October, the state electricity Minister J.H. Patel
declared the state government's decision to go ahead with the KNPP irrespective of public opposition to the project as nuclear power was the only solution to the power crisis of the state. The Congress-I Chief Whip in the Legislative Council, K.N.Nage Gowda, on October 25th asked the GOK to end the controversy over KNPP by handing over the infrastructural facilities to the Nuclear Power Cooperation. He stated that nuclear power was the only alternative and that present technology was capable of handling the problem of waste disposal. He asked why "Dr.Karanth and his enlightened followers did not object to the setting up of the Kalpakkam reactor" (DH, 27.10.1988). On October 27, the State Industries Minister J.H.Patel appealed to the opposers of KNPP to give up their agitation in the interests of the state.

Thus we find that people of the six talukas in UK cutting across caste, political party membership occupation, gender, upghat and coastal divide were opposing the KNPP on the grounds environmental and radiation hazards. Many members of different political parties were united in their stand of opposing the KNPP and did not perceive any conflict in going against the policies of their political parties. Congress I, Janata and BJP had supported the KNPP and BJP had changed its stance to opposing the KNPP only after the October 2, 1988, Karwar protest programme. Environment was
perceived to be non-political party and transcending politics. This notion was considerably derived from the preceding ecological movement against BHEP in which all political parties were united in their opposition on the ground that environmental effects of the project would affect everyone without distinction. In the opposition to KNPP, such a consensus though, initially absent, soon emerged and senior political party functionaries at the district level functioned together despite going against the state and central policies. At the state government level, the opposition Congress-I continued to prod the government to stick to its commitments. The Janata Government on the one hand was holding dialogues with the opposers of the KNPP and on the other hand was allowing the work on the KNPP to proceed despite numerous memoranda, petitions, protests, and resolutions opposing the KNPP passed by government bodies over course of four years. It allowed the opponents to express their opposition to KNPP but went ahead with the project on the grounds that (a) the Centre had for the first time invested in a power project in the state, hence the state must accept it, though facts show (see the early part of this chapter) that the state government lobbied at every forum for the establishment of the NPP (b) nuclear power was the solution to the power crisis as all other sources were fully tapped.
(c) financially the state government was in a crisis and did not have funds to complete the other ongoing power projects in the state and was seeking international aid for their completion. The reasons for the government to hold dialogue with the environmentalists could be (a) the CM came from the UK region and it was his power base (b) the CM was earlier involved in the ecological movement against the BHEP and therefore could not ignore the environmental opposition in his district (c) it could have been a strategy to diffuse opposition by holding talks and being positively responsive instead of confrontation which might result in opposition to the government.

The National Workshop on Nuclear Energy

An important event was the holding of the national workshop on Nuclear Power Plants with specific reference to Kaiga in Bangalore on December 10 and 11, 1988. The conversion of the debate into a workshop by GOK caused a big controversy with the environmentalists, hoping for a clear result at the debate had to be content with a seminar which would merely discuss the issue. The CANE which in the meantime had changed its opposition to Nuclear Energy to that of alternatives in its name was now known as Citizens for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy. CANE expressed its reservations about the debate that considering the recent statements of the
Industries Minister J.H. Patel that GOK would go ahead with the KNPP in spite of adverse public opinion. CANE held that the debate may prove to be an "eyewash" (DH, 28.10.1988). It demanded the holding of a referendum in UK district on the outcome of the proposed debate. They pointed out that in the initial 15 years, the KNPP would consume more power than it would produce. Wide coverage in the press was given to CANE's position on the proposed national debate. The Union Minister for Science and Technology, K.R. Narayanan announced in the Rajya Sabha on November 29, that there was no intention of abandoning the project and that GOK was extending full cooperation to the DAE. The Minister in a written statement said that on the one hand representations had been received from many individuals and organisations opposing the establishment of the KNPP, on the other hand, representations had also been received from the people supporting the project.

CANE reiterated its apprehensions regarding the nature of the workshop in the press conference held on December 6, 1988 with the CANE representative stating that the open debate had been reduced to a "one-sided farce" (H, 7.12.1988). Krupa, another CANE spokesperson stated that the debate had been "watered down" and has become an "in-camera workshop" and that the people of UK wanted an open debate. It was pointed out by CANE that,
despite mounting opposition to KNPP, the government had gone ahead with the project. The workshop whose chief guest was M.R. Srinivasan may not have the relevance. CANE demanded that the public debate workshop to be in the form of a public grievances hearing giving the local people an opportunity to voice their views (DH, 7.12.1988). It was also contended that interested people were not invited to the workshop.

In the meantime, pressure was building up in UK against the KNPP. On November 8, the Urban Development Minister R.V. Deshpande was gheraoed and his entourage blocked in Yellapur near the APMC yard for two hours by more than anti-KNPP protestors, who demanded immediate stopping of work on the KNPP. The Minister pleaded with them to wait until the national seminar to be held on December 10 and 11, and assured them of his support if the plant was found detrimental to the interests of the people of the district (DH, 10.11.1985).

The various fishermen's organisations in the district decided in their meeting on November 18, that they have decided to oppose the KNPP and launch a massive agitation against the KNPP as it would be a threat to their vocation. Consequently, the Akhila Karnataka Fishermen's Parishad in its executive committee passed a resolution opposing the KNPP. S. Champa, President said that the radioactive waters of
the KNPP which would be released into the Kali river which would flow into the sea would destroy the fish in the coastal area. The movement against KNPP got further support when the Karwar Private Medical Practitioners Association resolved in its meeting in the first week of December to urge the state and central governments to drop the KNPP as it would pose health hazards to the people. It decided to warn the people of Karwar against the potential dangers of nuclear technology.

The Sadashingad Mandal Panchayat passed a resolution calling for a halt in the work on the KNPP. The gram sabhas in the Manda had unanimously passed resolutions asking the work stoppage at KNPP. At a recent conference of over 500 fisherwomen, the centre was urged to drop the KNPP and other projects which would affect the interests of the fishing community. On December 6, a public interest write petition against the KNPP was filed in the Supreme Court by Shivarama Karanth, Samaj Parivarthan Samudaya, Nagesh Hegde and others.

On December 8, at a seminar in Mysore organised by the Department of Physics, Mysore University and DAI and others, M.R.Srinivasan, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission announced that the Central Government would go ahead with the KNPP. On December 10, the Karwar Municipal President and Council members submitted a
memorandum of demands of the PSS to the Deputy Commissioner. This was a major breakthrough as until now the Karwar Municipality was not supporting the movement against KNPP. Memoranda asking the Centre to stop work on the KNPP were submitted to revenue heads in all the taluk headquarters of the district. In addition, demonstrations were held in Sirsi and Yellapur taluqs.

The Seminar

CANE's demand that the government fund some movement, little was acceded to and consequently, CANE brought out the booklet "Why Kaiga". In addition, CANE brought out Factsheets dealing with different aspects of Nuclear Energy. Despite the reservations voiced by CANE regarding the composition of the Seminar, it attended the seminar: The Workshop was inaugurated by the Chief Minister S.R.Bommai and had six sessions in all. Twelve experts from the nuclear and related establishments spoke for nuclear energy and the same number spoke for the environmentalists. For the first time in India, the proponents and opponents of Nuclear Energy voiced their views. The Nuclear establishment and the GOK made its position on Nuclear energy very clear that it was safe, cheap and best form of energy and the solution to the energy crisis of the state and the country. The country's nuclear programme was the best in the sense
that it did not face any major accident like USSR and USA. The opponents of nuclear energy who included, retired justices, professors, journalists, scientists and villagers and whose collective position was that Nuclear Energy was inherently unsafe, uneconomical and the most dangerous. The activists contested all the claims made by the nuclear establishment - in terms of the radiation hazards, the economics of nuclear power, the defense dimension to nuclear power and the alternatives to it. The workshop held in the Faculty Hall of the Indian Institute of Science was inadequate to hold the large number of invitees. The workshop was restricted only to invitees and was a closed door, in-camera workshop amidst tight security. Newspapers which gave extensive coverage to the event reported the highly emotional and belligerent mood (IE, 11.12.1988) of the anti-nuclear activists as well as the condescending attitude of the nuclear and political establishment. The Industries Minister J.H.Patel provoked protests from the anti-nuclear lobby by his remarks that he would prefer death due to radiation than other forms of death and he advised Srinivasan to convince Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer about the necessity of nuclear energy and to give him the necessary information for his arguments. The environmentalists contended that crucial information concerning site selection criteria, waste
disposal, environmental impact etc. was withheld and there was little additional information provided by the nuclear establishment. Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer raised the question of secrecy in nuclear issues which were clubbed under the Atomic Energy Act of 1962, while the Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression. He said "Scientists cannot keep back their lies. People are the masters" (Video Cassette no.1 of the proceedings of the workshop). He asked whether the Centre had a weapon programme and said that the nation should be taken into confidence. Srinivasan presented a bleak picture of the power situation and said that unless immediate steps are taken in few decades people will be rioting for coal and as the satellite pictures show that at present only 9 percent of forest cover exists in India contrary to the 19 percent claim of the records and hence fuel would not be available from forests. About 30 papers were presented at the workshop by the participants. The question and answer sessions saw heated exchanges and claims and counter claims between the proponents and opponents of nuclear energy. The opponents contended that in the absence of the availability of correct information the workshop would lose its relevance. It also emerged during the discussion that one of the unlisted site selection criteria for the KNPP was the political dimension. A.K.De, the Chairman of AERS in
response to the question by Satish Dhawan (who presided over the session 'Safety Measures in Nuclear Plants') on the AERB's view on locating the NPP at Kaiga, said that it was a political decision in which the Union Cabinet's decision prevailed over the boards (DH, 12.12.1988).

The open session was a more open session with the opponents having more freedom in raising issues and greater number of perspectives being accommodated. The concluding session on which hopes were pinned by the opponents, and whose outcome was eagerly awaited, began with the summarising of proceedings of the workshop by J.C. Shah. Malcolm Adiseshiah highlighted the diseconomy of nuclear power and the utilisation of power for only one specific development scenario and pointed out the necessity for an independent regulatory body on nuclear issues, postponing of the decision of commissioning of the KNPP until the environmental dimension had been explored and the prohibition of use of nuclear energy for weapons. P.N. Srivastava said that some risks have to be taken and the right choice must be made. Dhirendra Sharma mentioned the general paucity of information on nuclear power and questioned the site selection criteria of the KNPP. He highlighted the belief among the people that the hazards of nuclear power are greater than the 'advantages' and emphasized the need to explore alternatives to nuclear power (Video 282
Srinivasan in his concluding address said that energy was required to alleviate poverty and some risks have to be undertaken to continue development.

R.V. Deshpande in the concluding address said that for the first time a healthy debate had taken place between the environmentalists and the scientists. Increasing energy demand and the different forms of energy generation entail varying degrees of damage to the environment. Industrialisation which is essential to development requires increasing quantum of energy. He said that nuclear power plants should have adequate safeguards and to ensure free flow of information the Atomic Energy Act of 1962 should be amended and nuclear projects should be brought under the Environmental Protection Act of 1986. He mentioned the need for reduction of transmission losses and thanks everybody on behalf of GOK for their active participation.

The environmentalists were hoping for a victory at the workshop and according to quite a few respondents who had attended the workshop, they had the advantage over the nuclear lobby which had gone on the defensive. They expected a favourable outcome based on the interaction at the workshop, in which the nuclear lobby could not answer the questions put to them. Until the first half of the second day the environmentalists were
sure that tide would turn in their favour, but in the post-lunch session, the situation changed. In the concluding session, observing the changing situation of the government, the environmentalists asked the chair whether the issue could be put to vote by the assembled gathering, which was refused. Emotions ran high and disappointment and anger at the turn of the events was visible among the environmentalists. They demanded a clear verdict in the outcome of the workshop which was not given in the concluding address by the Minister R.V.Deshpande. Dhirendra Sharma appealed to the environmentalists not to stage a walk out and after the concluding address, the environmentalists held a roadside meeting and opposed the KNPP and resolved to fight until the project was dropped.

Though the holding of a workshop was some kind of a success for the movement as for the first time the nuclear and political establishment had held a public discussion on the issue of nuclear energy, the absence of a favourable verdict was considered a big blow by the environmentalists. The build up to the debate turned workshop by the government was that the issue would be decided once and for all and in UK and in Bangalore high hopes were pinned on the workshop. As Subbiah Dhogall the Malavalli Mandal Pradhan who was at the forefront of the movement said, "They told us that everything would
be decided there. What did they do? They gave us food and sent us back." According to other respondents the workshop was going their way on the basis of discussions but behind the scenes some politicking took place quite suddenly and the government changed its position. CANE which had earlier (October 28) announced that the government should go in for a referendum if they won the national debate, had to abandon the proposal. The movement leaders decided to continue the agitation until the project was dropped.

On December 31st, the UK Zilla Parishad passed a resolution asking the Central and State governments to scrap the KNPP. The resolution was moved by P.S.Bhat Upponi (Janata) and seconded by N.H.Gouda MLA. KNPP was termed "a grave threat to the people of the district" (DH, 1.1.1989). Janata and Congress-I members of the Zilla Parishad supported the resolution. P.M.Tandel (Janata) said that project was being implemented in a hurried manner irrespective of the absence of the necessary infrastructure like roads for the transport of heavy vehicles and the existing weak bridges on the Karwar/Kaiga and Bellary/Karwar roads were in danger as they were being used by the KNPP authorities to transport heavy equipment.

The mandal panchayats of Majalit Kaansoor in separate resolutions asked the Central and State
governments to stop the KNPP and to refrain from initiating projects which would endanger nature and man.

The anti-KNPP ecological movement was making extensive inroads into the coastal taluqs and had mustered support from the government bodies at the village taluq and district levels opposing the KNPP.

**Pro-KNPP Mobilisation**

The anti-KNPP movement provoked a pro-KNPP response from different sections of people in Uttara Kannada, which in 1989 openly crystallized into a mobilization. KNPP had evoked support from the industrial, trading and banking fraternity in the upghats which saw the increase in electricity generation resulting in greater industrialization which in turn would contribute to the economy of the district. KNPP was perceived to be bringing development to the district and the environmental impact was considered to be negligible as it did not involve submergence nor pollution. The pro-KNPP mobilisations were located in Sirsi and Karwar. The Kaiga villagers at the end of 1988 dissociated themselves with the environmentalists and began fighting for appropriate compensation and rehabilitation and form a separate category.

In Sirsi, the banking and trading fraternity, Congress-I leaders and few lecturers at the local degree college were the main proponents of the KNPP. The
increased activities of the anti-KNPP movement was the main reason for the crystallization of the support into a mobilisation. A symposium held on January 5, 1989 was organized by the leaders of Sampakhand village near Sirsi who in turn were guided by the pro-Kaiga lobby in Sirsi. The State Department of Science and Technology gave them substantial grants to hold the symposium on "Kaiga Nuclear Power Plant and development of the Uttara Kannada District". M.M. Hegde of the physics department of the local degree college, who was part of the team that visited Tarapur Nuclear Power station spoke on the occasion and said that the fears of the environmentalists were baseless. NPPs were safe and did not pose any risk to life. The Lion President Udaya Swadi wanted the GOK to go ahead with the KNPP as power was essential for industrial revolution. The symposium was presided by S.G. Hegde Kadve, the veteran Congress-I leader.

M.M. Hegde told me that since the local environmentalists did not have a Physics background they were unable to understand how a reactor works. "I have been to Trombay and I have not seen all the ill-effects that these people are saying. The campus is beautiful and there are lot of trees. Inside the plant everything is clean and the people there were very cooperative and answered all our questions. Why are the
environmentalists not believing such great scientists? What have they got to gain? Atomic energy is essential for the nation." He said he approached the state Department of Science and Technology for the propagation of science and was allotted funds for the symposium. M.M.Hegde as earlier involved in the Seminar group of the ecological movement against the BHEP.

S.G.Hegde Kadve who presided over the symposium was a supporter of nuclear power, though he told me that the issue has to be examined completely and if the government has taken it up, it must be safe. He was also involved in the seminar group of the ecological movement against Bedthi.

The participants of the symposium supported the KNPP as it would ensure the acceleration of the development of the backward district.

It is quite clear that prior involvement in the environmental activism does not necessarily translate into a uniform response to the environmental impact of development projects. The response to a development product is largely conditioned by the nature of the project.

A.K.Subbiah, MLC (Congress-I) announced on January 2, that he would organise a forum which would educate the people about the necessity of the KNPP in a power starved state. He said the opposers of the KNPP were
being manipulated by the enemies of the country and do not have the necessary scientific background to contradict the scientists and "these enemies" if given importance would retard the entire progress of the country (TOINS, 3.1.1989).

The CPI and CPM political parties voiced their support on December 24, to the KNPP as it was essential in meeting the power requirements of the state. The existing power shortage had resulted in serious problems for the industrial units in the state, resulting in the possibility of retrenchment of lakhs of workers (TOINS, 25.12.1988).

The Kannada State Chaluvaligas Central Committee resolved that the 1989 would be observed as the "year of agitation for execution of the KNPP" as it was essential to overcome the existing power shortage. It would initiate a programme to educate the people about the necessity of KNPP.

In Karwar the main proponents of the KNPP were the traders, businessmen, students of the NSUI group and the North Kanara District Development Association, Karwar. The business and trading community had seen the benefits from KNPP in terms of increased volume of trade. The North Kanara District Development Association, Karwar perceived the KNPP as the deliverer of the district. According to the Association, Karwar, which in the early
days was a port of great importance, was consigned to history due to imperial and political reasons (See Section II of Chapter II). No development project had been placed in Karwar - the proposed conversion of Karwar port into a major port had not yet materialised and the Karwar Hubli railway line had been abandoned. Hence the KNPP which had been located in Karwar taluq would lead to the prosperity of the district.

The Kaiga villagers after initially protesting against the KNPP in association with the environmentalists, did not continue their protests. Instead they fought for the appropriate compensation and rehabilitation. The Kaiga villagers since the initial protest meeting at Bare village in 1985 had been fighting for adequate compensation and rehabilitation. They joined the environmentalists' opposition hoping that the project would be called off and in the event that the KNPP is implemented, they will be assisted by the environmentalists in getting adequate compensation and rehabilitation. Until 1989 the Kaiga villagers actively participated in the activities of the environmentalists. The Karnataka Power Corporation which was in charge of the compensation and rehabilitation had been conducting meetings with the Kaiga villagers since 1986 and the representations of
the local villagers Ramachandra Bhat of Hartuga Village and Gopal B.Naik of Kaiga village.

Two organisations were fighting and negotiating for better compensation and rehabilitation - 'Kaiga Atomic Plant and Kadra Kali Hydro electric Projects' displaced persons Association headed by Ramakrishna Bhat Mathari of Hartuga village and the 'Konkan Maratha mandal (Regd), in Uttara Kannara represented by Sadashiv Naik of Kaiga village. The issues raised by both the organisations (initially the former organisation and later on by the Konkan Maratha Mandal) were: (a) fixing adequate value of their property (b) the rehabilitation plan (c) the employment of the displaced persons in the KNPP.

Ramakrishna Bhat in his letters to the Managing Director of Nuclear Power Corporation and Kaiga Project Director in 1989, complained that (a) the unemployed persons in Kaiga had not been fully employed. (b) the employment of the Kaiga villagers is non-commensurate with their educational qualifications and are being employed in jobs which require less educational qualifications. (c) the promised training of the unskilled workers has not yet materialised and these workers are being victimised by the Kaiga officials. The letters ended with the statement that "If you have not replied for these above letters we will not give the
possession of the houses and vacant lands, we have to agitate for our proper rights as per your assurances. Otherwise, you have to fight and indulge in the criminal activities at the time of handing over the peaceful vacant possession."

Many families in Kaiga village approached the High Court and the District Courts seeking a stay on the land acquisition until proper compensation was paid and seeking adequate compensation and rehabilitation. Seetha Bai, Shivanand Naik and six others filed writ petitions (W.P.Nos. 2556 to 2563 of 1989) in the Karnataka High Court challenging the compensation given by the GOK. On 7th July 1989, the High Court passed the order in their favour and directed the respondents (Secretary to Government Department of Revenue, GOK, Deputy Commissioner UK, Karwar and Special Land Acquisition Officer, Kali Project, Dandeli) to pay the compensation as fixed in the award which was passed on September 9, 1988. It also mentioned that the petitioners were not aware of the passing of the award. It could be inferred that the authorities were not conforming to the award.

On 25th May 1990, Ramakrishna Bhat wrote to the then CM Veerendra Patel complaining about (a) the officials and requesting enquiry and action against them, (b) the illegal entries made by the Land
Acquisition Officer in the record books and giving the lowest rate to the property and agricultural land, (c) the evaluation of property - land, houses, trees, sheds etc. are arbitrarily fixed according to the bribe given to the officer, (d) the slogans of Rajarammanna, that "...job opportunities will be given to all the families of land affected" have not been fulfilled so far and outsiders are being given job opportunities (p.2). (e) the services of the employed Kaiga villagers have not been confirmed. (f) the government has not yet given any rehabilitation and instead the NPC is constructing fences and digging drains around the houses. He informed the government that if the demands are not met, then satyagraha and agitation would be launched to the detriment of the project.

He also wrote a letter (dated 10.7.1990) to the Director, Central Bureau of Intelligence, asking for an investigation on the role and actions of the Land Acquisition Officer, who was arbitrarily fixing low estimate to the properties of the people and taking bribes from outsiders and giving them bogus Land Affected certificates which would enable them to get employment in KNPP and listed five such people. Ramakrishna Bhat requested CBI's action against the Land Acquisition officials and KNPPs officials.
The 'Konkan Maratha Mandal' a late comer in the fight for compensation and rehabilitation intervened when the Konkan Maratha people of Kaiga and other villages approached them for help. The Mandal in its meeting on August 11, 1990 passed a resolution taking up the compensation and rehabilitation case of the Kaiga villagers and appointed a seven member committee which would liaise with the District Minister of UK, Deputy Commissioner Karwar, Chief Project Engineer Kaigu project, the Land Acquisition Officer Kali and Kaiga project, the employment officer Karwar. Among the seven members were B.P.Kadam, Deepak Gaonkar and Ravindra N.Pawar Majalli, who were actively involved in the ecological movement against KNPP which was opposed per se to the KNPP and did not consider the compensation issue at all as it meant that in principle the project had been accepted and the opposition was to the inadequate compensation. These three people, without the knowledge of the environmentalists, were fighting for compensation since 1990 while continuing to be active in the struggle of the environmentalists. Their role in the struggle for compensation came to light only in mid 1991, mainly due to the efforts of this researcher. From 1990, the Karwar unit of PSS in which all the three people were involved - B.P.Kadam was the President of P.S.S. (UK), had ceased to function. Their
role will be discussed later in the ‘Discussion’ section.

Thus, the withdrawal of support by the Kaiga villagers after 1988 meant that the environmentalists could not function from Kaiga. Kaiga being located in the interior and in a relatively inaccessible place, was essential for carrying out the protest activities at the site. Due to its geographical location, the contact with the environmentalists was limited and since the movement continued for years without any significant result about the project, and in the meantime work on the project had begun with land acquisition notices having been issued, the Kaiga villagers had to deal with more immediate pressing problems. The environmentalists in turn could not offer any help to the Kaiga villagers. Moreover, the Kaiga villagers reportedly faced considerable harassment from the officials. When the researcher visited the village in 1991, the villagers were frightened to talk and feared that the researcher was from the government. The withdrawal of support of the Kaiga villagers was a big blow to the ecological movement against KNPP.

**THIRD PHASE**

PSS (UK) decided to intensify the campaign against KNPP in January 1989 and the first programme was the picketing of all the Tahsildar offices in the district.
on January 16 and 17. The programme was successful in Karwar, Sirsi, Ankola and Yellapur. In Karwar about 60 people led by C.D.Krishnapur, former Chairman of Karnataka State Fisheries Development Corporation and D.R.Swar, President of the Karwar City Municipality protested in front of the Deputy Commissioner’s office against the KNPP and prevented officials from entering office. In Sirsi about 108 people and in Ankola about 89 people were arrested when they attempted to prevent the staff of the Assistant Commissioner’s and Tahsildar’s office from entering the offices and were released later on the same day. In Karwar, the students of the government arts and science college and government Polytechnic boycotted classes. Ravindra Pawar, the Upa Pradhan of Maajali, Y.R.Kulkarni, Ramakar Gaonkar, Vice-President of the Fish Marketing Federation and a few municipal councillors participated in the demonstration (Hand DH, 18.1.1989).

The Karwar taluq unit of the Janata Dal passed a resolution supporting the on-going agitation against the KNPP and asked the central and state governments to stop work on the project.

PSS (UK) announced that on January 31st and February 1st, 1989 protest against KNPP would take place at Kaiga site. Support from Goa came with the
Maharashtra Goantak Party which was the main opposition party supporting the ecological movement against KNPP.

**Padayatra to Kaiga**

On January 24, H.S.Doreswamy of Gandhi Prathsthan Bangalore began the padayatra to Kaiga from Sirsi and walked through Manchiperi, Yellapur, Vajrath, Malavalli and Bare to Kaiga. The padayatra was immensely successful, with thousands of people from villages joining on the way. Some continued till Kaiga and others accompanied them part of the way. The Padayatri were accommodated by the villagers during the day and night halts. The padayatra which included taluka leaders, two lady doctors - Kusuna Sorab and Shanta Bhat - not only functioned as an awareness campaign about the hazards of nuclear power, but also mobilised people. Men, women and children joined the padayatra and about 700 padayatris reached the Kaiga project site on 31st January. The programme of the padayatris was to prevent work at the project site. The project area was cordoned off by the police, which was present, with vans. Over 500 activists who after trekking for 12 kms from the Beare pass gathered at the Kaiga gate, upon being refused entry, broke the police cordon and streamed into the site. Others went round the compound and entered
the site through the jungle and both groups successfully stalled the work. The two foundation sites of the reactors were planted with saplings of wild tree species. The police arrested the activists at the foundation pits and took them to Karwar. The activists resisted arrest by lying flat on the ground in the excavation pits but were bodily lifted by the police and dumped into the vans. Meanwhile about 200 activists led by H.S.Doreswamy and B.P.Kadam former M.P. were taken into preventive custody when they tried to enter the project site from the west gate. About 600 padayatris were arrested and brought to Karwar. The PSS, undeterred, decided that protest activities would again take place at the project site in the next couple of days. On February 1st, about 150 padayatris proceeded on a padayatra to Kaiga to continue to protest. They were arrested at Kaiga and brought back to Karwar. The remaining people stayed back and staged a dharna in front of the Kaiga project office at Karwar. By the second day of the agitation, the number had swelled to 4,000 people who had gathered from all over the district and the state as well as from Goa, and they staged dharna in front of the Kaiga office. The agitations were prevented by the police when they tried to enter the office and were lathi-charged. In the process one of the protestors Anupama Hegde sustained head injuries.
In the resulting melee some window panes of the office were smashed. Consequently all the 4000 protestors which included 70 women were arrested under Section 71 of the Karnataka Police Act. The arrested leaders included N.Kusuma Sorab, Shanta Bhat, C.D.Krishnapur, Subramanya Bedehabbal, Dhundi Bhat.

The police charged B.P.Kadam, H.S.Doreswamy and 218 others under Sections 107, 109 and 110 of the Criminal Procedure code and produced them before the Tahsildar. They were arrested again and were charged with intent to commit offences under section 150. They were released later. However, V.D.Krishnapur and 13 other prominent citizens of Karwar were not released and were remanded to 14 days judicial custody. This prompted the staging of a sit-in protest at the Tahsildar’s office by over 4000 activists demanding the release of the fishermen leaders - C.D.Krishnapur, Gangadhar Jambavalikar, Umesh Tandel, Narayana Gowda and others. A large number of fishermen from the coastal villages of Maajali, Belekeri, Baitakola and other villages came in their boats to Karwar to participate in the agitation but were prevented by the police from coming ashore. The charges on the arrested fishermen were of rioting and assault on police officers. The fishermen leaders refused to come out on bail and began a fast inside the jail protesting against the injustice meted out to them.
In Sirsi, a total bandh was observed to protest the arrest and demand the release of the fishermen leaders and others. Over 200 people gheraoed the Deputy Superintendent’s office and were arrested and released later. In Yellapur a large procession was taken out condemning the arrest. Support began coming in from other talukas, like Yellapur, Sirsi, Kumta and Honnavar.

In Karwar the sit-in continued at the Tahsildar’s office with over 200 protestors inside and the rest outside. The Deputy Commissioner held consultations with PSS (UK), President B.P. Kadam, Doreswamy, Kusuma Sorab, P.M. Tandel, S.B. Tikale and others in order to bring the situation in Karwar and Sirsi back to normal. On February 3, Karwar, Sirsi, Yellapur, Honnavar and Bhatkal towns observed successful bandh to protest the arrest of the anti-Kaiga agitation. The Karwar bandh was totally successful and peaceful with the closure of all shops, theatres, banks, educational institutions. Buses and autorickshaws did not ply on the roads. Govind Belerkar, the leader of the autorickshaw drivers supported the movement on the grounds that KNPP is harmful to the district. Lawyers did not attend the Courts. The local citizens fed the thousands of satyagrahis from all over the state who had camped at the Tahsildar’s office. College students participated in large numbers and boycotted classes. They were
arrested and were produced before the taluk magistrate and were released in the evening. Reserve policemen from different parts of the state were summoned to maintain law and order.

The activists led by H.S.Doreswamy continued the day and night picketing of the Tahsildar office and condemned the police "tactics" (H, 4.2.1989) to break the movement. Hundreds of fishermen and fisherwomen sat outside the Tahsildar’s office and extended support to the activists staging the sit in. The fishermen were released on February 5, on bail. With the release of the fishermen, the agitation petered off, without any significant achievement.

This event was considered to be the most crucial in the movement history. For the first time, pro-KNPP area-Karwar had extended complete support to the anti-KNPP movement. During the period, the entire district was supportive of the movement. Given such support by the masses even in pro-KNPP areas, it was logical to expect that the situation would be used to pressurise the Government to stop the project. Instead the agitation ended without any tangible results. Many leaders of the moment felt that a crucial movement has been lost. The reasons for the non result of the protest programme were (a) the government and the district administration pressurised the fishermen. The
fishermen had taken bank loans against their boats which were yet to be returned. The banks suddenly and contrary to the normal practice called for the loans, and as the fishermen were jailed, seized their boats. As the fishermen are dependent on their daily catch from the sea, their very survival was threatened (b) the administration selectively arrested people-leaders of the fishing community and poor villagers and hence attempted to divide the movement by filing false charges against them (c) the lack of preparedness on the part of the movement leaders in handling the situation, which they did not foresee. The lack of consensus among them also contributed to the inability to capitalise on the situation. (d) The presence in the core group of a person, Deepak Gaonkar, who later was discovered to have been working for the other side. He was active in the core group during the peak time of the movement - 1988 and 1989 and later withdrew. He was also suspected to have leaked the movement strategy to outsiders during the crucial years, resulting in the diffusion of the movement actively by the government. As a consequence, the most intense activity could not be capitalised by the movement. (e) The lack of a comprehensive strategy by the movement which resulted in each event being an end in itself, despite being oriented towards the goal of stopping KNPP. The fishermen fasting inside the jail
were misinformed that the activists who were outside had
gone home and as their boats had been seized by the
banks, they ended their fast and came out on bail. This
was the last time that the fishermen participated and
were apprehensive about the measures taken against them.
The administration had promised to withdraw cases
against them if they came out on bail, which it reneged
later on. The fishermen had to take care of the court
hearings and be present at each hearing as criminal
charges were framed against them. The PSS, UK and
Yellapur was also unable to help them due to lack of
resources. Hence, the fishermen had to wage a lonely
battle in the Courts against falsely implicated charges.

In response, the pro-Kaiga lobby in Sirsi decided
to form a Forum composed of S.R. Hegde, Kodve, K.S.Sonde,
M.M.Hegde, Udaya Swadi, V.G.Hegde and others to educate
people about the merits and de-merits of nuclear energy.
It planned to hold a seminar.

The All-India Trade Union Congress condemned the
approach of the state government which was termed as
"high handed" in dealing with the activists protesting
against the KNPP and as a consequence destroying the
democratic values.

Goa became quite active during 1989, as in the case
of accident at KNPP it would be affected. The 'Stop
Kaiga Movement' was launched and the Goa Congress and
Maharashtra Gomantak parties were involved in the 'Stop Kaiga Movement'. According to Claude Alwares "No Goan politician has really protested the Kaiga project" (1991: 75). The 'Stop Kaiga Movement' which lasted for about a year was able to get the support of over 100 prominent Goan men and women against the KNPP (p.76).

The AEC Chairman, M.R.Srinivasan announced on February 18, that the KNPP would be commissioned on schedule despite opposition to the project. The Nuclear Power Corporation [henceforth NPC] announced a grant of Rs.25 lakhs to the Mangalore University for a project aimed to protect the ecology and environment around the KNPP. In April the Kaiga project office officials proposed some welfare measures of the people of Karwar which included: (a) beautification of the Karwar beach (b) improving the main and interior roads in Karwar town as well as the widening of the Karwar-Kaiga road, (c) establishing a sewage treatment plant. The NPC had already sanctioned money for the following works: (i) construction of public lavatories: Rs.90,000 (ii) road improvement: Rs.2.5 lakhs.

Paramahansa Tiwari, Chief Project Engineer of the Kaiga Project said that all the schools and colleges in Karwar taluq would be provided with teaching aids and library books. The city municipality was asked to prepare a note for the improvement of the Karwar town.
In the first week of April, at Karwar the effigy of the Revenue Minister J.H. Patel was burnt at a meeting organised jointly by the PSS (UK) and the Rajya Paitha Sangha of Shimoga. The Raitha Sangha was opposing the KNPP as it perceived the big industries to be the beneficiaries of the KNPP. The General Secretary of the Rajya Raitha Sangha asked all the legislatures of the district to resign and support the anti-Kaiga movement. Earlier, in the protest demonstration in Ankola on March 20th, Basavanna Pattegar, President of the district unit of the Rajya Raitha Sangha pledged the Sangha's support to the movement. The Raitha Sangha with its strong base in the Haliyal, Mundgod and Supa talukas was willing to work with the PSS.

The third anniversary of the Chernobyl saw protest activities all over UK and in Bangalore, and memoranda were submitted to the authorities and protest marches were taken out. Earlier on April 11, mandal panchayat offices in Yellapur and Sirsi taluka (12 out of 16 offices) were locked up as part of the protest activities against the KNPP. In Sirsi taluqa about 500 activists blocked the roads. A padayatra to Kaiga was organised under the leadership of the Pejaver Swamiji who walked the 14 km. distance from Baare village in Yellapur to Kaiga and observed a token hunger strike and held a prayer meeting under tree. Over 400 anti-nuclear
activists including 100 women were arrested when they entered the Kaiga project site. The authorities had blocked the Karwar-Kaiga road at Mallapur, thereby preventing prominent leaders like B.P. Kadam, C.D. Krishnapur, H.S. Doreswamy and others from reaching Kaiga.

In Sirsi, the women became very active and held a series of protest meetings and held protest marches and dharnas, hunger strikes etc. at the Tahsildar’s and Assistant Commissioner’s offices. In the process some were arrested. On May 9th, the protestors passed a resolution asking various political parties to state their position on KNPP.

The Marxist-Leninists of the Pragati Vidyarti Kendra (PVK) supported the anti-KNPP movement and initiated on door-to-door campaigning in Karwar and Ankola talukas. They performed street plays and wrote on the walls against the KNPP.

The leaders of the Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, M.D. Nanjundaswamy and Babagowda Patel assailed the government for going ahead with the KNPP in spite of the local opposition. The district President of the Raitha Sangha Basanna Pategar announced on May 21, that the Raitha Sangha had decided to include the Kaiga issue in its election manifesto and would contest from Haliyat, Karwar and Ankola constituencies in the coming Assembly
elections. He appealed to the fishermen to jointly launch an action programme against the KNPP.

On June 5th, the World Environment Day, a relay fast and satyagraha was begun in front of the Assistant Commissioner's office in Sirsi. The Satyagraha successfully continued despite the heavy rains in the area and continued right up to October when it was called off by the PSS Sirsi, as the elections were going to be held in November. The decision of the PSS (UK) to field a candidate in the Lok Sabha elections begins a new phase and one of the key turning points in the movement.

**The Elections**

Some time in early October PSS Yellapur in one of its meetings discussed the proposal mooted by Dhundi Bhat, Subramanya Bedekakkal and Kusuma Sorab to field a candidate in the coming Lok Sabha elections. The issue was hotly debated by the gathering which was composed of members of different political parties. Many protested against the proposal on the grounds that (a) it would conflict with their loyalty to the party (b) the issue of environment should not be politicised as it is above the party and election politics (c) the proposal would divide the supporters of environment along the party lines (d) the non-preparedness of the environmentalists in dealing with the election process (e) the essential
difference between support for environment and the support for the political party. Consensus was not reached at the meeting whether to contest the Lok Sabha elections. Though the Assembly elections were going to be held simultaneously, the proposers felt that since the decision regarding nuclear matters has been at the central level it would be appropriate to contest the Lok Sabha elections. The choice of candidate was also debated and a person with a towering stature who would be above the politics, and with integrity had to be searched and the only person who fitted the image was Shivrama Karanth. People debated again on his age and his willingness to contest elections given his earlier experience with elections. Then Kusuma Sorab is reported to have said that she will get Karanth to agree to contest the elections. Nevertheless, the meeting did not come to a consensus and the issue was not resolved.

Soon after, Kusuma Sorab went down to Sirsi with the proposal of contesting the Lok Sabha elections and met the same response as that of Yellapur. The PSS Sirsi objected to the proposal by giving reasons that PSS is not equipped to fight elections and elections are a totally different affair. Besides, environment and elections are entirely different worlds and in elections, caste, factions, money and liquor incentives are very common, for which the environmentalists are not
amenable. Kusuma Sorab is reported to have announced that all the required support is available and that the support of Sirsi is essential. The response of the Sirsi group was refusal for contesting the elections but keeping in view the seniority of Sorab, said that if Karanth agrees (whereas they were hoping that Karanth would refuse were in fact sure of it) then they would have no objection. Then the delegation left for Karwar and returned with the news that Karanth had agreed to contest. Soon after the Yellapur meeting, Kusuma, Dhundi Bhat, Subramanya Bedahabbal and others had approached Karanath who outrightly refused. Kusuma Sorab approached the PSS Sirsi for support as one of the core members had close connection with Karanth and Sorab hoped to use the connection to get the consent of Karanth. Sorab pressurised Karanth to give his consent and said that she would do Satyagraha in front of his house until she was given his consent Karanth told her that prior commitments would prevent him from canvassing during election campaign time and his absence during the crucial time may be a deterrent to the cause. He was assured that the environmentalists would handle everything and that he just had to lend his name. Ultimately, Karanth gave his assent to contest the elections from the Kanara Lok Sabha seat on the anti-Kaiga and pro-environment platform.
The environmentalists had very little time to prepare for elections. They had yet to master the election politics and equations and did not have adequate finance, personnel and strategy to convert the non political issue of environment into a political issue and which would be translatable into votes. The massive support given by the people across the district which cut across all the possible divides and social categories gave them the confidence that they had adequate support.

At this juncture, it must be recalled that the Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha had already announced its intention to make the Kaiga issue an election issue. One of the Bangalore CANE group's members - Suresh Heblikar - a cine artiste had announced that he would be contesting from Dharwad for the Assembly elections on a green platform. The reason behind the contesting of the Lok Sabha elections was mainly to convey the message of the people of the district, who were struggling against the destruction of their district.

Shivarama Karanth had been approached earlier by the Janata Dal which had requested him to contest elections on their behalf. Karanth had refused stating that he was not interested and that he was too old. The pressurisation brought by the environmentalists changed his mind. The Janata Dal was in a fix but it asked
Karanth again to stand on the Janata Dal ticket on the Green issue, which was refused by Karanth as he opposed the environmental destructive policy of Janata Dal.

The nomination papers were filed in the absence of Karanth and in his absence on 31.10.1994 the last day of the filing of nominations. The polling date was November 24, 1989. The Janata Dal was in a dilemma in the changed situation whether to field a candidate against Karanth or not and if it did not field a candidate against Karanth it meant the endorsement of his position which was opposing the government. Karanth in an interview with Indian Express on October 31, 1989, stated that he was contesting the election on an issue and the issue was that of ecology and the survival of the people of North Kanera. "Prior to his departure, he visited Sirsi and addressed a public meeting. The Janata Dal announced its candidate for the UK Lok Sabha seat who was the popular Cine Artist Anant Nag. CANE approached the Janata Dal and requested them to withdraw their candidate in favour of Karanth, which was refused. The BJP withdrew its candidate in favour of Karanth.

The election campaign, fund collection, mobilisation of support etc. were initiated after the filing of the nomination of papers. The environmentalists had counted on the support of the Rajya Raitha Sangha in the elections which was suddenly
withdrawn and it fielded its own candidate for the Lok Sabha constituency. Hence, an important source of support was lost.

CANE and PSS (UK) managed to get support from intellectuals and writers of the state who issued public statements requesting the people's support for Karanth. The Congress-I did not view favourably the entry of Karanth into politics. The BJP was the only state level party to include opposition to the NPP in its election manifesto. The UK Lok Sabha constituency, due to its low population density included some border areas of Kittar and Khanapur in Belgam district where the issues were different. Similarly, Haliyal, Mundgod's issues were different and in these places campaigning had to be the most intensive. The PSS UK and CANE and other organisations conducted the election campaign in a different manner from that of the other political parties. Volunteers went on bicycles from village to village canvassing for Karanth. People from all over the state contributed financially and otherwise to the campaign. Karanth's election symbol comparatively were few and far in the area. The campaigners could not even mobilise adequate transport for election campaign. The expected support from many quarters was missing.

Meanwhile, two Janata Dal activists were detained in Karwar for conducting false propaganda that Karanth
had retired from the contest. They were arrested by the police. Similar incidents had also occurred in Ankola, Siddapur and Yellapur. The Janata Dal also called Karanth a senile person. The Environmentalists were quite confident of winning the elections judging by the turn out at the election campaign meetings. The low-budget election campaign consisted of padayatras, election meetings, plays and very few automobiles were used for the campaign.

The UK constituency constituted a total of 9,77,685 voters which were distributed across the entire district as well as the two broader taluqas Kittur and Khanapur of the neighbouring Belgaum district. The environmentalists had not made any impact in these two border taluqas and were neglected and within the district itself taluqas like Haliyal, Mundgod and Bhatkal were as yet untapped. The largest group in the constituency belonged to the Maratha community, 11.7 percent, the Havyaka and Gouda Saraswat Brahmins constituted 11.4 percent and the Namdharis, Muslims, Halabki Potgars each constituted 10.28 percent. The rest was constituted by the Christians and Lingayats. Some of the traditional strongholds of the established political parties were threatened by the new entrants, for example, the Raitha Sangha was expected to mobilise a good chunk of the farmer and Maratha votes in Kittur,

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Khanpur, Haliyal and Mundgod areas which were the traditional strongholds of the Congress-I. The Janata Dal estimated that Karanth would make considerable inroads into the traditional base of the Janata Dal. The environmentalists were hoping to cash on the large segment of the highly literate (about 52 percent literacy) electorate as well as the newly enrolled young voters numbering 80,000.

The election campaign of the environmentalists was conducted differently from that of the other political parties. People and parties of different ideologies ranging from the extreme left (Marxist-Leninists) to extreme right (RSS) and the Congress-I, Janata Dal parties, socialists were involved in the campaign, in addition to the involvement of Konkan Marathas, Havyak and Gouda Saraswat Brahmins, Muslims etc. in the election campaign. The support to Karanth cut across different divides geographical, social and economic. The environmentalists due to lack of volunteers, could not campaign in certain areas. The decision of contesting elections conflicted with the party loyalty of the environmentalists and few leaders of the movement belonging to different political parties campaigned for both environmentalists and the political party. Subramanya Bedehabbal, Dhundi Bhat who were socialists by ideological inclination as well as environmentalists
campaigned for Umesh Bhat of Congress-I (who was a cousin of Subramanya Bedehabbal) and it was reported by many respondents that they used their involvement with the environmental movement and asked for votes in the election campaign of Umesh Bhat. Similarly G.S.Hegde Kadekodi of BJP who was very active in 1988 in anti KNPP ecological movement was contesting the Assembly elections and campaigned for himself using his involvement in the environment. The senior district level party functionaries of Congress-I and Janata Dal who earlier were actively involved in the movement, campaigned for their party candidates which created lot of confusion among the people.

In the election results the Congress-I candidate Devaraya Nayak won and polled 2,40,571 votes, Anant Nag of Janata Dal polled 2,09,003 votes, Basanna Pattekar of Karnataka Raitha Sangha polled 80,566 voters and Shivarama Karanth polled 58,902 votes. The vote breakup shows that the votes were divided and the Congress-I won by a margin of about 30,000 votes. The results were a big disappointment to the environmentalists. The outfall of the election was as follows: (a) the defeat in the election demoralised the environmentalists (b) the political parties claimed that the Kaiga issue had been settled once and for all and that the people had rejected the environment issue and that it has little
support among the people. (c) The environmentalists who were earlier united, irrespective of political party membership, caste, etc. were divided along the political party lines (d) the loss of credibility of some top leaders of the movement in the eyes of the public and who were suspected to be using environment for their own ends. (e) in the consequent general elections of 1991 every political party had included environment protection in their manifesto and sought the support of the environmentalists. (f) the movement activities ceased after the elections, barring few events.

The defeat in the elections, despite having taken a heavy toll of the environmentalists in terms of unity and commitment, was viewed by them positively as (a) having conveyed the environment message far and wide which was supposedly their original purpose (b) demonstrating the electoral potential of the environment issue. The environmentalists privately blamed each other for the debacle and shelved the responsibility on others. The Sirsi group claimed that Yellapur and Bangalore groups were having political ambitions and the Yellapur group was claiming that the Bangalore group was planning to use the environment issue as an election platform, with Suresh Heblikar planning to contest from Dharwad, the Bangalore group claiming that the Yellapur and other groups political ambitions having got the
better of them and the 'megalomania of few individuals'. Nagesh Hegde said in his interview that the Bangalore group was not consulted at all and the decision was merely conveyed to them. The net result was that the elections which consumed almost all the energy and resources of the environmentalists, demoralised the supporters. After the meeting of the PSS (Sirsi) in December, movement activity significantly ceased.

In May 1990, a road block was organised at Idgundi to prevent the passage of the massive calandria equipment from Yellapur to Kaiga, which was unsuccessful. A delegation of the PSS (UK) met the Union Minister of State Ministry of Environment and Forests, Maneka Gandhi and requested her to visit the project site of KNPP. In 1991 the first national level meeting of the nuclear activists was held in Bangalore and ushered in the passive phase of the movement. This phase concentrated on the networking of the various nuclear activist groups in the country and building up a lobby against Nuclear Power Plants. The movement also shifted its attention from the field activists to the Court case field in the Supreme Court.

**The Supreme Court Case**

In April 1990, the first public interest writ petition was filed in the Supreme Court of India (W.P.No.578 of 1990) by K.Shivarama Karanth, Samaj
Parivartana Samudaya, S.G. Hegde Bedehabbal of PSS Yellapur, Nagesh Hegde, Subbiah Dhogale and others against the Ministry of Atomic Energy, AEC, NPC, AERB, MEF and the state of Karnataka through its Chief Secretary filed on the grounds of "Article 32 of the Constitution for enforcement of fundamental rights under Articles 14, 19 (1) (a), 21 read with 38(1), 39(b), 48(a) and 51 A(g) of the Constitution of India" (p.1). The siting of the KNPP was challenged on the following grounds: (1) the unwise location of the NPP in a tropical rain forest near uranium deposits and near a cluster of hydel power projects (2) people's participation and an appropriate environmental impact analysis have not been considered. (3) the inherent faults in the design of the CANDU type of reactor to be installed at Kaiga. (4) the location of the KNPP near a major naval base which would endanger the security of the entire area (5) the absence of state sponsored insurance schemes for the local population in the event of mishaps. (6) lack of appropriate waste disposal facilities and the dismantling of the NPPs. (7) the hiding of the real costs of nuclear power generation. The respondents prayed that until the court passes the orders, work on the project may be stayed and to disclose the required information.
Consequently in the same year, another writ petition (W.P.No.807 of 1990) was filed by Spandana of Sirsi against Union of India through its Secretary Department of Atomic Energy and the AEC under Article 32 of the Constitution of India and charged that the actions of the respondents are "violative of Article 14 and 21 of the Constitution of India as interpreted to live with human dignity, Article 51-A (g) of the Fundamental rights and duties, Environmental Protection, 1986, Environmental guidelines, National Health Policy and Factories Act, 1948" (p.3). The petition questioned the site selection of Kaiga on environmental grounds.

Unlike the first petition which was quite vast in scope and questioned the national nuclear policy, the second petition was specific and related to the environmental rules violations in the site selection. Both the petitions were clubbed together and the hearing continued to be adjourned. In 1993, the Supreme Court asked the MEF to reconsider its clearance to the KNPP and which was a victory for the environmentalists. Since then, the matter is pending before the Supreme Court. In the mean time work continued at the KNPP.

The environmentalists, apprehensive that the field agitational activities may not bear much impact on the government, decided to seek justice from the Court within the protective legal framework. The impetus came
from the success of one of the petitioners - Samaja Parivartana Samudaya in the Supreme Court. The original proposal in 1986 took four years to be finalised and only in 1990 the petition was filed. In the meantime public announcements were made that the petition had been filed in 1988 itself. The repeated enquiries from PSS UK elicited no response from the Bangalore group which was handling the Supreme Court case. The PSS, UK finally decided to file a second petition mainly on the grounds that the first petition was making no headway and was unaware that it was filed only in 1990 as well as the fact they were not being given any information. The response of the Bangalore group was that the UK group was sabotaging the Court case. In fact there was little communication between UK and Bangalore after 1989 elections.

The response of the Respondents was as follows: (a) the NPC in its counter affidavit contended that the petition (WP No.378 of 1990) (a) was "virtually against the interests of the public" (1990:1), (b) was "a part of typical anti-nuclear lobby, for which this Court is not the appropriate forum" (p.8). (c) the questions raised by the petitioners are not "in the realm of adjudication in the Courts of La"... but "in the sphere of politics and executive and legislative policy" (p.2) and (d) that "the objective of the Petitioner is not to
get the information but to create and spearhead an anti-nuclear lobby" (p.3).

The NPC requested that the petition should be dismissed.

(b) the MEF in its counter affidavit filed in February 1991 to the second petition (WP 807 of 1990) stated that all the environmental issues had been considered and consequently the environmental clearance to the first two reactors of KNPP had been given in July 1985 and hence the petition should be dismissed (pp.5-6).

The site selection report and the rapid environmental impact assessment reports were filed as part of the replies to the petition. These two crucial reports were given to the petitioners of the 1st petition immediately, but were withheld from the petitioners of the 2nd petition, thereby prolonging the Court hearing. Since there was lack of coordination between the two groups of petitioners, the nuclear establishment was able to gain more time.

In August 1991, an intervention against the petitioners was filed by North Kanara District Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (Redg), Sirsi; North Kanara District Development Association (Redg) Karwar and North Kanara District Small Science Industries Association (Regd) Sirsi, pleading for the
dismissal of the petitions as the KNPP would result in the development of the district and the state (p.14).

**The Environmental Clearance Process of KNPP**

On July 15, 1985, the MEF in its letter (No.J-11818/13/85-ENV.5) to the Member Secretary, SSC, Nuclear Power Board, informed that the proposal for the location of the nuclear power plant at Kaiga was considered and its assessment has been undertaken in two stages - "Stage-I: Site Clearance for the Plant as well as the Colony; and Stage-II suggesting detailed safeguards regarding disposal of wastes, effluent, emissions and related health aspects in conformity with national and international standards" (p.1). The MEF gave its approval to the site selection and cleared the Mallapur township. The approval was for the Stage I only and was subject to the conformity to the safeguards advised in the stage II clearance which would follow later. It also advised the Nuclear Power Board that "Clearance from the Department of Forests and Wildlife may be obtained for diversion of forest land to Non-forestry uses" (p.2).

Consequently, the MEF in its letter dated 6th August (No.8-276/84-FC) cleared only 732 ha of forest land for the KNPP out of the original demand of 1416 ha. of total land. As a result the GOK passed the order (No.FFD 303 FGL 83) on 18.2.1988 for the release of
forest land for non-forestry purpose. The Dandeli wildlife sanctuary's boundary had to be refixed due to the release of sanctuary land for the KNPP in the government notification No.FPD 150 FWL81, dated 31.8.1987/1.9.1987. The release of sanctuary or protected areas is not permitted by the wildlife conservation Act. The gradual reduction of the sanctuary areas defeats the very purpose of the setting up of the sanctuary which has been allowed legally.

We find here that the environmental clearance procedure is different from that of the normal procedure for hydro-electric projects which require the initial clearance from the forest department of the state, followed by the Union Ministry and then the project is considered for environmental clearance (see Section I of Chapter I). It must be noted at this stage, that the state government was not in any way involved in the environmental clearance procedure even though the Department of Ecology and Environment was existing in the state government.

Consequently, the number of the reactors was expanded to six from the initial two and the Nuclear Power Corporation approached the Karnataka State government for environmental and site clearances which would enable it to approach MEF for its environmental clearance as well as obtaining site and financial
clearances from the Cabinet Committee. The Karnataka state Pollution Control Board and the Department of Environment and Ecology were separately approached in the standard procedure of the state government. It must be recalled here (Section D, Chapter I) that the environmental clearance for a nuclear power plant has been different from the normal procedure. The GOK in its order No.DEF 6 Env 85, dated July 10, 1985 constituted an Environmental Clearance Committee which would consider the environmental clearance of Industries listed in Annexure I. In the Annexure, nuclear power plants were not mentioned and only "Power (Coal, Petroleum and their products) Generating plants and boiler plants" (p.1) were mentioned.

The Technical Advisory Committee [henceforth TAC] on its visit on 9.9.1989 to the Madras Atomic Power Station at Kalpakkam held the 69th meeting at Kalpakkam itself and prepared a list of conditions for the granting of the 'No objection certificate' to KNPP. The Department of Environment and Ecology decided to incorporate the recommendations of the TAC in its Environmental clearance. The TAC recommended the granting of the 'No objection certificate' to Kaiga Units 3 to 6. As a consequence the Department of Environment and Ecology in its letter (No.DEE 189, EPC 89) dated 18.9.1989 accorded environmental clearance for
the KNPP's units 3-6. However, the subsequent TACs requested additional information from the NPC and as a consequence the Karnataka state Pollution Control Board did not accord the 'No objection certificate' to KNPP units 3-6. It must be mentioned here that in the TAC committee which gave the clearance to the KNPP units 3-6 not a single member had any experience in the matters of nuclear energy nor was any nuclear expert part of the Committee. In the subject TAC committees, one of the members, a senior professor at IISC cited in his written opinion that as he is not an expert in nuclear matters it is difficult for him to judge on the nuclear matters and based on common sense and the guidelines of the Tamil Nadu Pollution Control Board, approval may be given.

The issues that are raised are as follows: (a) clearance of Nuclear Power Plants are being considered and given by people who lack expertise in nuclear matters and as a consequence the purpose of the clearance is defeated in the absence of the appropriate scrutiny. (b) Why the project authorities did not approach the state government for the clearance of 1 and 2 units and why are they approaching the state government for subsequent units. (c) The clearance of nuclear power plants is outside the purview of the environmental clearance committee.
The different environmental clearance procedure and the lack or availability of the nuclear expertise of the Nuclear Power Plants do not appear to conform to the established procedures as followed for other power plants.

The Socio-Economic Profile of the People

In order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the movement, pro-Kaiga supporters and the anti-Kaiga supporters, neutral people were interviewed. Out of the total of 71 respondents of the ecological movement against KNPP in UK 37.97 percent belonged to the age group of 21-30 years, 25.3 percent belonged to the age group of 41-50 years and 22.78 percent belonged to the age group of 31-40 years and 6.32 percent belonged to the age group of 51-60 years and the rest came in the 61 to 80 years category.

The educational profile of the respondents was as follows: 31.64 percent belonged to the educational category of 6 to 10th standard at school level, 22.78 percent belonged to the educational category of 1-5th standard at the school level, 13.92 percent had an educational level of 11-12 standard, 10.12 percent had educational qualifications of degree, post-graduate and law education, B.Ed category each comprised 2.53 percent of the respondents, the uneducated category comprised
2.53 percent of the respondents. Medical graduates comprised 1.26 percent of the respondents.

The occupational profile of the respondents is as follows: Thotagar - 39.24 percent; Agriculturist-24.05 percent; Housewife-11.39 percent; Teacher -5.06 percent; Student-3.79 percent; merchant-2.53 percent; business-5.06 percent; and other occupational categories of nurse, doctor, milk vendor, pujari, lawyer, autorickshaw driver, jeweller and fishermen each comprised 1.26 percent of the respondents.

The area of land owned by the respondents was as follows: not available-27.84 percent; not owning any land-16.45 percent; land owned 1-5 acres 26.58 percent; 6-10 acres-15.18 percent; 11-15 acres-11.39 percent and 16-20 acres-1.26 percent; 21-125 acres-1.26 percent of the respondents. Thus we find that 26.58 percent of the land owning category belonged to small farmer category.

The nature of family was predominantly nuclear family-56.96 percent and 41.77 percent were belonging to the joint family category. Information was not available for 1.26 percent.

The length of stay in the area was as follows - 200 years-65.82 percent; 91-100 years-7.59 percent; 11-20 years and 21-30 years each had 6.32 percent of the respondents, 41-50 years-5.06 percent, 150 years-2.53 percent and 71-80 years 1.26 percent of the respondents.
The original inhabitants were 75.94 percent and migrants were 13.92 percent of the respondents.

The Nature of project impact on the people was 100 percent of the respondents were affected. The caste composition in the movement was as follows - Brahmins-65 percent and the non-Brahmins-35 percent. The source of awareness of the project was as follows: newspapers-45.08 percent; word of mouth-35 percent; activists-20.02 percent. The sources of awareness of project impact on themselves was as follows: Magazines-21.04 percent; activists-78.06 percent.

Sources of awareness of the project impact on environment was magazines and newspapers - 30 percent, activists-67 percent, books-3 percent.

Respondents listed out the following environmental impacts of KNPP - change in the environment, damage to the trees, poisoning of the environment. The following effects on human beings were listed by the respondents - birth of deformed children, aborted pregnancies, cancer, other health effects, nature of support to the movement was as follows. Active participation-95.1 percent and passive participation was 4.9 percent.

The reasons for participation cited by 100 percent of the participants was that project was harmful. 100 percent of the participants said that the development project would not bring development. The alternatives
for KNPP cited were: solar, wind, mini hydel projects by 100 percent of the respondents. 30 percent of the respondents were aware of the ecological movement against BHEP and 80 percent had participated in the movement.

The socio-economic profile of the Kaiga villagers is as follows.

The age composition was as follows: 27.77 percent were of the age group of 41-50 years; 22.22 percent were of the age group of 21-30 years; 16.66 percent were of the age group of 61-70 years and 11.11 percent belonged to each age group of 31-40 years; 51-60 years; 71-80 years. The educational level was as follows: The uneducated comprised 38.88 percent of the respondents; 33.33 percent had educational level of 1-5th standard, 11.11 percent belonged to educational categories of 6-10th standard and 11-12th stand each. 5.55 percent of the respondents were having an undergraduate education.

The occupational profile of the respondents was as follows: 88.88 percent were farmers, housewives were 11.11 percent area of land owned was as follows - 38.88 percent owned land 1-5 acres; 27.77 percent owned land 6-10 acres and 10-15 acres each, 5.55 percent owned 21-25 acres of land. The crops grown were mainly subsistence crops - rice was grown in 88.88 percent of the land, urad dal, green gram, peanuts, sugar-cane,
coconut, were grown. The nature of family in the Kaiga village was: Nuclear family - 72.22 percent and the joint family-27.77 percent.

Many joint families divided after the land acquisition by the NPC in order to get better compensation and rehabilitation.

Length of stay in Kaiga in years - 61.1 percent had stayed between 21 to 60 years, 38.88 percent had stayed for 71-200 years. The migrants to the area were 61.11 percent and the original inhabitants were 38.88 percent. The distance from the project site was for 100 percent of respondents between 1 and 5 kms.

The nature of the project impact on them was Affected-100 percent and 100 percent of the respondents came in the danger zone.

The displaced population was 100 percent and all felt that the compensation was inadequate and 100 percent had resisted the compensation package. All of them had rejected the land acquisition notice at least once and all had approached the district Court for appropriate compensation.

100 percent of the respondents did not want to leave the land and all of them faced harassment from the authorities either the land acquisition officers or the Kaiga project authorities.
Discussion

The ecological movement against the KNPP began in 1985, initially as a protest against nuclear energy in Bangalore and as protest against the nuclear power plant in UK. The movement originally confined to the Yellapur taluka spread to other neighbouring talukas over the next few years mainly due to the perceived project impact on the people and the environment. In Bangalore the protest was oriented towards the nuclear policy of the nation which was perceived to be linked up with defense purposes and its undemocratic nature. In UK, the protest was that of threatened survival due to low level radiation and accident impact on the environment and the population as well as the changing nature of the district in which massive and numerous electricity generating plants hydel and nuclear were being located. Both the urban (which would not be affected but also would be the beneficiary of the KNPP) groups and the rural population who would be directly affected and would not be the beneficiary of the KNPP agreed on a common ideology: nuclear power and power plants are the most destructive and negatively affect humans nature for the coming thousands of years as the half life of each uranium and plutonium atom runs into thousands of years. Hence by propagation of nuclear energy, not only the present, but also the coming generations future would be
jeopardised. Both agreed that the present mode of development which results in destruction of nature as well as negatively affecting the quality of life enjoyed in the present. They sought participation in the decision making process, especially in development projects which would be located in their area. The urban groups and rural population advocated alternatives to KNPP which would not endanger the environment and the life of the people.

The movement's original organisation was the coalition of the urban group CANE and later in 1987, PSS was formed in UK which specifically emerged due to the local needs and situation. The PSS, a district organisation had chapters at the taluka level. CANE was considered to be their spokesperson in Bangalore and which would help them in giving the required information and generating pressure in the state capital. Thus the movement activities were decided and conducted by the PSS, under the general guidance of the CANE. CANE was a guiding force in the initial stages as the people in UK had no conception of the nature of the nuclear issue itself. Later, the PSS functioned on its own and charted its protest programmes. As the movement spread from one taluka to the next, the organisational coordination was achieved mainly through informal channel. Formal membership was absent and the skeletal
organisation served as the framework in which movement activities were carried out.

Later the organisational framework became defunct and there was little communication between each organisational link. The Yellapur PSS was not aware that the second writ petition was filed in the Supreme Court by one of the associates of PSS (Sirsi). Similarly CANE did not keep PSS (UK) informed about the activities it was conducting and the latest development in the Court case. The communication gap within the organisation proved detrimental to the movement. The situation was further complicated due to the outsider and insider interaction as well as the urban and rural interaction. The urban-outsider dominated the rural-insider group. In fact the latter felt it was at the receiving end and that its efforts were being used by the former to build their bases. The dismissive and condescending attitude of the urban and outsider group was resented by the rural and insider group.

Leadership

The movement had two sets of leadership: urban-Bangalore and rural-UK. Collective leadership was prevalent in both the categories.

Each taluka had its own leaders who functioned together. Collective leadership planned movement strategy and in the early stages the founder the PSS -
L.T. Sharma was the guiding force and the uniting factor of all the taluka level organisations. After his death, local leaders emerged and according to many respondents, led to the dissipation of the movement due to the building of power base by each leader.

The collective leadership which initially functioned in a coordinated fashion largely due to the efforts of L.T. Sharma who was able to devote all his time to the movement, later due to the death of Sharma did not smoothly function. The major reasons for this were (a) all the movement participants were actively involved in other activities and were part-time participants in movement activities. (b) given the complicated nature of the issue a long term full-time commitment was required which was not possible. Some key leaders devoted few years to the movement initially, but as the government continued the project work and the movement consequently continued, they became part-time activists. Soon after the 1989 elections, the necessary of a leader was strongly felt but the absence of people with a towering stature, brought the situation back to status quo.

Membership Composition

The composite composition of the movement was evident with people belonging to different castes, political parties, gender, upghat and coastal areas,
occupations participation in the movement. The membership composition of the movement varied and was representative of each taluka. In this movement, though a good majority of the people would be affected by radiation in the long-run, all protested on environmental grounds. The Kaiga villagers who would be the most immediately affected due to displacement initially were part of the movement, but after 1988 dropped due to reasons cited earlier.

The strategy and forms of protests were Gandhian in nature as well as drawing from the local protest traditions. Non-violent mode of protest was very strongly adhered to and which in the later phases was tending to be violent. The youth were increasingly drawn to the contemplation of the exploration of violence as form of protest. The movement besides very few minor instances of stone throwing was throughout peaceful. The strategy of the movement though directed to the stopping of the KNPP, lacked in a clear perception of the nature of the issue and consequently in the conception of the appropriate strategy. The strategy followed was largely ad-hoc and as one respondent said was not result oriented and each event did not connect with the other. The lack of a long term strategy which was admitted by Nagesh Hegde was one of the reasons for the movement's inability to capitalise
on its gains, which was also due to the absence of a clear enemy. The people did not demonise or sacralize and instead appealed to the same government and the legal and political channels for justice. The main political parties Janata and Congress-I were united in their support to KNPP and though the local level political leaders were allowed initially to indulge in or participate in the movement, they did not perceive the movement to be a serious threat. Consequently, at the appropriate time especially the elections of 1989, pressure was exercised on their party members who deserted the environment fold. The movement though commanding support from a large section of the population was unable to exercise pressure on the MLAs and MLCs to influence the governments at the Centre and the state. Later with the decision to contest elections, the movement gave everyone room to use the movement for their own ends and this was openly admitted in the meetings of CANE. The political parties used environment for their own ends and the 1989 elections saw the political parties vying to get the support of the environmentalists who formed a substantial vote bank. The politicisation of the environment had begun.

The movement spanned from 1985 to 1992 and from then on movement activities ceased. The early years of the movement 1985-87 were the years of mobilisation and
awareness generation and the years of 1988 to 1989 saw the peak of the movement which achieved different kinds of successes. The elections of 1989 were a major blow to the movement and post-1989, the movement activities considerably lessened. The people were demoralised, had lost hope in the government, were tired and were waiting for the Supreme Court judgement. Almost all the leaders had given up and felt that whatever they do the government will not consider their wishes as greater forces are operating.