

SEVENTH
EVELYN HERSEY AND KHWAJA GULAM-US
SAIYIDAIN MEMORIAL LECTURE

APPIKO MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA

PANDURANG HEGDE

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These joint lecture series have been instituted in the memory of Evelyn Hersey and Khwaja Gulam-us Saiyidain. Evelyn Hersey was born on December 9, 1897 in the family of Clergyman. She took her Master's degree in Social Work from the University of Pennsylvania in 1938. In 1947, she came to India as the first Social Welfare Attache to the U.S. Embassy in Delhi. During the ten years that she stayed in India, Evelyn developed an abiding interest in the welfare of the people of this country.

During this period she came in close contact with the Delhi School of Social Work. She often shared with the members of the School community her deep understanding of welfare problems and programmes. Her sagacity, her vitality and optimism in the face of the most challenging and depressing problems could not but affect those with whom she came in contact. She was helpful in securing for the School substantial financial assistance at a time when it was in serious difficulties and it seemed doubtful if it would be able to survive at all. After she left India, she kept in close touch with the School which was in her thoughts even during her last moments. Her last wish was that instead of sending flowers to her funeral, her friends and relatives should send gifts to the School.

Khwaja Gulam-us Saiyidain was born in 1905 and educated in the Universities of Aligarh, London and Leeds. He served successively as Professor of Education, Aligarh Muslim University and Educational Advisor to the Government of Bombay and Jammu & Kashmir. In 1950, he joined the Government of India and became Secretary to the Ministry of Education in 1956. After his retirement from Government service he was appointed as Director of the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration. As a Visiting Professor he lectured at the Universities of Columbia, Wisconsin and Stanford. He was a member of the Indian Education Commission. In recognition of his services he was awarded the title of 'Padma Bhushan'.

Soft spoken and generous by temperament, Khwaja Saiyidain was deeply imbued with humanistic ideals and with a profound concern for the underprivileged. He was a prolific writer both in English and Urdu and was an enthusiastic exponent of Adult Education.

The Delhi School of Social Work, now known as the Department of Social Work, was fortunate in having him as the Chairman of its Managing Committee. From 1969 to his death on December 19, 1971 he was closely associated with the School and took keen interest in its programmes.

These series are a token of the esteem in which the above two distinguished personalities have been held by the Department community.

APPIKO MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA

The Context

This is an introductory report of an ecological movement going on in the Western Ghat region of Karnataka. An attempt is made to present the movement in a historical context. This report draws upon the experience of local people.

The Western Ghat mountain range from Gujarat to Kerala plays a crucial role in maintaining the environmental stability of the Deccan plateau. Important rivers like Krishna, Bhima, Cauvery and Tungabhadra originate from the thick forests of Western Ghats. The whole Western Ghat belt forms the catchment area of important rivers of South India. The forests of this region are known as tropical forests, which bring rain by intercepting monsoon winds. Amidst the green hills, there are small patches of cultivable land. The area is famous for black-pepper, cardamom, arecanut (Supari), coffee and banana. The forests have proved to be the perennial source of water to the region and have also made possible continuous supply of green manure. The total self-reliant life style of people has thus remained integrated with nature.

Uttara Kannada District is located on the northern tip of Karnataka, touching the Arabian sea. It lies in the midst of the Western Ghat belt of the Sahyadri range. The district used to be the southern most part of the erstwhile Bombay State and it was regarded as one of the most backward districts. It became part of the new State of Mysore following the formation of linguistic states in November 1956 (now known as Karnataka). There has been considerable development of the district since then and especially during the past two decades. The district now ranks fifth among the 19 districts of the state on the socio-economic ladder. The per capita income of the district was Rs. 406/- in 1977-78 (at 1960-61 prices). The population of the district, according to 1981 census, is 10 lakhs, the fourth lowest in the state. The density of population is 104 sq. km. per person. It is predominantly a rural district having only three towns with a population of about 50,000.

While urban poverty in the area is very high, rural poverty is very low. According to one study (Thimmaiah), the percentage of people below poverty line among the rural population of the district was 17.43 percent in 1974-75, whereas for the state as a whole it was 30.65 per cent. The percentage of literacy according to 1981 census is 48 for the district, and it ranks fourth in the state in terms of literacy. Male and female literacy rates are 57 and 38 respectively. In terms of male and female literacy rates also, the district retains its high rank.

The main occupation is agriculture. The net area sown as percentage to total geographical area is 10.3 per cent. Even without any irrigation facilities the district ranks fifth highest in rice production (1979-80: 133.5 tons) for the state. Rice is the staple diet of people. The district also stands as the third highest in the state in the production of banana (1979-80: 5.5. tons). The average size of operational holding is 1.3 hectares (1976-77). In terms of average yield of foodgrains (1354 kgs.per hectare), the district ranks second in the state.

Topographically the district is divided into the coastal belt and the hill section. There are, in all, eleven Talukas (tehsils) of which five are in the coastal belt and the remaining six are in the hilly areas of Sahyadri range. In the latter group are : Sirsi, Siddapur, Yellapur, Supa, Haliyal and Mundgod. The district was aptly called the "Forest District" as it had 80.8 percent of its geographical area under forest, ranking fifth among other forest districts in the country. The annual average rainfall is 2764 mms.

Out of its total forest area, 80.2 percent is Reserve Forest which is exclusively under the control of the Forest Department for its own utilization. Protected Forests include 6.55 percent of the total forest area, on which some concessions and privileges are allowed to local people. Village Forests occupy 0.2 per cent of the forest area, and they are meant for the benefit of the people in the villages under community ownership. The revenue earned by exploiting forest resources (in 1982-83) was Rs.40 crores for the state and the share of Uttar Kannada was Rs. 21 crores, which is more than half of the total forest revenue of the State.

There was a harmonious relationship between people and nature for a long time which was disturbed by the British rule. The forest was a community asset belonging to the people in the villages. The British, with a view to acquire control over this resource, took away the community right over forests. This resulted in people's revolt. One of the earliest movements against forest takeover was in 1831 which continued till 1837. This was popularly known as "Royta Kootas" (Farmers' Meet). The European soldiers were brought from far off plains of Bijapur to crush this revolt. After a century in 1930, the people started a movement, "Jungle Satyagraha" to oppose the oppressive forest policy of the British government. It continued for four years from 1930 to 1934 and coincided with the civil disobedience movement started by Gandhiji. This movement opposed the British forest policy, which was based on exploiting forest wealth to meet the ever increasing demand of growing cities and industries, thus ignoring the interest of rural people.

From 1883 onwards the British exploited forests in this area to grow plantations of teak. Even after independence the forest policy remained unchanged. The main thrust of the policy was to destroy tropical forests by raising monoculture plantations of teak and eucalyptus. Thus the commercial exploitation of forests continued even after independence under the name of "Scientific Management". The removal of mixed species of forests has caused irreversible damage to the eco-system. The poorest group of people staying amidst forest have been the worst sufferers of this policy of so-called scientific management of forest resources.

The destruction of natural forest in the catchment areas of rivers and hill slopes has also led to the high rate of soil erosion. Due to the removal of tree cover, sunrays hit the top soil which gets loosened, and is washed off in the rainy season. Thereafter the ground becomes hard like brick. This process is known as laterisation. The natural regeneration is affected adversely, and the area is converted into a barren land with laterite rocks.

There is a definite co-relation between the disappearance of wild life and the removal of mixed forests. Putta Gowda, an 80 year old man from Kabbe village said, "About 60 years back I have seen here wild elephants in herds. Bisons were common till 20

years back. There were tigers, deer and wild dogs, wild goats, wolves and a variety of birds. This is all history. Now we have only wild pigs, rabbits and monkeys". Putta Pakir Siddi of Mundige Jaddi said, "Now wild pigs have increased because the wild dogs which ate wild pigs have disappeared. There is no other animal which eats wild pigs." Thus the natural balance of wild life has been disturbed causing irreversible damage. Many species of wild life are now extinct. The monoculture plantation is not a proper habitat for wild life. The recent invasion of epitorium weed is also a major cause affecting the natural habitat of wild life.

The erratic rains have affected the agricultural yield. They have caused soil erosion leading to silting of tanks and dams, eventually affecting irrigation pattern. The scarcity of perennial water resources has affected the garden crop of cardamom and arecanut. The availability of green leaves for manure has decreased. The plantation of teak and eucalyptus has left the fields dry. Farmers are now unable to sow the fields in time. The cattle do not get enough fodder. While mixed forests contained varieties of trees and herbs of medicinal quality, they have now become extinct, and there is no local medicinal base. The honey trees are cut down by WIMCO, a multinational enterprise for matchwood, and by the plywood factories. Uttara Kannada was known for its black pepper. Now this major cash crop is wiped out totally by a new and unknown root disease. The whole self-reliant life style of the people is now threatened due to the damage caused to eco-systems.

The denudation of tropical forests is like eating ones' own capital stock. The rate of soil erosion has increased greatly in recent times causing flash floods. The hydro-electric dams have been affected by silting. Clearing of catchment areas of rivers has led to drying up of rivers in summer months. The forest cover is not so dense as to attract cloud. This has led to erratic rainfall in the whole Deccan plateau and also the Western Ghats.

After independence the Indian government continued the colonial forest policy of commercial exploitation of tropical forests. In addition to this, new developmental schemes were introduced in the region which aggravated the already worsening forest cover.

Uttar Kannada district, with 81 per cent of its geographical area under forests was categorised as a 'backward' district. Development of industries, it was assumed, would remove this backwardness. Major forest-based industries like paper mill and plywood factories were established. To exploit the water resources, a series of hydro-electric dams were constructed submerging large tracts of forest and agricultural land. The displaced people from these submerged areas were rehabilitated in new habitat by felling virgin forests in catchment areas of rivers. These major development schemes made an adverse impact on the ecosystem. They consumed a large area of natural forests in a short span of time, resulting in the reduction of forest cover in the district from 81 per cent in 1950-51 to 25 per cent in 1982-83. These three major 'p's—paper, plywood and power, resulted in the creation of ultimate 'P', that is, increasing 'Poverty' in the district, by destroying the resource base.

The cumulative effect of these developmental schemes was devastating. The rainfall pattern changed drastically, adversely affecting the rainfed agricultural economy, by reducing the crop-yields. The natural springs and streams dried up. This led to water scarcity. The natural forests were replaced with teak and eucalyptus plantations. This reduced the availability of green manure and fodder. The local herbs and medicinal plants in the natural forests became extinct. The area which was known as 'Pepper Queen' in the seventeenth century, has now become devoid of pepper.

The Uttara Kannada has witnessed struggles of man for exploiting the natural resources. The sustainable resource use of the earlier century was replaced by unsustainable policies in the guise of 'scientific forestry' and development. People gradually experienced the ill effects of these non-sustainable policies and resisted further destruction of their resource base. They organised themselves against the construction of a hydel dam across Bedthi river. This movement against the proposed hydel dam attracted nationwide attention and the government was compelled to shelve the project. During this movement, Chipko leaders from the Himalayas visited Uttara Kannada. The interaction between the Chipko activists and local people led to the sowing of seeds of

Chipko. Their sprouting and striking deep roots took the shape of a local movement, known as "Appiko" (embrace).

From Chipko to Appiko

Like a migrating bird the idea of embracing trees to protect them travelled to South India. It reached Uttara Kannada district in Karnataka, a region well known for its forest resources.

Salkani is a small village in the valley of Western Ghats. The area is well known for cardamom and areca gardens. People with small holdings cultivate the land with the help of perennial streams. There is a thick forest near the village. It is known as "Ammanavara Kadu" or "Forest of the Goddess". There is a tradition among the nearby villages to worship this Goddess during the early days of spring. A large number of people including men, women and children participate in this yearly worship. Every year the people gather at a fixed place, worship the forest deity and prepare food in the forest. In April, 1983, when they went to the forest to worship they were shocked to observe the devastation of the forest. The Forest Department had allowed the plywood factory to fell trees in this area. The thick forest was changed into a barren site. Villagers were also shocked to observe that the streams passing through the forest were almost dry. All the villagers, especially the youth, decided to organise the villagers against tree felling. They discussed the issue of tree-felling with other village people. A consensus was reached to write protest letters to the Forest Department and to the concerned ministers. They feared shortage of fuelwood, and water. Their main concern was drying up of streams, which was the life blood of their agricultural activities.

During the same time some youth groups of Gubbigadde village were seriously thinking of measures to stop deforestation. The Government Forest Department was planning to clear fell 40 hectares of natural forest and subsequently to plant teak in that area. However, a large area of natural forest near the village and elsewhere was clearfelled during the previous years. This had an adverse effect on the local economy, destabilising the delicate ecological equilibrium. With such evidence in front of them, the youth group decided to organise public opinion against felling of natural forests. The youth club of the local village took the

responsibility of organising village meetings. They also wrote a memorandum to higher forest officials. The officials warned the people not to create any hindrance in forest felling as they were following the scientific principle in felling these natural forests. The people replied to them by confirming their determination to launch a movement to protect the trees.

In the meantime, Sunderlal Bahuguna, one of the leaders of the Chipko movement visited Karnataka. The youth club contacted Bahuguna and invited him to Gubbigadde village. In a small school building Bahuguna gave an interesting account of the non-violent struggle in the Himalayas. The speech by this white-bearded man, with sparkling eyes, moved the people in the audience. Many of them had come from the nearby villages. There were both men and women who asked interesting questions. They asked as to how they could save the forest. Bahuguna told them the approach of non-violence by embracing trees. At the end, the people took an oath to save their forest by embracing trees. This important meeting of the Chipko leader in the south Indian village took place on the 15th August, 1983. It gave an opportunity to share the experiences of Chipko movement in the north. The youth club intensified its campaign to save the trees. Many young people responded. There was hectic activity all around, and people seemed to be determined to launch Chipko in their village.

In the early days of September, 1983, the Forest Department started felling trees in the Kalase Forest. This was some distance away from the inhabited villages. The Forest Department, sensing the awareness of the people in Gubbigadde village, shifted its venue of tree felling to a distant place, far away from the village. However, the news of tree felling reached the nearest village Salkani on the 6th September, 1983. The local youth club members sent a messenger to Gubbigadde. On the same day it was decided to launch the Chipko movement. The organisers moved into different directions contacting people—both men and women, and involving them for a mass action. Eventually all of them gathered in Salkani village, the one nearest to the Kalase forest.

On the 8th September, 1983, one hundred and sixty people including men, women and children started walking towards the

Kalase forest. They left the village before dawn and as the sun rose, they reached a stream. Every one was anxious. They had begun the journey to save forests and were ready to offer their life for the cause. There were no leaders. But the youth club activists explained to them the non-violent method of preventing felling of the trees by embracing them. As they crossed the stream on a hanging rope bridge, the gushing water of the stream gave them a noisy welcome. It was raining as they entered the forest. The leeches clung to the feet of these people to suck their blood. Though the people were very much aware of the presence of the leeches, in the height of their enthusiasm, they ignored them. They were in a hurry to reach the Kalase forest, and the spot where the axemen were camping.

As the axemen were preparing to move out of their huts, they observed the huge gathering of people coming towards them. They were very much surprised to see the women and children. Some axemen had already gone to fell the trees. Some people rushed towards the tree and before the axemen could put the first stroke on it, a group of young men and children embraced the trunk. The axemen were puzzled. They could not strike the human-bodies with their axe and so they stopped felling.

The chief of the axemen approached the people and asked, "why are you embracing the trees? Why are you obstructing us from chopping this tree"? One of the activists explained why they had come and the reason for launching the Chipko movement. The headman replied immediately, "we have felled forests for many years. We know what happens if trees are cut. Drought and famine will follow and it will harm agriculture. And yes, you may have to leave your village due to scarcity of water. But you should have started this movement ten years back. Now only a small patch of forest is left". They were aware of the consequences of deforestation and welcomed the people. An axeman enquired, "Why should you bring these women and children to such forest areas? Even if only a few of you were here, it was possible to stop the tree-felling. We are employed by the Forest Department. Now we will start felling only when the Forest Officer comes and settles the matter with you. Don't fear that we will fell the trees. We assure you

that we will not touch the axe till the Forest Officer comes here to discuss with you". Thus the workers too came forward with their support to save the forests. The Chipko movement reached south India in September, 1983.

On the 22nd September, 1983, the District Forest Officer came to Salkani with a team of scientists and influential public leaders. A village meeting was held and the Officer insisted that the agitators should withdraw the movement. He argued that the trees were being felled according to scientific principles and that it was necessary to meet the fuelwood demand of Sirsi town. The people were determined to protect the forest and they insisted that any discussion regarding the felling of trees could take place after an inspection of the forest.

The whole team walked into the forest. The Officer had the first experience of crossing a knee-deep stream and the bite of leeches. Many village people were with the team. As they approached the site of felled trees, the scientist surveyed one hectare of forest and conducted a detailed study of felling activity. Later he submitted a report which said, "we agree that both the contentions of the Youth Club, namely excessive damage in the course of felling, and excessive concentration of trees marked for felling were in fact true. The people should be complimented for having brought this to the notice of the authorities".

This support from the scientist boosted the morale of activists. They gained more strength and their determination to save the forests became more firm. The local news-papers carried special reports of the movement. Within days the movement was launched in various forest areas by the people and they renamed it as APPIKO. 'Chipko' is a Hindi term for hugging or embracing. 'Appiko' is a local word for Chipko in Kannada language. Thus Chipko became Appiko in south India.

Chipko and Appiko—Differences and Similarities

Chipko and Appiko have opted for a common approach to save the remaining forests by embracing the trees. This non-violent approach is the basic element of similarity.

However, in the Himalayas the effect of deforestation is visible in a short span and land-slides show the devastating effects of removing green cover. In Western Ghats such quick effects are rare. In the Himalayas, it is the women who are the main supporters due to the acute shortage of fuelwood and fodder. In Karnataka, the situation is not so serious. Though women took active part in the Appiko, there is no shortage of fuelwood and fodder. Compared to the Himalayan women, the women in Western Ghat are better off. They can still collect fuel and fodder in the vicinity of their villages.

The crisis in Karnataka was much more related to the impact of exploiting natural forests and eventual change in the ecological balance. This change has had a serious effect on the lives of local people and their agriculture. People were much concerned as they were able to clearly see a link between deforestation and ecological changes. So they decided to take some action, and the action of hill women appealed to them most.

In Chipko, the whole movement had a firm background of Sarvodaya workers who were working for almost three decades. But there was no such base in Karnataka. The Appiko was launched by a youth group who had some success in tackling issues of gambling and drinking. The reasons for the emergence of Appiko are found in the local culture. People have cultural links with the forest. Most villages have 'Forest Goddesses'. Appiko revived these cultural practices to enthuse people and to generate confidence in them.

The historical struggles for forest rights waged by the people in 1831 and 1930 in this district, then known as North Kanara, provided a base for the present Appiko movement. The recent agitation against the hydel dam provided the ecological perspective.

It is very important to note that the fracture of the relationship between forests and people in the Uttara Kannada district was a phenomenon of 1950's. So it was much easier to make the people

aware of the disintegrating factors. In the Himalayas, commercial felling has continued for over a century, and therefore to re-establish the links between man and nature is a tough task.

One of the most important aspects of the Appiko movement is the long experience and goodwill generated by Chipko struggle in the north. Due to this experience, the people in the Appiko movement were able to keep it apolitical. This has helped them to avoid the pitfalls of the Chipko struggle, and the youth, who initiated Appiko were able to start with the ecological objectives which was a later addition to the Chipko movement of the north.

While the Chipko has the leadership of charismatic people like Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Appiko does not have such leaders. It is led by young activists under the guidance of a local youth, who had both professional training in social work and the opportunity of studying the Chipko movement in the Chamoli and Tehri Garhwal Districts of U.P. led by Sarvodaya workers of the Gandhian tradition.

Non-Violence in Action

Husri is a small village with 45 families, all of them depending on agriculture. Most of them are marginal farmers with some cultivable land. They collect leaf-litter to manure their fields. They suffered a major setback in 1969, as the natural forest of 900 acres was clear-felled near their village to plant eucalyptus. This clear felling resulted in the shortage of fuelwood and manure. The wood to make agricultural equipment was difficult to find. The medicinal herbs and honey trees had also disappeared. The villagers experienced decrease in agricultural yield due to erratic rainfall.

In October, 1983, the Forest Department sent axemen to chop more trees near Husri. The people invited Appiko activists and a village meeting was organised. They decided to launch Appiko and the next morning two hundred people--men, women and children--marched into the forest. They stopped the chopping of trees by

embracing them. Groups of people clung to tree trunks and within a short time the felling activity came to a halt. The contractor went to the forest office, and the District Forest Officer came to the forest. He sat with people and discussed with them. He pleaded that these trees have to be felled to meet the fuelwood demand of Sirsi town. The people posed the question : "After you fell trees, there will be no trees left for our agricultural implements or for manure. Where shall we go?" He said that they were planting new trees. Immediately one of the local people remarked, "you plant teak and eucalyptus. They cannot provide us manure or fodder." As the discussion continued, the officer told them his inability to give an order to stop felling of trees. People told him that they would embrace the trees to save them.

Some people wanted to 'gherao' the Officer for the whole day. However, the organisers of the movement explained to them the futility of such coercive action. They said, "this kind of 'gherao' by people will invite retaliatory measures by the police who may resort to violence to free the Officer. Moreover, people will not achieve anything by troubling this Officer. The goal of Appiko is to bring a change in forest policy. This Officer is an individual, who is not capable of changing the policy. It will be better to request the Officer to write to his higher officials and to the Forest Minister, who have power to change the policy". The people agreed to this suggestion and they requested the Officer to represent their case to higher officials and the Minister. Thus, at a crucial point, a confrontation with a potential of developing into a violent incident, was averted by the intervention of activists. The people were enabled to view this Officer as a human being who was performing his duty as a part of the total system. They also tried to change the attitude of this Officer and persuade him to accept their suggestion.

This non-violent approach was helpful in making the Appiko a great success. The movement drew state-wide attention and support, and the state government sent the Forest Minister to the area to study the situation first hand and to make the necessary changes in the forest policy in the light of it.

Forest Minister's Visit

By December, 1983, the Appiko movement had spread to eight specific forest areas in Uttara Kannada District. The response from the people was overwhelming. The news-papers and magazines carried special articles on the movement, considering the statewide interest of the public in the movement.

In the last week of December, 1983, the Forest Minister, Mr. Jivijiya visited Sirsi, the town near the villages where Appiko had begun. He held discussions with people and decided to walk in those forest areas. In Bilgal forest area, about 400 people walked with the Minister in teak plantations. An old man presented a bundle of eupatorium flowers (blue mist) to the Minister. It was a symbolic present because the forest area in Karnataka is threatened by the invasion of this weed.

The people took the Minister to the teak plantations. They showed him how the dry condition of soil had not allowed any undergrowth. They also took him to the natural forest area to show the difference. The people demanded that these natural forests be saved to maintain the ecological balance. An hour long meeting was held under the shade of trees. The officers fumbled in answering the questions of the villagers. At the end, the Forest Minister agreed to stop the clear felling of natural forests in that area.

The Minister also visited Kalase forest where the Appiko was launched. He saw the place where excessive felling of trees had taken place. Everywhere the village people turned up in large numbers in forest areas visited by the Minister. They asked questions to the Minister and the forest officials. This spontaneous response by the village people demonstrated the strength of the local movement.

At the end of his visit, the Forest Minister agreed that the present method of tree felling is responsible for the destruction of forest, and that it would be changed keeping in view the ecological aspects. He assured the people that no clear felling of natural forests would take place thereafter. He gave specific orders to stop the felling of already marked green trees. He announced to the village people that only dead and dry trees will be cut from the

forest. This was a great success for people's movement within a short span of six months.

The visit by the Minister enhanced the confidence of rural people. They saw the success of people's power, wherein their strength compelled the government to send a Minister to acquaint himself with the situation which sparked off the 'save forest' movement. Their determination to follow the path of nonviolence to protect nature attracted nationwide attention.

Problems

The major problem has been the reaction from vested interests, i.e. groups of forest contractors and bureaucrats. The forest contractors tried to instigate violence by deliberately provoking the local people. However, the people kept cool inspite of these provocations. The contractors even tried to bribe the police force, asking them to register false cases against the protesting people. Even this failed as the police declined to oblige the contractors.

Later the forest officials resorted to a sustained propaganda in the press dubbing Appiko as unscientific and anti-development. They argued that people were solely responsible for destroying forest resources.

The local politicians tried hard to make use of Appiko movement to broaden their popular base. They tried to bring pressure and sent their men to infiltrate the core group of Appiko. But the strong determination and the will of local activists foiled their tactics. The politicians were kept aloof from any decision-making process concerning the Appiko movement.

Objectives of Appiko

Appiko is struggling for an alternative development strategy to establish harmonious relationship between man and nature. There are three major objectives of the movement.

Preservation

To save the remaining tropical forest resource of the Western Ghats, and involve local action groups to take responsibility for

launching Appiko, and to demand a basic change in the forest policy from commercial and revenue-based objective to ecological objective of preserving soil and water of this region.

Restoration

To grow more trees and to create an atmosphere for natural regeneration of forests in the denuded area. The idea is to plant five 'F' trees, named Food, Fruit, Fodder, Fuelwood, Fertiliser and Fibre trees. Local participation is an essential part of this objective.

Rational Use

This is basically directed towards people. At times people are also responsible for the depletion of forests. Appiko tries to bring attitudinal change among people. It pertains to changing the harmful practices followed by local people, like lopping the tree in rainy season etc. Appiko also propagates alternative energy sources like bio-gas plants and improved stoves etc. This aim is the rational use of eco-sphere.

To accomplish the above objectives, an informal institution, "Parisara Sanmrakshana Kendra (Environmental Conservation Centre)" has been formed in Sirsi. Various activists from village groups have got together to form this organisation which is not a registered body.

Communication

Appiko Movement has successfully used well known rural communication techniques. In rural areas, street-plays, folk songs and dance drama on nature preservation conveyed the message to a large number of people. Yakshagana, a traditional folk theatre has adopted the idea of sustainable development and these plays have attracted wide public attention through-out the state and many parts of the country. In simple words, it conveys the idea of harmony between man and nature for eternal prosperity.

In addition to these cultural activities, the activists have launched numerous Padayatras in the interior villages to spread the message. In 1987, Appiko activists covered a distance of 1450

kilometers in the Western Ghats, along the river catchments. This Padayatra involved local people in various districts of Karnataka. The slide shows, and lectures by activists in the schools and colleges are an attempt to involve the younger generation by creating environmental awareness among them.

The press at the state and national levels has played an important role in spreading the ideas of the Appiko movement to wider sections of people. In Karnataka, literary men, poets and the cartoonists have contributed their talent in conveying the message.

Impact of Appiko Movement

Within a short time, the movement has become wellknown all over Karnataka. It has given a new impetus to the ecological awareness. People in Kodagu, another hill district of Karnataka, have also launched Appiko movement to save the forests from the axemen of plywood factory. They have stayed in forests for months. Eventually, they have forced the state government to issue orders to ban felling in the forests of Kodagu district. Spreading of this movement from one part of Karnataka to another is a clear indication of the success of Appiko message.

The government has also responded positively. It has changed the forest policy and has reoriented it to correspond with the maintainance of ecological stability in the interest of the people. Recently, the state government has issued orders to stop felling of green trees in the Western Ghats. Thus, the movement has attained some success in changing the government policies.

Basic features

The movement is not controlled by any single organisation. It involves people at the grassroots level and the decisions are taken by local groups themselves. The decentralisation of decision-making has been instrumental in building local leadership in various areas. People have gained self-confidence when local organisations have achieved success. This has awakened people's power as they are asking for change in the government policy. The movement is also self-reliant in meeting its financial needs. The resource is

generated from local people, in cash and kind. Financial and political independence are the dominant features of people's movements like Appiko and Chipko. Here, one should make a clear distinction between the functioning of non-governmental organisations and those of people's movement. Movements have a wider base. They are without any hierarchy ; there are volunteers but not paid workers. The movement provides opportunities to all the sections of society to contribute their talent to attain the objective. At times, the presence of non-governmental organisations acts as hindrance to the emerging people's movement. A people's movement cannot be run by "professional" workers with career orientation who seek security and comforts of life. It requires "devoted" people to work for the cause and be prepared to live an austere life amidst people. The major achievement of Appiko is the involvement of devoted activists to spread the message.

In conclusion, Appiko or Chipko movement is the manifestation of the failure of current development process that exploits natural resources for the benefit of a few. The movement is attempting to redefine development process which is sustainable. It lays emphasis on harmony between man and nature with its slogan : "Ecology is permanent economy".

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