

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

1815

British occupy the Kumaon region (Almora, Pithoragarh and Nainital) following the Nepalese war.

1824-5

Bishop Reginold Heber describes the environmental deterioration of Kumaon in his book "*Narrative of a Journey*" through the Upper Provinces of India. Increasing population and indiscriminate grazing of cattle are some of the reasons he listed down in his book.

1840s

British entrepreneurs start penetrating even the higher mountain valleys.

1850-5

In Tehri Garhwal, state forests were leased out to contractors for exploitation. After the lease expired, the forests reverted back to the state which established its own forest department. The result was that the local people resented this encroachment; village economy dependent on forests was destroyed due to excessive logging and the severity of the new laws; the exodus of able-bodied males to the plains in search of livelihood began; out of resentment and hatred towards the forest officials, locals cut trees whenever possible.

1845

Improved system of floating logs down the Ganga and its tributaries was developed.

1850s

District officials report that the lowland forests have lost their best timber due to excessive felling. An Englishman named Wilson obtained lease to exploit all the forests of the Kingdom of Tehri Garhwal, for an annual rent of Rs. 400. Railways in India experience phenomenal growth. Supplies of fuel and timber met from Uttarakhand.

1864

Impressed by Wilson's successful timber business, British rulers in the northwestern provinces leased the forests for twenty years and engaged Wilson to exploit the forests for them.

1865

Indian Forests Act was passed. Till then no system of conservation was in force in the British areas, as a result of which, valuable forests were wantonly destroyed by government contractors.

1878

The 1865 Act proved to be inadequate and, hence, another Forests Act was passed in 1878. With the passing of the Indian Forests Act of 1878, most of the forests were brought under the control of the state forest department. Gradually, forests were classified as reserved and protected:

1906

Due to the loss of their traditional rights to use forests, the morning of 28th December witnessed 200 villagers, armed with sticks, attacking officials inspecting a forest surrounding the Chandrabadni Temple near the town of Tehri. The Conservator of Forest lost his gun and tent, but was lucky to escape with his life.

1907

The Governor of the United Provinces at the Bareilly Durbar declared that the government was taking over the hill forests for their protection rather than for the purpose of commerce.

1916

Sridev Suman, whose ideas had a profound impact on Sunderlal Bahuguna, is born.

1930

People gathered at Tehri Garhwal on May 30th to protest against forest policies. State police fires on them. Seventeen killed and many seriously wounded.

1947

Mirabehn, Gandhi's disciple sets up '*Pashulok*', a centre for cattle development, at Rishikesh. Sunderlal Bahuguna enters politics.

1949

Tehri Garhwal became an integral part of the Union of India on 1st August.

1956

Sunderlal Bahuguna leaves party politics to work directly with the rural poor. He sets up the *Navjeevan Ashram*. This ashram was later used as the Chipko Information Centre, by the Chipko activities.

1958

Before returning to Europe, Mirabehn writes an insightful article entitled "*Something Wrong in the Himalaya*" for The Hindustan Times. Here she wrote about the perils of deforestation, commercial forestry and the cause of floods in the plains.

1956-60

Sunderlal Bahuguna started a school at his ashram and organized a cooperative aimed at securing road building jobs for the locals.

1960

Vinoba Bhave asked Sunderlal Bahuguna to take the message of *Gram Swaraj* to the republics. Sunderlal Bahuguna and others spread this message from village to village.

1962

After the Chinese invasion, development works were accelerated. Forests were cleared to build army cantonments.

1963

Sunderlal Bahuguna writes an article for the Hindustan Times, pointing out the condition of the Himalayan forests and says this could lead to floods.

1964

Chandi Prasad Bhatt and others form the *Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh* (DGSS), with the aim of starting village industries based on natural resources of the forests. Two years earlier Bhatt had organized the labourers and managed to get a fair deal for them from the labour contractors.

1964-68

The DGSS made a fairly good start. Timber was sold by the Uttar Pradesh forest department by auctioning the forest lot. The highest bidder got the timber. Despite having no resources, the Sangh managed to win four contracts with the help of the goodwill of the people, donations and interest free loans. Profits were made and workers received lot more than they would have under an outside contractor. The contractors however managed to outbid the Sangha and make up the difference through illegal felling.

1968

On May 30th, memorial was created in memory of the people killed in Tehri Garhwal the same day, 38 years ago. This day was declared as Forest Day.

1969

Sunderlal Bahuguna and other Sarvodaya workers take a pledge to protect the forests on May 30th. The Sangha turned to collecting medicinal herbs from the mountains, to ensure a livelihood for the workers. Exploitative middlemen were cut out and the Sangha started marketing the herbs themselves to the benefit of the workers.

1970

The disastrous flooding of the Alkananda leaves many dead and property worth crores destroyed. DGSS and other *Gram Swarajya Sanghs* decide to set up small resin and turpentine factories processing resin (the sap of the *chir* pine). The government, however, was not forthcoming with the resin, as most of it was earmarked for the Indian Resin and Turpentine factory in Barcilly. Moreover, even the little resin provided to DGSS was at a 30% higher rate than the rate charged from the Indian Resin and Turpentine factory.

1971

In October, villagers demonstrated at Gopeshwar against the Uttar Pradesh Forest Department's policy of supplying resin. Due to lack of resin, factories had to be shut down.

1972

National Herald (Lucknow) carries a report on November 9th on the work done by the Sangh and the hardship faced by them, because of the government policy concerning resin. Swami Chidanandji of Rishikesh undertook a month long tour to bless the people in their struggle against the Forest Department. Rallies were organized on December 11th at Uttarkashi and Gopeshwar to protest against government policies concerning resin.

1973

At the beginning of the year, the Forest Department refused to provide a few Ash trees to the DGSS, for their small woodcraft-unit, but allotted 300 Ash trees from the Mandal forest, 13 kilometres from Gopeshwar, to Symonds Company, which manufactured sports goods. The villagers decided to fight. At one of the meetings of the villagers on March 27th, Chandi Prasad Bhatt vows to hug the trees, to prevent them from being felled. The word Chipko (hug) is used for the first time. Agents of the Symonds Company, seeing a huge gathering in the Mandal forest on April 24th, leave without felling the trees. DGSS demand the inclusion of local people in forest administration and management. Sunderlal Bahuguna and folk singer, Ghanshyam Shalini, take this message to the villages. In mid-May, government informs DGSS, that the Mandal forest Ash

trees would be allotted to it and Symonds Company would be given Ash trees from Phata forest, 80 kilometers northwest of Gopeshwar. DGSS workers and other activists descend on Phata forest on June 24th to prevent the felling of trees. Government advises the company to wait, as the contract was valid for 6 months. Company officials move from village to village from July to December explaining that since they had paid money for the trees, they should be allowed to cut them. The villagers, however, were adamant. On 31st December, company's permit expired. Government decides to auction the Reni Forest in November. Chandi Prasad Bhatt Pleads against it, but the government auctions the forest.

1973-74

Chandi Prasad Bhatt organizes the villagers between November to March and they decide to protect the Reni Forest.

1974

Government requests Bhatt to stay in Gopeshwar on March 26th for talks and also announces that compensation will be made on the same day, for those who lost their land to the Army during the Chinese invasion. The payment ensures that Bhatt is out of the way of the company labourers. The biggest demonstration in the hills was held against felling on March 31st. The Reni forest was finally saved. Sunderlal Bahuguna and several young people start out on the historic Uttarkhand--traversing padyatra on May 25. During the padyatra, they explain to the villagers the need for conserving forests. Sunderlal Bahuguna entered the auction hall (where forests of Dehradun, Nainital, Kotdwara, Uttarkashi and Tehri were to be auctioned) on October 3rd and made an impassioned plea for halting of processing. His appeal, however, went unheeded and he decided to undergo an indefinite fast at the nearby Hanuman temple. The government decided to set up a committee to inquire into the demands of the Chipko movement and a moratorium on auctions was imposed. Government also made raw materials more readily available to the villagers as a result of which local cooperation flourished.

1975

Anniversary of the successful Reni struggle was celebrated on the banks of the Rishi Ganga river on March 31st. Sarvodaya leaders said Chipko would recommence to save the Shital forest, on the banks of the river Mandakini, which had been auctioned by then.

1975

On June 5th, large demonstration was held by villagers in Gopeshwar to protest against the abuse of the forest by government officials to decorate their gardens. The district magistrate publicly apologized and assured the villagers that their rights would not be infringed.

1975-76

Sunderlal Bahuguna spent most of his time in long padyatras, educating the people about the need for environmental protection. He saw that local cooperatives were felling trees for their industries, and called for a total ban on commercial felling. Sarvodaya workers started reforestation programmes.

1977

At the International Vegetarian Congress in Delhi, Richard St Barbe Baker, who founded Men of the Trees organization, introduced Bahuguna to Schumacher's book, which advocated that small is beautiful. This was to have a profound impact on Sunderlal Bahuguna to Schumacher's book, which advocated that small is beautiful. This was to have a profound impact on Sunderlal Bahuguna. A slogan shouting procession enters a forest in the Hemawalghati region of Tehri Garhwal on May 30th and applied mudpacks and sack plasters to the wounds of recently tapped pine trees. A meeting organized at Sarala Behn's ashram in June to discuss Chipko is attended by all activities and intellectuals like D. D. Pant. As the resolution calling for the felling of green trees fell on deaf ears, activists commenced a programme of removing iron blades inserted in the trees for tapping resin from June to October. Women also took part in large numbers. Despite the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution, which made it mandatory to protect the environment, the auctions continued in Garhwal and about 1,000 trees were cut in Advani and Salet forests.

1977

A group of women led by Bechni Devi, who was the wife of the local village head, himself a contractor, entered the Advani forest on December 5th to protect the auctioned trees from being felled. Dhum Singh Negi, a Chipko activist, fasted for five days to make the people fearless. In the Salet forest too, activists prevented the felling of trees by hugging them.

1978

The disastrous Bhagirathi flood and recurrent landslides in mid-1977, galvanized public opinion against felling. During this year, the trees of the local forest in Ranichauri region and Amarsae forest near Kangal village in Tehri Garhwal were saved by the activists by hugging the trees. Similarly trees in the Malgaddi Forest were also saved.

1979

Sunderlal Bahuguna commenced an indefinite fast in the forest to awaken environmental consciousness on January 9th. He was arrested, but broke fast only on 2nd February, when the state government promised to stop fallings and when the chief minister met him. It was during this stage that the Chipko leadership began to see environment from different angles. While Bahuguna wanted a complete ban on commercial felling, DGSS wanted to maintain commercial felling if it was for local purposes. Government issued a moratorium on the green felling, claiming this was done to protect Sunderlal Bahuguna, who was on an indefinite fast. Bahuguna was discredited and a rift developed between him and the people.

1980

The state government proposed to set up a cottage industry below Sunderlal Bahuguna's ashram, in order to further discredit him. They financed the setting up of a small bobbin and shuttle factory. But the contractor was allotted trees that were an important source of fodder for the villagers the during scarcity season. The locals decided to protect the trees and the government designs were foiled. On January 26th, Government awarded a Padmashri to Sunderlal

Bahuguna, who initially accepted it, but later rejected it saying “*I do not deserve this till the flow of flesh and blood of mother earth is stopped*”.

1981

Sunderlal Bahuguna began a long *padayatra* from Kashmir to Kohima in May. He commenced his *padayatra* from Srinagar to spread his message of Chipko.

1983

In February, Sunderlal Bahuguna reached Kohima. He wrote extensively during his travel about the degradation of forests and urged the people to live harmoniously with nature. Since then, Sunderlal has traveled extensively, writing articles, giving lectures and spreading his message of Chipko.

1984

Women from Bacher, a village near Gopeshwar prevented the *Van Nigam* from felling dead trees in nearby forests as it would lead to soil erosion.

APPENDIX II
CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE NARMADA VALLEY
PROJECTS (SSP AND MHP) AND THE EVOLUTION AND
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN

1946

The governments of Bombay State and the Central Provinces implement studies on the possibility of dam-building on the Narmada River.

1957

Proposal that the site of what was to become the Sardar Sarovar Project should be located at Navagam, Bombay State

1959-60

Central Water and Power Commission develop project proposal which is passed on to the Government of Bombay. As Bombay State is divided in 1960, the project becomes the responsibility of Gujarat. The Planning Commission sanctions the project.

1964

Appointment of Narmada Water Resources Development Committee as a response to conflicts between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh over the project and the allocation of its costs and benefits.

1965

The NWRDC submits its report, allocating 13.9 million acre feet of water to M.P. and 10.6 million acre feet to Gujarat. The report is rejected by the government of M.P.

1969

The central government appoints Narmada Waters Disputes Tribunal to determine the amount of water available at the dam-site and determine its distribution between Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan.

1974

The riparian states come to an agreement that the amount of water available at the dam-site is 28 MAF, and that Maharashtra and Rajasthan should be allotted 0.25 MAF and 0.5 MAF respectively. The mandate of the NWDT becomes that of distributing the remaining 27.25 MAF between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, the height of the dam, and the level of the attached canal network.

1978

The Maheshwar Hydroelectric Project is conceived under the auspices of the Narmada Valley Development Authority as part of the emerging NVDP master plan.

1979

The NWDT Award is delivered; M.P. is allotted 18.25 MAF and Gujarat 9 MAF. The Award declared the SSP height as 455 feet in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar at 860 feet in Madhya Pradesh. The Award also become the basis for the overarching NVDP scheme, and spelled out principles for comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation.

1979-80

The World Bank sanctions a loan of USD 450.000 to the project – before it is cleared by the Indian government. The NWDT Award faces opposition in the form of a popular local upsurge, the Nimad Bachao Andolan.

1983

'Kalpavriksha', an environmental group prepares a report on the Narmada Valley Dams, indicating possible adverse social and environmental impacts.

1985-1986

ARCH-Vahinai, a NGO in Gujarat raises the issue of better resettlement of oustees and demands land for all oustees. In February 1986, the Maharashtra oustees form 'Narmada Dhanagrast Samiti'. A demand conference is held in Dhadgaon to demand full information regarding displacement, cost-benefit ratio and resettlement plans.

1987-88

During January to May, several Sarvodaya activists form the 'Narmada Ghati Nav Nirman Samiti in Madhya Pradesh. Clearance is given to the project by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (following an intervention by Rajiv Gandhi) despite several studies remaining incomplete. Construction of the SSP commences. In January 1988, people from six villages affected by the dam colony organize under the banner of Narmada Asargrast Sangharsh Samiti. Around 4000 oustees of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh demonstrate at Kevadia on 30th January of 1988. In May, 250 oustees and activists from the three states have a 14 hours discussion with the Narmada Control Authority (NCA) and the activists give an ultimatum to the NCA. On August 18, 1988 The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) was formed, uniting communities in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat in opposition against the SSP. Most of 1988-89 revolved around strengthening the organization of the affected communities, developing the international campaign against World Bank funding, and lobbying of state governments. The Planning Commission gives

conditional clearance to the Maheshwar project in October 1988. In December some 25 organisations in Gujarat meet in Ahmedabad to question the SSP.

1989

On January 30 1989, Satyagraha against the imposition of Official Secrets Act is held in the ten villages around the SSP. A major rally takes place at the SSP site attended by some 10,000 people from the valley. In April there is a major rally taking place in Bhopal against the SSP. During April 16-18, NBA activists meet in Saurashtra at Rajkot. The NBA activists present the case against the SSP and American Policy in US Congress Sub-Committee on Agriculture and Environment. By the end of September Harsud rally takes place. The project (MHP) is passed on to the Madhya Pradesh State Electricity Board in the same year.

1990

On 6th of March, 1990 around 10,000 activists of the NBA block the Bombay-Agra highway for 28 hours, demanding a full review of the SSP. The Patwa government of M.P. promises review at state level and that it will bring forth the demand to the central government, but reneges on these promises due to internal divisions in the government. On March 28, 1990 Dharna in Mumbai to put pressure on the Pawar government; several activists go on fast from March 29-April 5. Pawar issues a letter assuring that no submergence will take place until land is secured for the oustees, but no practical consequences come of this. In April demonstrations outside the Ministry of Labour and the Boat Club in Delhi is held which yield little result. Sit-in demonstration outside V. P. Singh's residence in Delhi (May 14-18) results in talks with the PM, who agrees to initiate a review of the project. These promises, however, are stymied by the intervention of Chinmanbhai Patel, the CM of Gujarat. In the same month, Demonstrations are held at Alirajpur and Badwani in Madhya Pradesh in support of Mumbai Action. On December 25, 1990 nearly 6,000 activists set off on the Sangharsh Yatra from Rajghat in M.P. towards the dam-site in Gujarat. The march is stopped by massive police forces at the border village of Ferkuwa. NBA activists go on hunger strike from January 7-28. The hunger strike is called off after the World Bank announces that it will initiate an independent review of the

project and the federal government pledges that an all-India review team will be established.

1991

The World Bank announces the team that will conduct the independent review of the SSP on June 17, which is to be headed by Bradford Morse and Thomas Berger. In July the first satyagraha is staged in the village of Manibeli, Maharashtra. The activists are met with fierce repression by the police and dam-supporters. In September the Morse Commission starts its work.

1992

March 21, 1992 sees attack on Manibeli by 400-500 Maharashtra police and additional dam-supporters. The attack inaugurates a month-long siege of Manibeli. In June the Morse Commission issues its report, stating that it considered the SSP was a flawed project and recommending that the World Bank step back from the project. In July 1992, there is the first satyagraha of the oustees of the Bargi Dam. First debate between the NBA and the Government of Gujarat is arranged at Jamnagar in Gujarat on September 12th.

1993

The World Bank withdraws from the SSP in March. The NBA reinvigorates its struggle for a full review of the project. On June 3, following failure on behalf of state and central governments to respond to the NBA's demands for review, a two-week long fast is staged in Mumbai. The fast is called off as the central government pledges to instigate a review. No tangible follow-up actions are made and by early July adivasi villages in Maharashtra and Gujarat were being submerged. On 16 July the waters reach the satyagraha site of Manibeli, and the NBA threatens to launch *Jal Sampanan* if a review of the SSP is not put in place. August 6 is put as a deadline. World Bank funding of the project cedes in the wake of a damning independent review. As the first hydroelectric project in Indian history, the MHP is privatized. The project is taken up by the Shree Maheshwar Hydrel Power Corporation Limited

— a company set up by the textile company S. Kumars. SMHPCL seeks foreign takers for 49% of the equity.

1994

In February 1994, the sluice gates of the SSP are closed. The action is in complete disregard of a statement by the Minister of Water and Forests that closing the sluice gates would be in violation of decisions made by the Narmada Control Authority. In May the NBA submits public interest litigation to the Supreme Court, claiming that the SSP violates people's right to life and livelihood. During July/August the satyagraha proceeds, but under less dramatic circumstances than previous years. In December the FMG issues its report, which lends support to several of the NBA's criticisms of the SSP. The Ministry of Environment and Forests give conditional clearance to the MHP.

1995

In January after hearing the arguments of the petitioners and the respondents, the Supreme Court orders the Five Member Group to prepare a report on the hydrology and height of the SSP, as well as resettlement and rehabilitation and environmental impact. In April the FMG submits its report, which states that the SSP could only be completed if: (i) studies and plans pertaining to resettlement and rehabilitation and environmental impacts were completed; (ii) if the affected communities were granted full participation in and information about the construction-process; (iii) there was a restructuring of the dam bureaucracy to ensure its efficient functioning. In May the Supreme Court imposes a stay on the construction of the SSP while it examines the FMG report. During November-December Supreme Court hearings proceed after the submission of further materials by the involved parties. Finally Dam-work stops on the orders of the Supreme Court after the Narmada Bachao Andolan submits public interest litigation to the Supreme Court, claiming that the SSP violates the basic rights of the affected population.

1996

Further Supreme Court hearings continues further in January 1996. During July-August the satyagraha becomes the focal point of the Andolan's launch of its programme of constructive activities called the *Nav Nirman*. In August new rounds of Supreme Court hearings take place; the Supreme Court declares that human rights are clearly at risk due to the construction of the project, and that the failure to comply with environmental agreements constitutes a violation of Indian and international law. The Supreme Court also argues that the NWDT's Award is not incontrovertible and that it may pass judgement on the project. An indefinite stay is imposed on the dam. NAPM is formally launched in its First national Convention at Wardha during April 19-25.

1997

In February 1997 the NBA is approached by representatives from the communities affected by the MHP in East Nimad, who ask for help in mobilizing against the dam. In April a rally is held in Mandleshwar town. Following the rally, NBA activists tour the area to mobilize the affected communities. Again in October a rally of 12,000 people is held in Mandleshwar town against the MHP. The Sub Divisional Magistrate is confronted with shortcomings in official documents. The rally is followed by intense mobilization. During 1997-98 construction on the MHP begins, with the US companies Pacgen and Bechtel involved. Both companies withdraw in the wake of NBA protests. The German companies Bayernwerke and Vereinigte Elektrizitätswerke Westfalen, along with Siemens enter into the project.

1998

On January 11, approximately 25,000 people capture the MHP-site; six activists launch an indefinite fast and demand a full review of the project. After 21 days the government of Madhya Pradesh declares that a full review would be instigated. A Task Force is constituted. The GoMP imposes a stay on the dam, but lifts it after pressure from SMHPCL and foreign investors. During April 22-23, near about 3,000 people seize the dam-site; the siege is broken up by heavy police repression. Again

during May-July the NBA blocks the roads leading to and from the dam-site. The action is subject to mass arrests and heavy police repression. In October the Task Force report is released, containing conclusions and recommendations which lend support to the NBA's criticisms of the MHP. The GoMP sets aside the TF recommendations of imposing a stay on the dam and allow the construction of the dam to proceed – albeit in January 1999, after the state elections.

1999

January sees a new round of dam-site seizures by the NBA. On April 6, the NBA launches an indefinite dharna in Bhopal, demanding a full review of all Narmada dams and implementation of the recommendations for alternative electricity generation programmes suggested in the TF report. Following a 21 day fast by six activists, the GoMP agrees to discussions on May 2, but make an exception for the MHP. During the dharna, Bayernwerk and VEW withdraw. The Supreme Court gives an interim order allowing for work on the dam to proceed. Bayernwerk and VEW withdraw as a consequence of NBA protests; Siemens stay on. In December The NBA stages a dharna in Delhi to put pressure on Siemens, and conducts talks with the German embassy. Demonstrations are staged outside the German embassy. NBA supporters carry out actions in Germany and the US.

2000

On January 11 some 4,000 people seize the Maheswar dam-site. Mass arrests follow. On January 15 the NBA stages a massive rally in Mandleshwar town, and pledges to maintain pressure to stop the MHP. In February the Mardana Resolution is passed, calling for the revoking of clearances to the MHP and the scrapping of the project as such. A dharna is staged at the dam-site from February 24 onwards; the activists are subject to a massive police attack on March 8. During April-May the mobilization focuses on foreign investors. A demonstration is carried out outside the US embassy on April 4. Supporters stage a demonstration in Berlin on April 10. Due to the withdrawal of export guarantees, Siemens step back from the project in August 2000. Ogden withdraws in December 2000. The Supreme Court issues an order to the effect that the construction of the SSP will continue as per the Tribunal Award.

Ultimately Siemens withdraws from the project; US company Ogden takes up the part of the equity left by Bayernwerk and VEW in March, but withdraws from the project in December. All withdrawals are directly related to NBA protests. The Portuguese government refuses an export guarantee to the company ABB-Alstrom. In October aAfter the Supreme Court ruling, the NBA's activities in the area come to focus on securing resettlement and rehabilitation for the affected communities.

2001

The NBA Mobilizations are directed against Indian financial institutions. SMHPCL turns to Indian financial institutions for funding, but this is in large part curbed by NBA protests.

2004

The BJP state government of M.P. supports the project with a guarantee of Rs. 400 crores.

2005

NBA Celebrates its 20 Years of Struggle in the Narmada valley.

APPENDIX III
CLEARANCE LETTERS BY UNION MINISTRY OF
ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTS (NARMADA PROJECTS)
Appendix III (A)

Government of India Ministry of Environment and Forests

Telephone No.

Telegram : PARYAVARAN, NEW DELHI

Paryavaran Bhawan, C.G.O. Complex,

Lodi Road, New Delhi – 100 003

No. 3-87/80-IA

June 24, 1987

Office Memorandum

Subject : Approval of Narmada Sagar Project, Madhya Pradesh and Sardar Sarovar Project, Gujarat from environment angle.

1. The Narmada Sagar Project, Madhya Pradesh and Sardar Sarovar Project, Gujarat have been referred to this Department for Environmental clearance.
2. On the basis of examination of details on these project by the Environmental Appraisal Committee for River Valley Projects and discussions with the Central and State authorities, the following details were sought from the Project authorities :
 - i. Rehabilitation Master Plan.
 - ii. Phased Catchment Area Treatment Scheme.
 - iii. Compensatory Afforestation Plan.
 - iv. Command Area Development.
 - v. Survey of Flora and Fauna.
 - vi. Carrying capacity of surrounding area.

- vii. Seismicity; and
 - viii. Health Aspects.
3. Field Surveys are yet to be completed. The first set of information has been made available and complete details have been assured to be furnished by 1989.
 4. The NCA has been expanded and its terms of reference have been amplified to ensure that environmental safeguard measures are planned and implemented to depth and in its pace of implementation *pari passu* with the progress of work on the project.
 5. After taking into account all relevant facts, the Narmada Sagar Project, Madhya Pradesh and the Sardar Sarovar Project, Gujarat are hereby accorded Environmental clearance subject to the following conditions :
 - i. The Narmada Control Authority (NCA) will ensure that environmental safeguard measures are planned and implemented *pari passu* with progress of work on projects.
 - ii. The detailed surveys/studies assured will be carried out as per the schedule proposed and details made available to the Department for assessment.
 - iii. The Catchment Area Treatment Programme and the Rehabilitation Plans be so drawn as to be completed ahead of reservoir filling.
 - iv. The Department should be kept informed of progress on various works periodically.
 6. Approval under Forest (conservation) Act, 1980 for diversion of forest land will be obtained separately. No work would be initiated on forest area prior to this approval.
 7. Approval from environmental and forestry angles for any other irrigation, power or development projects in the Narmada Basin should be obtained separately.

(S. Maudgal)
Director (IA)
The Secretary
Ministry of Water Resources,
New Delhi.

Appendix III (B)

No. 8-372/83-FC
Government of India
Ministry of Environment & Forests
Paryavaran Bhawan, C.G.O. Complex,
Lodi Road, New Delhi – 110 003.
Dated : 8th September, 1987

To

1. The Secretary,
Agriculture, Forest and Co-operative Department,
Govt. of Gujarat, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar
2. The Secretary,
Forest Department
Govt. of M.P.
Bhopal
3. The Secretary
Revenue & Forest Department
Govt. of Maharashtra
Mantralaya, Bombay.

Sub : Diversion of 13385.45 ha (6488.54 ha in Maharashtra 4165.91 ha in Gujarat and 2731.00 ha in Madhya Pradesh) of forest land in Dhule, Bharuch and Khargone district respectively for Sardar Sarovar Project.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter Nos. (1) FLD-1282-78159-V-1 dated 17.2.83 (Gujarat), (2) 5/58/83/10/3 dated 31.8.84 (Madhya Pradesh and (3) CLD. 1080/111531-II-F3 dated 8.9.83 (Maharashtra) on the above mentioned subject seeking prior approval of the Central Government under Section 2 of the Forest (Cons) Act, 1980 and to say that the proposal has been considered by the Advisory Committee constituted by the Central Government under Section 3 of the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980.

1. After careful consideration of the proposal, the Central Government hereby conveys its approval for diversion of 13,385.45 ha. Of forest land for Sardar Sarovar Project as per details given below :

S.No.	State	Forest land to be diverted (ha)
1.	Gujarat	4,165.91
2.	Madhya Pradesh	2,731.00
3.	Maharashtra	6,488.54

2. Its approval is strictly subject to the following conditions :

- i. Legal status of the land will remain unchanged.
- ii. The full details of the non-forest lands for raising compensatory afforestation with complete details viz. Khasara No. Village etc. will be reported by the State Government before 30.9.87.
- iii. The non-forest areas available for rehabilitation of all the oustees will be reported by the State Governments or a proposal to the satisfaction of Govt. of India in this regard will be furnished by the State Governments before 30.11.87.
- iv. No work on the project in forest area will be commenced until and unless conditions under (ii) and (iii) above are fulfilled.
- v. Since the project involves violation and also most of the non-forest areas for compensatory afforestation are away from the project area, the State Govts. Will raise compensatory afforestation in double the degraded forest lands also in the project impact areas in addition to the afforestation on equivalent nonpact areas in addition to the afforestation on equivalent nonforest land. A scheme for this will be submitted by 30.11.87.
- vi. The State Governments will prepare by 30.11.87 a plan for the treatement of catchment areas failing which the Central Government will appoint a team for this purpose at the cost of the project.
- vii. No forest land will be utilized for the rehabilitation of oustees.

- viii. Tree felling will be permitted in submergence area only up to 4 M below FRL.
- ix. Tree planting will be done on either side of the canals, roads, foreshore of the reservoir and in the wasteland / vacant lands under the control of the Irrigation Department.
- x. Water will be supplied free of cost to the Forest Department for raising nursery and for irrigating forestry plantations in the command area.
- xi. In order that the construction labour and staff while working on the project in the forest area may not cause destruction to the forest area for meeting their fuelwood needs, the user agency will establish fuelwood, depots and will provide suitable alternative domestic fuel such as fuelwood, coal, kerosene oil etc. to them free of cost or at cost deducted from their salary and wages.

Yours faithfully,

(R.S. Bisht)
Under Secretary to the
Government of India.

APPENDIX IV

THE FIRST MEMORANDUM GIVEN BY THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN, DECLARING THE OPPOSITION TO THE SSP, WHICH OUTLINES THE APPROACH FOR OPPOSING THE DAM.

The Statement issued by Organisation in Narmada Valley to Oppose Sardar Sarovar Project, on 18th August, 1988.

Sir,

You will be knowing about the destruction that will be caused by the Sardar Sarovar project being built on river Narmada. This project will submerge more than 31,700 hectares forest land and 12,000 hectares of agricultural land; also, over 1,00,000 people from more than 235 villages will be displaced as an inevitable part of the project.

The oustees from Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat had expected the government to discuss with them the issues official cost-benefit, the assurance of liberal resettlement policy, alternative land and the entire resettlement plan to be presented to the oustees. The oustees' organizations have put before the state and central government level their suggestions and demands for last some years on the basis of the resettlement provisions in the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT), the stipulations in the agreement with the World Bank, the information about government resolutions and the study and experience of the organizations in the project-affected area. It was hoped that the government would respond differently about the special project like the SSP, keeping in view the abysmal conditions of those displaced hitherto. All have expected that government would implement in an integrated manner the common resettlement policy for all three states, with necessary government machinery and land and other resources with the co-operation of the oustees.

Discussions were held with the officials from all concerned departments in states and central government for years. Definitely, some assurances were given, but

there was no decisive answer on the demands. A mammoth rally of thousands of oustees on 30th January 1988, held near the dam site had once again called upon the Narmada Control Authority (NCA) to decide about the demands. As a result, detailed discussions were held with the high level officials of NCA and three State Governments on May 14, 1988. The discussion once again made it clear that the State Governments have no policy or resources for the oustees. The issue of land availability is still unanswered.

According to the survey of the voluntary organizations working among the oustees, over 12,000 acres of land would be required for the 33 project affected villages of Maharashtra. The Government could not find more than 300 acres. In Madhya Pradesh, the Government has no land even to relocate the residential areas of 189 project affected villages and backwater affected villages. The fact is conceded in the correspondence with the World Bank itself. In Gujarat, the 8 villages so far ousted have been fragmented and ruined with the land got in pieces. The prices of alternative land for resettlement increased up to Rs. 50,000 per acre. There is no sign of sanction of Rs. 45 crores + aid from World Bank sought by Gujarat Government. Where is the land or the money ?

The state of the already displaced people for this dam can be seen through the plight of the people ousted for Kevadia Colony and the initial construction. In 1960-61 itself, lands from the 700 families of Kevadia, Kothi, Waghadia etc. have been acquired with the rate of Rs. 80-250 per acre. However, they were not declared as project affected and till today they are left alone as landless. Other haphazardly displaced villagers are in abysmal conditions due to difficulties about water, fodder at resettlement sites, the debt of previous owners, the land given for resettlement etc. The condition is for everyone to see.

The same is the condition with the status regarding environmental impact. Though this gigantic project has been described as 'development project', it is evident that decisions are made with prior bias. The estimates on record about the cost-benefit of the project are without full information and research. Even the Government

documents show that a number of important studies and plans by the states are still pending, which include catchments area treatment, command area treatment, health impacts, seismic studies and resettlement plan for project affected. The project cost has inflated from Rs. 4,000 crore to Rs. 13,500 crore, and yet there has been no plan to review this cost benefit ratio. There has been no proper evaluation of the submerging forest or the value of submergence and alternative land for resettlement.

On the contrary, the benefits have been claimed unrealistically. For example, there are fictitious presumptions like constant growth in production by two-three times in already irrigated land for the next twenty five years. And, these are based on the estimate of water availability of 28 million acre foot, which stands changed, lowered by 15%, which would change the estimate of the benefits also accordingly. How come we consider such project with unrealistic assumption, haphazard planning as 'public purpose' requiring sacrifice on our part? Despite that, if the government considers it as 'public purpose', then it must prove its claims, giving complete information including studies conducted through various institutions, their reports, the agreement with World Bank has been suppressed under the garb of confidentiality and 'secrecy'. This is contempt of our sacrifice and of the democratic process itself.

In this context, we asked the NCA to give us complete information regarding the project and a detailed and complete plan of resettlement with the help of State Governments, to our organizations, by the end of July. The NCA did not answer back, nor was there any feeler for further meeting despite the expiry of the deadline. The State Governments did not announce the common resettlement plan. Did the government presume to evict thousands of adivasis, who have been provided the constitutional protections, along with other poor, powerless oustees without any satisfactory, just resettlement?

Now the time is over. After years of efforts, discussions and experiences we have concluded that this Rs. 13,500 crore Sardar Sarovar Project would not bring about development of the country; but it would mortgage this nation to the international moneyed agencies. This billion dollars project would not give any benefit to the poor,

but would strengthen the consumerism and the urban areas through electricity and cash crops. It would destroy hundreds and thousands of us who are dependent on natural resources.

Some crores of rupees might have been spent on this project (75% of it on managerial aspects), but the environmental and social costs of the project, if completed, are many times higher. This destruction is neither fully taken into consideration, nor is there any measure to stop it. In such a situation, the government is bent upon pushing this project ahead. However, we are also resolving that we will take on this challenge of Sardar Sarovar against our nation with all our strength.

We will stop Sardar Sarovar! We will die, but will not move out; we will not leave the Narmada Valley.

We call upon you to:

- Convey this resolve of ours to the Union and State Government immediately.
- To declare the six villages affected by the work of Kevadia Colony and other works in 1960-61, as project-affected and resettle them according to the relevant provisions and resolutions.
- To stop instantly all land acquisition processes in other villages (Maharashtra, M.P. and Gujarat).
- The Government must declare the decision to cancel the Sardar Sarovar Project.

Narmada Ghati Navnirman Samiti, Madhya Pradesh
Narmada Dharangrasta Samiti, Maharashtra
Narmada (SSP) Asargrasta Sangharsha Samiti Kevadia, Bharuch, Gujarat,
August, 1988.

APPENDIX V ATTITUDINAL SCALING

Name of the Respondent Age/Sex
 Category Place
 Date and Time

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongl y Agree	Agree	Disagr ee	Strongly Disagree	Undecide d
		A	B	C	D	E
1	The objects and strategies of the movement have changed due to leadership conflicts.					
2	There is a personality clash among the leaders.					
3	The leaders have ideological differences.					
4	The movement is free from the influence of political parties.					
5	The change of objectives and strategies of the movement have been brought out by the funding organization.					
6	The size and cost of organization have increased to the extent that much of the time is spent by the organization in arranging the funds.					
7	The movement has led to a favourable impact in terms of effective policies and institutions.					
8	The local customs and traditions have strengthened the movement.					
9	Local/religious leaders have not responded favourably to the movement.					
10	Changes of government at the state level have influenced the movement both favourably and unfavourably.					
11	Changes of the government at the national level have influenced the movement both favourably and unfavourably.					
12	There is a strong correlation between the areas where the movement has been strong and the local support from the political parties.					

13	The local MPs and MLAs have supported the movement throughout.					
14	The movement did not derive much financial and organizational support from the rich farmers or industrialists.					
15	The Chief sources of the funding of the movement have been educated middle class and international funding organizations.					
16	There has been a negligible presence of Tribal and Dalit leadership in the higher leadership positions.					
17	The weakest part of the organization of the movement has been leadership of single individual.					
18	The ups and downs of the movement are related to the change of leadership from one leader to another leader.					
19	There is an uneven distribution of leadership positions in the movement and a more broadbased leadership would add strength to the movement.					
20	Local leadership is lacking in the movement.					
21	There is a coordination problem among local leaders.					
22	The leaders of the movement are guided more by their own political ambitions than by the needs of the movement.					
23	The objectives of the movement are predominantly political and economic than environmental.					
24	The objectives of the movement have a local context and local focus.					
25	There has been a shift in the objective of the movement from environmental to political-economic.					
26	The objectives of the movement have changed over time.					
27	Some new objectives have developed in the recent years which are becoming the focal objectives of the movement.					
28	The extent of local support to the movement in the interior areas has decreased sometime after the ban on contractual commercial felling of trees.					

29	The Chipko Movement has lost its relevance in the present day context.					
30	Yagyas, Pujas and other Hindu rites have been used as parts of organizational strategy to a considerable extent.					
31	Trade Unions have been approached for supporting the movement and they have responded favourably.					
32	The techniques of non-violence, satyagraha, fasting and dharnas have been the main techniques of agitation.					
33	The organizers of the movement have repeatedly and strongly criticized urban lifestyles, heavy industrialization and consumerist culture.					
34	In addition to support for Human Rights, the organizers also highlight animal rights and biodiversity.					
35	The organizers campaigned strongly on women's issues.					
36	The organizers of the movement have generally distanced themselves from political parties.					
37	The organizers have relied heavily on information and support from bureaucrats.					
38	The organizers always tried to involve various advocacy oriented NGOs with their activities.					
39	The organizers have based their fund collection drives mainly on INGOs and support from foreign donor agencies.					
40	The organizers have focused more on printed literature and ICT enabled communication media.					
41	Processions and Rallies and their frequencies have increased over time.					
42	The organizers use street plays, cultural performances and events through which they raise awareness and campaign.					
43	The organizers have lent support to other movements by way of visits, collaborative study teams, and institutions of joint coordination.					
44	The lack of funds has been responsible for reduced organizing ability.					

45	Most of the time of the organizers are spent in preparing project proposals and reports for the funding / donor agencies.					
46	Very little self-employment opportunities / micro-plans or training schemes could be provided to the local people for generating their livelihoods.					
47	The organizers have been keen on getting support from media persons for publicity.					
48	Local press has responded to the organizers negatively.					
49	National Press and media have responded to the movement negatively.					
50	The strong areas of support for the movement have been areas where cultural / historical traditions have been favourable to the cause of the movement.					
51	A movement was relevant to the affected people in the initial years and now the organisation of the movement has grown and is alienated from the affected people.					
52	The objectives and methods of the movement are heavily influenced by the NGOs involved in the movement.					
53	The movement has been able to bring about a positive change in government, its attitude and public policies.					
54	The movement has helped to bring about changes in peoples' attitudes towards forest resources and their use.					
55	Caste and religious affiliations have influenced the movement and its course.					
56	Culture and history of the people and the region has shaped the movement and its course positively.					
57	International environmental regimes, national constitutional and legal framework etc. and the changes therein have influenced the movement in its course.					
58	Changes in the objectives and strategies, support base etc. of the movement has influenced the movement and its parameters.					
59	That the dynamics of the movement had its					

	influence on the state and civil society.					
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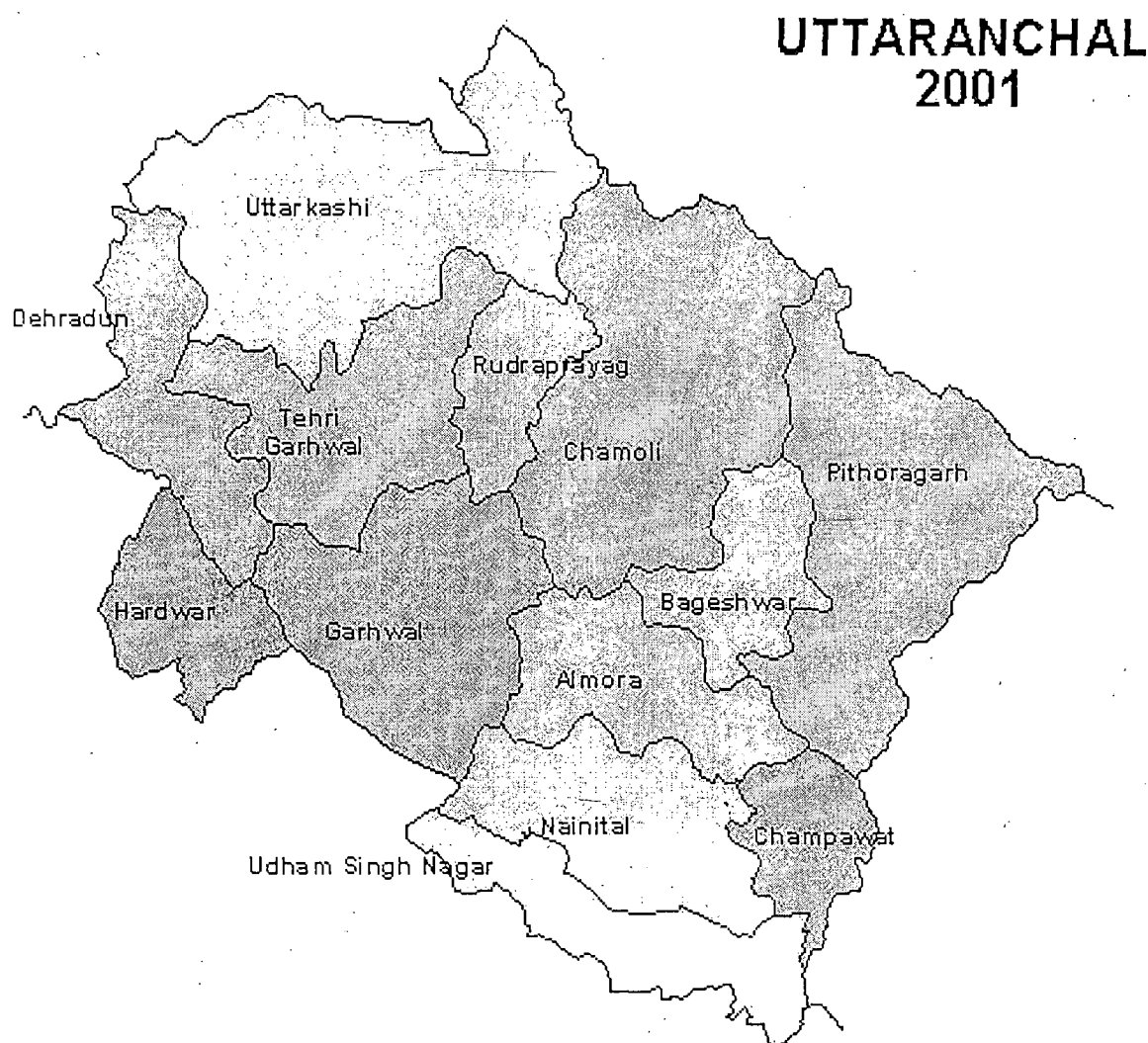
Any specific comment or opinion you want to share about the movement.

Signature of the Respondent

Signature of the Investigator

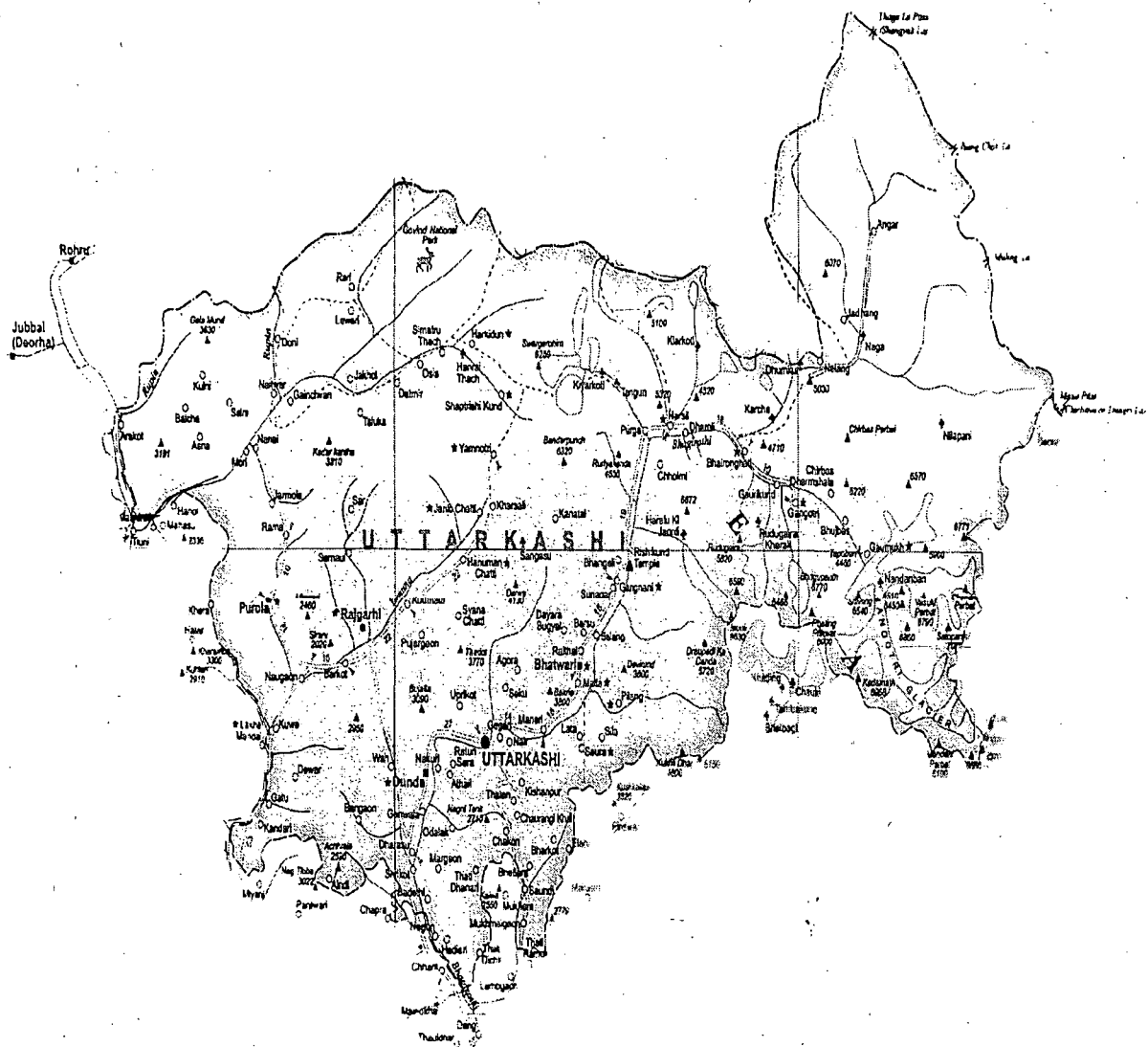
APPENDIX VI

Maps and Images from Field Sites



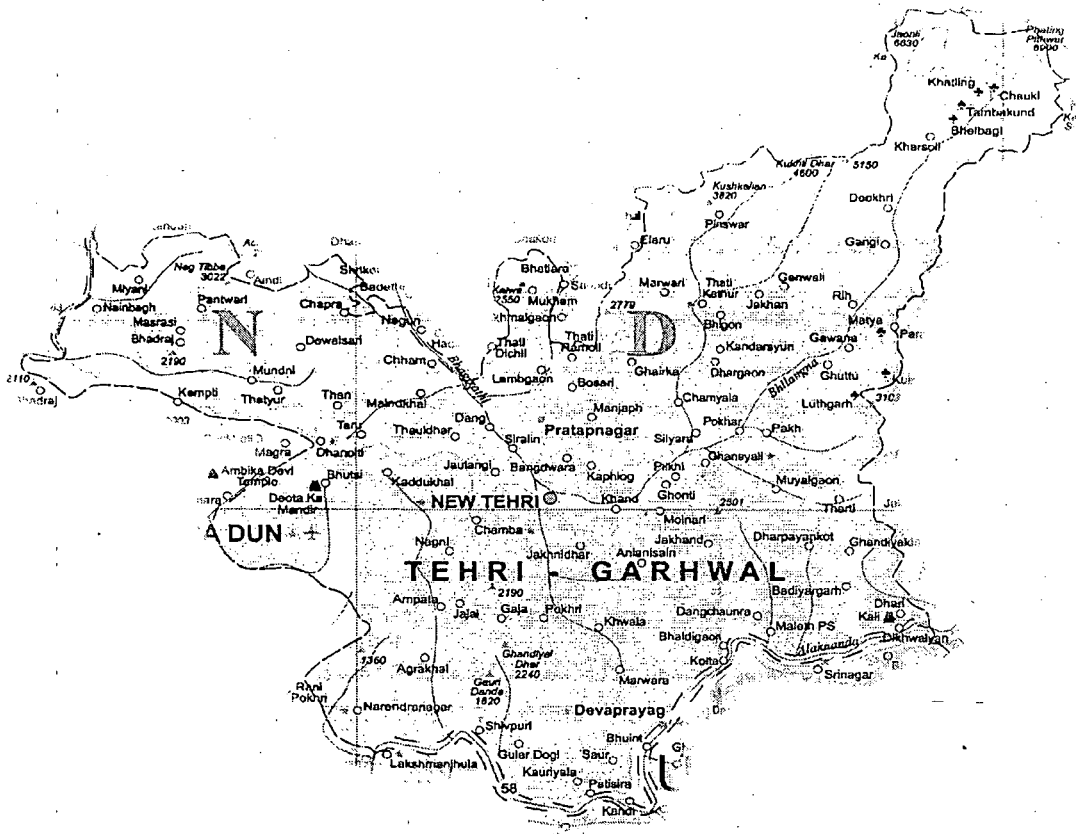
Map of Uttarakhand Showing Different Districts

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/uttarakhand/districts.htm>



Map of Uttarkashi : A Field Site For the Present Study

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/uttaranchal/districts/uttarkashi.html>



Tehri-Garhwal: Bahuguna's Home and Famous for the Tehri Dam

(This was one of the important sites of the Field Study in the Present Study)

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/uttaranchal/districts/tehrigarhwal.html>



Map of Chamoli: Important Centre of the Chipko Movement
(This was the main site of our Field Study)

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/uttaranchal/districts/chamoli.html>



A View of the Submerged Old Tehri Town



A View of the New Tehri Town



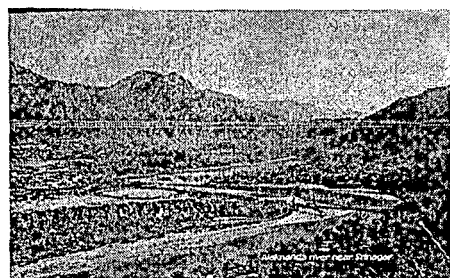
Present Researcher at Gandhi school, Sihyara



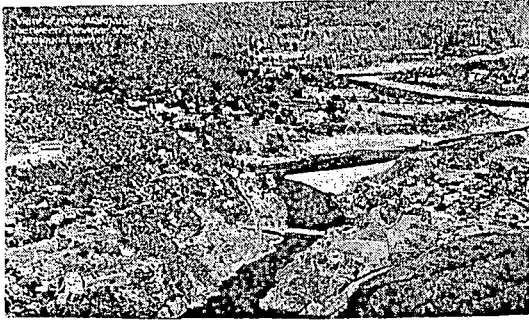
It is said that Bahuguna held Meetings under this tree.



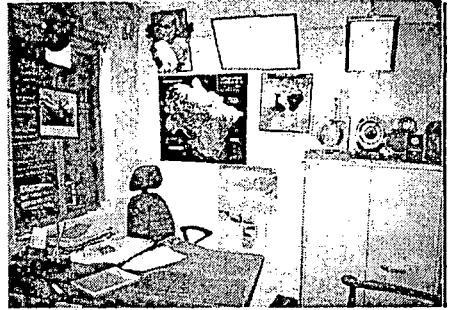
Interviews at Sihyara: The Chipko Information Centre



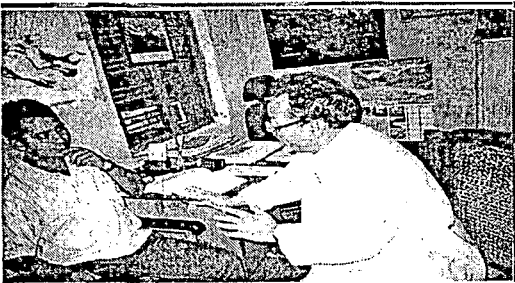
Alakananda River near Srinagar



*A View of Srinagar Town standing majestically at
of the River*



Bhatt's Office Establishment, DGSM Banks



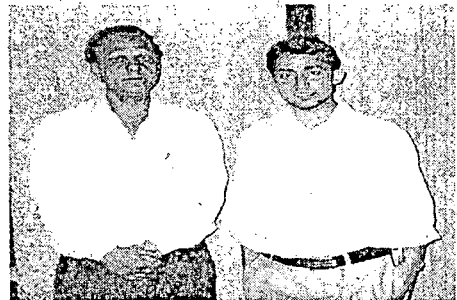
Interview with Ramesh Pahari, Gopeshwar



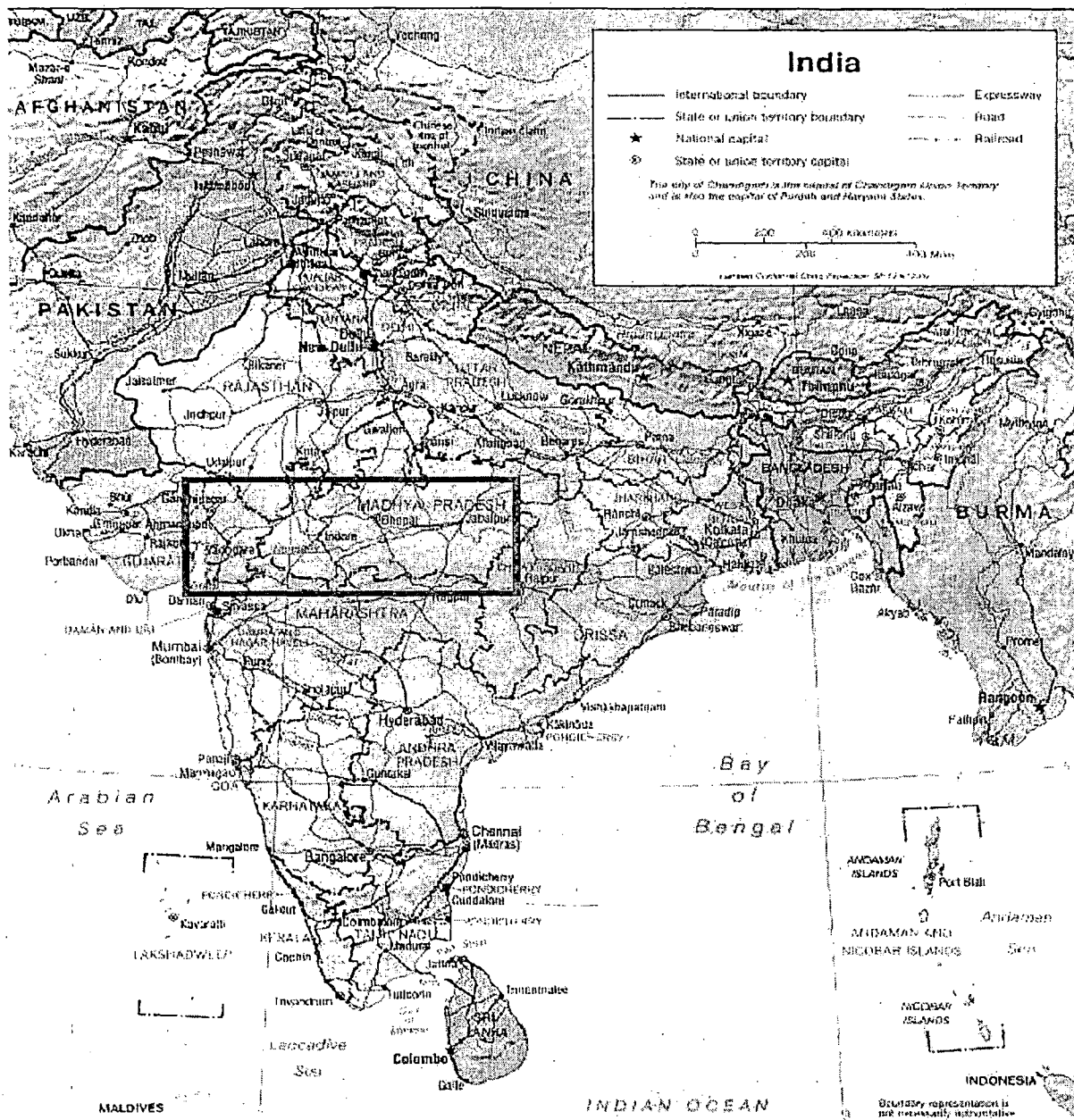
Post interview Pose with SS Kunwar



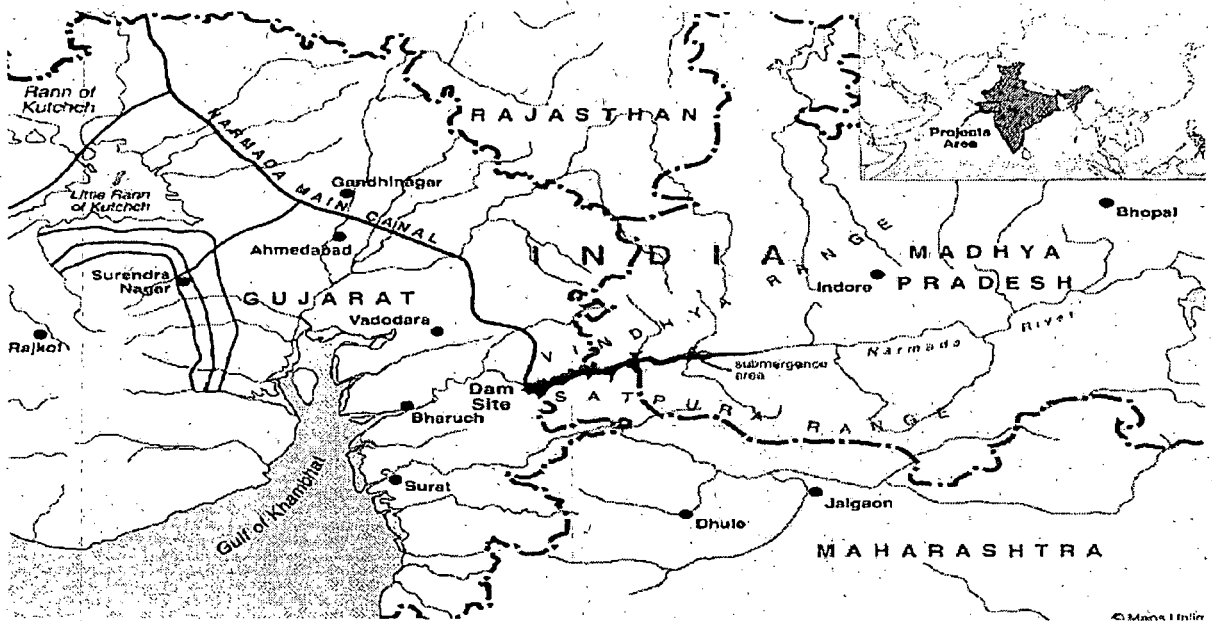
Interviewing Murarilalji



*Post Interview Pose with media Man Sanjay
Kothiyal, Yugvani, Debra Dun*

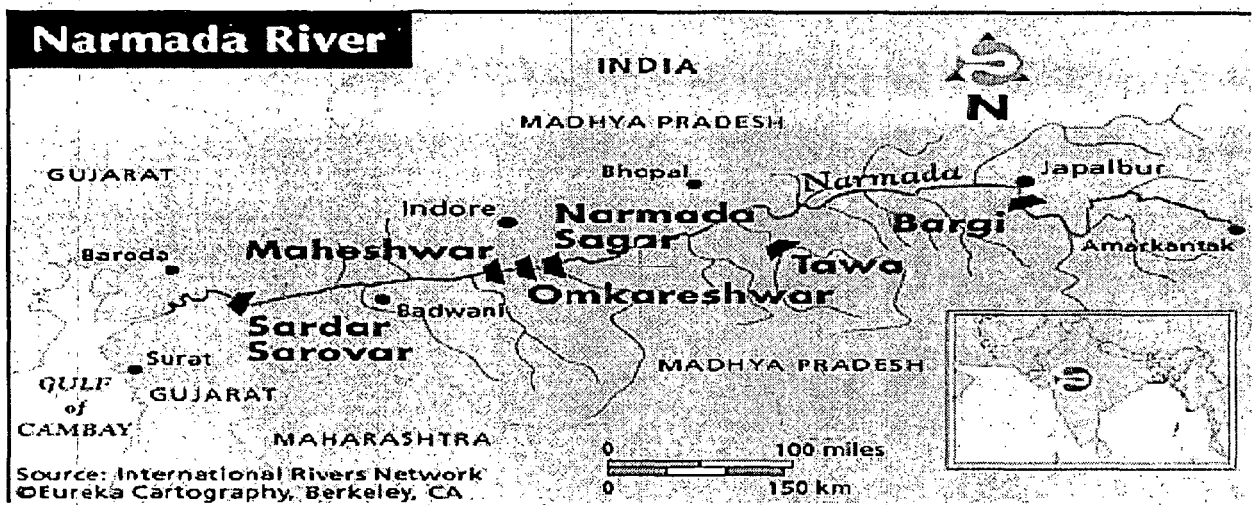


Map of India Showing the Location of Narmada valley and the NBA Site
 {Courtesy: Nilsen (2006)}



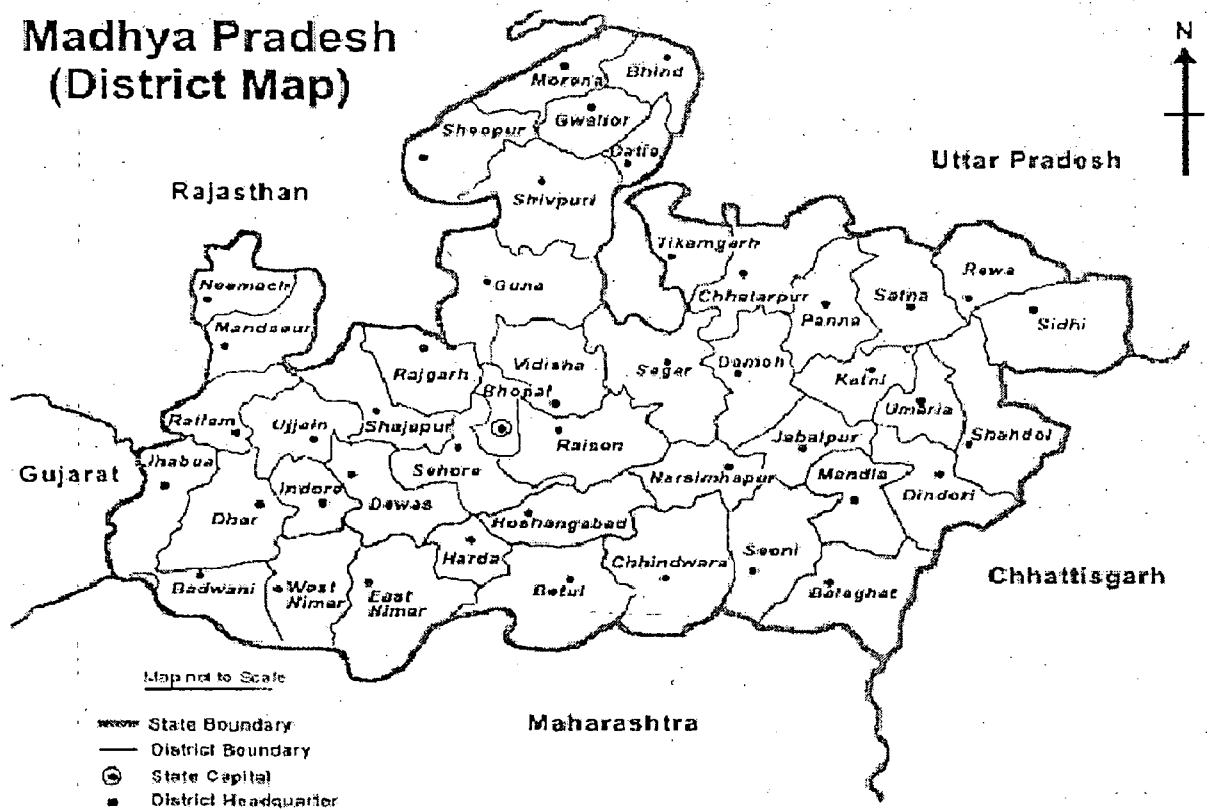
Narmada River Traversing Through Three States

Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



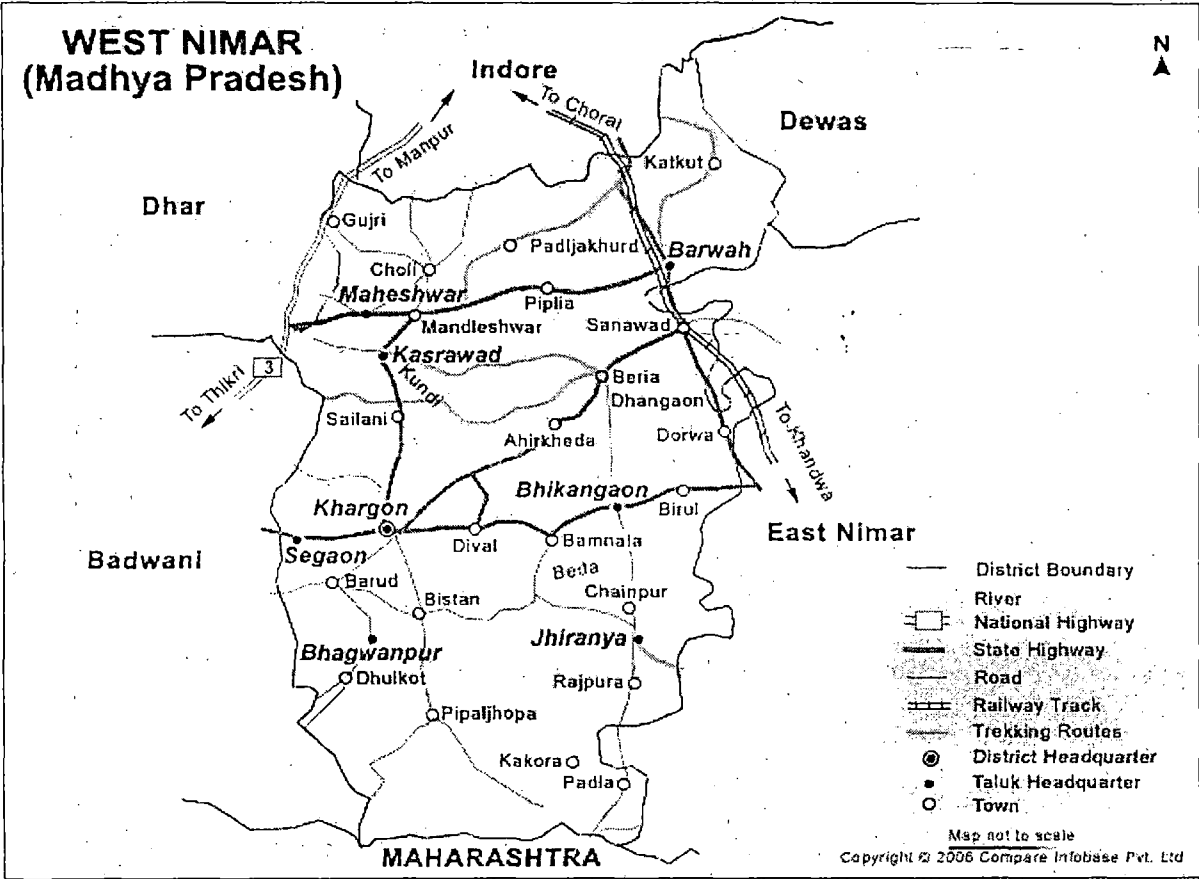
Proposed Dams in the Narmada Valley

Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



Madhya Pradesh: A Hub of NBA Activities and the main site of Field Study in the Present Work.

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/madhyapradesh/districts.html>

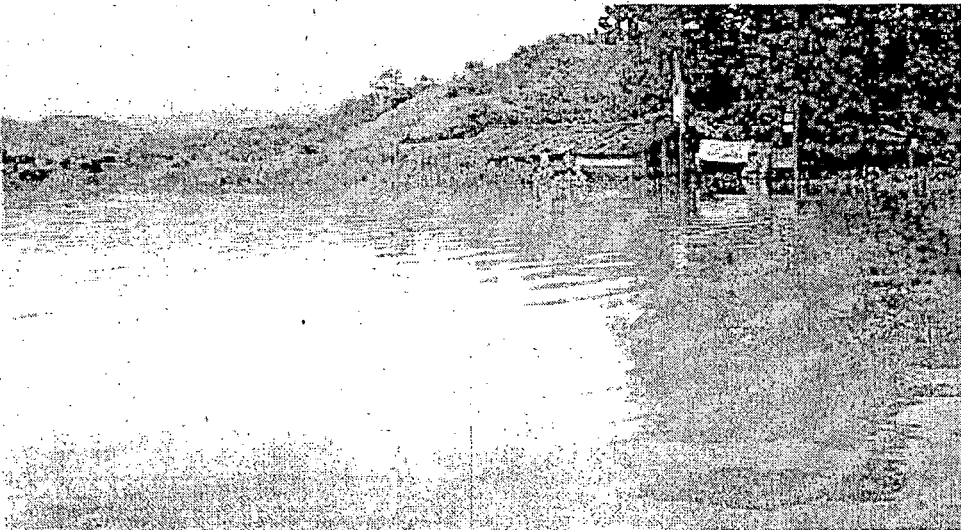


Nimar, Madhya Pradesh
Main Field Study Site of the Present study

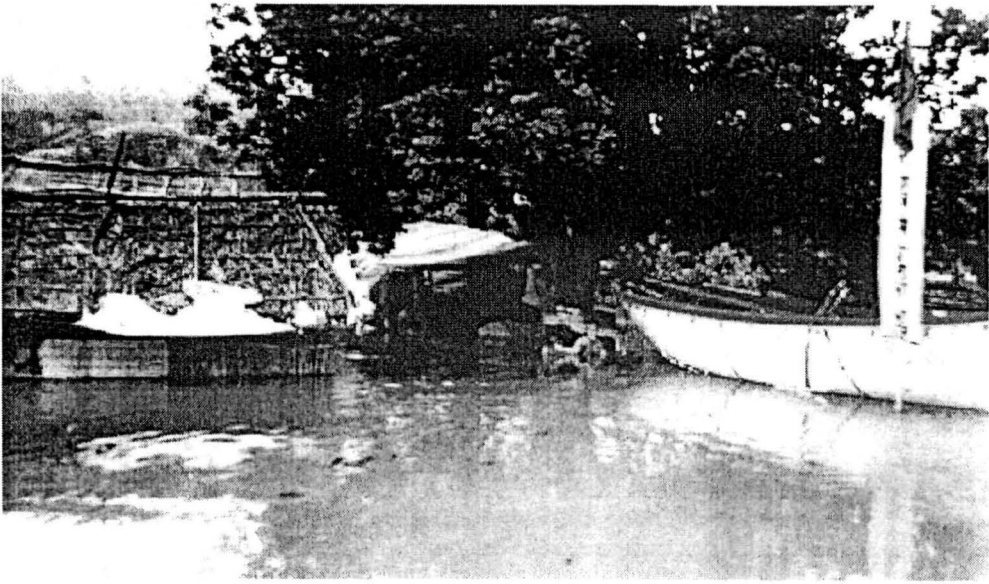
Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/madhyapradesh/districts/westnimar.html>



A View of Anjanwada
Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



Dhomkhedi Submerged
Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



Dhomkhedi Again
Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



Activists and affected people march against the construction of dams in
the Narmada Valley

Source: <http://www.narmada.org>



NBA Supporters and Activists in a Meeting, 2005

Source: Badwani Office, NBA



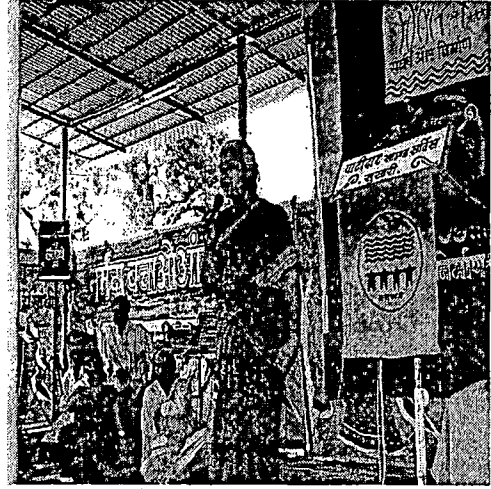
Local activist addressing the Meet in 2005, 20 Years Celebration of the NBA

Source: Badwani Office, NBA



New Forms of Protests ?

Source: Badwani Office, NBA



Medha Addressing the Crowd

Source: Badwani Office, NBA



Save Narmada, Save Humanity!

Source: Badwani Office, NBA



A Rallying Point?

Source: Badwani Office, NBA