

**Non-party social Movement:  
Roots of the Crisis in Narmada Valley to the Aravali and Himalayas**

Randhir Kumar Gautam  
Research Scholar,  
Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar  
[Gautamrandhir964@gmail.com](mailto:Gautamrandhir964@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** *The Constitution of India has changed the definition of people living for generations in the regions like Niyamgiri, the Narmada valley, the Aravali, etc. from villagers or tribes to the citizens. It has processed the vision of development and displaced the people simultaneously. Non-party movement reshapes the environmental movement and strengthens its potential of people's struggles. In fact the societies are thriving on the costs of the ancient communities, sadly they have been striving hard for the survival. The conflict of interests appears in efforts for conservation of ecology and environment that reflects from what happened in the Aravali after verdict of the Supreme Court of India. This study focuses on what is being done to feed the political economy and its impact on the people in villages and cities across the ancient river valley and the mountain range. The selection and election-based democracy seem to create certain narratives for the long-cherished schemes of the development and thereby the series of displacement among the native people. Its prosperity reaches the peak, and the election season noise designed to win the poll best feeds the public discourse to define new toolkit.*

**Key Words:** Narmada, Medha Patkar, Aravalis, Vimal Bhai, Right to Shelter, Felix Padel, Narmada Bachao Andolan, NBA, Swaminathan Aiyar, Nationality, Citizenship, nationalism and citizenship

**Introduction**

The environmental movement is characterised by its non-party orientation and praxis. In every epistemology it cultivates the dynamics of movement towards people's sovereignty

and people's struggles. Politics of the 1970s, particularly post-emergency conditions, shaped the dynamics of non-party politics (Kothari, 1984; Sheth, 1989; Omvedt, 1993).

On the bank of the once perennial Kshipra River, in Ujjain, the state government has gathered to invoke Lord Shiva as Mahakaleshwar (God of death). It was in the last week of September, 2022. They have laid there the foundation of decommissioning the 400 MW Maheshwar hydropower project on the Narmada, fifty kilometres apart from the district headquarters of Khargon. It seems to be the noticeable piece of information that certain eyes were eagerly waiting for since the controversial ban on deforestation in Hasdeo Arand in the neighbouring Chhattisgarh. In the wake of these developments, one can hardly ignore certain questions pertaining to the right to shelter in the Narmada Valley and other parts of India.

Sanjay Gandhi was depicted in a movie as allowing the land mafia during the emergency to reshape the national capital. During the last pandemic, the Supreme Court played that role in the demolition of the village once known as Khori to save the Aravali. It can remind the *tika* (mark) of vermilion on India's forehead. Here, it's necessary to invoke the hopes that Marjorie Sykes, the educationist active in the independence movement, tried hard to express in the previous century. Among the supporters of Gandhi, she is a known figure representing the other West. In the 21st century the same other West helps the tribes of Niyamgiri in Odisha, this time the descendant of Charles Darwin, activist and anthropologist Felix Padel, who has coined the term '*Reverse the Learning*' while dealing with the Dongria Kondh tribes of the Niyamgiri forests (Padel & Gupta 2017).

This was the first time in the history of Madhya Pradesh that the state government had organised its cabinet meeting in Ujjain at the Samrat Vikramaditya Administrative Complex. It seems the incumbent revisits the ancient times, when one of the finest emperors in the history of India ruled from the very same throne. The purpose of this exercise was to prepare for the inauguration of the temple development corridor Mahakaal Loka in the second week of October by the Prime Minister of India.

There was a deal on the table to terminate all contracts dealing with one of the 30 large hydro power projects on the Narmada. In fact, more than sixty villages are submerged in its backwaters. The promoter of the project, S. Kumar, and his company, Shree Maheshwar Hydel Power Corporation Limited (SMHPCL), actually failed to rehabilitate more than three-fourths of the victims of this dam. Simultaneously the process of its bankruptcy started, and that is another time-consuming process. The promoters are thriving on huge investments from banks, and the process of its recovery is yet another part of the project. Initially the government tried hard to run it, failing which started the process to engage other private players to feed the political economy. In fact, social activists associated with NBA (Narmada Bachao Andolan, or Save the Narmada Movement) are fascinated by it. They have demanded to declare it as the monument that burdened the state exchequer with \$750 million in the last three decades to define the decommissioning of the dam.

#### **Historical Context: SSP on Narmada**

Before that cabinet meeting the environment ministers of states gathered in the national conference on the bank of Narmada at Ekta Nagar, or the erstwhile tribal village Navagam. Here, the spirit of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is reflected in the long struggle of the displaced tribal victims; at the same time, the Statue of Unity and Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) represent the irony that the Iron Man failed to decipher. The objective of this conference was how to shape the last quarter of the century to the independence of India as the *Amrit Kaal* (golden period). They have explored most of the possibilities to speed the projects in the ecologically sensitive parts of India. The Prime Minister has referred to what Morarji Desai wrote about the role of Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru in the Narmada project right after independence, and that was accomplished after 56-odd years during Modi's tenure as the Chief Minister in 2017 (Athialy 2019). On this issue the statesmanship could have expressed the words of thanks towards the innocent victims and the nonviolent activists of the NBA for such an opportunity. Here, the politician preferred to weaponise it with the weird term 'urban Naxal'. This is a powerful political instrument that replaced the displaced victims with the NBA activists; at the same time, it has

created new narratives to defend actual culprits for the delayed project delivery. Chinua Achebe, the Nigerian novelist, once defined this phenomenon in his debut, *Things Fall Apart*, before Desmond Tutu described it in a South African context: “When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible, and we had the land. They said, ‘Let us pray.’ We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible, and they had the land.”

On this issue, the politics of rhetoric reached its peak during the assembly elections in Gujarat, before the end of last year. The Prime Minister inaugurated the Kutch Branch Canal (KBC) to supply Narmada water to the remote deserted parts of Gujarat on the last Sunday of August, 2022. He has declared there the NBA leader Medha Patkar and her urban-naxal friends responsible for the delay in the construction of KBC. It has clearly denounced the cultural wisdom teaching how to save the water of higher land into the floodplains. In the nineteenth century, engineering technology introduced how to transport the water from the low land to the higher places. Development of technology in the twentieth century further taught the world how to save the water at a local level to utilise in agriculture and other purposes to replace the canal irrigation system. It has shifted from the import of water to its harvesting at the local level, thereby creating ground to remove dams from the rivers, and this way proponents of development evolved better to respect Mother Nature, the feature that used to define the community and its culture.

### **NBA (Narmada Bachao Andolan)**

The hundreds of thousands of displaced victims joined a bunch of activists that Medha Patkar represents. Swaminathan Aiyar denounced her in a series of his articles. A number of eminent experts also joined this cacophony, and the campaign started to prove her anti-development; however, Swaminathan has disagreed with Prime Minister Modi on urban Naxal. He has defended the Morse Commission of the World Bank but tried hard to prove that the state-sponsored resettlement turned the victims into millionaires (Aiyar 2022). Instead of the data on the number of resettlements that clearly exposed the myth

that he seems to create with the few who own motorbikes, mobile phones, televisions, refrigerators and other such materials (Aiyar 2022). He has deliberately disregarded the fact that the government has failed to rehabilitate all victims; as such, thousands of villagers are still not benefited by such schemes. Although the government of India has denounced this colonial approach three decades after the independence, when the Union irrigation minister K.L. Rao visited the Bhakra dam on the Sutlej in Punjab (Kishore 2008). He has observed that those who bear the cost get no benefits and thereby denounced the absurd approach when the Bhakra management board objected to his request to supply power and water to the displaced victims in the adjacent villages. After going through Swaminathan's opinion, one can think that the governments have achieved what Rao intended five decades earlier.

Swaminathan has found the political atmosphere suitable to promote certain research work that he has conducted with Neeraj Kaushal in the Narmada Valley. One of the prestigious Indian journals, EPW, has published the flaws of the study that a former member of the NBA raised (Dharmadhikari 2019). As such, it was an act of misleading the public deliberately in the name of the study and fact-finding. Nandini Oza has further helped the tribes to keep the eyes open while the prayer is going on. She has discussed the delay in its delivery with the actual culprits (Oza 2022). Narendra Modi, known to love Gandhi's *paduka* (footwear) and Nehru's trousers, referred to the friends of the Gandhian activist, but the Chief Minister of Gujarat went a step ahead and referred to her as the 'Urban Naxal'.

In the lexicon of politics, certain terms like 'urban-Naxal' and 'andolan-jivi' (thriving on protests and movements) found a place as the new entries. These are often used to refer to political opponents or the persons known to raise difficult questions to the power, even though they are nonviolent like a Gandhian. In this case, they are not really associated with the Naxalite Maoist insurgency that initiated in 1967 at the Naxalbari block of Darjiling district in West Bengal. At the same time, the actual delay can be traced back to 1961 when Prime Minister Nehru laid the foundation stone of the Navagam dam that metamorphosed into SSP functioning for the last few years.

### **Delay in the Project Delivery**

Resettlement and rehabilitation are the bone of contention. The government acquired land for the project in the early sixties that was scattered across a total of six tribal villages—Kevadia, Kothi, Limdi, Gora, Waghadia and Navagam—before the arrangements were made for the displaced victims. As a consequence, the tribal villagers initiated protests that led to their imprisonment and litigation. It was the initial public response when the state began to turn a community into an urban society. Appointment of the A.N. Khosla Committee, who used to be the first Indian vice chancellor of the prestigious Thompson College of Engineering (Indian Institute of Technology) at Roorkee and the governor of Odisha, led to the long dispute among three states during the seventies and eighties. After a year, the Khosla committee submitted its report in 1965 recommending its height to be around 500 feet, which can easily submerge at least 200 villages. In addition to the people of the six villages in Gujarat, it has enraged neighbouring states of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra; that was the reason behind the formation of the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) in 1969. The tribunal decided the case after nine long years when Morarji Desai was the prime minister. Next year, in 1979, the NWDT has allowed eligible claimants two hectares of the agricultural land with irrigation facilities, the 5400 square foot residential plot, and the cash compensation equivalent to the replacement value of the respective houses. They were promised civic amenities like water, electricity, education and a health care centre at least six months before the submergence of the village.

The Narmada Valley project included 135 medium-sized and 3000 small-sized dams in addition to 30 huge projects. Its political economy is yet another issue dealing with the delayed delivery. Clearances from the environment and forests department were yet another hindrance that took another nine years between 1978 and 1987. Meanwhile, in 1985, the World Bank agreed to fund the SSP with \$450 million, which was cancelled after the report of the Morse Commission in 1993. Anti-dam movements in India got support from different parts of the world during the same period. In the United States, the congressional committee paid attention to it in 1989. Baba Amte (1914-2008) is known to

have organised the peaceful protest march with 60,000 people the same year. As such, this displacement turned into the top mass movement in independent India. Baba Amte argued the dynamics of the environmental movement must follow the pedagogies of the Sarvodayan ethics and nonviolent orientation of people's protest.

The thriving Kevadia colony at the expense of the state exchequer is being renamed Ekta Nagar to wipe out the memory of Navagam and Kevadia in order to glorify the tallest statue of the Iron Man. Sufferings of its victims are the other side of the reality that remained unheard even after the NWDT directives, and this issue reached the apex court in the early nineties that halted the construction of the dam at an 83.3-metre height in the mid-nineties. The World Bank and the Supreme Court of India heard the nonviolent activists and their innocent victims, and the elected leaders in the governments proved to be the instrument of injustice in the cases of displaced victims.

### **Satyagraha and its Crusaders**

The new colony has been thriving, and the villagers are seeking shelter to sustain the hardship it has inflicted. The Gandhian social activists like Medha Patkar, Baba Amte, Vimal Bhai, etc. extended hands to help these villagers after more than two decades of sufferings and protests. They can help to explore what is scattered on the ground between one of the oldest rivers, the Narmada, and the oldest mountain range, the Aravalis. Gandhian social activist Baba Amte was known to serve leprosy patients in the western part of India, much like what Mother Teresa did in the east. He has joined the NBA and reduced himself to staying on the banks of the river to mobilise masses in the Narmada basin. After several years of the hard work the villagers joined it to save the river and its riparian culture. Baba Amte and Vimal Bhai (1962-2022) were closely associated with the NBA and its leader Medha Patkar. Vimal was fully active in the Himalayas with Sunderlal Bahuguna in the protest against the Tehri dam on the Bhagirathi. He has continued with the progress of rehabilitation of its victims, and the protest against the Pancheshwar dam in Kumaon is yet another part of the same struggle against the dam.

Before the end, he reduced himself to the fight for victims of Bulldozer politics at Khori Gaon (village) in the Aravali exactly on the Delhi-Haryana border (Chatterjee 2022).

### **Right to Shelter: Khori to Banbhoolpura**

After the Supreme Court verdict on the 7th of June 2021, the evacuation drive has started. More than a hundred thousand people lost their shelters. The government has fixed certain criteria in order to reduce this figure to a little more than a thousand. More than a year after the demolition, I went to see the ruins of a decades-old settlement and felt grieved to know the fact that no one was really rehabilitated. During the peak of the pandemic, this process started without hearing the victims. Vimal Bhai reached there to help the poor villagers. After struggling for a year, one of the finest offspring of Delhi has passed away exactly on Independence Day, 15th August 2022.

Two-thirds of his latter life is the story of peaceful protests in the independent India, especially against the huge dams. Gandhi prepared for a long time before a protest, and he was aware of its limitations. So he focused on four to five cases in different parts of India almost every year while bearing the newest adjective of '*Andolan-jivi*'. Gandhi referred to such a spirit of public service in the pre-independence period with Lala Lajpat Rai. The condition of his health after shifting to Faridabad started to deteriorate day by day. His life is a struggle for these villagers' right to shelter. Two weeks before his demise, the Delhi High Court referred to the right to shelter in the Shakur Pur slum demolition case. Here, Justice Subramaniam Prasad has asked the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) to consult the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) before the demolition. The Mumbai High Court also referred to the housing of the have-nots in light of the Singapore model of public housing. It was difficult for his seniors like Medha Patkar to share about the collective efforts in his absence on the 4th day of his departure. Lots of empty flats in the same region were waiting for occupation, and some of them still are. The villagers of Khori could have been allowed to shift there before proper arrangements. But that kind of right to shelter is nowhere in the debate. Vimal Bhai can be remembered for maintaining the balance among conservation of the ecology and

environment, rehabilitation of the displaced victims, and questions pertaining to the right to shelter while dealing with this series of protests.

### **Mehda Patkar and other Crusaders**

The Enforcement Directorate has been busy in the money laundering case against Medha Patkar. In the BJP-ruled states, the police have registered certain other cases against her. She is being labelled as an agent thriving on foreign funding. At the same time, the common Indian knows the realities behind the claims of these leaders. Fifty thousand people among the beneficiaries of the rehabilitation scheme is an output of the NBA itself. Now they are being counted as millionaires, and she is referred to as anti-Gujarat. The reality is that the people that Gandhi had referred to considered her as their own; however, it is not guaranteed to win elections with their help alone.

The Bhupesh Baghel government of Chhattisgarh imposed the ban on deforestation in the Hasdeo Arand in June last year due to a series of public protests. Before that, the Congress leader Rahul Gandhi raised his voice against it in his London visit. The 330-kilometre-long Hasdeo River has supplied water in the area scattered across 10000 square kilometres. Recently, the Indian Council of Forestry Research and Education (ICFRE), functioning under the ministry of environment and forests, paved the way for its conservation as they identified it as the largest unbroken forest area in central India. The health minister, T.S. Singhdeo, in one of the visits to his constituency, supported the cause before the ban. After three months, the local people are still agitated since the forest clearance drive started again in the same coal blocks. The shutting down of the three coal mining projects was the operation of one of top Indian corporates, Adani. The fate of the Maheshwar Dam in this case of Madhya Pradesh is out of context, no?

Sunderlal Bahuguna was one of the top Gandhian leaders to raise voices against the Tehri dam in the Himalayas. On questions of Satyagraha, he has advised to prepare for abuse during the life and bullets by the end. Medha Patkar seems to be ready for that kind of sacrifice to remind us of the fate of Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi. Since independence, people in India have been subjected to displacement that started with the

partition. Even after seventy-five years, the government continues to commit the same adventure for different reasons. Meanwhile, the displaced victims are bound to strive hard for shelter; at the same time, the promoters of these projects are thriving on the cost of the state exchequer.

### **Citizens and Villagers**

Right from the state-building process, Gandhian and Sarvodian political thinkers criticised the centralised state-building. Gandhi, Roy, Vinobha and later JP instituted the thinking, particularly in the realm of social movements.

The Constitution of India seems to treat a villager as a citizen in order to convert the indigenous communities into the urban societies. Nationality is defined in terms of citizenship; however, the villages and their inhabitants refer to the different set of values. It has proved to be the instrument to process the so-called development and thereby the displacement of indigenous people dwelling in the remote areas. The political class trying hard to ensure the dignified life of every Indian has failed to pay adequate attention to it. India is one of the top nationalist countries in the world, followed by Bangladesh. The schools of jingoistic nationalism are trying to define *Hindutva* with the idea of *Akhand Bharat* on the one hand, and constitutional nationalism is centred on the institutionalisation of passports and citizenship on the other. Here, status in the Indian constitution is important for this study.

Constitutional nationalism is the gift from the colonial masters that helped us to think about Bharat Mata while forgetting about the Dhatri Mata (Mother Earth) and her offspring. Nationalism is reduced to nationality and citizenship as mentioned in the Indian Constitution. They invented the passport as the toolkit, then the American dream also started to unfold automatically. After the bureaucracy and academics, the young generation started chasing an alien dream. Today, the top students of IITs and IIMs prefer to nourish a career in America. In previous centuries there was a preference for the central services. It reflects what was intended when they referred to white men's burden.

The constituent assembly was functioning when the process of partition was at its peak. It has defined the identity of an Indian as a citizen. The other identities based on place, religion, caste or gender are secondary, and the equal status is based on citizenship to create a kind of uniformity. The idea of a common civil code has been occupying the public discourse these days. In addition to what Sonia Gandhi has referred to, addressing the election rally in Karnataka recently. In fact, the tweet by the Congress party reporting her speech created the controversy about the sovereignty of Karnataka (Prakash 2023). Does the Union of States mean the group of sovereign states? On certain occasions, Rahul Gandhi used to lay the foundation of his politics on the discourse about the union of states. The controversial statements on Vir Savarkar and his idea of nationalism are yet another topic associated with this issue that he has focused on; however, it has annoyed the old friend like Sharad Pawar and the new friend like Uddhav Thackeray. The leaders are ready with the Bible and Gita, like the magic play defined in the African context.

### **Mahatma Gandhi and Hind Swaraj**

Gandhi could have helped the Constituent Assembly to define the basic ingredients of *Hind Swaraj*, or *Indian Home Rule*. The rural communities communicating in the dialect of the village while bearing the independence from the grip of a language of the urban society and its elites needed sufficient care that the founders of the Indian constitution failed to ensure. He wrote the monumental book in 1909 while returning from London and compared there the British parliament with the marketplace woman to indicate what Barrister Gandhi observed.

Gandhi remained active in politics for the two decades after returning to India from South Africa in 1915, before embarking on the constructive work. Meanwhile, he was centred around the Khilafat movement to Salt Satyagraha, instead of *Hind Swaraj*. He seems to return to constructive works after realising the disillusionment with the politics of Congress. Then he preferred to promote Mira Ben and other leaders of the ashram in politics more actively. Top leaders of the Congress were his followers but were ready with different agendas. After the demise of Gandhi and Patel in the fifties, the brainchild

of British leader Harold Laski, Prime Minister Nehru, Krishna Menon and S.K. Dey were ready to introduce the Russian model of the community and block to reshape the Indian countryside. In fact, it has introduced us to the battle between Gandhi and Laski that can be marked as Home Rule versus Self-Rule. The idea of development occupied the public offices, creating the block of development. The new system has introduced a development officer at the block level, and the *Vikas Babus* are known as BDOs. The state authorities soon occupied community-owned systems of the village; what the rural communities were doing collectively has now been replaced with the new bureaucratic system. This is the politics of panchayat institutionalisation that later replaced the process of evolution with the process of election.

The constituent assembly had discussed the village and panchayat at some length before it was covered under the directive principles of state policy. It's difficult to disagree with the expert on constitutional matters Ram Bahadur Rai. He said, "The rays emanate from the villages whenever the sunrise of India's fortune rises. This is not a fantasy, but the historical truth that was once again realised in the course of the freedom struggle" (Rai 2022). It's intended here to invoke those rays of hope and to see how the spring heralds. The constitutional recognition of the panchayat has been an outcome of the 73rd amendment of the constitution in the age of globalisation. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of villages metamorphosed into urban society in the rural areas in the last century. Tools and technologies available to these villages in this age of artificial intelligence are sufficient to accomplish the urban dream and the Himalayan heights of citizenship syndrome. The shrinking space of village and tribal areas is clearly visible today.

### **Nationalism and Colonial Hangover**

Public discourse on jingoistic nationalism and the constitutional status that shifted the idea of nationalism to the nationality that considered citizenship paramount. The identity of the Union of India being expressed in passport-carrying citizenship has also neglected differences based on religions like Hindu and Muslim. Regional divisions based on

urban, rural and tribal areas were equally sidelined. The colonial psyche that the British rule laid is well discussed by Ashis Nandy in *The Intimate Enemy* while describing the political psychology. He has mentioned, "Such disjunctions between politics and culture became possible because it is only partly true that a colonial situation produces a theory of imperialism to justify itself." In fact, colonialism is the psychological state rooted in earlier forms of the social consciousness in both the colonisers and the colonised" (Nandy 1983). Scholars like Michel Foucault and Ivan Illich can also help us to address the fundamental questions on the issue. In fact, Foucault addressed relationships between power and knowledge centred on controlling the society. He observed, "Power is not an institution and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (Foucault 1977). Austrian-born Mexican philosopher Ivan Illich wrote *ABC: The Alphabetisation of the Popular Mind* with Barry Sanders to address the issues related to the impugned subject (Illich & Sanders 1989). This study can lead us towards the intersections of certain subjects.

The analysis of the citizenship syndrome can be conducted with the study of the struggle between culture and civilisation that is best reflected in the language versus dialect saga. The study of language and dialect helps us to distinguish between the caged bird and the one free to fly in the open sky. Village communities depend on the dialect, whereas the urban societies are centred on language. In fact, a dialect is a freely flying bird, and the language is a parrot in the cage. If the village that Gandhi had described in *Hind Swaraj* stands even in imagination, it will be on the basis of the dialects, not one or the other language. The dialects have been keeping the regional identities and diversities intact since ahistorical times. In the 21st century it's not possible to say that the same tradition is going to continue in the future as well (Kishore 2018). Language and dialect are two different concepts that denote civilisation and culture, respectively. The political economy associated with the two can accurately define the equation between civil society and the tribal or rural community. The system that developed for the civil society sitting in the congregations is considered to be the civilisation, and the traditions that evolved naturally among the local community are known as culture.

The repetition is possible in a writing setup, but the same is impossible in an oral one. It cannot avoid a relationship with time and nature in every effort of the repetition. The process of writing is also empowered to eliminate this relationship. The dialect turns into a language with the help of script and certain rules of grammar. In fact this is a political change, and it's very difficult to cultivate the tribes of oral traditions in its absence (Kishore 2019). The difference in expression of a dialect and a language is yet another issue in this context.

Modern civilisation taught the world how to refer to civilisational activities as a cultural programme. Today's prestigious educational institutions, by newly adopted practice, revealed the same politics that have long been contesting the people from all over the world with one and the same stick. Unfortunately this is the same politics that taught how to test scholars on parameters of literacy—neither knowledge nor wisdom. It has played a significant role in ever-growing inequality among different people throughout the world for a long time. This is the topic of serious study in itself that deals with subjects like linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc. The prevailing system is limiting the use of words in the marketplace. This is surely going to have a negative impact on the indigenous diversity in the future as well.

The constitution has interpreted 'nationality' as 'citizenship', perhaps to eliminate villagers and tribes in the process. How can one talk about home rule or Gram Swaraj after the elimination of the villager? This is not possible. As such, we need to correct the definition in order to address the roots of this crisis. Otherwise, it will create a series of misunderstandings. If someone started to refer to the North Pole as the South Pole, would it change the meaning and character? Definitely it cannot change the virtue and identity of the pole in particular. How long are we going to repeat the same mistakes? India needs to address it. The Santhal tribes of Maligaon in Jharkhand and the residents of Khori are the victims of displacement trajectory. In this age of consumerism, the efforts of Gautam Adani are giving wings to dreams of development, and on the other hand, the Supreme Court is busy in protecting the Constitution and Aravali. Every little piece of information associated with these issues is available in the public domain.

There is a need to redefine nationality in terms of the separate identities of tribes, villagers and citizens. This is one of the few differences at the inception that makes us realise we are poles apart by the tail end. If the urban society fails to restore the dignity of the tribes and villages, it's destined for doomsday. Passport nationalism has proved to be the instrument to convert the community and its place of existence, the village, into a society that refers to the urban civilisation, an idea of modernity. It has no place for the Gandhian value system described in *Hind Swaraj*, focusing on the dialects of villagers instead of a language; however, these languages are born out of the dialects.

The nonparty movement of the public protests in Narmada Valley, Hasdeo Arand and the Aravali are still continued to save the environment and their habitats. Millions of people are suffering from this development vision. The human rights that the citizens are guaranteed by the Indian constitution are in peril, and plundering of natural resources has been continued haphazardly. The corporate state is neither ready to ensure the dignified life of victims nor to stop the destruction of ecology and the environment. After six decades of public service in India, Marjorie Sykes left for Britain. But before that, she has realised how Mother Nature will regenerate after the peak of this destruction is achieved. In fact, the process of reverse learning is based on the same line of thinking that India needs to decipher appropriately.

The idea of reversing the learning seems to teach how to restore the cultural connection that promoted the sense of community ownership along with the other aspects of village life and tradition. The 1st historical victory of the activists in the 21st century is the one that the Dongaria Kondh tribes of Odisha won against mining tsar Vedanta. The apex court has ensured conservation of Niyamgiri before the achievement of one of the top environmental experts, Prof. G.D. Agarwal in the Himalayas. Felix Padel has played a key role in this battle for survival of the tribes in the remote areas described in the sixth schedule of the Constitution. He wrote the paper on Reverse-the-Learning, the process of unlearning what was learnt.

The *Katha Upanishad* recites the poignant story of the eight-year-old boy Nachiketa. It has the formula for peace, the minimum essential condition. After spending a day in the Chambal Valley, I have referred to the same sutra of peace without the prefix and suffix. We have celebrated the victory of Dongaria Kondh in Niyamgiri and discussed the idea of their leader Padel at Gwalior. Ran Singh Parmar and Rajagopal PV were fully active with SN Subbarao when hundreds of rebels of the Chambal returned to the society. We need to recite the peace mantra before this new *satyagraha* to save the motherland that refers to the village and its community and tradition. The hope to achieve objectives of the *satyagraha* rests in the collective effort after the thorough scrutiny of the strategy.

Conclusion – The experiences of the above-mentioned people’s movements make it clear that, in the context of non-party socio-political transformation, a movement does not merely call for the powers of the state to be democratically aligned with popular aspirations. It also calls for collective public action to protect society from the environmental crises produced by the growing influence of market forces. These movements likewise bring into focus the contribution of leadership committed to non-party socio-political change. Ultimately, such efforts appear to move toward broadening the presence of a non-violent social order and providing it with a firmer foundation through people’s movements.

These experiences may also be understood as efforts to energise the tradition of lokshakti-building, while at the same time continually extending the processes of Gandhian reflection and peace-building. Through them, one can see a clear direction, a serious commitment, and an ongoing intellectual search aimed at realising the goals of democracy, justice, equality, and development grounded in sarvodaya.

#### NOTE

The thought of wisdom emerged during the colonial rule in parts of Africa, noticing the magic and plight of indigenous communities before its mention in the popular arts and literature. Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe and the South African leader Desmond Tutu are often referred to by this cultural wisdom that deals with the Bible and the land in an

African context. Today indigenous communities in different parts of India, including the Narmada Valley, have been destined to a similar fate. Dr Felix Padel, the activist and anthropologist and one of the descendants of Charles Darwin, has helped offspring of Niyam Rajah to fight the mining cartel led by Vedanta in Niyamgiri to pave the way ahead that proponents of post-development missed earlier. It needs rereading among students and faculties in addition to the world outside of academics.

*The Katha Upanishad* is one of the parts of the ancient *Vedic* texts that invokes peace in the verse. It's on the top and repeated on the bottom, and it begins with *pranav* (om) and ends with the three-time repetition of '*shanti*', which literally means 'peace itself'. As such, it reads: *Sahana Vavatu, Sahanau Bhunaktu, Saha Veeryam Karavaavahai, Tejasvi Naava Dheetamastu. Maa Vidvishavahai*, and it means, 'Let all of us protect each other together; may all of us enjoy together; may all of us work together, and let our study become radiant.' Let there be no hatred between us.

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(General Secretary of Srishti Sustainable Development Foundation, Kaushal Kishore is an activist, and author. He has discussed the issues in question in a series of sessions and works like *The Holy Ganga* (2008) and *Gangaputra Bahuguna* (2021), in addition to a series of essays in his column *Across the Lines* that often appears in the vernacular publications. He can be reached at the SSDF office: B-33, FF, Dayanand Colony, Lajpat Nagar-IV, New Delhi 110054 (India) Mobile: +91-89203-59997)

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