COUNTER-HEGEMONIC MOVEMENTS
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
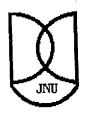
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NARENDRA KUMAR TRIPATHI

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, ORGANIZATION AND DISARMAMENT

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"COUNTER-HEGEMONIC MOVEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS "** submitted by **NARENDRA KUMAR TRIPATHI** in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is his original work and has not been submitted for the award of any degree of this or of any other University.

The dissertation may be placed before the Examiners for evaluation.

(AMITABH MATTOO)

CHAIRPERSON

Chairperson
Centre for International Politics.
Organization and Disarmament
School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067

(SUSHIL KUMAR)

SUPERVISOR

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CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION

An underlying factor is basal to this work, which guides it throughout. It is that, international arena is becoming more and more ordered, while on the other hand, domestic realm is getting more and more disordered. The famous "anarchical" characteristic of the international system, which has been the central tenet of realists and neo-realists alike is getting transformed. As Kenneth Waltz writes about international system, "The parts (states) of international-political systems stand in relations of co-ordination. Formally, each is the equal of all the others. None is entitled to command; none is required to obey. International systems are decentralised and anarchic."[1] Though Richard Ashley[2] and Alexander Wendt[3], argue about the social construction of sovereignty, thereby anarchy and that they change over time. This anarchical feature, was redefined when Hedley Bull defined international system as "anarchical society". He says, "a society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations

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[1] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass., Addisson-Wesley, 1979), pp.88.
[2] R.K. Ashley, "The Poverty of Neo-realism", *International Organization*", Vol.38, (1984).
[3] Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make it : The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Vol.462, 1992.

with one another, and share in the working of common institutions."[4] Bull aptly grasps

the present reality of international politics. However, it is imperative to explicate what

one means by order and disorder.[5] Two criterion is taken here to identify whether

international arena is becoming more ordered, or domestic society is getting disordered.

They are

- number of deaths occurring in conflicts.

- incidence of laws, rules and regulations, covenants, treaties etc. arrived at.

On the first criterion of number of deaths occurring in conflicts, one can safely

say that deaths in internal conflicts, far surpass the death in international conflicts.

Figures for this contention is not available since it goes beyond the scope of present

work. Related to the above contention is the number of internal wars and inter-state

wars. We have data for this as shown in Table No.1.

Table 1 Armed conflicts per state region, 1945-1995

REGION	NUMBER OF STATES	INTER STATE INTERVENTIONS	INTERNAL WARS
AFRICA	43	0.16	0.86
MIDDLE EAST	18	0.61	1.22
SOUTH ASIA	7	0.57	2.00
SOUTH EAST ASIA	11	0.45	1.82
EAST ASIA	6	0.50	0.50
SOUTH AMERICA	12	0.08	0.67
CENTRAL	20	0.20	0.50

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[4] Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* : A Study of Order in World Politics, Second Edition (London, MacMillan, 1995), pp.13.
[5] For this point, I am indebted to my supervisor Sushil Kumar.

AMERICA/CARIBBEAN			
BALKANS/EAST EUOPE	8	0.38	0.25
FORMER USSR	15	--	0.47
WEST EUROPE	18	--	0.16
AVERAGE		0.30	0.85

Source: K.J. Holsti in *The State, War, and the State of War.*

If we assume that, greater the average of a particular type of war, greater is the number of casualties, then our proposition clears the first hurdle. Back home, India has lost more men in internal wars, than all the four external wars combined. It is fact, that people have lost more lives in internal wars than inter-state wars. This figure is particularly rising after the end of the cold war.

The second criterion is somewhat subjective. International relations have seen a plethora of agreements, rules and regulations, covenants, treaties etc. in every conceivable area. Simultaneously, on the other, state is withdrawing from many realms of domestic society, this has been particularly acute, with the onslaught of liberalisation, globalisation and structural adjustment programme. Susan Strange aptly describes this phenomenon when she says that, "sovereignty of the state has leaked upwards, sidewards and downwards."[6]

In fact, what has happened is that anarchy of the international arena has leaked downwards in the domestic arena. Coupled with loss of authority/sovereignty at international arena, state finds itself challenged within by anarchists, anti-statists, liberals, armed groups, criminal syndicates' etc. In our case counter-hegemonic

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[6] Susan Strange, *States and Markets* : An Introduction to International Political Economy (London, Frances Pinter, 1988).

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movements are weakening the state. Counter-hegemonic movements oppose the hegemony of the state, identifying it with dominance by a particular identifiable group. Dominant groups are identified on caste, religion, ideological, ethnic, etc., lines. Counter-hegemonic movements pose Hobson's dilemma to the state. If state strongly asserts itself and tries to get its writ obeyed, it is accused of being authoritative, insensitive and therefore illegitimate. On the other hand, if state restraints itself, from acting authoritatively, it is portrayed as ineffective, helpless and weak. Both ways the hegemony of state is undermined, and counter-hegemonic movements are a major contributing factor to this.

Counter-hegemonic movements working were initially welcomed as contributing to vibrancy of civil society. However, as Sushil Kumar says, "the emancipatory goals of counter-hegemonic movements were to an extent appropriated by transnational vested interests.... The result in the long run was an erosion of political system capability in domestic politic and weakness and timidity in international affairs."[7]

The next three chapters seek to study how counter-hegemonic movements are leading to weakening of the state. First chapter deals with theoretical aspect of the counter-hegemonic movements. It puts progression of international relation's discipline in perspective, and subsequently the study of counter-hegemonic movements. International Relations is relatively, a new discipline as compared to other disciplines of social sciences. The first chair being established as late as 1919. This discipline being closely associated with international relations practitioners, its study was closely tied to

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[7] Sushil Kumar, *New Globalism and State* (New Delhi, Research Press, 1999), pp.291.

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policy prescription. This essential fact made discipline state-centric as encompassed in classical realism and neo-realism. Though slight differences exist between classical realism and neo-realism, e.g., classical realism of Morgenthau focussed on national foreign policies as determining factor of international system. Whereas Waltzian neo-realism emphasizes role of anarchical structure of international system leading to functional similarity of nation-states. Still the continuous thread of state centrism runs through both realism and neo-realism, and there is only "differences of emphasis."[8]

In the post-1970s period, the state-centric focus of discipline was being increasingly questioned. In this endeavour, one attempt was of Robert Cox, who distinguished theories into two types critical and problem solving. Critical theory is historical, embedded ·in social and political contexts. Problem solving theory is positivist, conservative and focuses on parts of social and political phenomenon. Whereas, critical theory takes a holistic view of the whole, Gramscian methodology is one such approach. Gramscian concept of hegemony seeks to emphasise the consensual aspect of the state. Which is increasingly being questioned by the counter-hegemonic movements. Counter-hegemonic movements are movements which oppose the dominance or hegemony of the state identifying it with unjustified dominance of a group, identified by caste, ideology, religion, ethnic etc.

Chapter three takes environmental counter-hegemonic movements to explicate the above viewpoint. Here examples of Sardar Sarovar Project in India and Polonoroeste

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[8] Andrew Linklater, "Neo-realism in Theory and Practice", in (Ken) Booth and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995), pp.244.

Project in state of Rondonia, Brazil, is discussed and their external links are seen. It begins with explicating the meaning of environment, which is taken to imply social and historical construction of environment, as distinct from, essentially quantitative conception of environment in terms of bio-diversity, global warming, etc. Environmental counter-hegemonic movements not only agitate against the domestic government, but also seek to influence outside actors, like, World Bank, UN, and States. As happened in Sardar Sarovar Project, Narmada Bachao Andolan not only agitated against the domestic government, but also worked for affecting the policies of the World Bank, fund provider of the Sardar Sarovar Project and foreign governments. Narmada Bachao Andolan forged links with a U.S. based Environmental Defence Fund, which helped Narmada Bachao Andolan in its agenda at international realm. Narmada Bachao Andolan movement led to World Bank cancelling the final stage of loan, Japan also cancelled its loan for the project. It was a contributory factor in leading World Bank under the pressure of United States to devise new conditions and condition a litres for providing aid to countries. In Planafloro Project in Brazil. World Bank pressured Rondonia state government to incorporate NGOs' in the projects governance structure, which involved, giving NGOs equal voting powers with state secretariats so as to decide on project operation.

External interference in a nation's environmental policies have not always been helpful, as elephant conservation in Kenya and Zimbabwe is a case in point. In late 18th century, Africa saw scientific and naturalist expeditions, also in late 19th and early 20th centuries European hunters and expeditioners used to invade Africa. All this led to

decrease in number of elephants, it was the colonial masters who were to be blamed but they blamed natives for the decline in number of elephants. Kenya, was such a country, whose elephant population was rapidly declining, and because tourism, safari games and hunting, was the main foreign revenue earners of Kenya, it had to attempt to stop the declining elephant population. Since Kenya had got independence from British only in 1963, it's conservation policies were predominantly influenced by British, the primary method to conserve elephant population followed was setting up of national parks, so as to preclude it from natives interference. Here the attempt to conservation followed the policy, which favoured the trend of "increasing externalisation of control over environmental resources from rural communities to central colonial governments, especially from the 1940s on and then, with growing environmental concern in the 1970s, a renewal of state intervention, much of it financed from outside."[9] National parks etc. ultimately led to the adversarial relationship between local communities and the conservationist policies, which couldn't stop the poaching of elephants. In contrast, Zimbabwe formulated an independent policy, with respect to protecting its environment, it incorporated, local people in conservation methods. Local communities were involved as tourist guides, park wardens and stewards of areas. It helped to return the revenues to communities that incurred the costs (e.g., destroyed crops) of living with and protecting wildlife. The Zimbabwean policy was successful, "as a result elephant populations have

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[9] Thomas Princen, "Ivory, conservation, and environmental transnational", in Thomas Risse Kappen, ed., *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In* : Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.232.

increased from their low of four to five thousand in the late 19th century to some 50, 000 today."[10]

Chapter four studies counter-hegemonic movements waged on ethnic lines. These movements go a long way in weakening the state. World around ethnic counter-hegemonic movements are being waged. These ethnic counter-hegemonic movements may vary from as innocuous as interest groups to demanding secessionism. Generally ethnic interest group politics graduates to demands for a separate nation-state, as was evident in the Khalistan movements. Punjab problem began with demands for a separate province on religious lines, i.e., Punjab Suba movement, later this graduated to demands of Khalistan.

This chapter studies how ethnic counter-hegemonic movements delegitimize the state by portraying it as dominated by a particular group and working in its interests. Also ethnic movements to bolster their domestic standing form external linkages. This external linkage can be with ethnic brethren as living in neighbouring country or with ethnic diaspora. Also, this external linkage can be with states and international organizations. The external linkages can be source of intellectual and moral support and material support e.g., of money, arms and ammunition, in case the ethnic counter-hegemonic movements take the shape of separatist demands. This chapter discusses the external linkages of Tamil separatist groups, especially, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

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[10] ibid., pp.240.

Diasporic linkages are an important source of support for ethnic counter-hegemonic movements. These ethnic linkages play an important part in practice of international relations. For example, ethnic Ukrainians, before the break-up of Soviet Union, had been working for independence. The ethnic "Ukrainian communities in the West, especially in Canada and the United States, constituted a powerful lobby promoting Ukrainian national ideals and calling for an independent Ukrainian state."[11] Similar Sikh diaspora in Britain and Canada had been working for creation of Khalistan. They argued that Sikhs had agreed to join the Hindu-dominated India only because, they were assured by the Congress, that, they would be given special status and a large degree of autonomy, as compared with Jammu & Kashmir. But "Robin Jeffrey says that he found the details of this 'rhetorical history' (the account of Sikh acquiescence) inaccurate and without documentary evidence."[12] In short, modern Diaspora play crucial role in waging of ethnic counter-hegemonic movements, they are the source of money, arms, and political and moral support.

An attempt to study, counter-hegemonic movements and their international relations is a difficult enterprise. It's study involves a number of issues, e.g., transnational relations, interdependence, global civil society, transnational advocacy networks, etc. All these attempts to study shrinking of the spaces are at best, diffuse, amorphous and new in the field. Here the study of counter-hegemonic movements takes

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[11] Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, `Diaspora Politics : Ethnic linkages, Foreign Policy and Security in Eurasia", *International Security and Separatism in India* (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.59-59.

[12] Maya Chadda, *Ethnicity, Security and Separatism in India*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.59-59.

a less ambitious view, tries to study through Gramscian concept of hegemony, how the states are weakened by these movements, since globalization has not only brought integration but fragmentation. And the disappearance of the state may not lead to a society based on egalitarian principles, which should be the objective of any discipline.

CHAPTER – 2

COUNTER-HEGEMONIC MOVEMENTS AND

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The end of the Cold War and the failure of international relations theory to predict it, has put spotlight on international relations discipline as such. According to John Lewis Gaddis, "the major theoretical approaches that have shaped the discipline of international relations since Morgenthou have all had in common, as one of their principal objectives, the anticipation of the future."[1] In his comprehensive analysis of the discipline under three distinct approaches, viz., behavioural, structural and evolutionary, he looks for "what the major practitioners of each of theses approaches either said or implied about the end of the Cold War."[2] After extensive analysis, Gaddis comes to the conclusion that that none of the three approaches which have developed since 1945, could even remotely predict the end of the cold war and its process. It was one of the many factors, which contributed to questioning of the trajectory of the discipline.

The international relations discipline began with the establishment of a chair of international relations at the University of Wales, Abserystwyth in 1919. From then

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[1] John Lewis, Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War", *International Security*, Vol.17, no.3 (winter 1992-93) pp.10.
[2] ibid., pp.12.

until now, international relations has witnessed lot of debate and discussion on which path to take. The foundation of the discipline was overwhelmingly influenced by intellectual reactions to the horror of the First World War. It was, therefore, inevitable that international relations should incorporate a predominant normative orientation. This led to discipline's focus on concepts such as collective security, democracy, open channels of diplomacy as envisaged in famous Wilsonian fourteen points. As Hedley Bull said the idea was "that under the impact of the awakening of democracy, the growth of international mind, the development of the league of Nations, the good works of men of peace or the enlightenment spread by their own teachings, it (international system) was in fact being transformed."[3]

E.H.Carrl's realist critique of the liberal-utopian school just before the beginning of the Second World War contributed to discipline's dropping its heavy explicit normative baggage. With the end of the Second World War, came Hans Morgenthou's realist classic "Politics Among Nations", and now began the "first great debate" of the discipline between idealism and realism. But as Cold War began to unravel realism began to dominate the international relations discipline, which continued for a long time to come. The close connection between theory and practice can be seen here in that realism terminology helped to soothe the anxiety of the policy makers especially with regard to the 'overkill' capacity that states possessed. States had become solely concerned with military survival. In this background came, Marlin Wight's famous

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[3] Bull quoted in M. Hollis and S.Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon, Press 1990) pp.20.

article, "Why there is no international theory". The very title of the article, conveys his belief, that international theory is in a sorry state of recurrence and repetition, because of the absence of the kind of sovereignty and domestic order which made political theory possible. In brief, concerned with the goal of survival, whereas political theory seeks to build a good state.

Although, in pre-1970 period, international relations was studied with an agreement about the nature of the discipline i.e. realist framework however, dissenting views were still being expressed, e.g. J.W.Burton, Richard Falk etc. However, in 1970s this firm consensus about the nature of the discipline was broken with new directions in international relations theorising, e.g. rise of foreign policy analysis in United States, psychological approaches to decision making, study of transnational relations, international political economy etc. These new developments in international relations did helped in offsetting the state centrism of realism and neo-realism, but for some it still was not enough. In late 1970s Kenneth Waltz, with his theory of International Politics (1979), did tried to resurrect the realist tradition in international relations. But it was unsuccessful.

Though attempts to broaden the scope of international relations discipline was successful, but it still worked in pre-dominant mould of state-centrism as argued by Stephen Krasner "there are still no entities other than states that can make final authoritative decisions the litmus test of organised political life.[4] However, in "over the

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[4] Stephen Krasner "Economic Interdependence and Independent Statehood", in R. Jackson and A. James (eds.), *States in a Changing World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) pp.301.

last twenty-five years its parameters have widened considerably and serious doubts have been raised about the value and legitimacy of a separate discipline of international relations."[5]

Some theorists began to question the new directions in international relations theory also. As Julian Saurin says "I want to argue that both narrow and broad conceptions of international relations are misguided theoretically and, as a consequence, practically misleading.... I want to relocate international relations as a part of social theory as a whole. Social theory is concerned with explaining the form, distribution, articulation and consequences of social power."[6] This concern of social theory has been reflected in the work of number of authors, particularly Habermas, Cox, Ashley, Linklater etc. Also post-modernists like Derrida, Foucault and Lyotard challenged the established discipline of international relations.

The emancipatory spirit pervading the social theory, has led to incorporation in international relations discipline, thoughts of Antonio Gramsci Robert Con pioneered in this area. Here, Gramscian concept of hegemony will be used to study counter-hegemonic movements and their effects on international relations.

Gramsci and International Relations

The trend towards widening the scope of international relations discipline was evident in the incorporation of Gramscian methodology. In fact, it is a misnomer to call it "Gramscian methodology". Since there is not even a general consensus among

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[5] Andrew Linklater and Hohn MacMillan, Introduction in Linklater and MacMillan, (eds.), *Boundaries in Question*: New Directions in International Relations (London: Printer, 1995), pp.1.
[6] Julian Saurin, "The end of International Relations? The state and international theory in the age of globalization", in Linklater and Macmillan (1995), pp.245.

theorists on what constitutes Gramscian methodology, various scholars using it differently. As Stephen Gill said "the movement towards the extension of Gramscian ideas to the study of international relations and international political economy has been slow and recent. Though Gramscian ideas have been used for analysis of politics, popular culture and ideological and cultural hegemony at the national level. Such awareness is much less apparent in international relations and international political economy. This may be partly because little of Gramsci's thinking focussed on questions of political economy *per se*, mainly because he seems to have worked within classical Marxist assumption about the political economy of capitalism."[7]

Robert Cox pioneered in the attempt to use Gramscian "ideas useful for revision of current international relations theory."[8] Moving away from state-centric focus of the discipline, Cox argues for changing forms of state. Cox argues that though traditional theorists maintained strict distinctions between state and civil society, but in today's changing times this distinction or dichotomy do not hold. What we find today is "state and civil society are so interpenetrated that the concepts have become purely analytical."[9] In short, Cox argues for relating social forces with present international relations and world order, which has hitherto been sidelined under the rubric of unit-level factor in Waltzian sense.

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[7] Stephen Gill, Gramsci, historical Materialism and International Relations (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.16.
[8] Robert W. Cox, "Gramsci, hegemony, and international relations: an essay in method", in Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair, (eds.), *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.124.
[9] Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: beyond International Relations Theory" in Cox and Sinclair (1996) pp.86.

Cox distinguishes between problem-solving theory and critical theory. Critical theory as distinct from problem-solving theory like neo-realism is historical, emphasizes theory's embeddedness in social and political contexts. Whereas problem-solving theory is positivist, claims to be objective and ahistorical. Critical theory is directed to the social and political complex as a whole rather than to a disparate parts of social phenomenon. Critical theory allows for a normative choice in favour of a social and political order different from the prevailing order. Whereas problem solving theory takes the framework as given, seeks to smoothen its working, is conservative and claims to be value free, but not actually being so.

Critical theory emphasizes the role of social forces and processes in affecting the characters of international relations social forces do not exist insulated within states but they still over the porous boundaries of today's state and form transnational links. According to Robert Cox, "the world can be represented as a pattern of social forces in which state play an intermediate though autonomous role between the global structure of social forces and local configurations of social forces within particular countries."[10]

Gramsci's key contribution to social and political theory has been his concept of hegemony. In this work, attempt will be made to see how the concept of hegemony is helpful in studying the transnationalisation of counter-hegemonic movements, and how this is leading to movements becoming conduits of external interference and weakening of the legitimacy of the state. According to Gill, "impressive work has begun to emerge on the transnationalisation of state and civil society, the international aspects of social

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[10] ibid., pp.106.

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hegemony and supremacy, and the transnational class and bloc formations and economic

forces, the role of organic intellectuals and of international organizations and other

issues which help to define the nature of global politics in the twentieth century."[11] This

work proceeds in similar direction.

The Concept of Hegemony

Gramsci's key contribution to the theory has been concept of hegemony or

egemonia. However, some authors like Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Moufte trace the

genealogy of the concept of hegemony to a long list of authors. Laclau and Moufte argue

that 'the concept of hegemony did not emerge to define a new type of relation in its

specific identify, but to fill a hiatus that had opened in the chain of historical

necessity."[12] Hence, the concept of hegemony was a response to crisis, an attempt to fill

void, which has been generated in early 20th century. The hiatus or void was the failure

of "historical necessity" of mechanical or scientific Marxism to manifest itself on the

path to permanent revolution.

The concept of hegemony evolved to fill the void. It has "its humble origins in

Russian Social Democracy, where it is called upon to cover a limited area of political

effects, (implying) a kind of contingent intervention required by the collapse of what

would have been a 'normal' historical development."[13] The concept can also be traced in

Leninism. Gramsci himself credits Lenin with the theorisation and relaxation of

hegemony and calls this a great metaphysical event as well as Lenin's major theoretical

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[11] op. cit., Stephen Gill (1993), pp. 25.

[12] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, "*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics", trans: Winston Moore and Paul Commack (London: Thetford Press, 1985) pp.8.

[13] ibid., pp.8.

contribution to the "philosophy of praxis." Lenin uses the word closest to the "hegemony" in Russian i.e., *gegemoniya*, but still his concept was at variance from Gramscian conception.

When studying Leninist conception of "*gegemoniya*" one should note that Lenin as compared to Gramsci was on activist, therefore his writings were a product of concrete situations and circumstances and more susceptible to rhetoric, as himself accepted by Lenin. Secondly, Lenin was consistent in his belief of coercive nature of the bourgeoisie. Thirdly this concept of gegemoniya implied political leadership. The gap between 'political leadership' and 'intellectual and moral leadership' was only traversed by Gramsci. Fourthly, the concept of gegemoniya in Latin had a strategic or instrumental role only, in formation of class alliances.

One can therefore safely say that the concept of hegemony acquired its full meaning only in Gramsci's works. However, the concept of hegemony was not developed in a single neat logical statement, it developed or evolved in a period of time. This makes it vulnerable to lot of ambiguities and susceptibilities. Being an political activist himself, his concept of hegemony developed in relation to particular circumstances. His concept of hegemony developed as a response to concrete situations and circumstances prevailing in Italy and around the world at that time. He was particularly influenced by the situation prevailing in Italy at that time, "the failure of the Risorgimento project to construct a unified national state; strong regional split between industrial North and agrarian Mezzogiorno; lack of integration of the catholic masses into the political life of the country as a result of the Vatican question and insufficient

and contradictory development of capitalism."[14] Gramscian theory was particularly affected by the lack of national unity in Italy at that time, where Southern Italy had not achieved moral and cultural unity with Northen Italy. As Nadia Urbainati stressed "Gramsci elaborated his concept of hegemony out of his concern for, with the condition and subordination of Southern Italy. For him the Southern question was a national question, insofar as it was a question of lack of communication both among social classes of the South and between the North and South."[15]

Gramscian hegemony was no less inspired from the international factors, "growth of reformism within the western working class; the outcome of the First World War (revealing as it did the fragility of proletarian internationalism); the failure of the social revolution to spread outside Russian, the crushing defeat of the post-war rebellion in Germany and Hungary, and the subsequent rise of popular right-wing movements."[16]

Gramsci revolted against Scientific Marxism or mechanical Marxism, which posited law like developments leading towards the socialist goal. In 'popular manual' Bukharin has emphasised Marxism as explaining historical processes through positivist economic laws. Gramsci termed this view as "metaphysical materialism", which reflected a hangover from the concept of God. As Bukharin said "society and its evolution are as much subject to natural law as is every thing else in the universe."[17] Gramsci rejected scientific Marxism and endeavoured to emphasise the role of conscious

[14] ibid. pp.65
[15] Nadia Urbinati, "From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's theory of subordination and hegemony in political theory", Political Theory, Vol.26, no.3 (June 1998), pp.374.

[16] Joseph V. Femia.
[17] ibd., pp.68.

and creative human actions in the historical movements and processes. Gramsci was inspired by idealist Benedetto Croce, who emphasised the role of ideas or spirit in human evolution. Croce viewed philosophy as a guide to action and it affirmed the role of morals and ideals in human action. Inspired by him Gramsci saw Marxism not as a science but a philosophy. Though Gramsci found anti-metaphysical historicism of Croce apt to his philosophy but he was not willing to go as far as Croce, who in his zeal to affirm the autonomy of beliefs, values and ideals, made them unrelated to underlying economic conditions.

According to Gramsci supremacy or dominance of a social group is achieved in two different ways, one is coercion or domination (*dominia*) and intellectual and moral leadership (*direzione intellettude e morale*) i.e., social control is achieved by two forms, one external, through the provision of rewards and punishments, and internal, through internalization of prevailing norms, beliefs and values of hegemonic groups. The achievement of supremacy through the second processes is termed as hegemonic. Gramscian hegemony implies hegemonized groups believe the rule of the hegemonic is not only legitimate but also in the interests of their own. This hegemony is achieved buy the mediation of intellectuals, church, media, culture, etc.

Gramsci broadens the concept of state. He defines "state as consisting of the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to obtain the active consent of the governed."[18] Gramsci differentiates states into political society and civil society. This

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[18] ibd., pp.28.

differentiation's genealogy is generally associated with Hegel's Philosophy of Right, but its traces can be found in a number of English and French philosophers. Gramsci himself admitted that he uses Hegel's definition of civil society, but he goes on to make a fundamental departure from the Hegelian civil society. Hegelian civil society is "a set of social practices which are constituted by the logic of the capitalist economy and which reflect the ethos of the market, but which have an existence distinct from the economy. He located these practices between the family and the state."[19] Gramscian "civil society is the location where the state operates to enforce invisible, intangible and subtle form of power through educational, cultural and religious systems and other institutions."[20]

Gramscian civil society is the "ideological superstructure" which helps in propagation of hegemon's values, norms and belief structures. In fact state plays an educative role. To establish hegemony, not only hegemon propagates its beliefs, norms and values. The process of establishing hegemony involves sacrifice from the ruling groups so as to help in accommodation of other classes and alliances which are not in conflict with basic interests of the leading class. As Gramsci said " the fact of hegemony pre-supposes that account be taken of the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed, in other words that the leading groups should make sacrifices of an economic corporate kind."[21] Further, the dichotomy between civil and political society, is for

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[19] Neera Chandhoke, "State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory" (New Delhi, sage, 1996), pp.117.
[20] ibd., pp.149.
[21] quoted in James Martin "Gramsci's Political Thought: A Critical Introduction" (London, MacMillan, 1998) pp.71.

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analytical purposes only, in fact these two spheres interpenetrate each other and they are dynamic. Gramsci termed the relative balance between these two spheres as `integral' or `ethical state'.

Gramscian refusal to see superstructure as a reflection of the base led him to posit a reciprocal relationship between them. He said that base and superstructure form `historical bloc' (*blocco storico*). According to Gramsci "structure and superstructures form an `historical bloc'. That is to say the complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production."[22]

Taking cue from the Gramscian concept of hegemony a number of attempts has been made to study state and society. British Marxists such as Perry Anderson, Tom Nairn and Ralph Miliband argued that somewhat comprehensive elite culture can be identified with British "establishment" which co-opts and neutralises the opposition. Anderson and Miliband emphasised the salience of cultural institutions, where socialisation of individual takes place, in British patterns of hegemony including the media, education system, which neutralises the radical opposition. Poulantzas use of hegemony is quite complex and it enables a wide variety in the composition of classes and ideological groups, which form hegemonic "power blocs".

Gramscian ideas became prominent in Europe in 1960s, when cultural studies emerged in great Britain. Concept of hegemony was used in cultural studies particularly by Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams to examine popular culture and ideology at a

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[22] quoted in Martin (1998) pp.182

more local level. In "Policing the Crisis" Hall et.al. (1978) examined the way in which issues of `grace', crime and law and order mere utilized by the print media and the politicians to construct an ideological frame through which people would experience economic and social change as a threat to `national integrity'.

Counter-Hegemonic Movements and International Relations

Counter-hegemonic movements are the movements, which oppose the hegemony of the dominant group. This dominance can be identified by class relations, i.e., proletariat Vs bourgeoisie, as held by Gramsci in his concept of hegemony. However, here the hegemon is given identity by counter hegemonic movements. Counter hegemonic movements practise politics in terms of "us" and `them'. Where `them' can be caste, upper caste Vs lower caste, region e.g., south vs north, linguistic groups e.g., Hindi Vs vernacular languages, etc. These movements oppose the hegemony of the state, by ascribing it with particular group identity whichever is favourable to the elite of the counter-hegemonic movements. This opposition of the hegemony of the state, identified with selfish interests of a particular group weakens and compromises the legitimacy of the state action in eyes of the common people, thereby, weakening the authority of the state.

For example, environmental movements can be termed as counter-hegemonic in the sense that some environmentalists oppose the hegemony of the western liberal ideas of development. Where development and modernisation has proceeded hand in hand with environmental destruction. Further, modernisation also involves steps which are adverse to particular groups, who see the developmental models as favouring particular

section of elite. Indigenous people movements' world-wide see the western model of development as based on their exploitation. The western model of development entails, habitat destruction, destruction of traditional ways of life and employment. This forms a major part of the whole controversy of development through big dams. In India, the controversy over Sardar Sarovar Dam project on river Narmada centers on the problem of displacement of the people. The majority of the displaced (57.5%) are tribals. Therefore the issue becomes not only of debate over relevance of western models of development, but also conflict between mainstream and backward section of the society.

Similar counter-hegemonic movements can be seen on ethnic lines. Ethnic counter-hegemonic movements' characteristic feature is their emphasis on ethnic separateness. Ethnic counter-hegemonic movements identify the hegemonic state with the dominance of an ethnic "other". This ethnic "other" could be based on caste, religion, language, etc. Ethnic counter-hegemonic movements can use ethnicity to make demands in the political field for improvement in their status, for betterment in the economic field, in educational opportunities and realisation of their civil rights. When ethnic counter-hegemonic movements act thus, they are indulging in interest group politics, as was prevalent in United States in 1960s and 1970s, which aimed for the betterment of group members as individuals can go further and demand corporate rights. They may demand a region or province in which they are in majority, with their own ethnically suited education, language etc. At the extreme it may take the shape of a demand for a separate nation. This graduation from demands for corporate rights to a separate nation was traversed by Sikhs. In mid-1960s there was a Punjabi Suba

movement which sought a province with Sikhs as majority, later this calibrated to demands for Khalistan Sikh ethnic counter-hegemonic movements identified Indian state as Brahmanical, which works for Brahmins-Bania combine, practising sever discrimination against the Sikhs.

The counter-hegemonic groups in order to enhance their domestic standing form transnational links. These links are sources of not only money, but also ideas, norms etc. Though many counter-hegemonic groups begin with having autonomy from the external actors, they also get into vortex of international politics. In short, their emancipatory goals are compromised and they become conduits of external interference. According to Sushil Kumar in third world states, "the emancipatory goals of counter-hegemonic movements were to an extent appropriated by transnational vested inlererts."[23] Therefore what happens is "the importance of nation-states relative to other actors undergoes networking change when non-governmental, transnational, superordinate-subordinate relationships multiply to the extent that the directives issued by the other actors often evoke habitual complain against the wishes of those who wield authority on behalf of nation-states."[24]

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink in their book *Activists Beyond Borders*: Advocacy Networks in International Politics study the role of transnational advocacy networks in international politics. Where "advocacy networks... advocates plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proposition ... They are organised to promote

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[23] Sushil Kumar, "A Retrospect" in Sushil Kumar (ed.), *New Globalism and the State* (New Delhi, Research Press, 1999) pp.291.
[24] James N. Rosenau, The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalisation of World Affairs (London Frances Printer, 1980), pp.25.

causes, principled ideas, and norms, and they often involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to a rationalist understanding of their interests."[25]

Counter-hegemonic movements differ from advocacy networks in the sense that they fight for their own interests while advocacy networks fight around principles, causes and beliefs. Further, sense of identity formation is crucial in counter-hegemonic movements, which is not as apparent in advocacy networks. Here counter-hegemonic movements primary aim is to affect the programme and policies of the domestic government. While transnational advocacy networks not only try to affect the policies and programmes of the state government their focus is much wider i.e., they also try in to influence working of international organizations like United Nations, World bank etc.

Despite the above differences between counter hegemonic movements and advocacy networks they share some similarities in their working and organisation. Both try to enlist the support of transnational allies so as to consolidate their position in home. Both in their effort to gain media attention heavily rely on propaganda. As advocacy networks "use the power of their information, ideas, and strategies to alter the information and value contexts within which states make policies."[26] Similarly counter hegemonic movements also work. According to Keck and Sikkink.

"Our typology of tactics that networks use in their efforts at persuasion, socialisation, and pressure includes (1) information politics, or the ability to quickly and

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[25] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink , "*Activists Beyond Borders*: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998), pp.8-9.
[26] ibid., pp.16.

credibly general politically usable information and move it to where it will have the most impact; (2) symbolic politics, or the ability to call upon symbols, actions or stories that make sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away; (3) leverage politics or the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence; and (4) accountability politics, or the effort to hold powerful actors to their previously stated policies or principles.[27]

Keck and Sikkink formulate the concept of boomerang pattern for working of transnational advocacy network. Boomerang pattern implies how advocacy network unable to get their grievances settled by the domestic government, approach international organisations states, to try to bring pressure on domestic states. However, this interaction can produce considerable tensions among nations. Similar is the work of counter-hegemonic movements which search for international allies not only to bring pressure upon domestic government, as it happened in case of agitation over Sardar Sarovar Project, but also may scout for financial, political and military help to fight domestic government, as happens in case of secessionist movements.

The study of counter-hegemonic movements raises the issues of identification theory. Identification is a psycho-biological need based on the earliest infantile need to exist. It involves internalization of the attitudes, mores and behaviour of significant others. Identification with symbolic entities leads to a sense of well being and security. Various authors designate the "symbolic identities" differently, as Herbert Mead's

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[27] ibid., pp.17.

"generalised others", Erik Erikson's "ideologies", and Habermas's "identity-securing interpretative systems".

According to Habermas,

> *"The state does not, it is true, establish the collective identity of the society; nor can it itself carry out social integration through values and norms, which are not at its disposition. But in as much as the state assumes the guarantee to prevent social disintegration by way of binding decisions, the exercise of state power is tied to the claim of maintaining society in its normatively determined identity. The legitimacy state power is then measured against this; and it must be recognised if it is to last."*[28]

Therefore nation-building requires that the citizens make an identification with the nation-state. This requires[29]

- that a person actually experiences the state, and

- that this experience is such as to evoke identification and identification will occur if

- symbols of the state present an appropriate attitude in situations of perceived threat, or

- symbols of the state behave beneficently towards the individual.

It is on this, perception of the state as beneficent, that counter-hegemonic movements attack.

Counter-hegemonic movements emphasise the negative character of the state overlooking its positive sides. This tendency leads to the weakening of the state, leading to a crisis of governance especially in third world states. In fact, what we are seeing is

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[28] Habermas quoted in William Bloom, Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990), pp.49.
[29] Willam Boom (1990), pp.61.

that international arena is becoming more and more organised exemplified by increasing number of agreements on various issues, whereas domestic arena is seeing more and more disorder. Though, globalization is inevitable, the weakening of states should not be promoted in its name. Since state has an impressive record in "furthering peace, freedom and welfare."[30]

Next, two chapters on environmental counter-hegemonic movements and ethnic counter-hegemonic movements will see how these movements seek to delegitimise the state, leading to citizens alienation and consequent weakening of the state both internally and externally. It will also see how the external agencies are involved in this phenomenon.

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[30] Sushil Kumar, pp.292.

CHAPTER – 3

ENVIRONMENTAL COUNTER-HEGEMONIC

MOVEMENTS

The word environment's etymology is traced to French word "environ" or "environer" implying surroundings. The "environment" stands for surroundings that affect the life of man, which includes both physical and biological or biotic. These surroundings are external conditions affecting human and plant life.

This is the most innocuous and least controversial meaning of environment. It imparts a preliminary understanding of environment. However, with environmental issues occupying centre-stage in the preceding three decades, it has become imperative to delineate the meaning of environment and issues concerning it. Since every one is eager to identify oneself with a "particular form of ideological consciousness which carries the label `environmental consciousness."[1] Therefore, the issue is not who is environmentalist or not, but who stands for what kind of environmentalism. As Sachs says, "the conflicts in the future will not centre on who or who is not environmentalist, but who stands for which kind of environmentalism."[2] This conflict will become increasingly ominous as the issue of environment gains in importance in international

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[1] Julian Saurin, "International relations, social ecology and the globalisation of environmental change", in John Vogler and Mark F.Imber, (eds.), *The Environment and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.81.
[2] Woegang Sachs (ed.) *Global Ecology: A New Arena of Politcal Conflict* (London, Zed Books, 1993), pp.xvi.

arena. As Porter and Brown argue, that the issue of environment has become third major issue of international relations after the issues of security and economics.[3]

As Julian Saurin says, "the debate over environmental change is in large part a battle in the social construction of knowledge and meaning which is sought out in a global arena". Further Saurin says, "human understanding of nature is historical and cultural'. According to Saurin, "establishing the meaning of "environment" is necessary for two reasons (1) in order to move away from essentially quantitative assessments of environmental change which deals with both the scale and rate of change and towards qualitative assessments which addresses questions of value and valuation, identity, appropriation and distribution: and second in order to distance oneself methodologically and politically from the crass neo-Malthusianism which constitutes the subtext of the prevailing international relations of global environment change. This, neo-Mathusian hegemony manifests itself in the uncritical and indeed profoundly anti-social and anti-historical acceptance of the estimation of environmental impacts from the aggregation of individual impacts, quite regardless of the highly differentiated social origins of that change."[4] In short, the imperative is for a holistic meaning of the environment, which not only looks and analyses quantitative changes, but it is also coupled with qualitative assessments which involve questions of identity, value etc. Therefore the issue is not only of what are environmental degrading factors and their remedies, but it also involves

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[3] Gareth Porter and Janet Wersh Brown, *Global Environmental Politics* (Boulder : Westview, 1996).
[4] Julian Saurin (1996) pp.81-82.

who and why are the groups involved and its implications on the other sections of the society, and world.

The Rise of Environmental Consciousness

Environmental consciousness has gained salience in last three decades, but its roots can be traced to much earlier period. Around 500 B.C., Plato warned Greek farmers that they were inviting disaster by allowing their stock to overgraze the hills and thus destruction of the forests. John Evelyn, the diarist in the mid 1660s tried to mobilise people against atmospheric pollution in London by publishing a pamphlet titled "fumifugium", arguing "that hellish and dismal cloud of sea coal perpetually overhead."[5] In 1649, the radicals popularly known as "The Diggers" or "The Levellers" undertook to dig up common land at Walton-on-Thame with the intention of establishing a commune which would recreate the golden age of equality and justice. In the 18th and 19th centuries in England, parliamentary culture resulted in scores of local protests against the privatisation of traditional commons.

With onset of industrialisation, the question of environmentalism gradually became more and more important. The difference between environmental movements based on principle and those based on NIMBYism became manifest. NIMBYism (Not in My Backyard) were numerous protests by rural landowners who were horrified by the ugly side of industrialisation, which was represented in air pollution, wood and land destruction, trespass, poaching etc. In the 19th century the first systematic attempt to

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[5] quoted in Richard Muir, *Political Geography: A New Introduction* (London, Macmillan, 1997), pp.261.

study the human impact on environment was made in 1864 by the United States scholar and diplomat, George Perkins Marsh, who published Man and Nature.

In the west, the modern environmental movements was a child of the 1960s, although some of the foundations were created in the 1950s itself. Television played very important role in propagating environmental consciousness. A number of attempts were taken up to show the increasing environmental degradation. In 1962 Rachel Carson's study of harmful affect of pesticides in United States led to the common man realise the danger to its national emblem, the bald eagle was threatened with the pressure of DDT in the food chain. In 1969 Wily Brandt campaigned against environmental pollution over Ruhr. By the end of the 1960s, United States was forced to adopt National Environmental Policy Act and a Clean Air Act, while water pollution and toxic chemicals had gained popular recognition as a major problem in most west European countries and would become important political issues in Japan during the early 1970s.

The growing importance of the environmental movements was symbolised by designation of April 22, 1970 as Earth Day. The 1970s saw the emergence of a number of environmental advocacy groups like Green peace, WWF, etc. The first modern protest concerning environment was staged in United Kingdom in May 1971 when members of the Friends of the Earth Organisation dumped 950 bottles in front of a company headquarters in London, to protest against introduction of non-returnable bottles. In 1972 an environmental report, "The Limits to Growth", sold more than 20 million issues all over the world. This marked the beginning of the division between the developed world and developing world. The rising environmental consciousness led to the holding

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of the United Nations conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm in 1972.

The communist countries were not far behind in the environmental movements. The Polish Ecology Club was established after the Gdansk Strikes of September 1980. It campaigned for the closure of an aluminium plant near Krakow. Consequent to the imposition of martial law in 1987, the club went underground, but it soon resurfaced after Chernobyl disaster of 1985. Similarly in Hungary the first environmental organisation was founded in 1983 to oppose the construction of a giant hydroelectric dam on the Danube. With the collapse of the communist states environmental movements gained new ascendancy and led to rise of green politics in various states. In fact, by the late 1980s, the membership of environmental groups had grown to exceed that of the trade unions. The world saw phenomenal increase in the international non-governmental organisation concerned with environment, their number arose from 2 in 1953 to 90 in 1993.[6]

The environmental movements in 1990s have acquired new character. With the end of the cold war, constraining influence on people to people contact was removed. With the ascendancy of capitalism, what we see now is globalization, which is leading to de-territorialisation of the spaces. What is happening now is that with spread of industrialism in the Third World, a simultaneous chorus against environmental pollution is also gaining strength.

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[6] Source: Union of International Association: Year Book of International Organisation.

Very deep sensitivity to environmental issues can be seen in India too, various daily practices of traditional Indian life show the intertwining of human life and environment. As Vandana Shiva says, "for the cultures of Asia, the forest has always been a teacher, and the message of the forest has been the message of interconnectedness and diversity, renewability and sustainability, integrity and pluralism"[7] Indian culture's close association with environment can be deduced from the various myths about God and forces of nature. Hindu religion has a particular deity for every force or characteristic of nature, e.g., Pawan Devta for air, Varuna for water, Indra for clouds etc. These myths are not only found in orthodox Hindu religion, but also in the tribals communities e.g., Bishnoi tribe. Indian concept of panchabhuta, which says that every living being is composed of five basic elements i.e., the sky, air, fire, water and soil. This shows its deep connectedness with environment. As Rabindra Nath Tagore said "the culture of forest has fuelled the culture of Indian society."[8] In Atharvaveda, a man recites

> *"I am the son of the earth,*
>
> *the rains are my father,*
>
> *let him, the lord of the rain,*
>
> *fill the earth for us,*
>
> *Oh earth, protect us, purify us,*
>
> *let the people with her with amity*

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[7] Vandana Shiva:;"The Green Movements in Asia" in Mathias Finger (Ed.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (London, Jai Press, 1992), Supplement 2, p.195.

[8] The Mukta Dhara.

Oh earth,

Give us sweet words,

The snowy mountain heights

And they forests, Oh earth,

Shall be kind to us, and we to them."

In modern times, whenever this intrinsic relationship between common man and nature was threatened, it led to people, especially, below the social and economic order, to resort to movements and protests. One of the most reported environmental movement in India was Chipko Andolan. In the Garhwal region. Local people opposed logging of trees, by resorting to tree hugging or embracing. This movement ultimately led to ban on felling of trees in 1987. Similar movement named Appiko Challwal in Uttara Kanada region of Karnataka was staged in 1983. Gradually this movement spread to various parts of South India. Similar environmental movements were organised in various issues e.g., Tehri Dam, Vishnu Prayag Dam, Cogentrix, Sardar Sarovar Dam etc.

These movements were primarily local but to enhance their bargaining power with state and elite, attempt was made to forge link with international environmental networks so as to cash on prominence of environmental consciousness in the world fora. This led to inter meshing of environmental issues with global environmental politics.

Environment and International Relations

International relations as a discipline formally come into being in the aftermath of First World War. It focussed on nation states as primary actors in international arena. International arena was a replication of Hobbesian state of anarchy. Adherents of this

school of thought, see environmental issues and agreements, primarily in statist terms. Even though where they diverge, they still rely on states as the guarantors and implementers of the environmental agreements. The prominent adherents of realist school of thought are E.H. Carr[9] and Hans Mongenthan[10], who saw international arena as a site for struggle. Where the question of environment did not emerge, even where it arose, it was primarily seen a constant in the equation of power politics and as a contributory factor in military process of a nation, as seen in Mahan[11] and Mackinder.[12]

Therefore international relations slow recognition of environment as an issue area was the result of dominance of realism and neo-realism. However, with the questioning of international relations boundary in the 1970s, environmental issues became a concern for international relations theorists also. But it was not that in the pre-1970 period environment was not a factor in international dealings, e.g., in the post 1945 period we see a number of environmental agreements, though subscribed under the study of international law and matters of technical interest which aroused little public response.

Global environmental politics acquired prominence with disagreements between North and South in the first UN conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm in 1972. Where the environmental concerns of the North clashed with the

[9] E.H.Carr, *The Twenty Year's Crisis* (London, 1939).
[10] H.J.Morgenthan, Politics Among Nations (New York, 1985).
[11] Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, "*The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1660-1782, Mahan has been defined as the father of geopolitics. He showed the importance of sea power in international standing of a nation.
[12] Sir Halfard Mackinder, Heartland thoris holds that who commands the heartland (Eastern Europe) commands world.

developmental needs of the South. Conference was of limited success because Soviet Union did not took part in it, still it managed to catapult issues of environment on the world state and cause even though for a short period flurry of activity in international relations discipline.

In the next year, oil shocks took place, which was one of the contributing factors, which led to the demand of New International Economic Order by G-77 in the United Nations. The oil shocks conveyed the mutual vulnerabilities of the nation states and thus came from Keohane and Nye, concept of "complex interdependence."[13] It looked questions of complex interdependence primarily from economic angle. Even though environmental interdependence was the basal interdependence, it didn't get the required attention, and therefore the issues of environmental relations were condemned to the margins of the international relations discipline.

The attention to global ecological deterioration was brought in the report "Our Common Future" by World Commission on Environment and Development (The Brundtland Commission). It said "the real world of interlocked economy and ecological systems will not change, the politics and institutions concerned must." [14] still the issue of environment did not come to occupy the centre stage.

By late 1980s environment issues became one of the issues of dominant concern. There was tangible increase in the governmental and popular concern. There was now a paradigmatic shift, where environmental change was seen as a global issue not local or

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[13] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, 1977.

[14] World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (New York, OUP, 1987). pp.310.

trans-boundary. Academic international relations responded to the growing environmental concern in late 1980s and 1990s in essentially liberal institutionalist or as Smith termed it pluralist tradition. Liberal institutionalists saw the issues of environmental concern" as the management of interdependence in a system of sovereign states lacking any land of central authorities"[15]. The issues of environmental co-operation were seen also from the prism of "regime"[16] analysis, which looked for international level rules and regulations so as to solve the problem of environmental degradation. This was carried forward the Peter Haas formulation of concept of "epistemic communities"[17], which looks at the role of transnational expert groups in concluding environmentally helpful rules and regulations.

Smith[18] terms the above a approaches to environmental issues as the mainstream approach however despite being 'mainstream' this approach is relegated to margins because they are termed as irrelevant or issues of "low politics" by the dominant realist school of power politics. Secondly, it is at fault at not being able to indulge in normative critical and post-structural study of environmental relations. Though mainstream pluralist or liberal institutionalist theorists maintain significance of a variety of non-state actors, but still their focus of study and research is the interaction among nation-states

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[15] John Vogler (1996) pp.8.

[16] Stephen Krasher defines, international regimes as "principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures" see "structural causes and regime consequences : regimes as intervening variables", *International Organization*, Vol.36, No.2, (Spring 1982), pp.1.

[17] Peter Haas, defined, epistemic community as "transnational networks of knowledge based communities that are politically empowered their claims to exercise cumulative knowledge and motivated by shared causal and principled beliefs. "See, Do regimes Matter: Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control" *International Organization*, 46, (Winter 1992), pp.1-56.

[18] S. Smith, "The environment on periphery of international relations : an explanation", *Environmental Politics*, Vol.2, No.4, pp.28-45.

similar attempts have been made to redefine security (by Buzan, Tickner)[19] incorporating environmental security, but they are in danger of co-option and being relegated to the issue of "low politics".

Critical theoretical model attempts to look the issue of environment from a different way, it emphasizes the roles of various groups, ideas and communities in international relations. Here the objective will be to see how the environmental counter hegemonic movements, have compromised on their emancipatory objectives and are working as a destabilising factor and a conduit of external and internal vested interests.

Environmental Movements as Counter-Hegemonic Movements

Gramscian concept of hegemony, as already discussed, was formulated with keeping class relations in mind. But here the concept of 'hegemony' is being enlarged so as to incorporate environmental movements as counter-hegemonic movements. Since, there is no gainsaying from the fact, that environmental degradation has gone hand in hand with modernisation and industrialisation. In this onward march of civilisation, some groups could manage to reap the fruits of modernisation and industrialisation, but some were left behind. Therefore what is happening that these marginal groups oppose the policies and programmes which entail environmental degradation. This is particularly happening in third world states, where marginal group's, habitat, source of living (often forests), etc. is being destroyed to maintain the living standards of the elite of the state. There is the issue also of which mode of development to follow, e.g.,

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[19] J.Ann Tickner, "Re-visioning Security", in Ken Booth and Steve Smith, (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995).

whether big dams are helpful? As Pravin Sheth says, "the environmental movements in India, unlike in Europe and the United States, had the weaker section of the society which formed its primary constituency of supporters. It were the tribals, dwellers in forests, and on hills, peasants, fisher-folk and women, who were and are the carriers of environmental movements."[20]

It could here be reviewed that advocacy networks[21] as already discussed, are different from counter hegemonic movements. In Europe and the United States environmental movements are primarily focussed on principles, ideas and values etc., therefore they can be termed as advocacy networks. But when they involve the questions of ethnically distinct indigenous people, they become counter hegemonic movements. In third world states, where the population is heterogeneous, environmental issues often split on ethnic lines, therefore they start from innocuous pressure groups and ultimately take the form of ethnic movements. For example, in India, where the caste and occupation are linked, if a particular occupation gets threatened e.g., fisher-folk in coastal areas of the country over the threat from big trawlers, the issue may get politicised in upper caste vs. lower caste.

As in the whole issue of development through big dams, environmental movements acquire the characteristic of counter hegemonic movements, in India. In pursuit of big dams, the predominantly section of the people displaced belong to the

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[20] Pravin Sheth., *Environmentalis*: Politics, Ecology and Development (Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1997), pp.28.

[21] advocacy networks are defined in chapter 2, pp.25.

scheduled castes and scheduled tribes category. The figures of the various people displaced are given in the Table no.1 at the adjoining page.

On similar lines, in other countries environmental movements can be shown to be counter hegemonic. In United States, 40% of all uranium deposits and 15% of surface mineable coal is located on Indian reserves.[22] In Bangladesh, in early 1960s the Kaptai Dam in Chittagong Hill tracts, submerged 250 sq. miles of prime agricultural land, equal to 40% of the cultivate area of the region, with the consequence that 100, 000 tribals people, one sixth of the total population were dispalced.[23] In Brazil, the Great Carajas Project financed by the World Bank, Rio Tinto Zinc, Al COA, Royal Dutch Shell, the EEC and Japanese and U.S. investors is threatening to displace ten thousand Gaviao and Guyajara Indians.

Environmental Movements and International Relations

Environmental movements not only originate sporadically, but with increasing "internationalisation of environmental protection"[24] the need for well planned organization with links outside the country had become imperative.

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[22] Bice Maiguashca, "The transnational indigenous movement in a changing World order" in Yoshikazu Sakamoti, ed., *Global Transformations*: Challenges to the State System (Tokyo, United Nations University press, 1994), pp.360.

[23] ibid., pp.360.

[24] Miranda A. Schreurs and Elizabeth C. Economy (eds.) book has the little "*The Internationalization of Environmental Protection* where authors argue that "internalization of environmental politics has affected domestic political institutions and policy-making processes" (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Table - 1 -Dams and the displacement of tribals people

Name of the Project	State	Population falling Displacement	Tribals people as % of displaced
Karjan	Gujarat	11, 600	100
Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat	200, 000	57.6
Maheshwar	M.P.	20, 000	60
Bodhghat	M.P.	12, 700	73.91
Icha	Bihar	30, 800	80
Chandil	Bihar	37, 600	87.92
Koel Karo	Bihar	66, 000	88
Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Rajasthan	38, 400	76.28
Polavaram	A.P.	180, 000	57.90
Maithon & Panchet	Bihar	93, 874	56.46
Upper Indravati	Orissa	18, 500	89.20
Pong	H.P.	80, 000	56.25
Inchampalli	A.P. Mah.	38, 100	76.28
Tultuli	Maharashtra	13, 600	51.61
Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8, 700	48.70
Bhakra	H.P.	36, 000	34.76
Masan Reservoir	Bihar	3, 700	31.00
Ukai Reservoir	Gujarat	52, 000	18.92

Source: Satyajit Singh, Taming the Waters, OUP, 1997, and government figures.

Transnational environmental networks have a long history. At the turn of the century, naturalists got in touch to help put in place an early convention on protecting migratory birds. In post World War II, an hybrid organisation consisting of representative of not only states and government agencies, but also NGOs was formed in 1948, with the name International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural

Resources (IUCN).[25] World today has seen phenomenal increase in the number of non-governmental agencies working in diverse fields such as human rights, environment, women, etc. Table no.2, at the adjoining page shows the decadal increase in NGOs and their areas.

When United Nations was formed there was no agency to look into environmental issues, therefore United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), was formed in 1946, to promote educational and scientific work, coupled with collaborating with specialists and NGOs.[26] It had to particularly work with the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), a scientific co-ordinating body formed in post-World War I period.

By the end of the 1960s environmental experts felt the need for more powerful institutions of international collaboration. The 1968 Biosphere Conference helped shift in focus on greater need for international collaborations and sought greater understanding of human activities. UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Program (1971), was an effort in this direction.

In 1972, on Sweden's initiative an UN conference on Human Environment was held in Stockholm. Before this Sweden was troubled by acid rain occurring in its territory. NGOs played an important role in this conference too. UN" organised a

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[25] In 1948 it had 18 member states and 107 conservation organization, by 1990 IUCN included 62 states, 114 government agencies and 436 NGOs.
[26] J. Eric Smith "The Role of Special Purpose and Non-Gonvernmental Organization in the Environmental Crisis." *International Organization*, special issue on "International Institutions and the Environmental Crisis" ed. David H. Kay and Eugene B. Skolnikoff 26:2 (Spring 1972) pp.308.

parallel NGO's conference on environment. "This first NGO forum parallel to United Nations official conference, pioneered a transnational process that would become absolutely central to the formation and strengthening of advocacy networks around the world"[27] "The Stockholm conference sparked the creation of institutions around which transnational environmental networks would mobilize."[28]

Table – 2 International non-government organisation and their major areas of work

Issue Area (N)	1953 N = 110	1963 N = 141	1973 N = 183	1983 N = 348	1993 N 631
Human Rights	33 30%	38 27%	41 22.4%	79 22.7%	168 26.6%
World Order	8 73%	4 2.8%	12 6.6%	31 8.9%	48 7.6%
International Law	14 12.7%	19 13.4%	25 13.7%	26 7.4%	26 4.1%
Peace	11 10%	20 14.2%	14 17.7%	22 6.3%	59 9.4%
Women's Rights	10 9.1%	14 9.9%	16 8.7%	25 7.7%	61 9.7%
Environment	2 1.8%	5 3.5%	10 5.5%	26 7.5%	90 14.3%
Development	3 2.7%	3 2.1%	7 3.8%	13 3.7%	34 5.4

Source: Keck and Sikkink (1998), pp.11.

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[27] Keck and Sikkink (1998), pp.123.

[28] ibdi., pp.125.

During the 1970s and the early 1980s environmental networks, were working in policy prescription, exchange of information and co-ordination. In fact they formed an "epistemic community"[29] around a number of environmental issues, leading to joint research and co-ordination.

In the mid-1980s, the environmental networks began to follow a new work plan. Instead of acting as facilitators for exchange of information. Co-ordination and policy advocacy, they took to more confrontational path. This was particularly facilitated by the mid-1980s Chernobyl and Bhopal disaster, which focussed media attention on environmental issues. They now took to "more confrontational approaches into they environmentalist repertoire, ranging from the litigation and regulatory negotiation approaches of NRDC (Natural Resources Defence Council) and Environmental Defence Fund (EDF) to the Quaker-inspired witness and direct action approach of Green-peace"[30] Green-peace and Friends of Earth strategically used combination of demonstration, confrontation and lobbying. Because of these media-savvy methods between 1985 and 1990 membership in Environmental Defence Fund doubled, then doubled again between 1990 and 1991. The National Resources Defence Council (NRDC) grew 27 times between 1985 and 1990, as did the nature conservancy. The WWF – US grew 5-6 times and Green-peace more than doubled from 400, 000 to 850, 000. Total membership of ten organizations for which continuous data is available, grew from 41, 198, 000 in 1976 to

[29] for def. Of episrmic community see note no.17, pp.17.
[30] Keck and Sikkink (1998), pp.128.

5, 816, 000in 1985 and 8, 270, 000 in 1990.[31] The point to be noted about these environmental organizations is that they have branches all over the world.

In developing countries as well, social movements and NGOs concerned with the environment multiplied rapidly during the 1980s, influenced by the spread of environmental ideas and by nationally specific historical circumstances. In Latin America, the wave of democratisation in the 1980s, led to rapid rise of non-governmental organizations. This growth of non-governmental organizations world-wide showed the crisis of and disaffection with the left as well as state governments increasingly being viewed as incapable and inefficient in providing services. Neo-liberal anti statism had led to channelling of development aid from developed world to third world countries, through rapidly rising non-government organizations. In South and South East Asia, the NGOs to clamed a long tradition of socially productive work. In 1983, a directory published by the environmental organisation Sahabat Alam Malaysia of environmental NGOs in the Asia-Pacific region listed 162 organizations. Now these organizations had become more effective and powerful, effective because they have now ample resources, influence etc. and powerful because they are becoming the preferred route of channelling of funds from the developed world.

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[31] V.Coan eds. World Directory of Environmental Organizations, (Claremont, California: Publci Afairs Cleaning House, 1976) quoted in see note 27, pp.128. The ten organization are : The Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, The Izzat Walton League of America, The National Audubon society, The National Parks and Conservation Association, The National Wildlife, Fderation, Natural Resources Defense Council, The Natural Conservancy, The Wilderness Society and the World Wildlife Fund – US. Data from Wildlife Federation, The Conservation Directory (Washington D.C..: National Wildlife Fderation 1976, 1982, 1986, 1990) Dates for 1976 on the National Audobon Society camen from Thaddedus. C. Tryna and Engeve.

Environmental Movements and The State

With increasing environmental consciousness, environmental networks have burgeoned. Some of there environmental networks are loose, amorphous group of persons who share a principle, ideas or norms. These groups mostly indulge in information politics, with little scope for outright confrontation with the hegemonic state. They seek to build public opinion through information flows, research and occasional personal contact. Then there are other environmental networks who have a well delineated organization comparable to a bureaucracy of any state. They have provisions for adequate financing, personnel, office, and modern gadgetry such as fax, telephone, Email facilities, etc. The environmental counter-hegemonic movements work through the both types of networking as discussed above.

The first type of environmental networks though less susceptible to external interference however also play a subtle part in not only setting the agenda, but also guiding it. Since Gramsci defines hegemony as moral and intellectual leadership, these loose amorphous environmental networks, advocate policies in their favour. Also, major environmental networks work from North America, therefore, there is not only subconscious, but also conscious Western Agenda, which is exported into the Third World States. The policies and programmes which are helpful to the Western interests, particularly economic, are advocated under the garb of pious principles. For example, the attempts to put 'social clauses' or "non-trade barriers" with respect to world trade is harmful to the Third world economy, but many Third World NGOs agitate for social clauses and environmental standards. The issue of environmental standards was raised

at the Seattle meeting of World Trade Organisation in 1999, December. Non-governmental organisations at Seattle prevented the inaugural session of the WTO meeting from being held, smashed, local shops and forced the authorities to declare a curfew. But "US and several delegations lauded their (NGOs) idealism, and said the demonstrators had a point in wanting WTO to be more open and more concerned about labour and environmental standards in trade."[32] This lauding of NGOs stemmed from the fact that, implementation of environmental and labour standards would have been in their (Western Nations) favour. It would have given competitive edge to their industries, and that too all in the name of pious 'environmental protection'. As in, pursuit of the demand of a number of NGOs to save turtles, from being endangered, United States Government enforced its Endangered Species Act, to require shrimp exporters to fit "excluder devices" to their nets to save turtles. India, Pakistan and Malyasia, took the matter to WTO Disputes Settlement Board, arguing that a state's domestic environmental laws do not apply to international trade. WTO upheld the complainant's position. However, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and the Sea Turtle Restoration Project argue that WTO contributes to the deaths of sea turtles every year, because a WTO trade-dispute panel ruled in favour of South East Asian countries that challenged a United States law requiring turtle – excluding devices on shrimp boats selling shrimps to the United States.

Further, the European Union wants to impose "phyto-sanitary" standards for importing milk and its products, under which cattle cannot be milched manually but only

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[32] Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar, NGOs emerging as globalized MNCs", TOI New Delhi, 5.12.99.

by machines. It catastrophic effect on Indian rural folk is very obvious to be elaborated. This should be seen with the fact that India has emerged work's biggest milk producer.

A number of similar examples can be seen where the environmental agenda of many NGOs are in real sense helpful to the western world. Thus leading one to wonder whether "if there non-tariff barriers are raised to prevent exploitative labour, save species and protect the environment, or to camouflage real interests"[33].

However, environmental counterhegemonic movements work not only in insidious and subtle ways, advocating western values and ideas in the third world states, but they actively by their actions weaken the state from within. Here, the role of second type of environmental networks comes into being. This environmental network as already discussed, has an address, office in a particular place, provision for adequate resources and equipped with modern facilities e.g. e-mail, vehicles etc. These types of environmental counterhegemonic movements are more powerful as compared to other. They have concrete links from outside world, thus giving them enough leverage on the domestic governments.

India of late has seen a number of environmental counter-hegemonic movements, one of the prominent is Sardar Sarovar Dam on the river Narmada. Indian government in zeal to rapidly industrialise the country, undertook a number of dam's construction so as to provide for cheap electricity irrigation and water supply. In the 1950s big dams were a fashionable proposition. This viewpoint lead Nehru to say "Dams are the

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[33] Darry D' Monte, "Trading Charges in Seattle" TOI, New Delhi, November, 1999.

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Temples of Modern India". Where dam building was equated with nation-building. This quest led India to become one the worlds third largest dam builder. It is inevitable that big dams involve large-scale displacement. According to a study[34] by Indian Institute of Public Administration, each big dam involves displacement of an average 44,182. Since India has more than three thousand and three hundred big dams. Simple arithmetic leads to 44,182 x 3,300 =14,58,00,600. Figures are obscene. As already shown in the Table no.1, the predominantly displaced are scheduled tribes, therefore, it becomes one of the most enduring environmental counter hegemonic movements in India.

Though the work on Sardar Sarovar Dam began in 1961 but it only started on war footing in 1988. In the same year Narmada Bachao Andolan formally called for work on the Narmada to be stopped. Narmada Bachao Andolan though initially formed to press for decent resettlement and rehabilitation, took the character of the anti dam movement. Their clarion call was that they will prefer death than to move.

Arundhati Roy, of late, has become one of the most well known NBA activist (other is Medha Patkar). She termed "Big dams are to a nation's 'development' what Nuclear Bombs are to its Military Arsenal. They are both weapons of mass destruction. The both weapons government use to control their own people[35]. She, giving the figures of the displaced people emphasised on the ethnic "otherness" of the displaced. She argued the ethnic "otherness" (i.e. displaced being predominantly tribals) of their victims

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[34] referred in Arundhati Roy "The Greater Common Good" Frontline 4 June, 1999.

[35] ibid., pp.29.

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takes some of the pressure off the Nation-builders. It's like having an account. Someone else pays the bill. People from another country. Another world. India's poorest people are subsiding the life styles of her richest"[36].

The movement grew from strength to strength, particularly it's rally at Hirasud of 50,000 people in September 1989. "The Harsud rally was also a demonstration of the NBA's broad based support, in the valley, as well as among intellectuals and activities nation-wide[37]. Based on a skilful campaign under the charismalic leadership of Medha Patkar, it managed to enlist support of the environmental groups outside India. NBA and the other groups wanted the dam should be reviewed and forced World Bank to appoint a committee under Bradford Morse, 1991, under little Independent Review Team. They argued that "we think the Sardar Sarovar Projects as they stand are flawed, that resettlement and rehabilitation of all those displaced by the project is not possible under prevailing circumstances, and that the environmental impacts of the projects have not been properly considered or adequately addressed[38].

Ultimately NBA managed to force the World Bank to stop funding for the project in 1993 summer. Indian government was keen to carry on with the project and funding from the World Bank, but it had to withdraw its request for funding for the last part of the loan. Friends of the Earth, a very prominent U.S. NGO came to the help of the Narmada activists, it forced Japanese government, to withdraw its 27 billion-yen loan to finance the Sardar Sarovar Project. Japanese Government withdrawal occurred before

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[36] ibid., pp.8.
[37] Satyajit Singh, Introduction in Jean Dreze, Meera Samson and Satyajit Singh, *The Dam the Nation* (Delhi, Oxford, 1997), pp.9.
[38] quoted in ibid., pp.11.

World Bank, in fact it was the Japanese Government withdrawal which forced the World Bank to stop further loans for the Sardar Sarovar Project. This was the first time when an environmental movement forced World Bank to withdraw from a Project.

The Sardar Sarovar Project showed in case of India, how an environmental counter hegemonic movements, can force the domestic government to bite the dust. The whole issue not only put Indian government in a corner in the international arena, but it made its position difficult on the diplomatic circles. This became more sinister when the issue was propagated as tribals vs. non-tribals confrontation. On the domestic front Indian Governments hegemony was questioned. Despite trying its best to facilitate rehabilitation and resettlement, Indian government was put into bad light. Rhetoric such as "the struggle in the Narmada Valley lives, despite the state Indian state makes war in devious ways. Apart from its apparent benevolence, its other big weapon is its ability to wait, to roll with punches. To wear out the oppositions. The state never tries, never ages, never needs a rest. It runs an endless relay[39]. Indian state was put into a struggle where it had no option but to loose, if it showed its strength, it would have been termed as undemocratic and dictatorial. Even though these adjectives are still given to it, because it forcefully tried to prevent people from drowning in the river, when water is released. No credit was given to it for allowing a movement to blossom and struggle. The whole issue put Indian state in the domestic arena as 'helpless' and "morally compromised" on allowing such a large population to be added to slum population.

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[39] Arundhati Roy, pp.16

Further anti-dam movement of the Narmada Bachao Andolan, is rigid and not open to compromises. The other prominent group active on Sardar Sarovar Project is ARCH-Vahini (Action Research in Community Health and Development). ARCH-Vahini and Narmada Bachao Andolan hold diametrically opposed views on the dam.

The ARCH-Vahini holds that[40]:

(a)   The Sardar Sarovar Project will bring the promised benefits to Gujarat.

(b)   The oustees will be given full and satisfactory resettlement with land compensation.

(c)   Reforestation will make up for lost forests.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan rejects all three positions. It holds that :

(a)   The project will not keep to promises.

(b)   The oustees will never get proper rehabilitation for there is no land available.

(c)   The damage to forests will be irreparable.

Therefore what is happening is, that ARCH-Vahini is working on improving resettlement and rehabilitation, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, for the project affected people. ARCH-Vahini has been successful in forcing Gujarat "to offer the best ever resettlement package in our history". However, Narmada Bachao Andolan has been adamant on its position arguing that dam construction should be stopped. They are implacably opposed to the dam construction. They undertake confrontations paths to oppose dam construction. It had some successes in its endeavour. "It has bad some

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[40] Vasudha Dhagamover "The NGO Movements in the Narmada Valley: Some Reflections in Samson and Singh (ed.). (1997), Pp.96-97.

spectacular successes chiefly due to the exceptional organisational capacities of Medha Patkar. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has raised a world-wide consciousness about the plight of oustees, partly by focussing on the tribals. It has also mobilised active support on the international front. It lobbying has persuaded donor governments and the World Bank to withdraw from the project – no mean feat by any standards."[41]

However, all the activities of Narmada Bachao Andolan had not been fair. Their confrontational path, has led to some unsavoury situations. Mahendra Gill[42], formerly additional collector in Dhule district, points to the "reign of terror" unleashed by the Narmada Bachao Andolan on government officials as well as on those oustees who preferred to negotiate with the Government in the light of a revised settlement policy. Gill questions the claims of the NBA activists that the oustees are against the dam per se. Many times NBA activists had used coercion to prevent other oustees who wanted to contact government for resettlement. Gill also accuses Narmada Bachao Andolan activists of indulging in misinformation campaign. NBA prevented many independent organizations such as Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Bombay) and the Delhi based Multiple Action Research Group, were prevented from doing surrey work in the valley. Also NBA resorted to Gaon Bandi preventing all project officials and other government officers from entering the villages. Further, the problem with Narmada Bachao Andolan activities is that they raise the crucial question of who represents whom in this epic struggle. According to Satyajit Singh, "It (Narmada Bachao Andolan) has been less

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[41] ibid., pp.97.

[42] referred to in Satyajit Singh Introduction, Dreze, Samson and Singh (1997).

successful in developing a truly democratic representation of the people's Interests, and of the diversity of these interests. The oustees have never been their own spokes-persons nor have they been incorporated in the top leadership of Narmada Nachao Andolan. Infact, on the movement grew, the functioning of the Narmada Bachao Andolan became somewhat less democratic and participatory[43].

Narmada Bachao Andolan had particularly deceived tribals of interior Maharashtra, on rehabilitation and resettlement policies of the government. When the resettlement work was in full swing in Gujarat and in the first nine villages of Maharashtra, reports began to trickle about how the tribals were completely in dark about the new resettlement and rehabilitation policies of the Government of Gujarat and the significance of its provisions. Ironically, in these villages Narmada Bachao Andolan were very active. They deliberately prevented the flow of information about the new settlement policies. In fact, the anti-dam movement both ARCH-Vahini and Narmada Bachao Andolan under Medha Patkar, began with the objective of improvement in resettlement and rehabilitation policies of the Government. But Narmada Bachao Andolan erected a wall of misinformation between the trials and respective state governments.

The tribals were really shocked when they came to know that Taloda forest land had been released for them as far back as June 1990, which they hadn't came to know until April 1992. "The Narmada Bachao Andolan had kept them in the dark about this,

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[43] Satyajit Singh, pp.13-14.

had even made presentations on their behalf to the authorities, stating that the tribals did not want the Taloda land"[44]. This has led to "the tribals in Maharashtra learn the hard way, through their actual experience, that obstacles to their resettlement and rehabilitation have been created not only by the state government or the Ministry of Environment and Forests but also by the anti dam activists in tandem with others who continue to claim that they represent tribals interest and aspirations"[45].

Thus, in the whole controversy over the Sardar Sarovar Project, Narmada Bachao Andolan occupies enviable stage, though not wholly undeserving, but still, partial towards a particular viewpoint. As Anil Patel argues "the critique, wholly wrong on all major issues, but unrefuted at the time because of the ineptness of the project authorities and the mounting hostility towards the project in the English-language Press, gave a strong impetus to the notion that the poor tribals were victims of a wrong development strategy. Within a few months, environmental and human rights groups, led by the Environmental Defence Fund in the USA and others in Westerns Europe and Japan, joined in the mighty battle against lop sided development in the third world"[46] . Further as Gail Omvedt argued that "the Narmada Bachao Andolan has neglected the real needs of farmers and rural labourers in the drought prone areas. Indeed, this section has entirely been sidelined in the alliance over Narmada"[47].

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[44] Anil Patel, "Resettlement Politics and Tribals Interests" in Dreze, Samson and Singh, (eds.) (1997), Pp.86.
[45] ibid., pp.87.
[46] ibid, pp.81.
[47] Gail Omvedt, "Dams and Bombs". The Hindu, New Delhi, August 5, 1999.

Gail Omvedt further argues that "the NBA way have been able to move the World Bank but it has not been able to shake the Government of Gujarat, not because of the inherent repressiveness of that Government, but because of its failure to address the concerns of the rural people of the state whose support for the Sardar Sarovar rests on their demands for water."[48]

It can be seen here, how the environmental counter hegemonic movement is case of Sardar Sarovar Project, gets international support, has unjustified media presence, which has resulted in its getting sympathy from English Press, and due to its confrontational strategy is undermining the hegemony of the state, thereby weakening the legitimacy of the state of in eyes of the people, es. Marginalized sections of the society.

The transnational networking becomes more omnious, when the developed world is increasingly channelling its funds and aids, through non-governmental agencies. The funds given by donor countries to local NGOs has seen increasing trend in 1975 donor governments channelled $100 Million, by 1988 the figure arose to around $2.1 billion. About ninety percent of the NGOs in India receive funds from foreign sources. Just because, they are receiving funds from external sources they have to oblige their patrons though not very overtly, but by working on the agenda e.g. child labour, environmental standards etc., which overall help the western governments. On the other hand the environmental movements argue that present state is cause of and incapable of stemming environmental degradation. As Andrew Hurrell says, "the increased seriousness of

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[48] ibid.

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many environmental problems provides one of the most intuitively plausible reasons for believing that the nation state and the systems of states may be either in crisis or heading towards a crisis"[49]. Further as Joseph A. Camillieri and Jim Falk argue".... First, the principle of sovereignty is an impediment to action designed to ameliorate critical ecological dilemmas. Second it is itself, a major contributing cause of environmental problem which confront humanity"[50].

For example, as it happened in Brazilian case, colonisation in the north western territory of Rondonia began in 1970s, it was particularly brought by promises of new land holdings, as the South and the North-East, was already under heavy concentration of population. Therefore, the population increased from 111,064 in 1970 to 904, 928 in 1985. The World Bank, reluctantly argued to finance the Polonoroeste development programme. Even though bank officials had reservations over the environmental effects of the Project, still they carried on with the project, though emphasising some minor environmental regulations. Their, decision to carry on with the controversial project was also guided by, as they say, that if the Brazilian government had carried on with the Project, without their involvement, it would have been more environmentally harmful.

Campaigners against the project began to lobby United States Congressional appropriations committee and the Treasury Department, so as to influence positions taken by the US Executive Directors of the multilateral banks. This strategy proved unexpectedly successful.

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[49] Andrew Hurrell, "A crisis of Ecological Viability? Global Environmental Change and the Nation State; In John Dunn, ed., Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State; (Oxford, Blackwell, 1995), pp.147.
[50] quoted in ibid, pp.146.

In May, 1983, campaign organisers testified before US Congressional Committees on the lack of environmental impact assessments for multilateral development bank projects, and in June, one of the environmental impact assessors David Price, appeared before the committee and accused bank of toning down his negative assessment of Polonoroeste's indigenous component. By 1984, the Polonoroeste case had become a focus of Congressional inquiry.

In the period, between 1983 and 1986, the United States Congress held seventeen hearings, related to Multilateral Development Banks and the environment. Wisconsin Senator Robert Karten, Chair of the Foreign Operations Sub-committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, became particularly interested in this issue as it helped him, in his desire to increase United States influence at the World Bank. Congressional Committee Chair had direct leverage over the bank through their power of appropriation, in addition they got the Treasury Department involved in its capacity for the liaison with the US executive director for the bank.

US Congress in December 1984 and again in 1986, adopted a set of recommendations suggested by NGOs to strengthen the banks environmental performance. Because of MDB campaign, the World Bank had to temporarily suspend disbursements for Polonoroeste, on the grounds that the Brazilian government was violating loan conditions on protecting natural and indigenous areas, this was the first loan suspension on such grounds. In 1985, the Senate Appropriations Committee strongly asked US executive directors of the multilateral development bank to promise a

series of reforms in project design and implementation. World Bank, because of growing criticism, created a top level environmental department in 1987.

The multilateral bank campaigns had an effect on World Bank's procedures[51] relating to financing of any developmental project. In 1987 the World Bank was reorganised, a central environmental department was set-up in its all four regional offices. By 1990 some sixty new positions had been created. In coming years the World Bank became more environmentally active. After 1990, it helped elaborate the G.7.'s Amazon Project and later assumed the management of the Global Environmental Facility, a funding mechanism for national programmes in the areas of climate change, ozone depletion and bio-diversity. Then bank's 1992 reorganisation added a central Vice Presidency for environmentally sustainable development (within which is also located the Social Policy and Resettlement division). Further reforms was adopted, due to the agitation over Sardar Sarovar Dam. Bank approached a Commission to look into the environment aspects of the Sardar Sarovar Project. After the Commission's June 1992 report and an NGO campaign around the seventh replenishment of I.D.A.(International Development Agencies) monies in 1993, the bank created a semi-independent inspection panel and instituted a new information policy, both in response to NGO's demand. The inspection panel was "empowered to investigate complaints from people directly (by passing the state), affected by Bank Projects regarding violation of World Bank policy, procedures and loan agreements. The Information policy led to

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[51] Keck and Sikkink, (1998).

declassification of a wide range of WB documents, making them available for public scrutiny.

In the whole debate over Brazilian Polonoroeste Project, one can see how the, issue of environmental destruction has been used to increase the role of external agencies (WB, IMF) in the domestic matters of the country. Local NGO networks, play a crucial part in this process, as was evident in Planaflora project also in Brazil.

Therefore, one can say that environmental counterhegemonic movements, by their, over emphasis on negative side of the state, external linkages weaken the authority and legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the people. This de-legitimisation Reads to; increasing difficulties for the state to enforce its writ in the domestic society, thus leading to "crisis of governability"[52] and disorder.

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[52] Atul Kohli argues that India's governing institutions have so declined in authority and effectiveness that there is a "crisis of governability", *Democracy and Discontent*: India's Growing Crisis of Governability (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

CHAPTER – 4

<u>ETHNIC COUNTER-HEGEMONIC MOVEMENTS</u>

When the cold war ended in 1991-1992, observers of international relations expected, that world will see a turnaround for a better future. With disappearance of one of the super powers (i.e., USSR), the rational of the world divided into two camps, armed to the teeth, was no longer valid. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation was dissolved with the end of the cold war, but North Atlantic Treaty Organisation wasn't disbanded, rather it is expanding eastwards despite Russia's vehement disapproval and protest. The end of the cold war had seen euphoric reactions from the practitioners and theorists of international relations, alike. The positive sentiment towards the end of the cold war was strengthened, particularly by the international community's response to Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Now came the hope that the New World Order, will be centred around United Nations, which will not be paralysed by fractious division in the Security Council. Francis Fukuyama saw with it the "End of History",[1] many practitioners of the international politics, could for see emergence of a "new world order". However, circumspect reactions were not lacking, on the end of the cold war. Samuel P. Huntington saw coming world in terms of "clash of civilizations".[2] In short, many

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[1] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the last Man* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1992).
[2] Samuel P. Huntington, The clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.72, no.3 (1993) pp.22-49.

people saw the end of the cold war harbinging a new millennium of peace, security and good will.

The high hopes on the end of the cold war was dashed in few years. It prompted scholars like John Mearsheimer[3] to be nostalgic about the order in the cold war. The period after the cold war saw burgeoning of ethnic conflicts on the world stage. Since 1945 about 20 million people have been killed in wars, revolutions, liberation struggles and insurrections of these 70% of the casualties had involved ethnic violence.[4] According to K.J. Holsti, of the armed conflicts in the period between 1945-1995, 77% of the conflicts were internal.[5] The widespread ethnic conflict prevalent in the world today is indeed stunning. The most infamous of the ethnic conflicts was the disintegration of the Yugoslavia. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has received the most attention in the west, but equally horrific ethnic conflicts is prevailing in other parts of the world.

The countries where ethnic conflicts are prevalent are Afghanistan, Angola, Armenia, Azerbaizan, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Siberia, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Tajakistan. The other troubled countries are Bangladesh, Belgium, Burundi, Estonia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Iraq, Latvia, Lebanon, Mali, Moldavia, Niger, Northern Ireland, Pakistan, The Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain and Turkey.

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[3] John Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the cold war', *International Security*, Vol.15, no.1, (summer 1990) pp.5-52.

[4] David Welsh, "Domestic Politics and Ethnic Conflict", in Michael E. Brown, (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.41.

[5] K.J. Holsti, "The state, war, and the state of war" (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.21.

Ethnic conflicts abound in the developing world, this so because the state created in the post-1945 period were not an ethnically homogeneous. As K.J. Holsti argues "most boundaries were artificial, however, in the sense that (1) they were mostly imposed by the colonial administrations without reference to indigenous concerns and (2) they seldom corresponded to pre-colonial political systems."[6] Therefore "the colonial territorial unit bore little or no relationship to any pre-colonial ethnic, religious, political social, or religious communities or political systems."[7] In fact, this argument of Holsti overlooks the fact, that identity formation is a dynamic process, where no identity is given as such. Therefore, when K.J. Holsti, says that colonial territorial which beared no relation to ethnic, social or religious identities, he ignores the fact that colonial masters, role in identity formation was never helpful in formation of the sense of community. Many ethnic problems, within many colonised countries can be traced to policies of the colonial masters. The most potent example is India, where Britishers to weaken the independence movement followed the policy of divide and rule. They deliberately sowed seeds of discontent between ethnically different populations' e.g., in case of India, Hindu vs. Muslim caste Hindus vs. depressed classes. As Emile Durkhim said, the stability of any social system is not dependent on structural constraints but on internalization of social norms, which he calls as "collective conscience."[8] In fact western countries, both

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[6] ibid., pp.63.

[7] ibid., pp.64.

[8] referred to in William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.14.

deliberately and unconsciously had worked to break "collective conscience" of a country. This trend in delegitimation of the states in third world countries is going on today. Here we intend to see how ethnic counter-hegemonic movements with the help from external powers seek to weaken the state from within and help in outside interference.

Ethnicity: And Its Counter-Hegemonic Character

The terms such as ethnicity, nation, state and nationalism have aroused great controversy in social sciences. Paul Brass says, "there are three ways of defining ethnic groups – in terms of objective attributes, with reference to subjective feeling, and in relation to behaviour."[9] But he defines ethnicity as "any group of people dissimilar from other peoples in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership, either in principle or in practice, the elements for a c ure entails consciousness, consciousness of difference.

The main points of conception of ethnicity by Fredrick Barth are

- "ethnic identity as a feature of social organisation, rather than a nebulous experience of culture: being patently a question of social groups therefore it is a matter of the social organisation of cultural difference."

- "ethnic groups and their features are produced under particular interactional, historical, economic and political circumstances: they are highly situational, not primordial."

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[9] Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New Delhi, Sage, 1991), pp.18.
[10] ibid., pp.19.
[11] quoted in ibid., pp.19.

- "being matters of identity, ethnic group membership must depend on ascription and self ascription: only in so far as individuals embrace it, are constrained by it, act on it, and experience it with ethnicity make organisational difference."

- "the cultural differences of primary significance for ethnicity are those that people use to mark the distinction, the boundary, and not the analysts ideas of what is most aboriginal or characteristic in their culture"

- "emphasis (on) the entrepreneurial role in ethnic politics: how the mobilisation of ethnic groups in collective action is effected by leaders who pursue a political enterprise, and is not a direct expression of the group's cultural ideology, or the popular will."[12]

As Barth argues that ethnicity is social organisation, therefore it should be noted that, "ethnic groups, communities, and nations cannot be distinguished by any single and separate criterion, though these do convoke different stages of self-awareness and political consolidation"[13]

Here ethnic identity is taken to be different from identities based on class, caste, race, religion, or interest group. Ethnic identity is a separate category. Since ethnic groups may use only of the cultural symbols to achieve solidarity and internal cohesion.

Fredrik Barth, "Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity", in Hans Vermenlean and Govers, (eds.) *The Anthropology of Ethnicity*: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries', (Amsterdam, inhuis, 1994), pp.12.
Chadda, *Ethnicity, Security and Separatism in India* (Delhi, OUL, 1997), pp.23.

The distinct cultural symbol makes possible creation of an identity distinctly different from other culturally defined groups.

Now the question arises whether ethnic, identities are instrumentalist or primordial. As Maya Chadda favors a middle path of the two, since "it is true that politicised identities are spawned by collective "imaginings", that the truth or falsehood of their claims is less important than the fact that, at that point, these are seen to be necessary for cohesion and solidarity."[14] Ethnic identities are therefore collective imaginings. It matches with how Bendedict Anderson[15] defined nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." Gellner also makes a comparable point when he says that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."[16]

This invention of collective imagination is for political purposes, where "politics" stands for a more inclusive meaning, implying the rules by which political competition is played out. Thus ethnic groups may work like an interest groups making occasional demands for better social, economic and political facilities, to demands for a separate state.

We term here ethnic movements as counter-hegemonic, because they as a separate ethnic category, oppose the dominance of "other" ethnic groups. This "competition and conflict may be for political power, economic benefits, and social status between competing elite, class and leadership groups both within and among

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[14] ibid., pp.23.
[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London, Verso, rev. 1991), pp.5-6.
[16] quoted in ibid., pp.6.

different ethnic categories"[17] This struggle may start from demands for benefits in the existing system, but may also go on in demanding separate sovereign state. Due to the very logic of confrontational politics and elite competition, the ethnic counter hegemonic movement may increasingly employ language, symbols etc. which harp on injustices whether imaginary or real, meted out to them, by the ethnic "other". This reinforces the "collective imagining" of the ethnic group. In fact this may be one of the ways by which an ethnic group may graduate to an ethnic community, where ethnic community as defined by Anthony D. Smith, as "a named human" population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, and cultural elements, a link with a historic territory or homeland; and a measure of solidarity."[18] This "shared memories" may be of persecution at the hands of the majority. As Sikh separatists in India, emphasise that they have been deprived of basic rights by the Hindus. It is argued in the Declaration of Independence of the Sikh homeland that "Indian state led by fundamentalist Brahmanical and elitist upper caste forces committed to the primary of Hindi, Hindu and Hindustan have sought through deliberate plan, design and actions to undermine and subvert the Punjabi language and culture with the transparent long term aim of destroying basic Sikh values, ethos and vitality."[19] Similar sentiment is expressed but by the other ethnic groups in other countries.

Now, the demands of competitive politics and the very logic of confrontational path traversed by the ethnic counter-hegemonic movements, leads them to forge

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[17] Paul Brass see note no.9 pp.25.

[18] Anthony D. Smith pp.28.

[19] Declaration of Independence of the Sikh Houseland. By Col. Partap Singh pp.3.

transnational links so as to increase their respective positions in the domestic and international arena. These transnational links help the ethnic counter-hegemonic movements both with ideational inputs and resources. These links increasing become the channel for external influence and interference, which leads to the weakening of the state authority both internally and externally. The ideational or intellectual inputs from foreign powers delegitimizes the state especially in the eyes of marginal ethnic groups.

Ethnic Counter- Hegemonic Movements and Transnational Networking

As already pointed out, ethnic counter hegemonic movements forge transnational links, encouraged on account of being serving foreign policy interests of the external powers and also on account of the ethnic linkages with population outside the home country. Movements now also use to their advantage, the shrinking of global spaces, whereby, they can get into contact with other similar movements in other points of the world. The transnational linkages of an ethnic movement and its dynamic is studied here. To exemplify the transnational linkage, we take the case study of Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka. Study of Tamil separatism is taken because it is one of the most well organised ethnic counter-hegemonic movements taking place today. The separatist organisation Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, has acquired notoriety, world over, for its ruthless and immaculate planning. Another reason for taking Sri Lankan case study is because, India has been closely associated with this conflict throughout. Whether it be, case of training of Tamil separatists at Chakrata, or Tamil connection, where an Indian state Tamil Nadu shares ethnic linkages with it. Also, Sri Lanka being one of the prominent South Asia countries, has always very good relations with Indian, but this conflict threatened to sour

this relationship. The differences were particularly became more acute, when it came to the notice that Sri Lanka was thinking of inviting foreign troops to deal with Tamil separatists. Which threatened Indian interests in South Asia particularly as Harish Kapur putt it, "Indian variant of Monroe Doctrine" working in South Asia.

Sri Lanka one of relatively few democracies in South Asia, has managed now to acquire media presence all for unenviable reasons. Sri Lanka did manage to get independence from Britishers in 1948 relatively peacefully as compared to other countries of the region. Sri Lanka at the time of independence portrayed an image of promising future. According to Donald Horowitz "any knowledgeable observer would have predicted that Malaysia was in for serious, perhaps, devastating, Malay-Chinese conflict, while the Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), was likely to experience only mild difficulty between the Sinhalese and Tamils."[20] The promise was not kept and now Sri Lanka has acquired the image of on ethnically divided, continually plagued by bombings, armed clashes etc. Sri Lanka epitomises most dramatic failure at modern nation building. Now "the romantic image of the island, the Pearl of the East', has been sullied, the jewel in the Indian ocean has become a tear drop. It glistens still, but the reasons are very different."[21]

Sri Lanka's epithet of third world's model democracy, was made meaningless by the war in its northern territory. Sinhala and Tamils, respectively, constitute about 74% and 18% of the population. The occasional minor conflicts between these communities

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[20] Donal Horowitz, "Incentives and Behavior in the Ethnic Politics of Sri Lanka and Malaysia", *Third World Quarterly*, October 1989, pp.1.

[21] I.B. Walson and Siri Gamage, (ed.) *Conflict and Community in Contemporary Sri Lanka*: "Pearl of the East" or the "Island of Tears", (Sage, 1999), pp.1.

in the pre-independence period, was quite normal. But with gaining of independence, the crucial role of the state came into play. Sinhala population by its brute majority, forced Tamils backs behind the wall. Sri Lankan constitution didn't managed to provide effective safeguards for the Tamil minority. Here democracy was seen as equivalent to majority rule. The brute majority rule of the Sinhalese led to solidifying of the ethnic identity of the Tamils. The centralised Sri Lankan governmental machinery didn't devolved power to ethnic minorities. This over centralisation of power in Sinhala dominated governmental machinery led to counter mobilisation of the Tamilians. As Urmila Phadnis says "a state which arrogates more and more legislative, executive, judicial and coercive powers to homogenise the population within its domain will unleash counter-mobilisation of ethnic identities."[22]

This ethnic mobilisation ultimately led to demands for a separate homeland in the Northern territories. First time demand for a separate homeland was passed in a village near Vaddukodai (a suburb of Jaffna) in 1976. This demand for a separate homeland was coupled with demands for a federation. The pressure from ethnic groups and also India, led some devolution but, it was perfunctory and amounted to little. By late 1970s, separatist demands began to be waged vociferously by Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

The turnaround came in 1983, when LTTE killed 13 Sri Lankan soldiers in Jaffna. It unleashed an indiscriminate carnage against the Tamil minority. This incident led to sidelining of moderate Tamil nationalism and gaining ascendancy of hardcore

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[22] quoted in Maya Chadda (1997).

Tamil nationalists like PLOTE and LTTE. After this incident the conditions of the Tamil community in the Northern provinces deteriorated day by day. By 1995, about 450, 000 families were displaced from their homes, of which many of them landed in the Indian Tamil province, Tamil Nadu. The collective feeling of persecution led to hardening of ethnic identities. As Anthony D. Smith has put it, "since the time of Ernst Renan, collective memories have always been recognised as a vital element in the construction of the nation and self-understanding of nationalism and when national shared memories attach themselves to specific places and definite territories, a territorialisation of memory takes place, so that the former become ethnic landscapes and the latter become historic homelands"[23]

Seeing the predicament of their ethnic brethren, sympathy was aroused among Tamilians of India. Therefore, the demand for a separate homeland for the Tamils has received continuous support from the political parties in Tamil Nadu. Thus, when in 1995, Jaffna slipped out of the control of LTTE, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) leader M. Karunanidhi led a black shirt procession in Chennai. Other parties like Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) continue to support Tamil separatists. It should be noted that majority of the above parties are in power at the Centre and state in India. Very recently, July 2, 2000, at Erode, in Tamil Nadu, sympathisers of Tamil Eelam held a meeting where a number of Union Ministers of India were present.[24] Support for Tamil Eelam was conveyed through

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[23] Anthony D. Smith 'Culture, Community and Territory' *The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism*.

[24] *The Hindu*, New Delhi, July 3, 2000.

various posters and banners. Though, formally parties maintained that they are fully behind the central government's policy of not supporting secessionism within a neighbouring country.

In order to analyse our point that transnationalisation of ethnic counter hegemonic movements have taken place, we now study the transnational networking of Tamil separatist groups particularly, LTTE.

Sri Lankan Tamil Conflict and Transnational Networking

Transnational networking of the Tamil insurgent groups, epitomises rapid globalization of various facets of international relations. Today, diaspora supported ethnic counter hegemonic movements have become a source of concern both at the international and domestic level. Diaspora provides these groups access to easy ideological, technological and financial interaction with foreign government functionaries, sympathisers and similar counter hegemonic movements. More or less every insurgent groups external links can be looked into. However international relations discipline has proceeded largely oblivious of or putting little significance on them. As Rohan Gunaratna says "the transformation of diaspora supported insurgent groups into transnational networks in the last decade of the twentieth century has largely escaped the attention of the international community."[25]

In fact, modern insurgent groups are no more an amorphously organised group, but they have become immaculately organised group. They have become entities in

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[25] Rohan Gunaratna, "Internationalization of the Tamil conflict" (and its implications) in Watson and Gamage (1999), pp.109

themselves, with rigorous intellectual input, easy access to money and consequently arms. The menu of arms has widened to include, very sophisticated arms and ammunition, which even established armies of the state do not possess. It is no coincidence that insurgent groups active in India, are technologically better equipped in terms of arms (e.g., AK 47, AK 56 as compared to rifle LMG of Indian security forces), they have night vision devices, better means of communication. Also they are not only equipped with state of the art weapons, but they also possess heavy arms, like tanks, ships, multiple rocket launchers, stinger missiles), which would have been impossible to imagine a few decades back. As, Rohan Gunaratna points out, "in reality modern insurgents are no more groups but entities. They have their investments, lawyers, shops and armies. The saturated arms market and the fledgling arms industry, to soldiers of fortune and mercenaries in search of greener pastures, have become the centre of attraction for transnational actors like the LTTE, PKK, Hamas, Armenian and Punjabi Sikh groups."[26]

Tamilian International Networks

LTTE claim their origination in the year 1972, however they did not begin to operate as an organisation – the Tamil New Tigers (TNT) until 1974. At that lion the leader of the TNT was Chetti Tanabalasingham, and Prabhakaran was the lead of the military arm of the TNT which later graduated into LTTE. In the quest for international networking LTTE was helped, particularly by three Tamil socio-political organizations

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[26] ibid., pp.109.

viz., Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), Eelam Revolutionary Organisers (EROs) and Tamil Liberation Front.

LTTE's co-operation with TULF proceeded even before the TULF got Tamils support for a separate Tamil state in 1977. In the mid 1970s, the TULF leader Appapillai Amrithalingam, backed LTTE, hoping that his hold on the Tamil insurgent groups, will enhance his domestic political standing. TULF actively contributed to the development of LTTE as a very powerful Tamil insurgent group. It deputed two of its very promising youth members, Uma Maheshwaran who became LTTE's chairman and Urmila Kandiah, became its first women member. Amrithalingam, introduced Krishnan who later became the first LTTE international representative, to LTTE leader Prabhakaran. On the other hand, Krishnan introduced Auton Balasingham to the Prabhakaran. Today Auton Balasingham is the LTTE ideologue.

Another TULF member to held LTTE in its international networking, was Chayakachcheri M.P. V.N. Navaratnam, who was an executive member of the Inter-parliamentory union (IPU). He introduced many wealthy Tamilians working overseas with the Tamil insurgent leaders. He also introduced in Oslo, a Moroccan insurgent group named Polisario to LTTE. Similarly Amrithalingam, as leader of the Parliamentrary Opposition, gave reference letters on government letter pads, to LTTE and other insurgent groups.

The second organisation which helped LTTE, was Eelam Revolutionary Organisers (EROs) its founder Eliyathamby, Ratnasabapathy who maintained excellent relations with Sayed Hamami, the PLO representative in London. Syed Hamami, helped

Ratnasabapathy in forming links with Fatah, the armed resistance wing of the PLO. This link helped LTTE and other insurgent groups in getting military training with Fatah in Lebanon.

The third organisation that helped LTTE to develop its international component was the Tamil Liberation Front, which originated in London in the mid-1970s. This organisation, through later absorbed in LTTE, helped it immensely in formation of the international linkage. Later TLO became an international arm of the LTTE.

This international link put Tamil insurgent groups in good stead in times of distress, particularly when Indian base was not available for LTTE activities in as the Government of India crackdown in LTTE, in the aftermath of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. This international linkage was "a form of recognition of their struggles both domestically and internationally. The international component enhances domestic survival and contributes to the resilience of an organisation."[27]

This diasporic linkage was strength end and made permanent source of funds and support, through the continuous propaganda unleashed by the Tamil separatist groups. The propaganda of Tamil separatist groups helped in formation of ethnic identification with the homeland Tamils, who were in distress. Tamil diaspora through propaganda was made to live its past unhappy experiences in Sri Lanka. It is no coincidence that there was little financial assistance for from the diaspora in the pre-1983 period. It was so because, the July, 1983 ethnic riots, unleashed a sense of fury in the Tamil diaspora. Also the ethnic riots of 1983, forced many people to migrate from the troubled Northern

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[27] ibid., pp.111.

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territories of the Sri Lanka. "It was only after July 1983 that the exodus of over one hundred thousand Tamil refugees and another equal number of displaced persons gave birth to a distinct Tamil diaspora."[28] The 1983 riots deeply moulded the sensibilities of the Tamil community and mobilised them to a heighten sense of ethnic identity.

Though it were the other groups which e.g., TULF, etc., who pioneered in the attempt to politicise the ethnic Sri Lankan Tamils outside the country, but it was only LTTE which successfully managed to reap the efforts of the other groups by getting continuous financial assistance. It managed to generate funds from the Tamil diaspora spread over fifty countries. Even though the first public organisation to generate funds form the Sri Lankan Tamil Community overseas was established in 1978 in London, it failed to keep to the expectation. TULF parliamentarian Amirthalingam formed the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee (TCC) which was later used by the LTTE as a first organisation to carry out propaganda as well as to generate finance.

Network Dynamcis

Nowadays, it has become of crucial importance for the insurgent groups to maintain and consolidate its position overseas LTTE has been exceptionally successful in this area. It has managed to maintain contacts with various overseas groups pervading all over the world.

LTTE very early realised the importance of propaganda. London, which is the hub of revolutionary representatives helped LTTE to realise its objective. LTTE

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[28] ibid., pp.112.

produced its first pamphlet for international distribution in 1978. It was intended for a conference in Cuba where a large revolutionary congregation was to meet. LTTE's propaganda work has been carried out from London. It was London from where LTTE's influence spread over Europe and North America. LTTE operates a number of front organizations in United Kingdom e.g. London Tamil Mandram, World Saiva Council. LTTE maintains its international secretariat at St. Katherine Road, which has uninterruptedly functioned since 1984. LTTE has substantial control over Sri Lankan Tamil Newspapers being printed in the North America. Over eighty percent Sri Lankan Tamil Newspapers are managed by LTTE or their front organizations in the North America.

Further, from mid-1970s LTTE international network has managed spread its tentacles all over the world where it is sure of support and sympathy and also in those particular places where Tamil diaspora is present and working. LTTE maintains its presence in Middle East, for military help from various insurgent groups operating in this area. Europe and countries such as Nigeria, Yemen, and Zambia, are good source of finances. They are also influential in area where substantial Tamil population is present as in Libya, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Morocco, Turkey and Yemen[29].

India, with substantial Tamilian population and which is contiguous to Sri Lankan Tamil dominated Northern Territories, is very obvious base for Tamil separatists. It was only after July 1983, that India became an active base for the Sri Lanka Tamils. Though contact was began in early 1970s, when a delegation from Tamil

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[29] ibid., pp.115.

Manavi Peravi, met Tamil Nadu Leader Periya. This four member complained of injustices meted out to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Periyar invited them to Tamil Nadu.

LTTE from the late 1970s developed long lasting friendship with Tamil Nadu political parties and political personalities. Some of them were Dravida Kazhagam headed by Vermani, the Kamraj Congress headed by Nedumaran, and the Pure Tamil Movement headed by Perinchintanarayana. This contact with the Tamil politicians continues till date, though with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by LTTE cadres, had severely restricted its freedom in India.

Though, Tamil insurgents had established some training camps by 1982, yet there was no help from the central government. With the changing bilateral relations made central government to set-up training camps for Tamil separatists. The bilateral hiccups which persuaded Indian Government to actively assist Tamil separatists were, India's perception that Sri Lanka had left non-alignment and became an ally of the West. In support of this beliefs, examples were given of reports of Trincomalee being offered to U.S. Navy, thus violating Indian variant of Monroe doctrine operating in the region. Further, there were reports of Israeli intelligence agencies, counter-insurgency operatives of Britain and South African Mercenary Keenie Meenie being present in Sri Lanka. Further, during an official visit to Pakistan in March 1985, President Jayawardane equated the situation in Kashmir to that in Afghanistan and urged that Kashmiris be given the right to self-determination. He also wanted that South Asia should be declared nuclear free zone, which was against the interest of India, since it did not included China. All this make-up to as "one Indian official described, the newly formed

friendship between Sri Lanka and Pakistan as neighbours ganging upon India"[30]. Above all, the ethnic linkage was also one of the most important factor in forcing up India to covertly help Lankan Tamils. The continued warfare had led to massive refugee inflow in India. By 1986, there were at least 150,000 Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu and surrounding areas. The tales of horror as recounted by refugees unleashed wave of anger and sympathy for the ethnic brethren Tamilians in Sri Lanka. The major political parties AIADMK and DMK indulged in competitive populism and pressured Indian central government to act as the behalf of the Tamils. DMK President M.Karunanidhi, wanted a Bangladesh type Indian intervention in Sri Lanka. DMK Chief Karunanidhi, saw central governments reluctance to help Sri Lankan Tamils, as "the anti Dravidian bias of the Brahmin-Bania ruling classes that dominated the Indian government was responsible for New Delhi's indifference to the Tamil's suffering"[31].

Now India couldn't show being unresponsive to the pressures of its population. "Mrs. Gandhi did not prevent Tamils from gaining free access to parties and politicians in Tamil Nadu. The Indian Intelligence agency was directed to train and supervise the militants. The latter were granted safe sanctuary, some arms, training and small amounts of weapons"[32]. This was coupled with the active help from the Tamil Nadu State Government and politicians.

According to Rohan Gunaratna

> "The LTTE had also converted Madras and nine other Tamil
> Nadu Districts, into centres for war supplies to the LTTE. Each centre
> was linked by a sophisticated wireless network. Individual units carried

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[30] Maya Chadda,, pp.149.
[31] ibd., pp.151.
[32] ibid., pp.152.

Sony walkie talkie sets. The centres of war supplies and other activities were Dharmapuri, procurement of explosive; coimbatore, arms and ammunition manufacturing: Saleum, explosives manufacturing; Vedaraniy, coastal area from where supplies were dispatched for the LTTE; Madurai, Transit area; Thanjavur, communications centre; Magapathnam, landing area for supplies from LTTE deep sea going ships; Rameswaram, refugee arriving area and recruitment; Tiruchi, treatment of wounded LTTE cadres; Tulicosin, LTTE trade in Gold, silver, narcotics and other merchandise goods, Madras, Liaison with Tamil Nadu political Leaders[33].

Thus we have seen, through the example of Tamil separatist movements, how counter hegemonic movements through their external links manage to draw sustenance and continue to grow, thereby effectively weakening the authority of the state, which ultimately leads to disorder within the states. We have seen through Sri Lankan example, how diasporas play an important role in ethnic counter hegemonic movements seeing its importance we deal the about the role of ethnic diasporas in international politics separately.

Ethnic Counter-hegemonic Movements and Diaspora

Gabriel Sheffer defining diaspora says "Modern ethno-national diasporas are social and political entities that arise from migration (which way be voluntary or imposed and is usually from an ethno-national state or homeland) to one or more host countries. Members of diaspora communities permanently reside in host countries, which distinguishes them from transient migrants, refugees and guest workers who only temporarily reside in host countries"[34]. However, Charles King and Neil J.Melvin emphasise the contested meanings of the word "diaspora". They say "what is often most

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[33] Rohan Gunaratna, pp.117.

[34] Gabriel Sheffer, "Ethno-National Diasporas and Security", *Survival*, Vol.36, no.1, (Spring, 1999), pp.61.

intriguing ... is the semantic malleability of the label "diaspora", its appropriation by and application to a variety of vastly different ethnocultural groups many of which hear little resemblance to archetypal dispersed peoples such as Jews or Armenians"[35].

Gabriel Sheffer,, Charles King and Neil J.Melvin, argue that strictly taking, it is inappropriate to designate groups as "diaspora" which "found themselves abroad because of change in international borders rather than because of migration"[36], or groups who are "transient migrants, refugees and guest workers who only temporarily reside in host countries"[37]. But it is to be noted that though many 'refugees' are formally temporary, but troubled situation in homeland, gave them permanence in a particular state. Further, even if the stay is temporary as in case of refugees, the incentive to emphasise "ethnic identity" is crucial. This emphasis on 'ethnic identity' may be in two ways, first as a group persecuted and therefore appeal to the host state to let them say and provide facilities for a fair standard of living. On the other hand refugees may emphasise their ethnic linkage with groups, so as to remove their sense of security and seek material benefits from their ethnic brethren. Rohan Gunaratna, designates all Sri Lankan Tamil expatriate community, formed following the July 1983 riots as diaspora.

As King and Melvin argue that diasporic identity is not given and static, but a dynamic process "the role of states in defining a particular group as diaspora is crucial"[38]. This identity politics of the diaspora community may mobilise the transient

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[35] Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy and Security in Eurasia, International Security, Vol.24, no.3, (Winder, 1999), pp.113.
[36] ibid., pp.113.
[37] Sheffer, (1994), pp.61.

[38] King and Melvin, pp.113.

migrants, guest workers, who have crucial role in international politics. Also it should be kept in mind that Turk guest workers in Germany, are now being given citizenship. In short, the role of transient migrants, refugees, quest workers, are important in ethnic counter hegemonic movements.

There are two overarching types of diaspora, one stateless and other is the state based. Stateless diasporas are ethnic communities who maintain strong contact with their ethnic brethren both in the "kin state" and "host state"[39]. Stateless diasporas like Sikhs, Sri Lankan Tamils, Palestinians, Kurds, Druze, Gypsies and Basques actively work to realise their dream of homeland. Stateless diasporas focus their efforts in formation of their homeland. They try to bring to the notice of foreign powers, plight, persecution of their ethnic brethren. Sikh diaspora had been very active in Great Britain and Canada in providing intellectual, moral political and financial help to Sikhs militants operating in Punjab.

One of their major agenda is to propagate the plight of their ethnic brethren. In this objective they bring out pamphlets, protest about human rights abuse, lobby with key political leaders in the host states, so as to pressurise the kin state to concede their demand for a separate homeland. This propaganda is troubling for the kin state, since they have to devote much of their energy in countering this propaganda. Further, out of proportion blowing of incidents, heightens interest of major powers, which turn every opportunity to increase their clout in the Third World states. For example, Sikh diaspora sympathetic with separatists in USA, bring about pamphlets, newsletters, detailing the

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[39] Both these terms are used by state to designated homeland and the new state diaspora is settled.

plight of their ethnic brethren. This propaganda has become more efficient with online editions of Newsletters being put up, e.g. the Khalistan Letter of July, 1999 recounts about, holding of protest meetings in front of the Indian embassy, illegal detention of British Sikh in India, Congressman Doolittle's issuance of Congressional Record on Kashmir etc. This propaganda is not only helpful in mobilisation of the Sikh sympathisers, but also leads to financial contribution from them.

The efficiency of this adverse propaganda can be gauzed from the perusal of Congressional records of U.S. In one of the speeches at Congress in March 19, 1997, Congressman Dan Burton of Indiana said, "India is one of the five largest recipients of U.S. foreign aid, and the President wants to increase last year's assistance by almost $ 12 million. The Indian Government is responsible for taking the lives of 250, 000 Sikhs in Punjab between 1984 – 1992, over 200, 000 Christians in Nagaland since 1974, and 53, 000 Muslim in Kashmir since 1988. There are a half million Indian soldiers occupying the province of Punjab and another half million occupying Kashmir. We should not be supporting a government that condones these wide spread abuses with American tax dollars".

This shows their effectiveness at adverse propaganda, but their work not stops at this only. Diaspora provides Sikh separatists, massive inflow of money, and intellectual and political support. There networks also provide state of the art fighting instruments e.g., modern communication facilities, fighter planes, tanks, arms and ammunition. State based diasporas are no less active in the host countries, but they are less radical and militant in their demands and strategies and generally do not openly confront with their

homeland. Some of these diaspora communities form communal organizations, which acts as a forum for social cultural, political and economic exchange. Kin states see them as an important resource to be exploited. Since diaspora community have generally excelled in economic, political and scientific fields, and thus occupy important position and status in the host state. Kin states want to use this channel for improving relationship with the state. India has of late focussed on mobilising Indian community abroad especially Indian community in United States to counter stateless diaspora's adverse publicity of the country. India has been to cement this relationship thinking of granting "dual citizenship" to the Indian community abroad. There has also been talk of giving them People's of Indian Origin (PIO) card.[40] There may be given other privileges to them like legal guarantee of returning back home even if the "returnees" were born in long established diaspora community. The Kin state may establish cultural centers, consulates, or quasi-governmental support institutions in foreign territories with sizeable co-ethnic populations. The Kin state may advocate rights of co-ethnic in international forces, or may intercede directly with the host state to ensure that the cultural and political rights of the co-ethnic minority are respected.

This relationship is not always good for the homeland. Stateless diaspora's as already discussed in case of Sikh and Sri Lankan Tamils, are troublesome. Even state based diasporas, for an ethnically heterogeneous country like India, are source of trouble. Though state based do not openly get into confrontation with their homeland.

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[40] People's of Indian Origin Card, delineate some of the toned down facilities to the diaspora, as compared o `dual citizenship'.

But they judge their homeland's political, economic and cultural policies, in the mould

of political, economic and cultural policies of the host state. In this way, they act as an

source of alien ideas which are helpful to the western world in case of third world

countries. For example, Indian community in U.S.A. vehemently criticises homeland

government for its slow pace of economic reforms and its human rights record.

However, economic liberalisation is no universal elixir. As United Nations Development

Programme's, Human Development Report (HDR) 1999 has put it "... But it

(globalization) is also fragmenting production processes, labour markets political

entities and societies. So while globalization has positive, innovative, dynamic aspects –

it also has negative disruptive, marginalising aspects"[41] "The net material worth of

world's 200 richest persons increased from $ 440 million to more than one trillion in just

four years 1994-98."[42]

Therefore, ethnic counter-hegemonic movements also a source of trouble for the

state. However, when they play by the rules of the system and maintain autonomy for

external factors, in fact they are beneficial for the state. By their agitational methods they

energise the politics of the country, making state more responsive to people's demands.

However, their emancipatory objectives are compromised due to various factors, and

they work for delegitmation of the state thereby weakening its authority. Thus, in the end

leading to disorder in domestic societies. The counter-hegemonic movements work

towards a self-fulfilling prophecy, where state is accused of ineffective, weak and

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[41] S. Swaminathan, Globalization – the backlash, The Hindu, New Delhi, 7, October 1999.

[42] T.K. Oomen, *Times of India*, New Delhi, 9 December 1999.

vacillating, therefore need for a confrontational path, which in turn contributes to the ineffectiveness, weakness and vacillating behaviour of the state. Today in the name of civil society this trend is being advocated, ultimately what happens in that state gets into a trap, difficult to break away.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION - APPRAISAL, PRESCRIPTIONS

PARADOXES

This final chapter assesses the analysis in its entirety. It begins by an overall appraisal of original objectives of this work, and then good on to see the likely criticisms to be levelled against it and seeks to reply it. Further, in the end, it seeks to give some policy prescriptions on the role of counter hegemonic movements in weakening the state at both the internal level and external level.

Appraisal

The objective of this research was to show how counter-hegemonic movements are contributing factors in compromising the authority of the state. Counter-hegemonic movements oppose the authority of the state, identifying it with playing in the hands of a particular identifiable group. This group can be of a particular caste, religion, language, region, etc. counter-hegemonic movements accuses the state of working in tandem with the hegemonic group, and all its policies are determined by and work in the favour of hegemonic group. As demonstrated in the case of environmental counter-hegemonic movements on the issue of Sardar Sarovar Project, Narmada Bachao Andolan, agitated, not only in India but all over the world, tried to demonstrate the authoritarian work of the Indian state, whereby life of the poor tribals were harmfully affected so as to benefit the

elite. Narmada Bachao Andolan was not only successful in repeatedly stopping the dam's construction, leading to cost over-runs, but also managed to raise issue of environmental destruction all over the world, and forced World Bank to think on stopping the last instalment of loan. This was pre-empted by Indian Government which decided to withdraw the request for loan. Further, for long term, this agitation coupled with agitation all over the world e.g. Polonoreste Project in Rondonia, Brazil gave the excuse to United States Congress to Press for environmental safeguards and conditionalities, when multilateral development banks like World Bank. IMF provided loans for any Project. Related to this is the initiative from Western Nations to impose Non-trade barriers e.g. social standards, environment bench marks etc. in World Trade Organisation negotiations. All these attempts on world for a go in a long way in compromising the sovereignty of the state and it works as a subterfuge leading to interference in internal affairs of the state. Third world states are especially vulnerable to this phenomenon, since the nation building is not complete. In third world states, which have got independence by the 1960s, nation-building has not been achieved due to various factors. One of them is that marginal groups, do not see the state as beneficial to them, therefore, alienation. This lack of identification with state, ultimately leads to demand for a separate nation. Thus, come in picture ethnic counter-hegemonic movements. The genuine complaints of marginal groups within the state are appropriated by transnational vested interests, who see it as an opportunity to humble the rival state. This has been practice through out the cold war. Where rival superpowers not wanting to wage an open conflict, favoured proxy war as in Afghanistan.

This external linkage not only contributes to counter-hegemonic movements in concrete terms e.g. as money, men, arms and ammunition, but also subversive ideas. Ideas are subversive in the sense, that, their implications are such to break the social, and political harmony. Subversive ideas are especially crucial in ethnic identity formation, where intellectual role of movements acquire prominence. For example, much of today'' Hindu Muslim acrimony owes its genesis to Britisher's divide and rule policy which argued that Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations, irreconcilable and threatening each other. Related to working of counter-hegemonic movements is the working of the Non-Governmental Organizations, which are seen as hope for people disgusted with "inefficient and corrupt" state. NGO's working has not been above reproach,. Since ninety percent of the them in India receive fund from external sources, therefore, they are obliged to espouse interests of Western-nations. And, hence, in various subtle ways they work as front organisations of western interests.

Paradoxes

Now, we come to the likely criticisms, which might be raised against it. First, is that, it takes essentially negative view of the counter-hegemonic movements. It is not that counter-hegemonic movements weaken the state, but, in fact they lead to vibrancy of the society. These movements bring to fore demands of marginal groups, so as to be addressed by the state. Counter-hegemonic movements in many cases, prevent the accumulation of discontent, and by their work get the grievances of the marginal groups, at least voiced in public, if not redressed. This work in increasing the legitimacy of the state. However, this work does not argues that counter-hegemonic movements are

essentially subversive. But in fact, it do acknowledges the beneficial side of its working e.g. in making state more responsive to the peoples demands, more also working for accountability of the state. Counter-hegemonic movements have worked in securing the rights of the state. But, counter-hegemonic movements because of their short-term vision, have worked, sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally, in deligitimising its policies and actions. Their external link has been essentially leading to give it subversive hope. Since, these external links, give rise to ideas, demands, etc., which are half-baked, and does not work in conditions of the country.

Second, problem with this work is that it is essentially conservative. Conservative in the sense, it argues against the flow of time, which is seeing increasing prominence of civil society, and withdrawal of the state. Civil society's expanse has transcended nation-state boundaries to include whole world i.e. the rise of global civil society. But this work argues for transnational links being seen as interference in the domestic affairs of the state. However, it is not that rise of "global civil society" will lead to an egalitarian world order, in fact, last ten years of globalization has seen widening economic disparity and fragmentation of society.

Thirdly, it had a partial view of the state, it assumes state to be essentially beneficial, working equally for the equal welfare of all. In fact, it argues that state are not impervious to social influences, and being a democratic state, genuine concerns of the people can be redressed. Sometimes, states do act partially, but it is because of marginal groups are not vigilant for their rights and liberties.

Fourthly, it could be argued that this work on the whole is sketchy. It is sketchy because it's scope was very wide, and time was limited. Therefore, it was inevitable that work should be some how, become sketchy.

Prescriptions

In the end, we come to the prescriptions, since counter-hegemonic movements seek to influence people, it is imperative that 'public relations' work of the state should be strong and efficient, both domestically and internationally. It should be able to counter propaganda of the counterhegemonic movements and thereby establish its hegemony, and legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

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