
Save Narmada Movement and it's Impact on the Environment

Dr. Jyoti Arun

Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science, SCRS Govt. PG College, Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan, India

ABSTRACT: The building of dams plays a significant role in the Indian landscape as it helps control floods during monsoon Seasons along with helping in hydroelectric power generation in the states. Through the building of dams, the Indian irrigation system remains stable and able to sustain and meet the growing demand of the population. However, it is important to note that there remains a lot of damage caused due to the constant building of dams, as it leads to the demolition of the nature of the biodiversity around the area. In the case of the Narmada river, the rapid construction of dams leads to the river turning into a lake along with increasing the risk of soil erosion. Considered to be one of the most powerful mass movements started way back in 1985 it was against the construction of a dam on the river Narmada. The dam named Sardar Sarovar Dam and Narmada Sagar would have displaced close to 250000 people once it was erected. The river Narmada, which is the largest flowing river in the west, would have been reduced to nothing but a small lake and destroy the biodiversity of the entire Narmada Valley, once the dam would have been erected. The government aimed to build close to 3000 big and small dams along the river to help in the irrigation process and also bring revenue for the government. It was at this juncture that Medha Patkar along with other environmentalists and non-government organizations started protesting against this dam project as it would destroy thousands of acres of forest and agricultural land in the area. Supported by Baba Amte, another respected social and model reader in the Indian landscape, the movement gained a lot of popularity and support from all major sectors in the Indian industry. The Andolan had specifically targeted the Sardar Sarovar project Dam, considered to be the second largest of the massive dams the government intended to build, as it would completely alter the biodiversity of the area. Despite the protests, the government promised that it would help in providing irrigation and drinking water to the farmers in the area and also help in bringing hydroelectric power. However, what the government failed to understand was it would lead to a large amount of displacement of the people in the area and also cause a major loss to their current livelihoods. Hence, the Narmada Bachao Andolan was a voice against the effective-decision taken by the government by environmentalists in India and even abroad.

KEYWORDS: Narmada, andolan, movement, save, impact, environment, government, project, dam

I. INTRODUCTION

The Narmada Bachao Andolan plays an important role in the political history of India as it highlighted one of the biggest mass movements against the government to save nature. Mainly led by the native tribes, along with farmers, Human Rights activists, and environmentalists the movement gained a lot of popularity and support from all corners of the country. The multi-crore project gained financial assistance from even the World Bank which was largely frowned upon and protested against forcing them to withdraw their support in 1992. The people took this matter to the court where the Supreme Court ordered the height of the Dam to be brought down to 90 as a post to 130m.¹ The withdrawal of the support of the World bank has left the state government and market borrowings to finance the current project. The immediate effect that was witnessed post the start of the Narmada Bachao Andolan was the case being dragged to the Supreme Court by the people of India. The intervention from the Supreme Court outlined that there was several corruption present in the entire development of the project plan². The Supreme Court ordered the World Bank to review the loan provided for the Sardar Sarovar project. The exposition of fraud and corruption concerning the rehabilitation of the people highlighted the ill effect that the dam may bring to the people in Narmada Valley.³ Moreover, it Was also highlighted that it could lead to significant submergence of the area around the dam and lead to a suspension in agricultural and horticultural activities along with disrupting the community life in the area. Narmada Bachao Andolan was a huge mass movement after the Chipko movement that gained so much popularity in the country⁴. The movement outlined the importance of preserving biodiversity and how the building of new dams may impact the livelihood of the community. The coming together of tribal's and environmentalists, along with the support shown by the industries in

the country helped the movement to gain popularity across the world. The role of the Supreme Court is also important as they help in bringing justice to the movement and forcing the World Bank to rethink this position. Currently, the project has been redeveloped.⁵

After India's independence in 1947, under the newly formed government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, investigations were carried out to evaluate mechanisms for using water from the Narmada River,^[2] which flows into the Arabian Sea after passing through the states of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat. The formation of the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal was triggered by interstate differences in implementing schemes and sharing of water by the Government of India on 6 October 1969 to adjudicate over the disputes.^[3] The tribunal investigated the matters referred to it and responded after more than 10 years. The Narmada Tribunal aimed to set out conditions regarding the resettlement and rehabilitation of those displaced by the dams.^[4] On 12 December 1979, after ten years of investigation, the decision as given by the tribunal, with all the parties at dispute binding to it, was released by the Indian government.^[3]

As per the tribunal's decision, 30 major, 135 medium, and 3000 small dams were approved for construction, including raising the height of the Sardar Sarovar dam.^[3] This decision was motivated by the assumption that it would provide water to around forty million people, irrigation, and electricity to people in the region.^[5] Thus, the construction began.⁶

In 1985, after hearing about the Sardar Sarovar dam, Medha Patkar and her colleagues visited the project site and noticed that project work was being checked due to an order by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India. The reasons for this was cited as "non-fulfillment of basic environmental conditions and the lack of completion of crucial studies and plans".^[6] The people who were going to be affected by the construction of the dam were given no information but the offer for rehabilitation.^[7] Villagers weren't consulted and weren't asked for a feedback on the assessment that had taken place. Furthermore, the officials related to the project had not even checked the land records and updated them.^[7] While World Bank, the financing agency for this project, came into the picture, Patkar approached the Ministry of Environment to seek clarifications.⁸ After seeking answers from the ministry, she realized that the project was not sanctioned at all and wondered as to how funds were even sanctioned by the World Bank. After several studies, they realized that the officials had overlooked the post-project problems.^[8]

Through Patkar's channel of communication between the government and the residents, she provided critiques to the project authorities and the governments involved. At the same time, her group realized that all those displaced were given compensation only for the immediate standing crop and not for displacement and rehabilitation.^[9]

As Patkar remained immersed in the Narmada struggle, she chose to quit her PhD studies and focus entirely on the Narmada activity.^[10] Thereafter, she organized a 36-day solidarity march among the neighboring states of the Narmada valley from Madhya Pradesh to the Sardar Sarovar dam site.^[11] She said that the march was "a path symbolizing the long path of struggle (both immediate and long-term) that [they] really had".^[12] The march was resisted by the police, who according to Patkar were "caning the marchers and arresting them and tearing the clothes off women activists".^[12]

Within the focus of the NBA towards the stoppage of the Sardar Sarovar Dam, Patkar advised adding the World Bank to its propaganda.^[10] Using the right to fasting, she undertook a 22-day fast that almost took her life.^[13] Patkar's actions did force the World Bank to set up The Morse Commission, an independent review of the project.^[14] Their report clearly stated that the Bank's policies on environment and resettlement were being violated by the project.^[15] The World Bank's participation in these projects was canceled in 1993.^[16] Before the World Bank could pull out, the Indian Government did.^[14]

She undertook a similar fast in 1993 and resisted evacuation from the dam site.^[13] In 1994, the Narmada Bachao Andolan office was attacked reportedly by a couple of political parties, and Patkar and other activists were physically assaulted and verbally abused.^[17] In protest, a few NBA activists and she began a fast; 20 days later, they were arrested and forcibly fed intravenously.^[17]

The Sardar Sarovar Dam's construction began again in 1999 after the construction was allowed and was declared finished in 2006. It was inaugurated in 2017 by Prime Minister Narendra Damodardas Modi. Since construction in 2017, the height has been increased from 138 meters to 163 meters¹⁵

There were many groups such as Gujarat-based Narmada Asargrasta Samiti, Madhya Pradesh-based Narmada Ghati Nav Nirman Samiti (Committee for a New Life in the Narmada Valley) and Maharashtra-Based Narmada Dharangrasta Samiti (Committee for Narmada Dam-Affected People) who either believed in the need for fair rehabilitation plans for the people or who vehemently opposed dam construction despite a resettlement policy.^[18]

Narmada Bachao Andolan was also joined by several NGOs with local people, professionals, and activists as the founders with a non-violent approach.^[18] It was led by Medha Patkar. Nationally, they wanted an alternative structure of development and internationally, they wanted to build pressure on the World Bank to take accountability.^[19]

NBA's slogans include - Vikas Chahiye, Vinash Nahin! (Development wanted, not destruction) and "koi nahi hatega, bandh nahi banega!" (we won't move, the dam won't be constructed).^[20]

The World Bank began working on the Narmada Project after it got clearance from the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal.^[21] The bank sent a team for the assessment of the project in economic and technical terms. This team didn't focus on the social or environmental issues.^[22] What Jawaharlal Nehru thought of as temples of the independent India, i.e. the dams, have already displaced 11 million Indians.^[22]

However, the Bank realised the harm that it had done by sanctioning the loan for the project and thus announced that the new projects should "ensure that, after a reasonable transition period, the displaced people regain at least their previous standard of living."^[23] Despite this, the relocation process was flawed. Several tribal people have been harmed by the project. The Bank then adopted certain policies to ensure proper relocation of the tribal people and protect them from the forced relocation.^[16] The Indian government, however, did not adopt these policies.^[24]

In 1985, irrespective of the harm done by the Sardar Sarovar project, the World bank sanctioned a loan to the state governments for construction purposes.^[25] The Bank did ask for a proper resettlement design but also said, "The argument in favour of the Sardar Sarovar Project is that the benefits are so large that they substantially outweigh the costs of the immediate human and environmental disruption."^[16]

Medha Patkar and other protesters testified on the Bank's role in Washington D.C in 1989. This led to a build-up of pressure on the Bank to set an independent review to assess the situation at hand. A lot of support was withdrawn from the project after this.²⁷

The Morse Commission was established to look into the construction of the dam, and the environmental cost and human displacement in 1991.^[26] For the first time, a Bank commissioned panel had complete access to the documents to form a report.^[16] The 357 pages' report mentioned the lack of any environmental assessment undertaken either by the Indian Government or the World Bank.^[16] In an internal referendum held, the Bank very closely voted for the continuation of the Narmada Dam Project.^[16]

The Indian Government canceled the loan sanctioned by the World Bank on 31 March 1993.

II. DISCUSSION

Medha Patkar has been at the forefront of the movement. She has organised several fasts and satyagrahas, and been to jail several times for the cause.²⁸

Another popular figure was Baba Amte, known for his work against leprosy. He published a booklet called Cry O Beloved Narmada in 1989 to protest against the construction of the dam.^[27]

Amongst the major celebrities who have shown their support for Narmada Bachao Andolan are Booker Prize winner Arundhati Roy^[28] and Aamir Khan.^[29] It was also supported by music composer and bass guitarist in the band Indian Ocean, Rahul Ram, who was actively involved in the movement from 1990 to 1995.^[30]

In 1994 was the launch of Narmada: A Valley Rises, by filmmaker Ali Kazimi.^[31] It documents the five-week Sangharsh Yatra of 1991. The film went on to win several awards and is considered by many to be a classic on the issue. In 1996, veteran documentary filmmaker, Anand Patwardhan, made an award-winning documentary: A Narmada Diary.^[32] Alok Agarwal, current member of the Aam Aadmi Party, is an active figure in the movement.²⁹

Bihar CM Nitish Kumar participated in rally organised by NBA on the bank of Narmada at Rajghat on 16 Sep 2016. Expressing solidarity with the Andolan Mr. Nitish Kumar said "I have come from Patna to extend support to the agitation on the side of river Narmada here".^[33]

Supporting the NBA's main demand CM Nitish Kumar appealed to PM Mr Modi at Rajghat saying "Pradhan Mantri ji, don't close the gates of Sardar Sarovar Dam. Rehabilitate people not by giving cash, but giving them alternative land/employment. Don't make plans to drown 2.5 lakh people by closing the gates," he said in a statement released in Barwani.^[34]

The court ruled for Andolan, effecting an immediate stoppage of work at the dam and directing the concerned states to complete the rehabilitation and replacement process.^[35]

It deliberated on this issue further for several years and finally upheld the Tribunal Award and allowed the construction to proceed, subject to conditions. The court introduced a mechanism to monitor the progress of resettlement pari passu with the raising height of the dam through the Grievance Redressal Authorities (GRA) in each party state.³⁰ The decision referred in this document, given in 2000 after 7 years of deliberations, has paved the way for completing the project to attain full envisaged benefits. The court's final line of the order states, "Every endeavour shall be made to see that the project is completed as expeditiously as possible".^[36]

Subsequent to the verdict, Press Information Bureau (PIB) featured an article:³¹

"The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) has rendered a yeoman's service to the country by creating a high-level of awareness about the environmental and rehabilitation and relief aspects of Sardar Sarovar and other projects on the Narmada. But, after the court verdict it is incumbent on it to adopt a new role. Instead of 'damning the dam' any longer, it could assume the role of vigilant observer to see that the resettlement work is as humane and painless as possible and that the environmental aspects are taken due care of."^[37]

Medha Patkar continues to fight for proper rehabilitation of the displaced people in Madhya Pradesh as well as the reception of the promised compensation by the Narmada Tribunal.^[38] This movement has brought forth the different notions of development. The Indian government has often argued that the cost of displacements are outweighed by the benefit derived from the Narmada Project, and thus, justified its construction. NBA, on the other hand has argued no matter how large the benefits, the cost to the society cannot be fulfilled.³²

Critics argue that dam's benefits include provision of drinking water, power generation and irrigation facilities. However, it is believed that the campaign, led by the NBA activists, has held up the project's completion, and NBA supporters have attacked on local people who accepted compensation for moving.^[39] Others have argued that the Narmada Dam protesters are little more than environmental extremists, who use pseudoscientific agitprop to scuttle the development of the region and that the dam will provide agricultural benefits to millions of poor in India.^{[40][41]} There had also been instances of the NBA activists turning violent and attacking rehabilitation officer from Narmada Valley Development Authority (NVDA), which caused damage to the contractor's machinery.^[42]

The NBA has been accused of lying under oath in court about land ownership in areas affected by the dam.^[43] The Supreme Court has mulled perjury charges against the group.^[44]

III. RESULTS

Narmada Valley Development Authority (NVDA) concerns Narmada River, the river of Madhya Pradesh. With 87% of its catchment area lying in Madhya Pradesh, it becomes all the more important for the state to exploit this enormous water resource. It was with this motto in mind that the Narmada Valley Development Authority (NVDA)³³ was formed by the government of MP on 9 August 1985. NVDA oversees all major development projects in the Narmada Basin. The body also ensures that proper rehabilitation is provided to the displaced, and the negative impacts on environment are minimized by taking appropriate measures.^[1] Narmada being one of the major rivers in Central India, there has been a large number of studies aiming at exploiting the abundant water resource. This has also led to various disputes between Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat, the three states through which a major portion of Narmada flows. One such dispute was regarding the construction of Navagam dam in Gujarat,^[2] which would submerge areas in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.³⁴ To resolve the dispute between the states in sharing the Narmada water, the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal was formed by the Government of India in 1969. In 1979, 10 years after its formation, Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal awarded 18.25 Million Acre Feet (MAF) out of the total 27 Million Acre Feet (MAF) of water to Madhya Pradesh.^[3] This was however under the condition that the state has to completely utilize the allocated water by 2025. If it failed to do so, the un-utilized water will be reallocated to other states. Madhya Pradesh government formed Narmada Valley Development Authority in 1985 to oversee the progress of the projects being planned in the Narmada Basin.³⁵

Narmada is the fifth largest river in India. It is also the largest West flowing river in India, with a total length of 1312 km. Known as the 'Life Line of Madhya Pradesh', 87% of Narmada lies in Madhya Pradesh, covering the districts Shahdol, Balaghat, Rajnandgaon, Mandla, Seoni, Dindori, Katni, Jabalpur, Damoh, Sagar, Narsinghpur, Chhindwara,

Betul, Hoshangabad, Harda, Raisen, Sehore, Khandwa, Indore, Dewas³⁶, Khargone, Dhar, Jhabua & Barwani. Besides Madhya Pradesh, the river also flows through minor parts of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Narmada has a potential of irrigating over 60,000 square kilometres (23,000 sq mi) of land along with a capacity to generate about 3 gigawatts of hydro electric power. Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDI) had allocated fixed share of water for each of the four states as follows:^{[4][5]}

The Indirasagar Dam is a multipurpose key project on the Narmada River at Narmadanagar in the Khandwa district of Madhya Pradesh in India. The foundation stone of the project was laid by Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, on 23 October 1984. Construction of the main dam started in 1992. The downstream projects of ISP are Omkareshwar, Maheshwar and Sardar Sarovar Project.³⁷

The project envisages construction of a 92 m high and 653 m long concrete gravity dam. It provides irrigation for 1,230 square kilometers of land with annual production of 2700 million units in the districts of Khandwa and Khargone in Madhya Pradesh and power generation of 1000 MW installed capacity (8x125).³⁸ The reservoir of 7,900,000 acre-feet (9.7 km³) live storage capacity was created. The dam, built as a joint venture between Madhya Pradesh Irrigation Project and National Hydroelectric Power Corporation, is the source of the Indra Gandhi canal. It was commissioned in May 2005.^[7]

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Reassessing the environmental and social impacts of the more than 3,000 dams slated for construction should be the first step the Indian government takes in solving the country's water management problems. It should then observe the recommendations proposed by those assessments, rather than ignoring them.³⁹

The country and the individual states could also consider cheaper and more effective energy options that do in fact already exist. In fact, A task force set up by the Madhya Pradesh state government suggested alternatives such as demand management measures, biomass generation, optimum use of oil-based plants and existing dams, and micro-hydro plants.⁴⁰

According to renowned irrigation expert K. R. Datye, a comprehensive review of the yield of the land, taking into account the water, energy, and biomass availability is required. Datye highlights the need for regenerative water use for agriculture, using local water resources.⁴³ Water from outside (i.e. dams) is used to restore vegetative cover to degraded land and to recharge ground water aquifers that are badly depleted, to a point where water and energy balance can be maintained.^{41,42}

The following watershed management strategies are traditional practices that have been revived by local communities in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Gujarat with the help of Non-Governmental Organizations and state government programs.⁴⁴

REFERENCES

1. "Medha Patkar and Baba Amte / Narmada Bachao Andolan The Right Livelihood Award". www.rightlivelihoodaward.org. Retrieved 25 October 2016.
2. ^ "Relevant dates prior to the constitution of the tribunal". Narmada Control Authority. Retrieved 10 February 2008.
3. ^ "Relevant dates before the constitution of the tribunal". Narmada Valley Development Government of Madhya Pradesh.
4. ^ Narula, Smita (2008). *The Story of Narmada Bachao Andolan: Human Rights in the Global Economy and the Struggle Against the World Bank*. New York University School of Law. p. 7.
5. ^ Rajagopal, Balakrishnan. *The Role of Law in Counter-Hegemonic Globalization and Global Legal Pluralism: Lessons from the Narmada Valley Struggle in India*. *Leiden Journal of International Law*. p. 358.
6. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Toward Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M. E. Sharpe. pp. 157–158. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.
7. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Towards Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M.E Sharpe. p. 159. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.
8. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Toward Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M. E. Sharpe. pp. 159–160. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.

9. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Toward Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M. E. Sharpe. p. 161. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.
10. ^ "Medha Patkar: Biography" (PDF). *Women in World History*. Retrieved 10 February 2008.
11. ^ Mehta, Mona G. (12 October 2010). "A river of no dissent: Narmada Movement and coercive Gujarati nativism". *South Asian History and Culture*. 1 (4): 509–528. doi:10.1080/19472498.2010.507023. ISSN 1947-2498.
12. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Toward Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M. E. Sharpe. p. 166. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.
13. ^ "Over Her Dead Body". *Mother Jones*. 27 June 2006. Retrieved 20 August 2016.
14. ^ Yurchak, Kathleen D.; Rosencranz, Armin (1996). "Progress on the Environmental Front: The Regulation of Industry and Development in India". *Hastings International and Comparative Law Review*. 19 (3): 515.
15. ^ Clark, Dana (2002). *The World Bank and Human Rights: The Need for Greater Accountability*. HARV. HUM. RTS. pp. 205, 217.
16. ^ Caufield, Catherine (1996). *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*. pp. Ch-1.
17. ^ Rowell, Andrew (1996). *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement*. Routledge. p. 285. ISBN 978-0-415-12827-8.
18. ^ Fisher, William (1995). *Toward Sustainable Development?: Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. M. E. Sharpe. p. 23. ISBN 978-1-56324-341-7.
19. ^ Narula, Smita (2008). *The Story of Narmada Bachao Andolan: Human Rights in the Global Economy and the Struggle Against the World Bank*. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW. p. 5.
20. ^ Rajagopal, Balakrishnan (2005). *The Role of Law in Counter-Hegemonic Globalization and Global Legal Pluralism: Lessons from the Narmada Valley Struggle in India*. 18 *Leiden Journal of International Law*. pp. 365–366
21. ^ Caufield, Catherine (1996). *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*. p. 11.
22. ^ Caufield, Catherine (1997). *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*. p. 12.
23. ^ World Bank Operational Manual Statement No. 2.33: *Social Issues Associated with Involuntary Settlement in Bank-Financed Projects*.
24. ^ Rajagopal, Balakrishnan (2005). *The Role of Law in Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation and Global Legal Pluralism: Lessons from the Narmada Valley Struggle in India*. 18 *Leiden Journal of International Law*. pp. 345–355.
25. ^ Armin Rosencranz, Kathleen D. Yurchak. *Progress on the Environmental Front: The Regulation of Industry and Development in India*. 19 *Hastings International and Company*. p. 514
26. ^ Armin Rosencranz, Kathleen D. Yurchak (1996). *Progress on the Environmental Front: The Regulation of Industry and Development in India*. 19 *Hastings International and Company*. p.371.
27. ^ Narula, Smita (2008). *The Story of Narmada Bachao Andolan: Human Rights in the Global Economy and the Struggle Against the World Bank*. New York School of Law. p.14.
28. ^ "Legitimising Narmada Bachao Andolan". *The Indian Express*. Archived from the original on 22 April 2007. Retrieved 5 April 2008.
29. ^ Manjeet Warrior, Gajinder Singh (28 March 2008). "Aamir faces trial by torch". *The Telegraph*. Calcutta, India. Archived from the original on 1 April 2008. Retrieved 5 April 2008.
30. ^ "Taking life as it comes". *The Hindu*. 23 August 2014. Retrieved 30 November 2017.
31. ^ "Narmada: A Valley Rises (1994)". Ali Kazimi. *Social Doc*. 8 September 2014. Retrieved 7 July 2017.
32. ^ "A Narmada". Archived from the original on 21 February 2008. Retrieved 13 June 2008.
33. ^ "Nitish Kumar For Nationwide Liquor Ban". *News World India*. 17 September 2016. Archived from the original on 30 September 2017. Retrieved 7 July 2017.
34. ^ "Narmada Bachao Andolan rolls out political red carpet for Nitish in Barwani". *The Times of India*. Retrieved 10 April 2017.
35. ^ Miller, Susan. "Narmada dam fails World Bank's final test". *New Scientist*. Retrieved 9 February 2008.
36. ^ "Judgment by the Supreme Court of India". *Supreme Court of India, Justice Information System*. Archived from the original on 3 March 2008. Retrieved 5 April 2008.

37. ^ Shukla, Dinkar. "Verdict on Narmada 2000". Press Information Bureau, Government of India. Archived from the original on 14 July 2011. Retrieved 5 April 2008.
38. ^ Narula, Smita (2008). The Story of Narmada Bachao Andolan: Human Rights in the Global Economy and the Struggle Against the World Bank. New York School of Law. p. 34
39. ^ Kirk Leech (3 March 2009). "The Narmada dambusters are wrong". The Guardian. London. Retrieved 4 March 2009.
40. ^ "The Lack Of Scientific Rigour In Environmentalist Ideology". 14 December 2007. Archived from the original on 19 February 2012. Retrieved 14 September 2012.
41. ^ "The Telegraph — Calcutta (Kolkata) - 7days — Goddesses of all causes". Archived from the original on 21 October 2010.
42. ^ "INDIA TODAY - The most widely read newsweekly in South Asia". archives.digitaltoday.in. Retrieved 10 April 2017.
43. ^ "Narmada Bachao Andolan and AAP: A match made in rural heaven? - Firstpost". Firstpost. 15 January 2014. Retrieved 25 October 2016.
44. ^ "Narmada Bachao Andolan faces perjury charges". The Economic Times.