

NOTES

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1) The interview was taken by HarperCollins on 30 Sept. 1997. This is available at <<http://www.harpercollins.co.uk/intv 1/017/roy2.htm>>.
- 2) Noted environmentalist and anti-globalization writer, Vandana Shiva has a book entitled *India Divided : Diversity and Democracy Under Attack* where she has chronicled the internal battles of India which are plaguing the country at present.
- 3) Wiki Leaks is an international non-profit organization. It publishes secret information, news leaks, and classified media provided by anonymous sources. Julian Assange, an Australian Internet activist is its founder and director.
- 4) For further details see *Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas*, Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commissioner (New Delhi : Government of India, 2008), 59-60.
- 5) This remark was made by Justice P.B. Sawant at hearing of Citizens' Initiative for Peace, Speakers' Hall, Constitution Club, New Delhi, 20 October 2009.
- 6) The interview is available at <<http://www.frontlineonnet.com>>. It was also published in the volume *The Shape of the Beast*.

- 7) For further details see the Guardian's article "Why Salman Rushdie's voice was silenced in Jaipur?" available at <https://www.theardian.com> dated 26 Jan. 2012.
- 8) For further details see the article "Dadri lynching : Urdu writer Rahman Abbas to return award in protest" available at <https://www.dnaindia.com> dated 9 Oct. 2015.

CHAPTER I

- 1) Olive Senior is a Jamaican poet, novelist, short story and non-fiction writer. She won the Commonwealth Writers' Prize in 1987 and was also awarded the Musgrave Gold Medal in 2005. This is quoted from an edited version of the keynote speech delivered by Olive Senior on 29 April 2013 at the Edinburgh World Writers' Conference, held in association with the Edinburgh International Book Festival and the British Council. This is available at [http://www.theguardian.com /books/2013/apr/29/olive-senior-literature-political](http://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/apr/29/olive-senior-literature-political).
- 2) *ibid.*
- 3) *ibid.*
- 4) The interview was taken by HarperCollins on 30 Sept. 1997. This is available at <http://www.harpercollins.co.uk/intv/1/017/roy2.htm>.

CHAPTER II

- 1) Cheryll Glotfelty is a professor of Literature and Environment at the University of Nevada. She is the co-founder and past president of the Association for the Study of Literature and Environment (ASLE).
- 2) Laura Pulido is an Associate Professor in the Dept. of Geography and Programme in American Studies and Ethnicity at the University of Southern California. Most of her work explores the various ways in which racial inequality is actively produced, as well as various means by which it is denied. She is particularly interested in how these processes operate in terms of environmental justice, landscape, cultural memory and political activism.
- 3) Pablo Mukherjee teaches English and Comparative Literary Studies Programme at the University of Warwick. He has particular interest in areas like Victorian to contemporary imperial/colonial and anti-imperial/colonial cultures; Post Colonial theory and literatures; Environmental/Eco-theory and literatures.
- 4) Graham Huggan is the Professor of Commonwealth and Post Colonial Literatures at the University of Leeds. He is one leading Post Colonial critic and environmental scholar.
- 5) Helen M. Tiffin is an Adjunct Professor of English at the University of Wollongong, Australia, and an influential writer in Post Colonial theory and literary studies.
- 6) Ramachandra Guha is an Indian historian and writer whose research interests include environmental, social, political, and contemporary history.

- 7) For further details see Jeffrey Richelson's Electronic Briefing Book No. 187 entitled "U.S. Intelligence and the Indian Bomb" in the National Security Archive. It is also available at <<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/index.htm>>.
- 8) The 2008 Mumbai Attacks were a group of terrorist attacks that took place in November 2008, when 10 members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic terrorist organization based in Pakistan, carried out attacks in several places of Mumbai.
- 9) The 2016 Uri Attack was an attack by four heavily armed terrorists on 18 September 2016, near the town of Uri in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.
- 10) During the final stage of the 2nd World War, the United States detonated two nuclear weapons over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two Japanese cities on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively. The two bombings killed at least 129,000 people, most of whom were civilians. They remain the only use of nuclear weapons in the history of warfare.
- 11) Enron corporation was an American energy commodities, and services company based in Houston, Texas. Before its bankruptcy on December 2, 2001, it was considered as one major electricity, natural gas, communications and pulp and paper company, with claimed revenues of nearly \$101 billion during 2000. However, at the end of 2001, it was revealed that Enron's reported financial condition was sustained by institutionalized, systematic, and creatively planned accounting fraud, known

since as the Enron scandal. Enron has since become a well-known example of willful corporate fraud and corruption.

- 12) For further details see B.G Varghese's article entitled, "Winning the Future" published in 1994.
- 13) For further details see "Final Order and Decision of the Tribunal" available at <<http://www.sscac.govin/NWDT.pdf>>. 4 March 2009. Retrieved 3 March 2014.
- 14) Various agreements were signed with India and the states like – Development Credit Agreement between India and International Development Association, Credit No. 1552 IN, 10 May 1985, Gujarat Project Agreement between International Development Association and State of Gujarat, 10 May 1985, Credit Number 1553 IN, available at <<http://www.ielrc.org/content/C8501.pdf>>.
- 15) For further details see Ministry of Water Resources' (India) Office Memorandum No. 6/4/93-pp dated 5 August 1993.
- 16) For further details see *Narmada Bachao Andolan Vs. Union of India and Others*, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 319 of 1994, Supreme Court of India, Order of 13 December 1994.
- 17) For further details see *Narmada Bachao Andolan Vs. Union of India and Others*, Supreme Court, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 328 of 2002, Order of 9 September 2002.
- 18) Justice S.P. Bharucha's statement is available at <[http://www.cscsarchive.org/Media Archive/medialaw.nsf/\(docid\)/>](http://www.cscsarchive.org/Media Archive/medialaw.nsf/(docid)/>).

- 19) The Group of Ministers' (GoM) Confidential Report on R&R Status in the Valley is obtained by *The Hindu*. The article is entitled as "A Brief Note on the Assessment of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) Sites and Submergence of Villages of the Sardar Sarovar Project" dated 9 April 2006. This is also available at <<http://www.narmada.org/misc/gom.html>>.
- 20) *ibid.*
- 21) For further details see the article "The Narmada Valley Project" available at <<http://coe.mse.ac.in/nm.htm>>.
- 22) *ibid.*
- 23) For further details see Ministry of Environment and Forests, "Note for Review Committee", 1993.
- 24) For further details see Narmada Control Authority Website at <<http://www.ncaindia.org>>.
- 25) For further details see Narmada Control Authority Website for the "Detailed Project Report of Narmada Sagar Project" available at <<http://www.ncaindia.org>>.
- 26) *ibid.*
- 27) 'Resettled on Paper', *Indian Express*, 26 June 2004. Also see 'Without Land or Livelihood – The Indira Sagar Dam : State Accountability and Rehabilitation Issues – Report of the Independent People's Commission, October 2004'.
- 28) Sanjeev Khagram is Director of the Marc Lindenberg Centre for Humanitarian Action, International Development, and Global Citizenship

and Associate Professor of International Studies and Public Affairs at the University of Washington. He is known worldwide for his interdisciplinary and cross-sectional leadership on globalization, transnationalism, sustainable development, and human security.

- 29) Sabrina McCormick is a sociologist and filmmaker. She investigates social dimensions that shape climate change and its outcomes. At present she is an Associate Professor in the School of Public Health and Health Services at George Washington University and Senior Fellow at the Wharton Risk Management and Decision Processes Centre at the University of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III

- 1) For further details see Vandana Shiva's article "Eco-Apartheid as War".
- 2) Established in 1942 Oxfam is a confederation of 20 independent charitable organizations focusing on the alleviation of global poverty. It is a major non-profit group with an extensive collection of operations.
- 3) According to Bloomberg Billionaires Index, Mukesh Ambani is Asia's second richest person with net worth of \$35.2 billion. Further details is available at <https://yourstory.com/2017/08/mukesh-ambani-becomes-asias-second-richest-person/>.
- 4) For further details see Richard Spillett's article "World's Most Expensive Homes." *Daily Mail*, 4 Nov. 2014.
- 5) For further details see Anthony Stoppard's article, 'South Africa : Water, Electricity Cut offs Affect 10 Million', Inter Press Service, 21 March 2002.
- 6) The interesting thing is that Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz has also been a former member and chairman of the US president's Council of Economic Advisers.
- 7) Samir Amin is an Egyptian-French Marxian economist and political scientist. He coined the term 'Euro-centrism'.
- 8) Madhav Gadgil is an Indian ecologist, academic, writer, columnist and the founder of the centre for Ecological Sciences, a research forum under the aegis of the Indian Institute of Science.

- 9) The Carlyle Group is an American multinational private equity, alternative asset management and financial services corporation. As one of the largest private equity and alternative investment firms in the World, Carlyle specializes in four key business areas : corporate private equity, real assets, global market strategies, and investment solutions.
- 10) For further details see Peter Bergen’s article “What were the Causes of 9/11?” dated 24 September 2006 in the *Prospect Magazine*. The article is also available at <[http://www.prospectmagazine.co.UK/magazine/What were the causes of 9_11](http://www.prospectmagazine.co.UK/magazine/What%20were%20the%20causes%20of%209_11)>.
- 11) For further details see Markus Nikolas Heinrich’s article “One War, Many Reasons : The US Invasion of Iraq.” available at <www.e-ir.info/2015/03/09/one-war-many-reasons-the-us-invasion-of-iraq>.
- 12) For further details see US Govt. document No. H.R. 6455 available at <[http://www.iraqwatch.org/government/US/ Legislation/ILA.htm](http://www.iraqwatch.org/government/US/Legislation/ILA.htm)>.
- 13) The phrase ‘Axis of Evil’ was first used by U.S President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002 and often repeated throughout his tenure to describe foreign governments that, during his administration, sponsored terrorism and sought weapons of mass destruction. Bush’s ‘Axis of Evil’ comprised Iran, Iraq and North Korea.
- 14) Dr. Daniel Lieberfeld is an Associate Professor of Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies at Duquesne University. His research focuses on political and

cultural factors that contribute to destructive conflicts and methods of preventing and resolving conflicts.

- 15) For further details see “why has “Downing Street Memo” story been a dud in US?” available at <<http://web.archive.org/web/20070310182232>>.
- 16) Osama bin Laden was hiding in Abbottabad, Pakistan. On 2 May 2011 he was finally traced out from there by the US Navy SEALs who also killed him there.
- 17) Mother of all bombs is the largest non-nuclear device. It is actually a Massive Ordnance Air Blast (Moab) bomb. US military dropped this bomb on ISIS caves in Afghanistan on 13 April 2017.
- 18) For further details see the article “Paris Magazine Attack - Charlie Hebdo Shooting New” available at <<https://www.nbcnews.com>>paris-magazine-attack.

CHAPTER IV

- 1) Raphael Lemkin was a lawyer of Polish-Jewish descent who is best known for coining the word 'genocide' and initiating the Genocide Convention.
- 2) Born and raised in Mumbai, India Dionne Bunsha is an award-winning journalist who has written about suicide deaths among farmers, religious strife in India, human rights, threats to the Indian environment and a range of other crucial issues. She has been associated with *The Times of India* and also with the *Frontline* magazine.
- 3) For further details see the article "Death for 11, Life Sentence for 20 in Godhra Train Burning Case" in *Times of India's* 1 March 2011 issue. It is also available at <[http://articles.times of india.indiatimes.com/2011-03-01/india/ 28643060](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-03-01/india/28643060)>.
- 4) For further details see "The Godhra Conspiracy as Justice Nanavati Saw It" available at <[http://epaper.timesofindia.com/ Repository/GetFiles.asp](http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Repository/GetFiles.asp)>.
- 5) For further details see page no 171 of Scott W. Hibbard's *Religious Politics and Secular States : Egypt, India, and the United States* published in the year 2010 by Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 6) For further details see page no 134 of Edward Simpson's. *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean : The Seafarers of Kachchh*. Published in 2009 by Routledge.
- 7) Among the 182 constituencies the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won 127 seats in 2002 legislative assembly election in Gujarat thus ensuring Modi as the Chief Minister of Gujarat for the second term.

- 8) In the 2014 Lok Sabha Election the BJP led NDA won 336 seats. BJP itself won 282 seats comfortably passing the 272 mark. And Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister of India. The speciality of this election is that it is the first time ever in the 67-year history of independent India that a non-congress party has won a simple majority on its own.
- 9) 15-year old Junaid Khan was stabbed to death on 22 June 2017, on a Delhi – Mathura Passenger train by fellow travelers who accused them of carrying beef and maligned their community as ‘cow-eaters’ and ‘anti-nationals’.
- 10) For further details see the article “BJP Cites Govt. Statistics to Defend Modi.” available at *Express India*, 12 May 2005.
- 11) Himanshu Bhatt was then the Superintendent of Police (SP) of Banaskantha. He was instrumental in getting Gujarat minister Mayaben Kodani and VHP leader Jaideep Patel booked for their direct complicity in the 2002 killings. It was he who painstakingly collected the call details of conversations between top bureaucrats, the chief minister’s office and other important officers during the carnage, between February 27 and March 3, 2002, and burned them into a CD while he was serving DCP (Control) in Ahmedabad.
- 12) When the 2002 Gujarat riots broke out on 28 February 2002, Rahul Sharma was then posted in the Bhavnagar district as the Superintendent of Police. He became widely known as one of the few district police chiefs to have responded vigorously to control the violence. For further details see Rana Ayyub’s book *Gujarat Files : Anatomy of a Cover Up*
- 13) It is to be noted that Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb reversed the policy of religious toleration followed by Akbar. Aurangzeb’s chief aim was to

convert Dar-ul-harb (India : the country of *Kafirs* or infidels) to Dar-ul-Islam (country of Islam). For this he adopted several anti-Hindu measures like the demolition of Hindu temples and the breaking of idols; imposition of *jaziya*; removal of the Hindus from government jobs; restrictions of Hindu educational institutions etc.

- 14) It is to be noted that on 13 December 2001, the Indian Parliament was under terrorist attack. The perpetrators belonged to the terrorist organizations - Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM).
- 15) For further details see Dominik J Schaller and Jurgen Zimmer's article "Late Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish population and extermination policies – introduction" published in the *Journal of Genocide Research* (10.1) pp 7-14. 2008.
- 16) Hrant Dink was a Turkish-Armenian editor, journalist and columnist. As editor-in-chief of the bilingual Turkish-Armenian newspaper *Agos*, Dink was a prominent member of the Armenian minority in Turkey. He was best known for advocating Turkish-Armenian reconciliation and human and minority rights in Turkey. He was prosecuted three times for denigrating Turkishness, while receiving numerous death threats from Turkish nationalists. He was assassinated in Istanbul in January 2007, by Ogun Samast, a 17-year old Turkish nationalist.
- 17) The Buddhas of Bamyan were 6th century monumental statues of Gautam Buddha carved into the side of a cliff in the Bamyan valley of central Afghanistan. They were destroyed in March 2001, by the Taliban.

- 18) Chandrashekhar Dasgupta is an Indian civil servant, diplomat, writer and a former Indian Ambassador to the European Union, Belgium, Luxemburg and China. He has also held the vice-chair of the preparatory committees of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).
- 19) For further details see Sayyid Mir Qasim's autobiography, *My Life and Times* published in September 1992, by South Asia Books. It is to be noted that he was the Chief Minister of Kashmir from 1971 to 1975.
- 20) For further details see the 4th April 2018 edition of the newspaper *Dawn*.
- 21) This is quoted from *Business Standard's* article "Pakistan poses to world thrice as much terror risk as Syria : Report" dated 27 October 2018 available at www.business-standard.com
- 22) For further details see Ramachandra Guha's chapter on "Democracy and Violence in India, Sri Lanka and Beyond" published in the book, *Democrats and Dissenters*.

CHAPTER V

- 1) Operation Green Hunt was the name used by the Indian media to describe the ‘all-out offensive’ by Govt. of India’s paramilitary forces and the state’s forces against the Naxalites. The operation is believed to have begun in November 2009 along five states in the “Red Corridor”.
- 2) For further details see Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (New Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1960), pp. 20, 192, etc.
- 3) For further details see Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (New Delhi : Government of India Press), especially chapters 11 and 12.
- 4) Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty is a political scientist and China scholar whose writings have focused on theoretical and empirical dimensions of social movements, human rights, the development experience and the role of India and China.
- 5) For further details see Press Information Bureau’s article “Naxal Problem Needs a Holistic Approach” dated 22 July 2009, available at <www.pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid>.
- 6) For further details see *Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas*, Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commissioner (New Delhi : Government of India, 2008), 59-60.
- 7) Salwa Judum was a militia that was mobilised and deployed as part of anti-insurgency operations in Chhattisgarh, India. The aim was to counter the Naxalite violence in the region. Its founder was Mahendra Karma. This

militia was, however, declared by the Supreme Court of India as illegal and unconstitutional.

- 8) For further details see PTI's report "Richest 1.% own 58% of Wealth in India" published in *Times of India*, dated 17 January 2017.
- 9) According to Bloomberg Billionaires Index, Mukesh Ambani is Asia's second richest person with net worth of \$35.2 billion. For further details visit <https://yourstory.com/2017/08/mukesh-ambani-becomes-asias-second-richest-person/>.
- 10) For further details see Richard Spillett's article "World's Most Expensive Homes." *Daily Mail*, 4 Nov. 2014.
- 11) For further details see the article "List of Districts in Chhattisgarh" available at <https://www.nriol.com/india-statistics>.
- 12) *ibid.*
- 13) *ibid.*
- 14) *ibid.*
- 15) Kanu Sanyal was an Indian Communist politician. In 1967, he was one of the main leaders of the Naxalbari uprising. He was also one of the founding leaders of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI (ML)) formed in 1969.
- 16) For further details see "50 years of Naxalbari : Fighting for the right cause in the wrong way" available at www.hindustantimes.com/columns/50-years-of-naxalbari-fighting-for-the-right-cause-in-the-wrong-way/story.

- 17) Charu Majumdar was an Indian Communist revolutionary from the Jalpaiguri region of West Bengal. During the late 1960s he, along with Kanu Sanyal, took an active role in the militant peasant uprising that took place in Naxalbari. It is to be noted that this group later became known as the Naxalites.
- 18) Mahendra Karma was an Indian political leader belonging to Indian National Congress from Chhattisgarh state. He played a pivotal role in organizing the Salwa Judum movement against the Naxalites i.e. the Maoists in Chhattisgarh. He was assassinated by the Naxalites on 25 May 2013, in Sukma.
- 19) Nandini Sundar is a professor of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics whose research interests include political sociology, law, and inequality. Her book, *The Burning Forest : India's War in Bastar* is about the Maoist conflict in Bastar.
- 20) Ajay Dandekar, at present the Faculty Member at the Institute of Rural Management Anand (IRMA), has worked on the issues of Denotified and Nomadic Communities, and Pastoral Nomadic groups. He has done work on the agrarian crisis and farmers' suicides. His research interest has spilled over in the issues of resources and conflict in the tribal heartland.
- 21) Chitragada Choudhury is an independent journalist, and a member of the core group of the People's Archive of Rural India.

CONCLUSION

- 1) For further details see the newspaper report “Environment damage behind 1 in 4 global deaths, disease : UN” published in *The Statesman* dated 14 March 2019.
- 2) This is quoted from the newspaper report “20 million facing starvation, it’s biggest humanitarian crisis since 1945 : UN” published in *Times of India* dated 12 March 2017.
- 3) According to Bloomberg Billionaires Index, Mukesh Ambani is Asia’s second richest person with net worth of \$35.2 billion. For further details visit <https://yourstory.com/2017/08/mukesh-ambani-becomes-asias-second-richest-person/>.
- 4) For further details see Richard Spillett’s article “World’s Most Expensive Homes.” *Daily Mail*, 4 Nov. 2014.
- 5) For further details see PTI’s report “Richest 1% own 58% of Wealth in India” published in *Times of India*, dated 17 January 2017.
- 6) Osama bin Laden was hiding in Abbottabad, Pakistan. On 2 May 2011, he was finally traced out from there by the US Navy SEALs who also killed him there.
- 7) Mother of all bombs is the largest non-nuclear device. It is actually a Massive Ordnance Air Blast (Moab) bomb. US military dropped this bomb on ISIS caves in Afghanistan on 13 April 2017.