

REINVENTING DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH: PATTERNS OF POPULAR PROTEST IN INDIA AND ARGENTINA

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Introduction

In this article we engage critically with patterns of popular mobilization and protest in the South in the wake of and in response to neoliberal restructuring during the past two and a half decades. We focus on the MTD Solano in Argentina and the Narmada Bachao Andolan in India in order to validate our arguments. We argue that neoliberal restructuring was fundamentally a global political project for the restoration of class power in favour of capital in a time of crisis. In breaking with the structural vestiges of organized capitalism, neoliberal restructuring reversed a set of state/society relationships in which the popular classes had significant power, both in the welfare states of the North and in the developmental states of the South. This process did not go uncontested; popular protest proliferated throughout the world. In the South, these protests initially assumed a defensive character, seeking to reclaim “the moral economy” of developmentalism. However, these defensive projects have unevenly developed into offensive projects from below, seeking to construct alternatives both to neoliberalism and developmentalism. These offensive movement projects from below in the South cannot also not adequately be understood as harbingers of a “post-development era”, pursuing a politics revolving around a rejection of development. Rather, we propose that in the case of the MTD Solano (Argentina) and the Narmada Bachao Andolan (India) it is possible to discern political practices and imaginaries that point towards a 'reinvention of development'. In pursuing this analysis, we hope to contribute to the transcendence of what is essentially a false dichotomy between developmentalism and post-development in the social sciences.

Reclaiming, Rejecting, or Reinventing Development?

The mid-1970s witnessed the onset of neoliberal restructuring in the South. Fundamental to this process was the erosion of a state/society relationship that can be referred to as ‘the moral economy’ of developmentalism: a social compact between elites and popular classes in which a ‘social wage guarantee’ underpinned by price subsidies and public services secured the relative allegiance and acquiescence of the latter to the state-building projects of the former (Walton and Seddon, 1994: 47-8). Throughout much of the postcolonial world, structural adjustment programmes were met by protests (Walton and Seddon, 1994; Walton and Udayagiri, 2002; Seddon and Dwyer, 2002). Characteristic of these protests was their essentially defensive character. If the social wage guarantee had been “exchanged” for political acquiescence among subaltern social groups during the developmentalist era, the devastating impact of neoliberal restructuring upon this moral economy provoked resistance that sought to reclaim and restore it to its former status: ‘Protestors demanded that the state meet its responsibilities to the people, who, during the decades of patron-client politics, had upheld their end of the bargain’ (Walton and Seddon, 1994: 50).

This article explores the phenomenon of the gradual and uneven shift from defensive projects seeking to defend a moral economy the social and material basis of which being eroded by neoliberal restructuring – a reclaiming of development – towards offensive projects that seek to construct alternatives both to neoliberalism and developmentalism. The signal event of this shift was perhaps the onset of the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico on January 1, 1994, which broadcast not only to Mexico, but the world at large, that “another world” was not just possible, but also necessary (see, e.g., De Angelis, 2000). These developments throw up a host of challenges to activists and scholars as to how we can best understand and conceptualize contemporary offensive popular movements in the South.

One possible angle from which to approach these questions – an angle that we shall argue is essentially flawed – is that of ‘post-development’. During the 1990s, a body of literature, anchored in post-structuralist theory, emerged which articulated a critique of dominant ways of thinking about and practicing development. In this approach, development was conceived of as a homogenizing discourse rooted in a universalization of the transition

towards modernity and capitalism in Western societies. Through academic disciplines such as development economics and various institutions and practices associated with development aid, this discourse was imposed upon those countries that had recently emerged from colonial subjugation as a yardstick by which to measure and 'discipline' their developmental progress. As Escobar, a key proponent of post-development argues, 'Development has relied exclusively on one knowledge system, namely, the modern Western one. The dominance of this knowledge system has dictated the marginalisation and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems' (Escobar, 1995: 13). As a response, popular movements in the South, Escobar argues, are returning to localised and authentic struggles that express particularity and difference as opposed to homogenisation and domination. Escobar thus advocates the transcendence of development by arguing that,

... instead of searching for grand alternative models or strategies, what is needed is the investigation of alternative representations and practices in concrete local settings, particularly as they exist in contexts of hybridisation, collective action, and political mobilization (1995: 19).

Post- development theorists argue that we should not search for 'development alternatives' but rather 'alternatives to development, that is, the rejection of the entire paradigm altogether' (ibid: 215). The agents that are to bring about such change are the popular masses of the third world and their politics of resistance (see, Parajuli, 1991, 1996 for India; see Escobar and Alvarez, 1995, for Latin America)

The theoretical underpinnings, methodological strategies, and substantive arguments of post-development thought has attracted a veritable barrage of criticism (see Cooper and Packard, 1997; Corbridge, 1998; Kiely, 1999; Nanda, 1999, 2001; Nustad, 2001; Niederveen Pieterse, 1998, 2000; Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal, 2003). We find ourselves in broad agreement with these criticisms. In this article, however, we would like to stress the particular weaknesses of the post-development conception of the projects of popular movements in the South as revolving around a politics advocating the rejection of development. Our basic claim is that this perspective is out of sync with significant tendencies and aspects of the actual practices and imaginaries of such movements. Rather than rejecting development tout court, we find that one tendency of popular mobilization in the South is a reinvention of development. By this we mean that movements in the South are engaged in a struggle over the direction and meaning of development as a process of social change. Our argument parallels

that of Rangan (1993, 1996, 2000) who in her studies of the trajectory of social protest in India's Garwhal Himalayas pursues the notion that new social movements in the South 'are not against the idea of development, they are part of it' (2000: 206; see also Moore, 1998, 2000 on community struggles in Zimbabwe; Branford and Rocha, 2002 on the MST and Crabtree, 2005 on popular protest in Bolivia). Social movements such as the MTD Solano and Narmada Bachao Andolan do not reject the notion of development as a process of social change and progress. Rather, they seek to give a direction to social change and reinvent the practices through which this is achieved, so as to ensure the needs of subaltern social groups. This entails a discursive shift in the everyday norms, practises and ideas, which shape and give direction to social interaction. It also entails the development of political strategies, which seek to overcome the limitations of localised struggles.

Another way in which new movements from below have been conceptualised is as rights based movements, struggling to deepen and extend liberal democracy and defend or recapture social democracy (Crabtree: 2004; Branford: 2002). The attempt to re-capture the moral economy of developmentalism, based upon a class compromise between national capital and labour, in which popular class political acquiescence is given for certain levels of material redistribution is often used as *the* defence against the work and claims of post-developmentist thinkers. In this sense development becomes boxed within the limits of developmentalism, transforming a historically specific organisation of capitalism (arguably exhausted in the South), to an ahistoric limit to development. However, whilst a 'defensive' return to developmentalism is indeed a tendency within social movements in the South, it is often paralleled with a rejection of the limits and practises of developmentalism; what we term a reinvention of development expressed in the offensive struggles of new social movements. Thus we argue that conceptualising social movements within the developmentalist paradigm can also act as a shroud over the actual practises and imaginaries of social movements in the South. In both case studies we will illustrate the tension-riddled relationship between developmentalism and 'something beyond' that exists within both the MTD Solano and the Narmada Bachao Andolan. In doing so we seek to discern, decipher and describe new forms of re-inventing development, which go beyond post-development or developmentalism.

Neoliberalism and Class Power

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the ‘golden age of capitalism’ that had lasted since the end of WWII started to crumble under the weight of stagnation in production, productivity declines, and escalating class conflicts (see, e.g., Petras and Veltmeyer 2001; Armstrong, Glyn and Harrison 1984; Harvey 1990). With the fragmentation of the global uprising of the late 1960s and the increasing incapability of social democracy to counter this crisis, the path was cleared for the New Right and a project of neoliberal restructuring centred on privatization, the curbing of public expenditure, tax-cuts, wage-freezes and so on – it was a call for ‘a return of the market’ which aimed at dismantling organized capitalism yet containing ‘social reproduction within the limits of its capitalist form’ (Bonefeld, 1995: 49). In the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Western Europe, this process was spearheaded in the 1980s by conservative parties, the epitomes of which are of course Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher (see, e.g., Piven and Cloward 1982 and Jessop et. al. 1988). Neoliberalism assumed a global character through the imposition of structural adjustment programmes by the World Bank and the IMF in the post-colonial world; firstly on African and Latin American countries in the 1980s, and then on crucial Asian economies such as India (early 1990s) and South Korea and Thailand (late 1990s) (see, e.g., Cheru 1989, Green 1995, Petras and Veltmeyer 1997, Ghosh and Chandrasekhar 2000, Corbridge and Harriss 2000).

The particular form that this process has assumed, has been designated by David Harvey (2003: ch. 4) as ‘accumulation by dispossession’ – a contemporary form of ‘primitive accumulation’ where social, ecological, cultural, and intellectual “commons” are commodified ‘and brought within the capitalist logic of accumulation’ (ibid.: 146). The core achievement of the neoliberal project of accumulation by dispossession has been the restoration of the class power of capital over labour. The restoration of the power of capital over labour is evident in the redistributive – as opposed to generative – effects of neoliberal restructuring: while economic growth during the 1980s and 1990s fell far behind the average rates of the 1960s and 1970s, such mechanisms as privatization, financialization, crisis management and manipulations and state redistributions have increased the incomes and decreased the expenditures of capital and, conversely, decreased the incomes and increased the expenditures of labour (Harvey 2004: 27-34; see also Harvey, 2005: Chapters 1 and 6). The social structure of accumulation generally referred to as ‘organized capitalism’ was characterized by the structural vestiges of a relatively

successful class struggle from below, and the historical compromise between capital and labour, which resulted from these struggles. In the process of production itself, this was evident in wage-bargaining, rising wages, and the generally higher standards of living enjoyed by the working and popular classes after WWII (Holloway, 1995: 22-24). Furthermore, it was evident in ‘the indirect costs of exploitation’ where public expenditure related to the welfare state were ‘generally paid for by capital ... in the sense that it constitutes a deduction from the surplus value for accumulation’ (ibid.: 25). Robinson (2004: 7, 40-41) argues that the ‘intensive enlargement’ that has characterized world capitalism in the late twentieth century – i.e. the increasing commodification of ever more spheres of social life brought about by accumulation by dispossession – has ‘disembedded’ capital from the constraints upon accumulation that were characteristic of organized capitalism. Fundamentally for Robinson, the constraints that were removed through neoliberal restructuring were intrinsically bound up with an epoch of capitalism where the nation-state as a bounded territorial unit was still of great importance. The territorial and institutional limits of the nation-state enabled ‘the working and popular classes’ to ‘demand that national states place some constraints of the power of capital and social control over the capitalist production process and redistribute wealth in the phase of circulation’ (ibid.: 41). Neoliberal restructuring brought this configuration to an end: ‘By peeling back and making accessible to transnational capital every layer of the social fabric, neoliberalism disembeds the global economy from global society, and the state cedes to the market as the sole organizing power in the economic and social sphere’ (ibid.: 89).

There has been a transition, then, from national economies articulated through exchange, where labour exercised power through state intervention to an increasingly globalized production process characterized by ‘the fragmentation and decentralization of complex production chains and the worldwide dispersal and functional integration of the different segments in these chains’ (Robinson, 2004: 18). The chief beneficiaries of this process have been the emergent transnational capitalist class – i.e. the fraction of capital, which participates in ‘globalized circuits of production, accumulation, marketing and finances unbound from particular national territories and identities’ (ibid.: 47). Those who are most disadvantaged by the process are the working and popular classes – the emergent global proletariat – whose traditional bases of power have been undermined and eroded, and who

have yet to develop new strategies for countering the offensive of transnational capital (ibid.: 47-8; see also Moody, 1997: Chapter 7). In the South, this process of restructuring has created structural barriers to the reclaiming of developmentalism: the bonds between capital and the nation state have been broken, and the political capacity of labour and the popular classes has been corroded. The material basis of developmentalism has withered away, so to speak. It is in light of this that many movements in the South are also breaking the boundaries of developmentalism, and developing new forms of offensive struggles that seek to re-invent development in a multitude of ways which cannot be classified as post-development, neoliberal or developmentalist.

Neoliberal Restructuring in Argentina and India

The conditions of increasing powerlessness and exclusion of the popular classes in the South will be explored in the national contexts of neoliberal restructuring in India and Argentina. This will help us to understand the specific conditions, which shaped limited and provided the opportunities from which the MTD Solano in Argentina and the Narmada Bachao Andolan in India developed.

In Argentina in the late 1980s a debt crisis was spiralling out of control, the structural limitations of the ISI model had become chronic and there were a series of hyperinflationary crises (Fine et al: 2004; Panizza: 2000). Argentina's situation of indebtedness and lack of foreign currency gave the IMF with the policy agenda of the 'Washington Consensus' increased leverage over its policy making process. However, in order for neoliberalism to become the resolution to economic crisis there had to form a 'national' neoliberal coalition. President Menem (1989-1998) successfully forged such a coalition of forces made up of financial capital (national and international), political technocrats within the state, the enfeebled and divided popular classes, and international financial institutions. The Argentinean national bourgeoisie did not pose a threat to this process, as they were structurally and politically weak. His reform process was one of the most radical in Latin America, with full-scale privatisation, deregulation and liberalisation, and the infamous pegging of the peso to the dollar. This process constituted a rupture with the state/society and state/market relations institutionalised from the first Peronist government of 1944 (Muchnik: 1994). It took the form of an exclusionary political and social development coalition in a democratic context, relying on the fragmentation and disarticulation of popular political identities and organisation (the only organised potential opponents to this project (Lechner:

1999; Acuña 1994). The weakness of the national industrial bourgeoisie (a potential 'developmentalist' ally) and the intertwined relationship between Peronism and the popular classes and their ideological attachment to the state and national industrial development (Munoz and Campione: 1994), created a situation within which discontent at neoliberal restructuring, had neither ideological nor institutional outlet (Pozzi and Schneider: 1994). These conditions enabled Menem to divide and rule the popular classes, and create the conditions for their political disarticulation. (Acuña: 1994).

Neoliberal restructuring undermined a national economy and state capacity. Unable to compete in the international economy a national industrial bourgeoisie virtually disappeared. The Argentinean economy for most of the 1990s became dominated by international speculative capital attracted by the high interest rates guaranteed by the Government's commitment to a pegged exchange rate. The disappearance of a national industrial bourgeoisie undermined the structural existence of a class that is theoretically and practically central for any project of national developmentalism (Chubber: 2005). These consequences of neoliberal restructuring impacted upon labour that was now faced with fragmented, decentralised and non-labour intensive production relations. The policies of flexibilisation of labour and privatisation led to an enormous growth in the informal economy and a rapid increase in unemployment (Basauldo: 2001). The traditional working and middle class also lost protection and benefits from the state. These social sectors therefore found themselves in conditions of poverty and political impotence not seen since the before the times of Peron (Muñoz and Campione: 1994). The hollowing out of the state's economic and political capacity, as revenues decreased, and debt increased (both public and private) weakened the state's institutional 'developmentalist' capacity (McGuire: 1997; Godio 1998). The state and political elite's incapacity to co-opt the popular classes, and legitimise their authority caused a process of de-collectivisation in which traditional social and political identities and practises disintegrated.

However, from the mid-1990s there began to develop of new forms of contestation from below often outside of, or in confrontation with Peronist institutions. Many of these struggles occurred around a reclaiming of the rights lost during the process of restructuring, and were constitutive of a defensive attempt to return to developmentalism. The formation of the CTA and the division of the CGT, the Peronist confederation of unions, in the early 1990s and their struggle to prevent privatisation of state owned companies, and the development of the piquetero movement, which demanded work, state subsidies and a universal unemployment subsidy from 1996 reflected a commitment to, and a political culture of,

developmentalism (See Svampa and Pereyra: 2003 for a detailed account of the formation of a national piquetero movement and identity; see Heike unpublished for a discussion of the formation of the CTA out of the ashes of the failures of the CGT). However, from the late 1990s there also developed new forms of social and political contestation based upon a reinvention of development that broke the limits of a defence of developmentalism and attempted to forge offensive projects from below. The actual tendencies of these new offensive movements involve reorganizing processes of production and distribution in a non-exploitative and egalitarian fashion, establishing decision making process based on direct democracy, and a rejection of the formation of political parties working within the state. The meaning of the idioms and symbols of development and political engagement – for example, social justice and democratic citizenship – are being reworked and expanded as subaltern groups demand their right to determine their futures in conditions of their own making.

In India the inauguration of a programme of neoliberal reform in July 1991 marked the culmination of a two-and-a-half decade's long process through which the strategy of state-led capitalist development had gradually stagnated and the concurrent political hegemony of the Congress Party unravelled. In the mid-1980s Rajiv Gandhi was faced with a stagnant economy, but failed to cement a neoliberal coalition of reform that could break opposition from those social classes that benefited from state controls and subsidies (see, e.g. Corbridge and Harriss, 2000; Chibber, 2003; Vanaik, 2001). Thus he opted for substantial external and internal borrowing to maintain the levels of public spending. By 1991, India's foreign exchange reserves were more or less depleted, and the government turned to the IMF and the World Bank in order to be bailed out of the crisis. From July 1991, neoliberal restructuring was a fact in India (Jha, 2001). At this point in time, the uneasy 'coalitional relation of classes' (Kaviraj, 1997; see also Chatterjee, 1993 and Bardhan, 1998) that underpinned and benefited from the strategy of state-led capitalist development, consisting of industrial capitalists, rich farmers, and the politico-bureaucratic class, had started to disintegrate. For important segments of the dominant proprietary classes, state intervention was increasingly becoming an obstruction to their expansion into profitable markets and not least into mergers with transnational capital (Corbridge and Harriss, 2000; Chibber, 2003; Vanaik, 2001). Moreover, politico-bureaucratic elites were also increasingly prepared to depart from the model of state-led capitalist development (Chibber, 2003; Vanaik, 2001). This prepared the ground for an 'elite revolt' (Corbridge and Harriss, 2000: 137) against developmentalism.

Neoliberal restructuring started off at a fairly slow pace in India, aimed at selected sectoral targets. However, by the turn of the millennium, the process had gathered momentum

and encompassed the deregulation of the investment regime, trade policy reform, financial liberalization, and extensive plans for the privatization of public companies and utilities (Corbridge and Harriss, 2000; Chandrasekhar and Ghosh, 1999; Chandrasekhar, 2004). Neoliberal restructuring has had a profound impact on the capacity of the Indian state to redistribute and invest in developmental programmes with substantial social returns. As Corbridge and Harriss (2000:165) note, the reforms have characterized by an ‘anti-poor thrust’ in the form of a consistent lack of public investment in health, education and infrastructure. Finally, Patnaik (2003) points out how the Indian economy is currently bedevilled by a series of demand-constraints – manifest, for example, in the country’s surplus foodstocks and underutilized capacity in the capital goods industry – which are essentially rooted in the unwillingness of the state to increase public spending. Indeed, with the onset of neoliberal restructuring in India, the Fabian notion of social uplift and state intervention to secure the welfare of its citizenry which was so central to Nehruvian nation-building has been substituted for the ‘humbug of finance’ (Corbridge and Harriss, 2000; Patnaik, 2003).

The protracted crisis and unravelling of state-led capitalist development opened up a new space for political contestation from below in India. With the waning of Congress dominance and the atrophy of the mainstream left, a wide range of new social movements (NSMs) mobilizing around issues of gender, caste, environment and indigenous people’s rights emerged in the 1970s. Moreover, there was a mushrooming of non-governmental organizations (Basu, 1987; Omvedt, 1993; Vanaik, 1990). In the 1980s, these movements increasingly sought to consolidate a totalizing political project. According to Omvedt (1993 244), the outcome of this surge towards a totalizing political perspective was the articulation of a new “primary terrain of resistance”. The defining feature of this terrain of resistance was its critique of the ‘marginalizing processes’ inherent to Indian developmentalism coupled with a quest to go beyond these processes through the building of ‘new forms of cooperation and new democratic control in the process of their daily lives’ (ibid.: 244). In India, then, an offensive critique of developmentalism from below was in place before the advent of neoliberal restructuring. The 1990s, however, witnessed a veritable explosion of defensive struggles against neoliberal restructuring (Walton and Seddon, 1994; Udayagiri and Walton, 2002). Walton and Udayagiri (2002: 9) identify three sources of protest to neoliberal reform in India: firstly, the movement for ecological sovereignty, rooted in the organizations of farmers¹; secondly, left front trade unions affiliated to the CPI-M; thirdly, non-governmental organizations. The defensive character of these protests were perhaps most clear with the movement for ecological sovereignty and the trade unions in that both movements sought to

defend crucial structural vestiges of developmentalism such as agricultural subsidies, import restrictions, and state control of the commanding heights of the economy. These struggles, in turn, were legitimated with reference to the central idioms of developmentalism, in particular economic nationalism, the state's role as custodian of the nation's development, and the collective memories of anti-colonialism (Walton and Udayagiri, 2002).

Below, we develop and validate the assertion of a contradictory and uneven development of movements in the South from defensive movements to offensive movements from below seeking to re-invent development through analyses of the cases of the MTD Solano in Argentina and the Narmada Bachao Andolan in India. We will focus on their articulation of the concepts democracy, social justice and development, and on their political and economic practises.

Reinventing Development in Buenos Aires

The Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados (or, MTD) Solano is based in the Buenos Aires Province roughly 30 km outside central Buenos Aires. The communities from Florida, Sariya, Monteverde, San Martin, Iapi, Beraza Tegui, Claypole that make up this piquetero (unemployed) movement are on the periphery of Argentinean society, reflecting both the failure of 'ISI' developmentalism to produce economic and political autonomy, and the increased impoverishment and exclusion resulting from neoliberal restructuring. Within these communities restructuring led to cut-backs in services and chronic unemployment, and was combined with attempts by traditional political elites to prevent popular opposition to this process from developing (Basualdo: 2001; Acuña et al 1994). Such attempts were based around the Menemist strategy of decentralisation and the development of targeted social policy marking the end of universal state benefits and subsidies (Svampa and Pereyra: 2003). The most direct way in which the impoverished communities experienced this coercive and instrumental behaviour was in the distribution of unemployment subsidies, whose distribution was placed in the hands of municipal representatives (punteros). 'Peronist' punteros used the selective provision of these subsidies to co-opt the popular classes into silence and acquiescence. This intervention was a strategic practise of divide and rule whose central objective was to disarticulate collective political and cultural identities so as to smooth the process of restructuring being implemented by the Menem Government.

To a great extent this policy and practise was successful in the peripheral areas of the Buenos Aires Province. However, in the Solano area the prior political experience and popular culture of the residents also resulted in another response, confrontational and political in nature. The areas that form the base of the MTD Solano until the mid-1980s had been derelict land. In 1985 a historic land occupation, supported by the parish priest, who allowed families involved in the occupation to shelter in the local church, turned this land into an impoverished yet organised series of neighbourhoods (Burdick: 1995). The influence of liberation theology in this long and bitter struggle and the struggle for democracy in the 1980s helped construct a popular culture articulated around 'bassista' or 'bottom up' ideas of community dignity, direct democracy and local autonomy. (Shapiro: 1999). Thus when 'Peronist' punteros in 1997 began to coercively and instrumentally intervene in their communities via the selective distribution of unemployment subsidies families who had been involved in this land occupation began to respond in a coordinated and organised manner.

Between 1997-1999 the actions of the newly formed MTD Solano were of a defensive nature, attempting to 'recapture' the right to universal unemployment subsidies and demand their 'non-politicised' distribution. Their choice of method: the pikete (the blocking of key roads into Buenos Aires as a means to pressure government (local and national) into granting their demands), can be understood as part of a relationship that this local movement had with the Piquetero struggles that were occurring in 1996 and 1997, concentrated in the interior of the countryⁱⁱ. The development of the piquetero repertoire of collective action in its first phase was based upon the generalisation of a certain method of action against the state, and a certain set of demands. This period was one of confrontation with state representatives over the shifting terrain of social and economic policy. The demands made, to a great extent, sought to recapture what had been lost nationally as opposed to creating something new within the community. Confrontation with punteros in the local communities of the MTD Solano did however mark the final death toll of Peronist legitimacy within the movement's members (Ferrera: 2003).

From the election of De La Rúa in 1999, more as a consequence of the Alianza's attempts to break the local political power of the Peronists, the management of planes trabajos (unemployment subsidies) was placed in the hands of local community groups (Svampa & Svereja: 2003). The changing terms of government social intervention created a context from which the MTD Solano could consolidate itself organisationally and politically. (Ferrera: 2003. This consolidation occurred around a rejection of Peronism for its unfulfilled promises and corrupt practises, and embrace of their experience of land occupation in the mid-1980s

and the political culture of liberation theology that had strongly influenced the nature and demands of this struggle (Burdick: 1995). Thus members from the MTD Solanoⁱⁱⁱ began to articulate a discourse in which the pikete and the demand to be able to manage the distribution of planes trabajos, became understood as a way of asserting the community's dignity in their struggle for development and autonomy. There began a process of re-collectivisation and the creation of new subjectivities outside of traditional Peronism. In breaking with the identity and limits of Peronism the movement began a process of a reinvention of development outside of the bounds of developmentalism.

As we will show the MTD Solano's articulation and practise of democracy breaks the barriers of liberalism, the political companion of developmentalism, in that representation and delegation to political elites within the state is rejected, and rather direct community democracy is embraced. Their articulation of social justice breaks the boundaries of developmentalism, as they reject capitalist social relations and a meaning of social justice reduced to redistribution of the profits of capital accumulation. Yet their practise does not become a post-development localism. They seek to subvert, not reproduce their everyday 'established' identities, do not consider social change as a merely local phenomenon, and stress commonality as opposed to difference within community relations and in the links between themselves and the other groups they work with. Thus they develop in their everyday praxis a re-invention of development, which escapes the boundaries of post-development, and developmentalism.

Since 1999, the Pikete and their community activities have been understood and practised by the MTD Solano as a process of creating social relations which escape the alienation and impoverishment of neoliberalism, and form the basis for the communities' autonomous development^{iv}. The initial way this is achieved involves challenging in everyday community relations, and in actions in confrontation with the state, the limits and norms of neoliberalism. This means challenging the de-collectivisation and divisions within the community, the endemic individualism and consumerism, and relations in which neighbours, partners, and family become objects to be used to enable individual satisfaction and enrichment. This process of 'negation' or critique of 'what is' is developed into a creative act of change, which involves building different forums within the community for individual and collective involvement^v. These include popular education groups, health clinics, childcare facilities and productive workshops.

A look at the production units and their functioning will help to illustrate the rupture with developmentalism that constitutes their economic practises and ideas. This rupture

involves a rejection of capitalist production relations, a rejection of the liberal state, and a practise that views the process of change as an inherent part of the creation of dignified development. The production units are expressions of the second step in a process of recapturing the dignity of the unemployed in their community. The first step in this process is the pikete and the discourse that is used to legitimise the pikete. The unemployed in the ideology of neoliberalism are presented as personal failures whose lack of initiative is the cause of their exclusion (Rozitchner: 2002). The MTD Solano subverts the logic implicit within this discourse by struggling for their right to be recognised by the state, via the pikete, and by rejecting the notion that they as individuals are responsible for their exclusion^{vi}. The members of the MTD Solano take this rejection further, by arguing that they do not desire to belong to the labour market, which is viewed as a place of exploitation and domination. Exclusion is transformed into a site for a new way of organising social relationships and in doing so subverts the ideas and practises constitutive of neoliberal capitalism^{vii}. The community attempts to create other forms and relationships of production, not centred on exploitation or the need for profits. Inverting the victimisation implied by the identity unemployed, they make it a statement of intent and a way of realising something new, human and dignified^{viii}. An example of this process can be found in the organisation of their bakery. Twenty people work in shifts over the twenty-four hour period. In a day it is possible to produce 200 kilos of bread, destined for the consumption of the MTD members and their families. Anything over this amount is sold to the public at a ‘solidarity price’. This makes a profit, which is not individually divided between the bakery’s 20 participants. Rather each bakery member receives, like all other participants in the MTD Solano, his/her 150 pesos (equivalent to a plan trabajo). The profits are used to support other community projects. This was a decision made by the members themselves. As Neka (Nelida) Jara^{ix} explains

‘In the productive units we discuss the type of relationships we wish to develop, in this way a form of organisation develops from the collective...the way we move ahead is based on agreements; before doing anything we work out together what we want to produce, for where and how we wish to achieve this. Only after all of us are clear we begin to work. We then reflect, in weekly meetings, whether we are achieving our objectives’ (Author’s translation)

As mentioned earlier, means are not subordinated to ends in the praxis of the MTD Solano, as the process is viewed as part of the creative act of change. Internally their organisation is based upon four guiding principles: horizontality, participation, direct

democracy, and autonomy^x. These principles structure all their meetings, decision-making processes and activities. This understanding of direct democracy rejects the need for leaders but not for organisation. Individuals for example, who speak for the movement publicly, do not become fixed into their institutional position. This type of democratic organisation is practised as it seeks to prevent a process of bureaucratisation, elitisation and concurrent disempowerment of the 'mass'. Their rejection of political instrumentalisation stems from their rejection of the formation of political parties, which they argue have historically and locally become vehicles of self-interested elites seeking to instrumentalise their community in order to maintain the community's subordination and further the parties' interests and power^{xi}. This in turn has implications for their relationship with the state.

The MTD's immediate source of financial survival is based upon the unemployment subsidy received from the state. Nevertheless, their aim is not inclusion into the state^{xii}. They thus do not seek to form themselves into a political party competing for state power, or to become a new form of social movement constitutive of a deepened democracy. Their relationship with the state places them in a vulnerable position of being dependent on the decisions and capabilities of central and municipal government. They attempt to maintain this state subsidy via the pikete, in which they block the main access to the reproduction of capitalism by blocking the spatial mechanisms, which allows production to continue (Dinerstein: 2003/2005)^{xiii}. Their strategy is thus constructed by a struggle against and beyond the state but not within the state. This does not imply that there is no relationship with the state, as their financial dependence and use of the pikete illustrate. It does however involve a clear rejection of political liberalism and state centred developmentalism in their discourse and political practise.

As the MTD Solano does not understand political engagement, its objectives, and its form in its traditional sense, this has an impact on their relationship with the wider political community. Many 'left wing' piquetero movements reproduce the tactics of the government in its attempts to de-legitimise the MTD Solano^{xiv}. There are cases when the other sections of the piqueteros movement have sided with the police and the state in their condemnation of the movement's self-defence tactics^{xv}. The MTD Solano has thus been in a tension-ridden relationship with such movements. These tensions and their explanation are best explained in the worlds of MTD Solano^{xvi},

'The 'políticos'...however revolutionary they think themselves to be, act ... imposing universality as the realm of thought and action. They don't try to take power from the political to develop it into another structure of practises'.

In a climate of economic and political crisis, political elites have played on community fears and isolation as a means to justify the use of coercive and authoritarian methods against protest movements from below^{xvii}. It is thus that in neighbourhoods such as Florida, Sariya and Monteverde, against movements such as the MTD Solano, the state is perpetuating a silent war of repression^{xviii}. This involves physical attacks, intimidation, an ideological offensive to undermine the legitimacy of the movement; labelling them violent subversives, and an institutional attack attempted to undermine their legitimacy as an autonomous movement that distributes Planes Trabajos.

In light of these political experiences with the state and other opposition movements, who in different ways have attempted to disarticulate and isolate the MTD Solano, the movement has developed an understanding of struggle, which is not based on localised isolation but rather unity across different localities. As Alfredo^{xix} discussed with me, 'If we remain localised, we will remain isolated and potentially become a conservative closed force within our communities, unable to challenge or change anything effectively.' Their political experiences mean that they not fetish the local as the limit of social change. Rather they believe that social change will be based on the formation of many territorialized attempts to take control of, and re-make community social relations. They realise that in order to prevent their marginalisation and disintegration they have to consolidate political links with other organisations attempting to re-invent development from below in Argentina, regionally and internationally.

As we have shown the ideological and organisational construction of the MTD Solano does not follow any blue prints and does not have any leadership. It is based on an understanding of capitalism, which does not reduce it to economic structures, nor understands power as synonymous with institutional control. It instead attempts to understand the totality of capitalist social relations, and the way in which the lives of the individuals who form the community are shaped and made in relation and in construction of this reality^{xx}. Social transformation is therefore understood as the process of creating a counter power within society that begins to make a set of values and relationships, which are outside of the capitalist logic of commodification, individualisation, and exploitation. Thus the MTD Solano's articulation and practise of democracy, development and social justice do not fit

within the boundaries of post-development or developmentalism. As opposed to post-development interpretations of new social movements, the MTD Solano do not limit their struggle to the local, reject the authenticity of their immediate identity rather seeking to change what they consider to be alienated subjectivities, and do not emphasise difference but rather the commonality of exclusion that unites their community, and unites their community with other communities. The MTD Solano's articulation and practise of democracy rejects the traditional conceptualisations of democracy that have gone hand in hand with developmentalism. They view the liberal state as the basis of an elitisation and alienation of political power in which the majority are excluded. Thus they do not view the state as the key site of development and social change, as in developmentalism. Their articulation and practise of development clearly runs counter to the limitations of developmentalism in its rejection of capitalist production relations, and attempts to create egalitarian production relations controlled and determined by the majority. In doing this they make it clear that they are not content with the notion that social justice is equivalent to redistribution of the surplus arising from capital accumulation. Rather the heart of the problems that their community faces lie in the dominant forms of economic organisation, which they experience as a blight and a limit upon their development.

Reinventing Development in the Narmada Valley

The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is arguably among the most significant of the new social movements that emerged in the political space that was created by the unravelling of developmentalism in India. Most commonly associated with its campaign against the Narmada Valley Development Project (NVDP) – a multi-purpose river valley development scheme that envisages the construction of more than 3000 dams of varying sizes on the Narmada River, which runs through the states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat in Central and Western India – the trajectory of the movement is one of a transition from a defensive campaign against one of the central developmental strategies of Indian nation-building^{xxi} towards an offensive project for alternative development^{xxii}.

Out of the 245 villages that stand to be displaced by the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) – a major dam being constructed in Gujarat and in many ways the kingpin of the NVDP – in the three states some 60% per cent belong to indigenous communities, predominantly Bhil and Bhilala adivasis. In the early- and mid-1980s, grassroots organizations were working in these communities on a range of localized development issues^{xxiii}. Upon their discovery of the

fact that these communities were slated for submergence by the SSP, a process of questioning the responsible authorities began. Initially, the demands of the grassroots groups were moderate: they demanded that the affected communities be informed about the consequences of the SSP, and that adequate resettlement and rehabilitation policies be put in place. However, repeated failures on behalf of the authorities to respond to these demands, coupled with a mounting body of research partly built up by the organizations themselves indicated that the will and capacity to resettle the affected communities in a satisfactory manner were lacking. This in turn led to the declaration of wholesale opposition to the SSP in 1988, and the formation of the NBA as a pan-state organization that was to carry the struggle against the SSP forward^{xxiv}. At this point in time, mobilization had also extended to the region of Western Nimad in Madhya Pradesh, where caste Hindu farming communities stand to be affected by the SSP. Since the declaration of opposition to the SSP, the NBA has mobilized against several of the other Narmada dams, most notably and successfully the Maheshwar Hydroelectric Project (MHP) upstream from the SSP – a project funded and constructed by domestic and transnational capital – upstream from the SSP. The MHP ground to a halt in 2002 as funding for the project dried up in the wake of sustained protests by the NBA and transnational allies.

This article is not the place to investigate the trajectory of the NBA's campaign against dam-building on the Narmada River. Suffice it to say that at its inception the campaign was in essence a defensive struggle. The NBA sought to defend the livelihoods and lifeworlds of communities of subsistence and petty-commodity producers against the multi-faceted processes of dispossession that the construction of a built environment for production on the Narmada River would necessarily entail given the lacking will and limited capacity of the responsible authorities to adequately resettle and rehabilitate the dam-affected communities. This defensive struggle, however, quickly became the locus of the articulation of an offensive project as the anti-dam campaign was embedded in the articulation of a wider critique of the dominant direction and meaning of Indian development. At a discursive level – and unlike what was the case with the farmers' and workers' struggles against neoliberal restructuring in the early 1990s – the NBA has appropriated the symbols and idioms of Indian nation-building not merely by reclaiming them, but by reinventing them through a contestation and of the social tenure of their meaning so as to incorporate new understandings of democracy, social justice and environmental sustainability. At a practical level, it has entailed the instigation of a programme of constructive activities in the dam-affected communities the central aspects of

which has been the satisfaction of needs that had been neglected by the developmental state through the self-activity of these communities.

In the NBA's celebration of India's Independence Day in conjunction with the annual monsoon *satyagraha* of 2000 the discursive and practical aspects of the wider struggle for an alternative development were closely intertwined^{xxv}. In the adivasi village of Nimgavhan (Maharashtra), Independence Day began with the hoisting of both the Indian flag and the NBA's banner by a veteran Gandhian and respected freedom fighter, Siddharaj Dhadda. Following the flag hoisting, a confrontational event erupted. Two teachers were present at the ceremony. These teachers were supposedly employed at local state-run schools, but the fact of the matter was that their teaching was as absent as the schools they were supposed to be running. The teachers were confronted by agitated villagers and activists who argued that their vocation amounted to little more than picking up their paychecks. This dismal state of affairs was then thrown into sharp relief with the following point on the programme: the felicitation of young adivasis who had fared well in official schools after first having completed basic schooling in the Andolan's *Jeevan Shalas*^{xxvi} – village schools built and run by the movement with a curriculum adapted to adivasi realities. Following this, the celebrations continued in the nearby village of Domkhedi with the inauguration of a micro-hydel project. A check-dam had been constructed on a small stream adjacent to Domkhedi, which, when combined with a pedal-powered generator, provided electricity to the village for the first time ever. Whereas the SSP threatened to displace the villagers from their lands and produce costly electricity that would only be available to affluent and predominantly urban consumers, here was a project controlled and executed at village level that actually had the potential of delivering a tangible improvement in people's lives.

Through the celebration of Independence Day, the NBA conveyed a narrative about its political project. It was a narrative, which recognized the freedom struggle and the attainment of Independence as fundamental events and achievements – the presence of freedom fighters, the unfolding and hoisting of the Indian flag, indeed, the very celebration of Independence Day testified to this. However, at the same time it was a narrative of a national project profoundly out of kilter. 'The tryst with destiny'^{xxvii}, in this narrative, had gone awry; the promises of freedom and development have been hijacked by elite interests and thus betrayed – leaving large sections of the population by the wayside as outcasts. This betrayal was efficiently illustrated by the contrasts evoked in the celebrations: the putrid condition of state schooling versus the vivacity of the *Jeevan Shalas*; the destruction wrought by the SSP versus the benefits brought to local communities by the micro-hydel project. Simultaneously, the

focus on the NBA's constructive activities was expressive of a political project of alternative development, which resonated far beyond the Narmada Valley. The movement thus projected itself as an agent on a mission to reinvent and thus realize – as opposed to both reclaiming and rejecting – the ideals of freedom and development: 'Independence Day is so often a celebration of a country's victory over oppression, but in Nimgavhan, it had an additional meaning of the people's continued resistance against the injustice and exploitation within a nation' (NBA, 2000).

Now, what kind of reinvention of development would this be? The document *Towards Just and Sustainable Development* outlines the NBA's critique of the dominant direction and meaning of development in India and its conception of alternative development in some detail. The document starts by placing the struggle against the SSP squarely in the context of a search for a new model of development – it is 'part of the nationwide struggle for a new model of development in India' (NBA, 1992: 1). Three themes constitute the kernel of this new model of development: the need for participatory democracy, the need for social justice, and the need for environmental sustainability. Developmentalism is criticized for having engendered 'extreme centralization within the system with no space for the people and their movements, organizations in decision-making. The decisions regarding the life and death of people in the hinterlands are being taken in Delhi ... or even in Washington!' (NBA, 1992: 2). Furthermore, developmentalism is indicted for having led to the depletion of the natural resources upon which subaltern social groups depend for their livelihood and for generating processes of environmental degradation the adverse effects of which hit these groups the hardest. Finally, developmentalism has increased social inequalities by emphasizing capital intensive technology and failing to prioritize the needs of peasant cultivators, landless labourers, and the unemployed (ibid.: 2). Written in 1992 in the immediate wake of the onset of neoliberal restructuring in India, the document proceeds to argue that these are intrinsically related to the 'neo-imperialism' of international financial institutions such as the World Bank: 'This kind of neo-imperialism has been given further boost since last two years in the name of liberalization, privatization and integrating our economy in the world-economy – instead of integrating it with our resource-base, our needs and our people' (ibid.: 2-3). Hence, in its struggle for alternative development the Andolan's is pitted against global as well as national elites, against the exclusions of neoliberalism as well as developmentalism, and their terrain of resistance is simultaneously local, national and global.

While the discourse of resistance expressed in this document clearly formulates a radical critique of the dominant direction and meaning of development in postcolonial India,

there is little here to suggest a rejection of development as such. Rather, the idioms that gave meaning to the developmental rationale of modern India are used as a point of departure for a critique of the actual direction of development, which has exploited, excluded, and marginalized popular classes. As Corbridge and Harriss (2000: 20-22; 230-9) point out, democracy and social justice were crucial cultural idioms in the founding of the modern Indian nation, and they are now being struggled over the social tenure of their future meanings. At first sight, environmental sustainability constitutes something of an anomaly since it was not a significant part of the agenda for Indian nation-building. However, the ideal of frugal stewardship of the natural environment was very much a part of Gandhi's vision for independent India. A new and alternative direction needs to be given to the developmental process, and this in turn entails the expansion and transformation of the meaning of such idioms as democracy, social justice, and environmental sustainability. Indeed, when the Andolan defines the alternative directions and meanings of development in terms of a reinvention of the ideals that underpinned the founding of the modern Indian nation and a reshaping of its institutions on behalf of those groups that have been excluded from or marginalized by the trajectory of state-led capitalist development, it articulates a set of subaltern 'radical needs' that have arisen but cannot be satisfied within the parameters of the dominant model and trajectory of development^{xxviii}. Participatory democracy can be understood as a means by which to satisfy the radical need for participation in decision-making processes that was spawned by the institutionalization of citizenship and universal suffrage to the Indian people at the coming of Independence, but which has since been frustrated by the centralization of power in the hands of social elites and the dominant political parties. Reinventing democracy necessitates a fundamental restructuring of the workings of decision-making, with devolution of power to local communities as a key element. Similarly, social justice can be understood as a means by which to achieve the radical need for equality which loomed large in Nehru's visions for modern India, but which has been negated by processes of exploitation and dispossession, and the ways in which these processes intertwine with pre-modern hierarchies of domination and subjugation. The realization of social justice would require thoroughgoing changes in relations of class, caste, and gender. The articulation of the necessity of environmental sustainability signals the radical need for a sustainable nature-society relation. The realization of this need would require a transformation of the current centralized use and control of natural resources as commodities.

Through its programme of constructive activities – Nav Nirman^{xxix} – the NBA has sought to translate this discursive struggle into practice. Nav Nirman includes activities such as the building and running of *Jeevan Shalas*, introducing skills and practices of forest protection and regeneration, watershed management, community health care systems that seek to integrate indigenous and modern medicine, the use of alternative energy sources, and savings-and-loans activities. What has become a nested set of constructive activities emerged from an initial strategy of making demands on the state to provide the services that they were formally obliged to provide. The lack of a response then spurred the movement to provide these through their own activities. The first task at hand was that of putting schools in place. As Chittaropa Palit – a leading activist of the NBA – put it: ‘*You know, there were no teachers, so there were hardly anyone within 50 to 20 kilometres which had studied ... and people from the outside didn’t want to come and work*’. Talking about the *Jeevan Shalas*, she brought out how the initial strategy of providing the social infrastructure that the state had failed to put in place developed into something different:

The thing... even pedagogically these institutions were challenged, because, for example, there were all these debates about “what is it that this education is going to be about” ... I mean, are we creating institutions and supporting a process which is called education, but which will create an understanding that will be different from the experience of those people, even in opposition to, and the same sort of hegemonical understanding of what is development, and what dams are and so on. ... And there was an attempt to change the Shalas from, you know, simple, sort of, “let us at least give these skills to the students” to a much more interactive mode in which the values of land, water, and, you know, forest and the local economies were valued much more ...^{xxx}

The challenge that emerged when the Andolan stopped looking to the state for the provision of a social infrastructure seems to have been that of creating institutions that would not merely be functional in that they would fill the void created by state negligence, but institutions that would play a role in the overall struggle in which they were embedded. The range of activities that constitute Nav Nirman can be understood in this vein; for instance, forest and soil conservation were a defensive response to processes of ecological degradation that violated the need for a productive base. Gradually, however, these activities and institutions become something more than merely service provision. They became the loci for developing alternative ways of learning, alternative ways of managing and using natural resources,

alternative ways of generating material progress in deprived communities, simultaneously outside the orbits of the state and the market. Through this process, Nav Nirman has come to constitute an intimation of what a reinvention of development could look like in practice.

Conclusion: re-inventing development in Argentina and India:

In this article we have sought to explore new forms of popular protest from below in the South. Our case studies - the MTD Solano in Argentina and Narmada Bachao Andolan in India - are examples of popular social movements that seek to reinvent development, as opposed to reclaiming a project of developmentalism characteristic of 'organised capitalism', or rejecting development as theorised in much post-development work.

In the case of the MTD Solano, this reinvention proceeds through the conception of the state as a concentrated site of alienation and exclusion, and the concurrent articulation of notions of direct democracy and participation focused upon concrete, territorialized communities. Furthermore, this reinvention proceeds through the creation of egalitarian forms of economic organisation based on collective production. Everyday identities are not seen as the basis for community development but rather as mechanisms through which domination is reproduced, and whilst the community is understood as the locus of development and change, the construction of alliances with other movements across and within national borders is viewed as strategically central to any project of popular change from below. The practical realisation of these values and ideas is to be found in the development of workshops in the community in which new forms of egalitarian economic relations of production, from break to bricks, are built, in which health and education workshops are developed based upon a 'pedagogy of the oppressed', and in which collective involvement and organisation of community needs ensures that they are met. Confrontation within the community against the 'individualised practises of self' in which exclusion is viewed as the fault of the excluded, are challenged in the everyday practises of the movement in their production units, community forums and in collective meetings held on a regular basis to discuss political strategy and tactics. In doing so the dichotomies of capitalism such as personal/political, local/global, political/economic, which disrupt the unity of the social flow of doing and being, are broken, and social relations re-constructed so as to begin a process of the reinvention of popular, egalitarian development.

In the case of the Narmada Bachao Andolan, a defensive struggle against the destruction of lifeworlds and livelihoods due to the construction of a series of dams on the Narmada river has been transformed into an offensive project for the reinvention of development. At a discursive level, this reinvention has assumed the form of a virulent contestation of the social tenure of the idioms and symbols of Indian nation-building so as to widen and deepen these to incorporate novel conceptions of participatory democracy, social justice and environmental sustainability- a widening and deepening which in turn defines the alternative direction and meaning that the Andolan seeks to impose upon developmental processes in India. This conception of alternative development in turn finds a practical embodiment in the Andolan's programme of constructive activities. Spawned by virtue of necessity as a response to the state's abysmal failure to provide public services to adivasi communities, this programme has gradually become a focal point for the development of alternative ways of satisfying subaltern needs outside of the orbits of the state and the market.

In light of the process of reconfiguration of the balance of class power engendered by neoliberalism and the erosion of the nation-state as a container of circuits of accumulation and class formation, the political capacity of popular classes and the economic and political capacity of the Argentinean and Indian state to impose restrictions on capital and redistribute the social surplus have been significantly eroded. Reclaiming developmentalism is thus a less than likely prospect in both India and Argentina, and indeed throughout much of the South. This combined with the failures in both developmentalism and neoliberalism to provide the conditions for the satisfaction of subaltern needs, has created the seedbeds from which movement projects from below that seek to reinvent development have sprouted. That these projects revolve around the reinvention of development rather than its rejection is in turn important in the sense that whilst conducting their struggles in determinate locales, the MTD Solano and NBA are not promulgating a politics of particularist localism celebrated in post-development theory. Rather by struggling to fundamentally alter- i.e. invent- the dominant direction and meaning of development to revolve around the satisfaction of subaltern needs for social justice and human dignity- and developing practices in which this reinvention actually materializes- these movements are crafting new universals that may serve as cornerstones in the building of solidarities between particular movements in particular

places struggling against a common and profoundly global opponent. These are seeds of change that pose challenges to activists and scholars to not only understand new patterns of popular protest in the South, but also to contribute to their further development.

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Endnotes

ⁱ India's NFMs are certainly an important aspect of the general upshot of NSMs in the country. However, their categorization as a movement 'from below' is a highly contentious one. Whereas staunchly defended as a subaltern movement by such scholars as Omvedt (1993, 1995) and Parajuli (1991, 1996), a large body of critical work suggest that these movements are rooted in the class of rich farmers that benefited from the post-Independence land reforms and the Green Revolution, and that their agrarian populist ideology occludes fundamental conflicts of interest and social divisions based on class and caste that criss-cross rural communities (see e.g. Banaji, 1995; Brass, 1991, 1995a/b/c, 1997, 2000; Corbridge and Harriss, 2000; Vanaik, 1990).

ⁱⁱ The first 'cortes de ruta' occur in Cutral Co and Plaza Huincul in June 1996. There are also a series of cortes de ruta of long duration in Neuquen and Salta in 1996/1997. The years 1996/1997 are central to the development of a new repertoire of contestation around the development of the Piquetero identity (heterogeneous in terms of aims, ideology and strategy). The Piquetero becomes a recognised political actor vis a vis the state in its national and local form; opens spaces of negotiation and gives voice to the demands of the unemployed. (30-34, Svampa and Pereyra: 2003.

ⁱⁱⁱ The long-term disarticulation of much of the Solano community from the formal world of work and fragile links with Peronism perhaps helps us to understand why the movement did not articulate its aims around the reconstitution and recovery of the laborist culture implicit within Peronism.

^{iv} Interviews conducted in the period 14-18 April 2002, with members of the MTD Solano

^v Series of conversations with Neka of MTD Solano in period of 14-18th of April 2002

^{vi} Interviews with MTD Solano August 14-18th April 2002 and Ibid

^{vii} See Situaciones (4), MTD Solano, Ediciones de mano en mano, 2001

^{viii} Series of conversations with Neka, of MTD Solano, 14 and 18th of August 2002

^{ix} From p 2(2002), El MTD Lanus, Argentina Indymedia (www//argentina.iindymedia.org/news)

^x See Situaciones Collective (b), 19/20: Apuntes para el nuevo protagonismo social, Ediciones de mano en mano (2002)

^{xi} See Situaciones Collective (b), 19/20: Apuntes para el nuevo protagonismo social, Ediciones de mano en mano (2002)

^{xii} See El Militante (2002), 'trabajo, dignidad y cambio social: los movimientos de trabajadores desocupados que integran la coordinadora anibal veron ([www// el.militante.org](http://www//el.militante.org))

^{xiii} See Situaciones (4), 2001, El MTD Solano, Ediciones de mano en mano

^{xiv} Situaciones Colectivo (b), 2002, 19/20: Apuntes para el nuevo protagonismo social, Ediciones de mano en mano

^{xv} Interviews with MTD Solano members, 14-18th April, 2002

^{xvi} From Echeverria (P2, 2002), 'los desempleados piqueteros argentina, in Rebellion (www//Rebellion.org/sociales/echeverria)

^{xvii} See Situaciones (4) 2001, El MTD Solano, Ediciones de mano en mano

^{xviii} Ibid

^{xix} Interviews conducted in the period 14-18 April 2002, with members of the MTD Solano

^{xx} See *Situaciones* (4), 2001, MTD Solano

^{xxi} Dams were infamously dubbed as the 'temples of modern India' by Jawaharlal Nehru, See Singh (1997) and D'Souza (2002) on the political economy of Indian nation-building.

^{xxii} See Dwivedi (1997), Sangvai (2000), Jayal (2000), and Khagram (2004) for detailed accounts of this process.

^{xxiii} These were the ARCH Vahini in Gujarat, the Narmada Dharangrasta Samiti in Maharashtra, and the Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangath in Madhya Pradesh.

^{xxiv} The ARCH Vahini did not join in the declaration of wholesale opposition to the project as in 1987; they were able to elicit a rehabilitation policy from the Government of Gujarat, which they deemed satisfactory, and thus opted for cooperation with the state to secure the implementation of the R&R policy. The Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangath never formally merged into the NBA as it worked both in villages outside and inside of the SSP submergence zone, but its activists were typically active in both organizations.

^{xxv} Every year since 1992, the NBA has staged *satyagrahas* during the monsoon months to protest the dam projects; these are basically protest located in dam-affected adivasi villages in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh where the villagers and activists, along with supporters from urban centres in India and from abroad, stick to the villages in the face of the rising of the water levels as the flood-gates of the adjacent Sardar Sarovar dam are closed so as to harness the monsoon rains. The *satyagraha* was disbanded in 2002.

^{xxvi} "School for Life".

^{xxvii} The term 'tryst with destiny' is drawn from Nehru's speech delivered at the inauguration of Indian independence on August 15, 1947.

^{xxviii} The concept 'radical need' is taken from Heller (1976).

^{xxix} "New Life".

^{xxx} Interview, Mandleshwar, late May 2003.